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(29 1/2)

C 115185

NU1

96 NITE LEAD EDWARD

LONDON, DEC.6-(CP)-KING EDWARD'S CHOICE BETWEEN LOVE AND EMPIRE HUNG TONIGHT IN THE BALANCE AT THE CLOSE OF AN HISTORIC DAY OF DELIBERATIONS IN DOWNING STREET.

NO SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS BETWEEN KING AND GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN REACHED, A HIGH AUTHORITY SAID, AFTER TWO CABINET SESSIONS AND CONSULTATION WITH THE KING'S LEGAL ADVISER, WALTER MONCK-TON, K.C., ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

FROM THE SNOW-COVERED FASTNESS OF HIS COUNTRY RETREAT, FORT BELVEDERE, THE KING MOTORED EARLY
IN THE MORNING TO LONDON TO CONFER WITH PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN.

TWICE DURING THE DAY THE CABINET MET AT 10 DOWNING STREET TO HEART THE KING'S VIEWS FROM MONCKTON.

WHILE CROWDS OF WELL-WISHERS OF THE 42-YEAR-OLD BACHELOR KING BOOED THE MINISTERS AND JAMMED DOWNING STREET, THE CABINET MAINTAINED OFFICIAL SILENCE.

MORE808

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NU2 XX SILENCE.

BETWEEN THE MORNING AND EVENING SESSION, BALDWIN WENT TO MARLBOROUGH HOUSE TO SEE QUEEN MARY, SORROWED BY THE CRISIS AND REPRESENTED TO STILL HOLD OUT SOME HOPE THE KING WILL GIVE UP MRS. WALLIS SIMPSON.

MORE JM509P

95 KING

CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA, DEC.6-(AP)-IT WAS UNOFFICIALLY REPORTED TONIGHT THE AUSTRALIAN CABINET HAD RECEIVED SECRET INFORMATION THAT THE KING WAS LIKELY TO ABDICATE TOMORROW.

THIS REPORT CAME AFTER PRIME MINISTER JOSEPH LYONS TELEPHONED LONDON SEVERAL TIMES AND THEN ANNOUNCED A SPECIAL SESSION OF PARLIAMENT FOR WEDNESDAY.

THE FULL CABINET MEETS MONDAY.

AUSTRALIA'S WARTIME PRIME MINISTER, W.M.HUGHES, EMERGED FROM RETIREMENT WITH AN APPEAL TO THE KING TO "MAKE A SUPREME SACRIFICE FOR THE SAKE OF THE EMPIRE" BY GIVING UP MRS. ERNEST SIMPSON.

MORE511P

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NU3 XX SIMPSON.

C 114797

"THE MERE POSSIBILITY HE WILL ABDICATE SHOCKS, ALARMS AND GRIEVES THE PEOPLE OF THE EMPIRE BEYOND POWER OF WORDS TO EXPRESS," HUGHES ASSERTED. "THEY FEEL THE WORLD'S FOUNDATIONS ARE CRUMBLING."

JM511P

95

NITE LEAD BIKES (NEW)

NEW YORK, DEC.6-(CP)-JIM WALTHOUR OF NEW YORK AND AL CROSSLEY OF BOSTON HELD THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF NEW YORK'S 61ST SIX-DAY BIKE RACE TODAY, REPRESENTING THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1927 AN AMERICAN TEAM CAPTURED THE LOCAL GRIND.

THEY WERE TIED WITH TWO OTHER COMBINATIONS--TORCHY PEDEN OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AND BOB THOMAS OF WISCONSIN; GERARD DEBAETS AND ALVARO GEORGETTI OF EUROPE--WHEN THE LONG RIDE TO NOWHERE ENDED LAST NIGHT, BUT WON WITH THEIR BIG BAG OF SPRINT POINTS.

HGRE514P

M

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NU6 C 115198

ADD NL KING LONDON XX SIMPSON.

HAVING DISPATCHED MONCKTON TO DOWNING STREET, THE KING WAITED IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE FOR THE OUTCOME. LATER THE TWO RETURNED TO FORT BELVEDERE TOGETHER.

IN THE EVENING, MONKCTON CAME TO LONDON ALONE FOR THE NIGHT CABINET DELIBERATIONS.

AFTER TONIGHT'S TWO HOUR SESSION, BALDWIN CANCELLED A SCHEDULED CABINET MEETING FOR TOMORROW AND PREPARED THEN TO MAKE A STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (CONVENING AT 2:45, 9:45 A.M.EST).

IT WAS BELIEVED THE BREACH BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND KING WOULD BE FURTHER CLARIFIED IN THE COMMONS SPEECH AND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD DENY HIS CABINET SOUGHT SPEEDY ABDICATION BY THE KING.

THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO WAS EXPECTED TO ANSWER, A HIGH AUTHORITY SAID, WINSTON CHURCHILL'S CHARGE THAT THE CABINET WAS ACTING WITHOUT CONSULTING PARLIAMENT.

ONE HIGH SOURCE SAID KING EDWARD WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE MADE A DECISION AND THAT IT WOULD BE MADE KNOWN BY BALDWIN IN TOMORROW'S SPEECH.

NORE525P

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NU7 XX SPEECH.

ONE UNOFFICIAL INDICATION THAT ABDICATION WAS NEAR CAME FROM THE SUNDAY DISPATCH, PUBLISHED BY LORD ROTHERMERE WHO PREVIOUSLY HAD INDICATED HIS SYMPATHY WITH THE KING.

"NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE KING'S INTENTION TO ABDICATE CAN-- NORMALLY--BE MADE EXCEPT THROUGH THE PREMIER TO THE COMMONS, BUT IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT HIS MAJESTY CAN NEITHER COMPLY WITH REQUESTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE TO HIM ABOUT THE CONDUCT OF HIS PRIVATE LIFE, NOR WILL BE FORCE UPON THE EMPIRE THE CATASTROPHE WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW HIS INABILITY TO SECURE AN ALTERNATIVE GOVERN-MENT OF DIFFERENT VIEWS."

OBSERVERS INTERPRETED THIS TO MEAN THE NEWSPAPER UNDERSTOOD THE KING WAS STILL DETERMINED TO MARRY THE WOMAN OF HIS CHOICE, THAT HE FELT HE COULD NOT FORM A GOVERNMENT TO FIGHT FOR BOTH THRONE AND WIFE, AND THAT, THEREFORE, HE WOULD ABDICATE RATHER THAN CREATE A CRISIS EVEN GREATER THAN THE PRESENT ONE.

HORE629P

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NUB XX ONE.

C 114700

AN AIRPLANE WAS REPORTED AT HENDON AIRPORT READY TO FLY THE MONARCH TO FRANCE BUT IN RELIABLE QUARTERS IT WAS PREDICTED HE "WILL BE HERE TWO MORE DAYS."

WHATEVER THE OUTCOME, SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS MUST NOW BE "A MATTER OF TIME," A DOWNING STREET SPOKESMAN SAID AFTER THE CABINET CONFERENCES.

"THERE IS NO FOUNDATION TO ANY SUGGESTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TRYING TO FORCE THE KING TO MAKE A DECISION OVER THE WEEK-END WITHOUT HAVING TIME TO CONSIDER HIS POSITION.

"NO ADVICE WITH THREAT OF RESIGNATION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT BEHIND IT, HAS BEEN TENDERED.

"THE ONLY ADVICE THE GOVERNMENT HAS TENDERED THE KING HAS BEEN IN RESPONSE TO HIS OWN DESIRE THAT A MORGANATIC MARRIAGE PROPOSAL SHOULD BE EXAMINED.

"THE SITUATION NEVER HAS REACHED THE STAGE WHEN THERE HAS BEEN A CLASH BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND KING."

MORE631P

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C 115201

NU9 XX KING."

HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT FORMALLY TENDERED ITS ADVICE TO THE KING TO GIVE UP HIS MARRIAGE PLANS, AND THAT ADVICE WERE REJECTED--THE GOVERNMENT NATURALLY WOULD RESIGN.

THE STATEMENT BY CHURCHILL, ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT QUARTERS, WAS "FOUNDED UPON COMPLETE MISAPPREHENSION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND KING."

CHURCHILL LAST NIGHT APPEALED FOR MORE TIME FOR THE KING IN WHICH TO DECIDE, AND CHALLENGED THE AUTHORITY OF THE CABINET TO ADVISE ABDICATION UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE GOVERNMENT WAS SAID TO BE "PERTURBED" AT REPORTS IT DEMANDED AN IMMEDIATE REPLY FROM THE KING WITHOUT GIVING HIM A CHANCE TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY.

THE DOWNING STREET SPOKESMAN DECLARED, HOWEVER, THAT THE CABINET RECOGNIZES "THE DESIRABILITY" OF ENDING THE PRESENT STATE OF UNCERTAINTY WHICH THE SPOKESMAN SAID, "TO A CERTAIN EXTENT" HAS CIRCUMSCRIBED "THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS."

MORE534P

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C115202

NU10 XX AFFAIRS."

THE HAVAS NEWS AGENCY SAID IT WAS REPORTED BALDWIN WOULD ANNOUNCE TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TOMORROW THAT THE KING'S PRESENT STATE OF HEALTH WILL NOT PERMIT HIM TO MAKE A DECISION REGARDING ABDICATION AT THE PRESENT TIME.

THE REPORT, UNCONFIRMED BY ANY AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES, WAS BASED ON THE VISIT MADE TO FORT BELVEDERE YESTERDAY BY LORD DAWSON OF PENN, THE KING'S PHYSICIAN.

SOME SOURCES SAID LORD DAWSON TRIED TO PERSUADE HIM TO TAKE A THREE-MONTH LEAVE OF OFFICE, WITH A REGENCY COUNCIL TO ACT DURING THE INTERIM.

THE EMPIRE CRISIS DREW CLOSE TO A CLIMAX WITH THE SERIES OF CONFERENCES THIS MORNING AFTER THE KING MOTORED IN FROM FORT BEL-VEDERE TO BUCKINGHAM PALACE BEFORE MOST OF LONDON WAS AWAKE AND SENT MONCKTON TO 10 DOWNING STREET.

HE CARRIED DOCUMENTS, PERHAPS THE KING'S FINAL ANSWER TO THE CABINET.

AN HOUR AFTER MONCKTON RAPPED AT THE PREMIER'S DOOR, MINISTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO ARRIVE.

MORE637P

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C 114703

NU11 XX ARRIVE.

WHATEVER THE KING'S EMISSARY HAD SHOWN THEM, IT EVIDENTLY WAS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORT FOR BALDWIN SHORTLY LEFT THE BUILDING WITH HIS SECRETARY AND HASTENED TO SEE QUEEN MARY.

THE PREMIER RETURNED AFTER HIS AUDIENCE WITH THE QUEEN MOTHER AND AGAIN TOOK UP DELIBERATIONS WITH HIS MINISTERS. THE MEETING FINALLY BROKE UP AT 12:35 P.M., AFTER 2 1/2 HOURS OF DISCUSSION, UNTIL TONIGHT'S SESSION AT 7:30 P.M.

AS THE CABINET MET THE PRESS ASSOCIATION HINTED AT "SURPRISE" DEVELOPMENTS, THAT THE SITUATION POINTED OMINOUSLY TO DISCUSSION OF ABDICATION AND THAT "SHREWD JUDGES OF THE SITUATION ARE CONVINCED THIS, LIKE OTHER SUPERFICIAL READING OF THE FACTS, IS A TOO OBVIOUS AND TRUE SOLUTION."

WEIGHT, HOWEVER, WAS ADDED TO THE VIEW PREPARATIONS WERE BEING MADE FOR ABDICATION BY CONFERENCES OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION LEADERS AND BALDWIN'S CALL UPON QUEEN MARY.

MORE540P

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C115204

MEMORANDUM

307

Mr. King,

Signed statement has been issued by Mrs. Simpson.

EJ

Acct

4-20.

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NU177

C 11[illegible]05

BULLETIN

CANNES, FRANCE, DEC. 7-(AP)-WALLIS WARFIELD SIMPSON

ANNOUNCED TODAY SHE IS READY TO GIVE UP KING EDWARD SO THAT

HE MAY RETAIN HIS THRONE.

MORE X348P ..

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C 115206

NU179

EOS BULLETIN MATTER ADD SIMPSON CANNES (WHICH MAKE SECOND LEAD) XX HIS THRONE.

MRS. SIMPSON IN A SIGNED STATEMENT HANDED TO THE PRESS BY LORD BROWNLOW SAID SHE WAS READY TO GIVE UP KING EDWARD TO SAVE THE THRONE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

"THROUGHOUT THE LAST FEW WEEKS I HAVE INVARIABLY WISHED TO AVOID ANY ACTION OR PROPOSAL WHICH MIGHT HURT OR DAMAGE HIS MAJESTY OR THE THRONE," THE STATEMENT BEGAN.

"TODAY MY ATTITUDE IS UNCHANGED AND I AM WILLING IF SUCH ACTION WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEM TO WITHDRAW FORTHWITH FROM A SITUATION THAT HAS BECOME UNHAPPY AND UNTENABLE."

THE STATEMENT WAS GIVEN OUT BY BROWNLOW AT THE GATES OF THE VILLA WHERE MRS. SIMPSON HAS BEEN STAYING. HE MADE NO COMMENT AFTER READING IT ALOUD.

(END EOS) X359P

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C 11[illegible]07

Extract from Parliamentary Debates

British House of Commons,

Dec. 7, 1936, pages 1652-1653

Constitutional Position

Mr. Attlee (by Private Notice) asked the Prime Minister whether he has anything to add to the statement which he made on Friday.

The Prime Minister: "Yes, Sir. I am glad to have the occasion of making a further statement on the position.

In considering this whole matter it has always been, and remains, the earnest desire of the Government to afford to His Majesty the fullest opportunity of weighing a decision which involves so directly his own future happiness and the interests of all his subjects.

At the same time they cannot but be aware that any considerable prolongation of the present state of suspense and uncertainty would involve risk of the gravest injury to National and Imperial interests and indeed no one is more insistent upon this aspect of the situation than His Majesty.

In view of certain statements which have been made about the relations between the Government and the King, I should add that, with the exception of the question of morganatic marriage, no advice has been tendered by the Government to His Majesty with whom all my conversations have been strictly personal and informal. These matters were not raised first by the Government but by His Majesty himself in conversation with me some weeks ago when he first informed me of his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson, whenever she should be free. The subject has, therefore, been for some time in the King's mind and as soon as His Majesty has arrived at a conclusion as to the course he desires to take he will no doubt communicate it to his Governments in this country and the Dominions. It will then be for those Governments to decide what advice, if any, they would feel it their duty to tender to him in the light of his conclusion.

I cannot conclude this statement without expressing - what the whole House feels - our deep and respectful sympathy with His Majesty at this time."

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Mr. Attlee: "Everyone will agree with the sympathy expressed by the Prime Minister in the last words of his statement. I am assuming from his statement that His Majesty has not yet come to a conclusion on the advice of the Ministry on the subject of the morganatic marriage proposal. If this is so, it is difficult to press the right hon. Gentleman for further information at the present time, but I would like to ask him to bear in mind, as I am sure he does, that the House and the country are deeply anxious to receive the fullest information as soon as possible, as without that it is quite impossible to have any proper discussion on these issues that may be raised."

The Prime Minister: "I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for the point that he has put. I was not aware that he was going to put it, and I am grateful to him, because I agree with every word of it, and I shall be only too glad at a suitable moment to give the House the whole of the information which I am able to give, and while I am always willing to answer, as I think the House knows, supplementary questions, I do think the whole House will agree with me that at this moment, with a situation that is so grave and anxious, and while the King is considering this matter and has not yet made up his mind, I should feel great difficulty in offering information in answer to supplementary questions, especially considering that the answers I should have to give would have to be improvised."

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NU83

FINANCE

CHICAGO, DEC. 7-(AP)-GRAIN OPEN;

WHEAT: DEC 1.25 3/8-1/2; MAY 1.21 3/8-1/2; JLY 1.07 1/2-5/8.

MORE 1050A

EOS BULLETIN SECOND LEAD KING RUNNING

LONDON, DEC. 7-(AP)-PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN TOLD THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TODAY THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PRESS KING EDWARD FOR A DECISION ON HIS PLANS FOR POSSIBLE MARRIAGE WITH MRS. WALLIS SIMPSON.

MORE X1051A

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C 115210

NU85

EOS BULLETIN MATTER ADD SECOND LEAD EDWARD RUNNING LONDON

XX WALLIS SIMPSON.

READING FROM A MANUSCRIPT, BALDWIN SAID:

"I AM GLAD TO HAVE OCCASION TO MAKE A FURTHER STATEMENT ON THE CABINET'S POSITION.

"IN CONSIDERING THIS WHOLE MATTER IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND REMAINS THE EARNEST DESIRE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO AFFORD HIS MAJESTY THE FULLEST OPPORTUNITY OF WEIGHING THE DECISION WHICH INVOLVES SO DIRECTLY HIS OWN FUTURE HAPPINESS AND THE INTERESTS OF ALL HIS SUBJECTS.

MORE X1055A

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NU87

EOS BULLETIN MATTER ADD SECOND LEAD KING RUNNING LONDON XX

HIS SUBJECTS.

"AT THE SAME TIME THEY CANNOT BUT BE AWARE THAT ANY CONSIDERABLE PROLONGATION OF THE PRESENT STATE OF SUEPENSE AND UNCERTAINTY WOULD INVOLVE THE RISK OF GRAVEST INJURY TO THE NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL INTERESTS--AND INDEED NO ONE IS MORE INSISTENT UPON THIS ASPECT OF THE SITUATION THAN HIS MAJESTY," THE PRIME MINISTER CONTINUED.

"IN VIEW OF CERTAIN STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE ABOUT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE KING, I SHOULD ADD THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE QUESTION OF MORGANATIC MARRIAGE, NO ADVICE HAS BEEN TENDERED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO HIS MAJESTY, WITH WHOM ALL MY CONVERSATIONS HAVE BEEN STRICTLY PERSONAL AND INFORMAL.

MORE X11A

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NU89 XX PACIFIC. C 115212

IN A RESTRICTED GROOVE WERE U.S. STEEL, BETHLEHEM, GENERAL MOTORS, CHRYSLER, MONTGOMERY WARD, SEARS ROEBUCK, NATIONAL DISTILLERS, AMERICAN TELEPHONE, CONSOLIDATED EDISON, KENNECOTT, ANACONDA, N.Y. CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

BONDS WERE A SHADE IMPROVED. COMMODITIES WERE MIXED.

WITH THE HEAVIEST XX ETC., PICKING UP 3RD PGH PVS.

X1105A

EOS BULLETIN MATTER ADD SECOND LEAD KING RUNNING LONDON XX INFORMAL.

"THESE MATTERS WERE NOT RAISED FIRST BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT BY HIS MAJESTY HIMSELF IN CONVERSATION WITH ME SOME WEEKS AGO WHEN HE FIRST INFORMED ME OF HIS INTENTION TO MARRY MRS. SIMPSON WHENEVER SHE SHOULD BE FREE."

(MRS. SIMPSON'S DIVORCE DECREE FROM ERNEST ALDRICH SIMPSON WOULD BECOME FINAL, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE KING'S PROCTOR, ON APRIL 27, 1937).

"THE SUBJECT HAS THEREFORE BEEN FOR SOME TIME IN THE KING'S MIND AND AS SOON AS HIS MAJESTY HAS ARRIVED AT THE CONCLUSION AS TO THE COURSE HE DESIRES TO TAKE, HE WILL NO DOUBT COMMUNICATE TO THE GOVERNMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY AND THE DOMINIONS."

X1107A

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NU91 AI

EOS BULLETIN MATTER ADD SECOND LEAD KING RUNNING LONDON XX THE DOMINIONS. CUNCLOSING QUOTE)

"IT WILL THEN BE FOR THOSE GOVERNMENTS TO DECIDE WHAT ADVICE, IF ANY, THEY WOULD FEEL IT THEIR DUTY TO TENDER HIM IN THE LIGHT OF HIS CONCLUSION.

"I CANNOT CONCLUDE THIS STATEMENT WITHOUT EXPRESSING --WHAT THE WHOLE HOUSE FEELS--OUR DEEP, RESPECTFUL SYMPATHY WITH HIS MAJESTY AT THIS TIME."

X1110A

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NU57

INSERT

IN LONDON DAY LEAD KING INSERT AFTER 9TH PGH XXX LABOR GOVERNMENT.

WALTER MONCKTON, ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL--FROM WHICH THE KING DERIVES A LARGE PORTION OF HIS REVENUES--AGAIN WAS IN CONSULTATION WITH GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES AT NO. 10 DOWNING STREET TODAY. MONCKTON, WHO IS ALSO THE KING'S CHIEF LEGAL ADVISOR, SPENT THE NIGHT AT FORT BELVEDERE.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS XXX PICKING UP 10TH PGH.

(DEVTS)

ZG924AES

KING

MANCHESTER, DEC 7-(CP CABLE)-PROFESSOR BERRIEDALE KEITH, REGIUS PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY, IN AN ARTICLE IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN TODAY DISCUSSED THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER.

ZG925AES

M

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NU58 XXX WESTMINSTER.

"THE STATUTE EXPRESSLY PROVIDED THAT FOR ANY ALTERATION TOUCHING THE SUCCESSION THERE IS REQUISITE THE ASSENT OF THE DOMINIONS," HE SAID. "BUT THIS REQUIREMENT IS ONLY PLACED IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE ACT. IT WAS DELIBERATELY DECIDED NOT TO GIVE IT THE FORCE OF LAW.

"UNDER THE TERMS OF THE EXISTING CONSTITUTIONS OF THE DOMINIONS, ANY ALTERATION IN THE SUCCESSION ENACTED BY THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT WOULD AS A MATTER OF STRICT LAW HAVE AUTOMATIC EFFECT IN THE DOMINIONS WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF ANY ASSENT BY THEIR PARLIAMENTS.

"IT IS CLEAR THEREFORE IN LAW THAT THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT COULD AFTER THE SUCCESSION FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE WITHOUT THE ASSENT OF THE DOMINION PARLIAMENTS. BUT CONSTITUTIONALLY IT WOULD CLEARLY BE BOUND TO ASK SUCH ASSENT AND, IF SO DESIRED BY ANY DOMINION, TO INSERT IN ITS LEGISLATION AN EXPRESS DECLARATION THAT THE CHANGE WOULD NOT APPLY TO THAT DOMINION UNLESS AND UNTIL IT ADOPTED IT."

ZG929AES

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NU61

95

ADD TWO DEAD GREENFIELD FIRE XX FRIDAY.

AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS, OFFICER DANIEL WELCOME SAID NO REPORT HAD BEEN MADE ON THE FIRE. BOTH WOMEN, HE SAID, HAD SUFFOCATED BEFORE THEY COULD BE REMOVED FROM THE BURNING BUILDING. ALL OTHER OCCUPANTS REACHED THE STREET IN SAFETY.

THE OFFICER SAID IT WAS PRACTICALLY CERTAIN WHO THE DEAD WOMEN WERE BUT THAT THEIR NAMES WOULD NOT BE GIVEN OUT UNTIL THE IDENTIFICATION WAS POSITIVE.

X940A

KING

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, DEC. 7-(CP CABLE VIA REUTERS)-WILLIAM M. HUGHES, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA AND A MEMBER OF THE PRESENT LYONS CABINET, SAID IN A STATEMENT TODAY ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS BETWEEN THE KING AND THE BRITISH CABINET "ABDICATION INVOLVES UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE EMPIRE AND THE WORLD."

MORE 941A

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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C 115817

NU62 XX WORLD."

CONTINUING, HE SAID, "THE MERE POSSIBILITY OF IT SHOCKS, ALARMS AND GRIEVES THE PEOPLE BEYOND POWER OF WORDS TO EXPRESS. THE PEOPLE FERVENTLY HOPE AND PRAY THAT THE KING WHO HAS DEVOTED HIS WHOLE LIFE SO ZEALOUSLY AND SPLENDIDLY TO THEIR SERVICE AND MADE SO MANY SACRIFICES IN THEIR CAUSE MAY, BECAUSE OF THE GREAT LOVE THEY BEAR HIM, MAKE THE GREAT AND SUPREME SACRIFICE FOR THE SAKES OF THEM, THE EMPIRE AND THE PEACE AND HAPPINESS OF MANKIND.

"THE ISSUE IS INEXORABLE. THERE CAN BE NO MIDDLE COURSE OR COMPROMISE. BUT WITHOUT SOME PERIOD OF QUIET REFLECTION WE SHOULD NEITHER EXPECT NOR ACCEPT THIS SUPREME SACRIFICE.

"IT HAS NOT BEEN A MERE CHANCE THAT WE WERE GIVEN A KING OF SUCH GREAT AND KINGLY PARTS, IN GALLANT CHIVALRY AND EVOTION TO THE PEOPLE, AND DEEP AND TENDER SYMPATHY WITH ALL THE POOR AND HEAVY LADEN. HE BROUGHT TO THE PEOPLE THE SPIRITUAL INSPIR-ATION OF AN EXAMPLE THAT CAN CARRY US TRIUMPHANTLY THROUGH ALL THE PERILS AND DARKNESS OF THE TIME. IN SACRIFICE WE NOW BESEECH HE REACH TRANSCENDANT HEIGHTS. AUSTRALIA HUMBLY PRAYS 'GOD SAVE THE KING.'"

X945A

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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NU37

-95- KING

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, DEC 7-(CP CABLE VIA REUTERS)

PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL SAVAGE SAID TODAY LATEST INDICATIONS WERE THAT EMPIRE CRISIS OVER KING EDWARD'S ROMANCE WITH MRS. WALLIS SIMPSON WAS "LESS DIFFICULT."

THE PRIME MINISTER MADE THE STATEMENT AS HE LEFT A CABINET MEETING.

HE ADDED THAT "WHEN THE TIME COMES, THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE A STATEMENT ABOUT THE CRISIS AS A WHOLE AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE DIFFICULT AND MOST DELICATE QUESTION."

SAVAGE SAID IN HIS OPINION A GENERAL ELECTION IN GREAT BRITAIN WAS UNTHINKABLE AS BOTH SIDES WOULD BE DISCUSSING THE SAME POLICY, LEADING TO POLITICAL CONFUSION. "LET US HOPE THE THRONE WILL NEVER BECOME A SHUTTLE-COCK IN A POLITICAL FIGHT."

THERE WOULD BE NO NEED OF AN ELECTION IN NEW ZEALAND OR ANY OTHER DOMINION, HE ADDED.

MORE ZG805AES

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C 115219

NU38 XXX ADDED.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND HAS ENDORSED PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN OF BRITAIN IN HIS CABINET'S OPPOSITION TO THE KING'S PROPOSED MARRIAGE TO MRS.SIMPSON.

ZG806AES

ADD DAY LEAD KING LONDON XXX BETWEEN THEM."

PRESSURE NO LESS STRONG IS BEING EXERTED ON THE OTHER SIDE. "GIVE THE KING TIME" IS THE OFT-REPEATED PLEA. WITH TIME IT IS BELIEVED THE KING IS MORE LIKELY TO CHANGE HIS MIND ABOUT MARRIAGE TO MRS.SIMPSON. IN ANY EVENT, THE AMERICAN-BORN DIVORCEE CANNOT UNDER ENGLISH LAW MARRY ANYBODY UNTIL HER DIVORCE DECREE IS MADE ABSOLUTE. THAT IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF EVENTS WILL NOT BE UNTIL APRIL.

THE DAILY HERALD, LABOR, PUTS THE ISSUE THIS WAY:

"THERE ARE TWO QUESTIONS AND TWO ALONE WHICH HAVE TO BE PONDERED AND ANSWERED. IS A MARRIAGE WHICH WOULD CAUSE GREAT PAIN TO VAST NUMBERS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE COMMONWEALTH AND WOULD SET AN EXAMPLE CERTAIN TO HAVE PUBLIC CONSEQUENCES A PURELY PRIVATE MATTER OR IS IT A PUBLIC MATTER ON WHICH THE CABINET, SO LONG AS IT RETAINS THE CONFIDENCE OF PARLIAMENT, MAY LEGITIMATELY ADVISE THE KING?

MORE809A

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

POOR COPY

NU77 XX NIGHT.

THE KING'S MINISTERS WERE CALLED TO MEET AGAIN TOMORROW WITH THE HOPE FAINTLY EXPRESSED THAT THE KING MAY THEN HAVE REACHED A DECISION.

X1031A

KING ATT OTT

CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA, DEC. 8-(CP CABLE VIA REUTERS)-

SIR ROBERT GARRAN, ONE OF THE LEADING CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYERS IN AUSTRALIA, TODAY EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT SINCE THE ADVICE PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN HAD GIVEN THE KING (OPPOSING A MORGANATIC MARRIAGE) WAS ALSO THAT OF THE DOMINION GOVERNMENTS, THE LATTER WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOOK THIS COURSE.

SIR ROBERT FOR MANY YEARS WAS THE COMMONWEALTH SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

X1033A

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NU85

KING

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, DEC. 8-(CP CABLE VIA REUTERS)-

PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL SAVAGE TODAY REQUESTED ADAM HAMILTON, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, TO PROCEED TO WELLINGTON "SINCE NEED OF HIS PRESENCE THERE MIGHT ARISE."

IT WAS PRESUMED THIS MOVE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH THE BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OVER THE KING'S FRIENDSHIP FOR MRS. WALLIS SIMPSON.

X1057A

FINANCE

CHICAGO, DEC. 8-(AP)-GRAIN OPEN:

WHEAT: DEC 1.25 3/8-5/8; MAY 1.21 3/4-7/8; JLY 1.08 3/8-1/2.

CORN: DEC 1.08 5/8-09; MAY NEW 1.04-04 1/4, OLD 1.02 5/8;

JLY NEW 99 3/4-7/8, OLD 97 3/4.

OATS: DEC 47 3/4; MAY 47 1/4-3/8; JLY 43 5/8.

SOY BEANS: DEC--; MAY 1.39 1/2; JLY--.

RYE: DEC 1.00 3/4; MAY 97; JLY--. BARLEY: DEC--; MAY--.

LARD: DEC--; JAN--; MCH 13.20; MAY 13.52-55; JLY 13.72-75.

BELLIES: DEC--; JAN--.

X1058A

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NU87 XX TUGS.

THE GREAT LAKES TOWING COMPANY TUG FAVORITE PULLED THE DAVIS FREE FIVE DAYS AFTER IT GROUNDED IN A SNOW STORM; FAILING TO MAKE A PORT SIDE TURN AT MIDDLE GROUND.

THE STEAMER BERRYTON WAS RELEASED FROM ICE FIELDS AT SWEET'S POINT IN THE UPBOUND CHANNEL AND THE STEAMER SARGENT WAS FREED FROM DRIFT ICE IN THE DOWNBOUND CHANNEL BY A SALT TUG.

X1106A

ADD DAY LEAD KING LONDON XX A DECISION.

IN THE HIGHEST QUARTERS TODAY, IT WAS DENIED CATEGORICALLY THAT THE STATEMENT OF MRS. SIMPSON'S WILLINGNESS TO GIVE UP THE KING HAD BEEN SPONSORED IN LONDON AND DICTATED FROM HERE LAST NIGHT.

AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES SAID HER VOLUNTARY ANNOUNCEMENT SURPRISED THE KING'S OWN CIRCLE OF ADVISERS. THEY INSISTED IT WAS MADE ON HER OWN INITIATIVE AND THAT IT CONSTITUTED A FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF A VERBAL DECLARATION ALONG THE SAME LINES WHICH SHE MADE TO THE KING BEFORE SHE LEFT ENGLAND.

MORE 1107A

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C 115223

NU95 XX TUES.

BULLETIN MATTER ADD SECOND LEAD KING LONDON XX PREMIER.

THE PRIME MINISTER, INSTEAD OF GOING TO PARLIAMENT, HAD AWAITED WALTER T. MONCKTON, THE KING'S LEGAL ADVISER, AND SIR ERIC MIEVILLE, THE DUKE OF YORK'S SECRETARY.

THEY REACHED THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE AT 4 P.M., MONCKTON COMING FROM FORT BELVEDERE. A FEW MINUTES LATER THEY DEPARTED, MONCKTON AND BALDWIN TRAVELLING IN ONE CAR AND SIR ERIC FOLLOWING IN ANOTHER.

WHILE THEY WERE INSIDE NO. 10 DOWNING STREET, SEVERAL MINOR OFFICIALS HURRIED OUT CARRYING BRIEF CASES AND LOADED THEM IN THE CARS. BOTH MACHINES HEADED TOWARD WHITEHALL, WHICH IS ON THE ROUTE TO FORT BELVEDERE, THE KING'S COUNTRY RESIDENCE.

MORE X1130A

N M

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C 115224

NU96

96

KING-PARLIAMENT

BY GEORGE HAMBLETON

CANADIAN PRESS STAFF WRITER

LONDON, DEC. 8-(CP CABLE)-THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON SOUGHT VAINLY FOR WORD OF THE KING'S DEFINITE DECISION IN HIS CONFLICT WITH THE CABINET OVER HIS DESIRE TO MARRY MRS. ERNEST SIMPSON.

SIR JOHN SIMON, HOME SECRETARY, WAS PRESENT TO REPRESENT PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO FURTHER STATEMENT TO MAKE AT THIS TIME ON THE SITUATION. THE BENCHES WERE PACKED WITH MEMBERS, EAGER TO HEAR OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CRISIS.

CLEMENT ATTLEE, LEADER OF THE LABOR OPPOSITION, ASKED IF THE PRIME MINISTER HAD ANYTHING TO ADD TO WHAT HE SAID YESTERDAY.

SIR JOHN APOLOGIZED FOR BALDWIN'S ABSENCE, SAYING HE WAS BUSY AT NO. 10 DOWNING STREET.

MORE 1133A

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C 115225

NU97 XX STREET.

"THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ASKED ME TO EXPRESS HIS REGRET AT NOT BEING ABLE TO REPLY IN PERSON," SAID SIR JOHN. "MY RIGHT HONORABLE FRIEND HAS, HOWEVER, NOTHING TO ADD TO THE STATEMENT WHICH HE MADE YESTERDAY."

ATTLEE ASKED IF ANY INDICATION COULD BE GIVEN WHEN THE INFORMATION WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. SIR JOHN SAID HE COULD MAKE NO PROMISE.

X1134A

ADD DAY LEAD MRS. SIMPSON CANNES XX AND UNTENABLE."

LORD BROWNLOW ASSERTED MRS. SIMPSON "LIKES CANNES SO MUCH SHE MAY REMAIN FOR FIVE OR SIX WEEKS."

AS HE FINISHED TALKING TO REPORTERS, MRS. SIMPSON APPEARED AT A WINDOW OF THE VILLA, BUT RETIRED QUICKLY WHEN SHE SAW THE CROWD BELOW.

LORD BROWNLOW SAID SHE HAD TAKEN A SHORT STROLL IN THE GARDEN DURING THE MORNING--THE FIRST TIME SHE HAD LEFT THE VILLA.

"YOU CAN EASILY REALIZE MRS. SIMPSON'S POSITION," SAID HER SPOKESMAN.

MORE 1135A

CPO

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95

PMS IN

ADD PRECEDE ALL PLANE MARSEILLE (DAY) XX THE NIGHT.

THE THREE PASSENGERS ORDERED A CAB MAN TO TAKE THEM TO THE RIVIERA, IT WAS LEARNED, AFTER THEY LEFT THE AIRPORT.

THE PILOT WHO REGISTERED IN A MARSEILLE HOTEL SAID HE PLANNED TO TAKE THE PLANE BACK TO LONDON WEDNESDAY MORNING.

X403P

PMS IN LEAD KING

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, DEC. 8-(CP CABLE VIA REUTERS)- THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT PLAN TO MEET BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE NEXT SESSION ON JAN. 8, TO CONSIDER THE CURRENT CRISIS OVER THE KING'S DESIRE TO MARRY MRS. WALLIS SIMPSON, IT WAS LEARNED TODAY.

MORE 405P

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C 115227

NU2 XX TODAY.

FOLLOWING A CABINET MEETING IT WAS SAID THAT THE CONCURRENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN ANY ACTION TAKEN BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE QUESTION OF THE KING'S MARRIAGE WOULD BE AUTOMATIC. IT WAS EXPLAINED THAT THIS WAS BECAUSE SUCH ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN ONLY AFTER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD CONSULTED WITH THE DOMINIONS.

X406P

95

PMS IN FINANCE

PITTSBURGH, DEC. 8-(AP)-JONES AND LAUGHLIN STEEL CORPORATION DIRECTORS DECLARED A $2-A SHARE DIVIDEND TODAY ON PAST-DUE DIVIDENDS ON ITS 587,139 SHARES OF PREFERRED STOCK OUTSTANDING. PAYMENT OF APPROXIMATELY $1,175,000 WILL BE MADE DEC. 23 TO STOCKHOLDERS OF DEC. 11, REDUCING THE AMOUNT ON EACH SHARE TO $26.25.

X407P

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NU36

NIGHT LEAD KING (NEWISH)

LONDON, DEC. 8-(CP)-IN THE TURRETED AND ICE-SHEATHED CASTLE OF FORT BELVEDERE, KING EDWARD, HIS FIRST MINISTER AND MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY GATHERED TONIGHT REPORTEDLY TO HEAR HIS MAJESTY'S FINAL CHOICE BETWEEN LOVE AND EMPIRE.

AS WINTRY DUSK CLOSED ABOUT THE COUNTRY ESTATE NEAR WINDSOR, PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN WAS SUMMONED FROM LONDON. SHORTLY AFTER BALDWIN DROVE THROUGH THE GATES OF FORT BELVEDERE, THE MOTORCAR OF THE DUKE OF YORK, HEIR APPARENT TO THE THRONE, SPED INTO THE ESTATE BY A SIDE ENTRANCE. THE DUKE OF KENT ALSO WAS REPORTED PRESENT.

AT THE SIDE OF THE KING AND READY WITH LEGAL ADVICE ON THE MANY PROBLEMS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND FORMALITIES NECESSARY WHATEVER THE CHOICE, WAS WALTER T. MONCKTON, K.C., ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

THE PRIME MINISTER REMAINED UNTIL 10 P.M. AND RETURNED TO 10 DOWNING STREET WHERE HOME SECRETARY SIR JOHN SIMON WAS AWAITING HIM.

MORE X554P....

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DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM

C 115229

Prem Minister

Draft revised in accordance with your instructions. I assume it is not intended to pass this at present. The draft bill at the end will have to be revised later.

OD

Ottawa, Dec 8 1936

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C 115230

DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, has the honour to submit as follows:

1. That His Majesty the King has this day transmitted to His Government an instrument of abdication duly executed by him;

2. That in order to give effect thereto and to provide for the succession to the throne, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have proposed immediately to introduce legislation in the Parliament at Westminster based upon a draft bill a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

3. That the Statute of Westminster, 1931, provides in the second recital of the preamble as follows,

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

no change

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and in the fourth section, as follows,

> 4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof.

4. That, in order to insure that the requirements of the fourth section of the Statute are satisfied, it is necessary to provide for the request and consent of Canada to the enactment of the proposed legislation; and, in order to insure compliance with the constitutional convention expressed in the second recital of the preamble, hereinbefore set forth, it is necessary to make provision for securing the assent of the Parliament of Canada thereto;

6. That it is impossible ~~to summon the~~ Parliament ~~of Canada in time to take~~ appropriate action prior to or contemporaneously with the enactment of the proposed legislation by the Parliament at Westminster ~~but~~ Parliament has been summoned ~~and will~~ meet on the 14th January, 1937.

The undersigned, therefore, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, has t he honour to recommend:

(a) That the enactment of legislation by the Parliament at Westminster, following upon the voluntary abdication of His Majesty the King, providing for the validation thereof, the consequential demise of the Crown, succession of the heir presumptive and revision of the laws relating to the throne, and declaring that Canada has requested and consented to such enactment, is hereby approved;

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C115282

(b) That the proposed legislation, in so far as it relates to matters which are part of the law, or constitution of Canada, shall conform as nearly as may be to the annexed draft bill;

(c) That the legislation, enacted as aforesaid, shall be submitted to the Parliament of Canada, immediately after the opening of the next session, so as to enable the Parliament of Canada to take appropriate action pursuant to the provisions of the Statute of Westminster;

(d) That His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall be informed accordingly.

All of which is respectfully submitted:

Prime Minister and Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

Ottawa, December, 1936

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DRAFT BILL C 115233

BILL TO DECIARE HIS MAJESTY'S ABDICATION AND FOR PURPOSES CONNECTED THEREWITH.

WHEREAS His Majesty by his Royal Message of blank day of December in the present year has been pleased to declare (to be completed when the terms are known)

(And WHEREAS the following Dominions that is to say blank have requested and consented to the enactment of this Act:) To be revised

BE it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:-

1 (1) Immediately upon the Royal Assent being signified to this Act, the Instrument of Abdication executed by His present Majesty on blank day of December, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, set out in the Schedule to this Act, shall have effect, and thereupon His Majesty shall cease to be King and that a member of the Royal Family shall succeed to the Throne and to all Rights Privileges and Dignities thereto belonging, who would have succeeded if His Majesty had then died.

(2) His Majesty, his Issue, if any, and descendants of that Issue, shall not, after His Majesty's abdication, have any Right Title or Interest to or in the Succession to the Throne, and Section One of the Act of Settlement one thousand seven hundred shall be construed accordingly.

(3) The Royal Marriages Act of 1772, shall not apply to His Majesty after his abdication nor to the Issue, if any, of His Majesty or descendants of that Issue.

2. This Act may be cited as His Majesty's Abdication Act nineteen hundred and thirty-six.

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KODAK SAFETY FI

C 115234

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa, Dec. 9, 1936
11.30 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR FILE

I have received from the Prime Minister, over the telephone, the following instructions:

(1) To send copy of Order in Council, which I will receive from Laurier House shortly after midnight, to:

(a) Mr. Lemaire, at his house, at once; delivered 1.00 a.m.

(b) Mr. Edwards, at his house, at once; " "

(c) Mr. Lapointe, at his office in East Block at 9.a.m. Mr. Lapointe advised of arrangement 12.00 midnight.

(2) To send copy of a telegram which I may receive at or about 5 a.m. from Mr. Redfern, to:

(a) Mr. Coleman (at his house if despatched before 5.45 a.m.) - (at his office in West Block if despatched after 5.45 a.m.) (2 copies) Sent at 12 noon. advised of arrangement 12.15 a.m.

(b) Mr. Edwards (at his house if despatched before 5.45 a.m.) (in c/o Mr. Coleman at latter's office in West Block if despatched after 5.45 a.m.) (1 copy) sent at 12 noon. advised of arrangement 12.15 a.m.

(c) Dr. Skelton (at his office at 7.30 am.) (1 copy)

(d) Prime Minister (at Laurier House at 8 a.m.) (2 copies)

(e) Prime Minister (at East Block before Council) (2 copies)

Phoned Mr. Redfern arranged to have him phone me on receipt of wire & for me to send messenger for decode. 12.20 a.m.

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(3) To have Mr. Lemaire call Council for 9.30 sharp.
advised 11.35 p.m.

(4) To have Mr. Gladstone Murray arrange to install equipment in Prime Minister's room in East Block for the Prime Minister to broadcast to the nation at or about 11 a.m. advised 12.35 p.m.

(Confirmation to be given Mr. Murray at 10 o'clock.) a.m.

P/LAG

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December 9, 1936. C 115236

9 O'Clock.P.M.

B-102-2
vol(4)

National Broadcasting Company.

Press Radio Bureau.

It is claimed on high authority that the King has already given Mr. Stanley Baldwin his decision and that Mr. Baldwin gave this information to his Ministers at tonight's meeting.

At Fort Belvedere a motorcycle messenger was seen carrying some papers and it is claimed that this might have something to do with the King's abdication. It was the most unusual night in years. The King's Attorney returned to see the Prime Minister at 6.30 after two or more previous visits. Great significance is also placed on the meeting of the King with his Mother, Queen Mary. The circumstances of that meeting were highly dramatic. The King's own servants knew nothing of the meeting because Edward, it is said, left unnoticed, remained with the Queen for an hour and returned to Fort Belvedere the same way he had left. Other members of the family were present. It is said if the King abdicated that he would retain his revenue as Duke of Cornwall and Duke of Lancaster amounting to some $565.000. annually, as well as other revenue which was the property of the Prince of Wales. Scotland Yard have not denied the report that all police leave had been cancelled because of the possible need of special police protection.

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There were reports from London that the King might leave the Country before abdicating. Some have raised the technical point, however, that he probably would have to remain to sign the abdication Bill after it is passed by Parliament. The King agreed to accept the advice of His Ministers and has decided to give up the Throne it is said. Tomorrow the message will be read by Prime Minister Baldwin to the House of Commons and Viscount Halifax will read it to the House of Lords. It is also thought that Ireland may try to throw a monkey-wrench in the proceedings to appoint a successor to the King. It is said they may take advantage accorded to anyone of the Dominions to refuse to pass the necessary legislation and thereby add difficulties to the solution. It is not likely that this action would be directed particularly at the Duke of York but any King or Emperor. It is possible that the Duke of York next in line for the Crown might step aside. This would make his eleven year old daughter Elizabeth - Queen. It would necessitate a regency until she is seventeen years old when then she would be crowned. The golden haired little girl is one of the most popular in England and she has been called the sweetheart of the Empire.

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This is from the Press Radio Bureau of the Associated Press, United Press, International Press Radio Services, newspapers of the United States acting in cooperation with the broadcasters.

JPG
Can. Broadcasting Corporation.

BELFAST BOND

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December 9, 1936.

C 115239
B-102-2
vt.8(b)

7.00 O'Clock.

Columbia Broadcasting System.

The British Broadcasting Corporation announced at eleven o'clock tonight that the opinion is that the Prime Minister's statement tomorrow will be a grave one. Lord Brownlaw, Private Secretary to King Edward said tonight he offered to drop out as Secretary to the British Ruler and that it was part of his studied program. He said that his stand remained the same.

Further details in your newspapers.

JPG
Can. Broadcasting Corporation.

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C 115240

Radio Broadcast Reports

Thursday evening, December 10th 1936

5.15 p.m. Received by short wave station Ottawa from New York.
described as a Reuter news item from Cannes, France.
(mostly gossip - worn)

It will be several weeks before Mrs Simpson and King Edward meet; they have planned to spend Christmas together.

Judicial machinery will be rushed to secure final divorce decree.

Mrs Simpson talked to King Edward by telephone soon after today's parliamentary proceedings.

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6.15 p.m. Trans-atlantic telephone commentator: Alistair Cook.
C.R.C.O.

Description of scene in London.
Crowds were good natured; no disorder
Streets much as usual;
Crowds at 145 Piccadilly (residence of new King) and
at Buckingham Palace; at latter place they
chanted E-D-W-A-R-D, sang "God Save the King",
and occasional shout "put it to the vote".
Fascists have closed their meetings
No mention of matter at a communistic meeting

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C 115242

6.10 p.m.
Short wave
Station Ottawa.

From London (otherwise unidentified)

Lord Halifax declared in the Lords that Government was prepared to swear allegiance to new King on Saturday at 3.45 p.m. and that the Dominion Governments had consented to abdication of K. Edward.

Premier de Valera announced he would call a session of the Irish Parliament to consider the situation

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C 115243

Editorial opinion

7.00 pm. Gralton O'Leary said attitude of Dominion govt. misunderstood.
Dec. 10 Pointed out that Dominions did not take initiative.
C.R.C.D. Mr Baldwin made the first communication to Dominions
Question was whether King should accept advice of his ministers, even though it was concerned with his personal life. There was no interference by the Canadian Government.

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7.15 pm.
C.R.C.O.

Transatlantic telephone talk by
B.B.C. commentator Howard Marshall.
sponsored by Mutual Broadcasting Company
Introduced by John Steel.

Designed to be a "quiet, frank talk to Americans."
Situation is being accepted; Irish Free State will ratify tomorrow. People quiet and patient.
People of England have been anxious but calm.
No crowds; no demonstration; not unfeeling but accepted philosophically with deep regret.
Praise for Edward who has had the confidence and respect of the people, and their personal affection.
They have realized that there could be no compromise between Edward's kingly duties and personal inclinations
At first people supported the King, but attitude changing as issues are realized.
There is no clash between King and Parliament
Nothing to do with Mrs Simpson being a United States citizen or a commoner;— stumbling block is that she has two former husbands still living
The King is not as an ordinary man; when his actions threaten to divide his people, the course is plain.
As to the future, we face it with confidence, but it is admitted that we are somewhat stunned; we have not had the same ~~in~~ preparation for the ~~H~~ situation that people in U.K. have had. It was natural perhaps that we should

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be a little more reticent in our newspapers about ~~reports concerning~~ our monarch than the papers abroad ×

When Edward's abdication becomes effective he by relinquishes his title and becomes plain Mr Windsor, but the new King will confer a title on him.

Coronation will take place next year in May ×

A royal welcome will be given to the new King; he is, as was said to me today by a humble friend of mine, "a proper family man" × There is a popular feeling in his favour

Duke of York is modest and retiring, very like his father. People who remember his father's succession in 1911 will tell you that many people wondered if so reserved and modest a man as King George V would make a suitable monarch; I need not remind you of the success which King George attained in his 25 years on the Throne. His life proved that family life is the true basis of society. The Duke of York gathers up where George V left off.

David Windsor will broadcast a message at 500pm. Eastern standard time tomorrow (Friday)

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8.10 Bulletin from London.
shortwave.

Officials said Edward's successor would be crowned May 12 x Parliament is expected to advise D. of York to take title of George VI.

8.10
shortwave Bulletin from France

Edward and Mrs Simpson would not meet for some time x Mr Rogers stated Mrs Simpson would remain their guest until Christmas x Edward would not go to Cannes or any other place on Riviera x London said Edward's destination would be kept secret until he had left the British capital.

8.15 Bulletin from London
shortwave

Officials said Britl Govt had made no financial provision for Edward. Legal experts said the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall could not be alienated from Crown. Govrnmt may ask Parliament to vote annual grant, but Edward's friends say he may refuse such funds on grounds that private fortune sufficient

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C 115247

7.45pm.
New York

Lowell Thomas

He tried to analyse motives behind the decision of Edward; suggested that even without the romance and without Mrs Simpson Edward would have got into trouble; Thomas believes Edward used his romance as a vehicle to get his freedom.
H Edward will broadcast tomorrow afternoon at 5.00 over Columbia

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KODAK SAFETY

C115248

Boake Ca

7.45
New York

Boak Carter

Carter, who has been previously most sympathetic to King Edward, is now veering to opposite view.
Carters hostility to Gt Britain is softening.
He asked: How will Edward get along with Mrs Simpson and will the King's Ministers interfere?
He said there are some things about British constitution the average American finds it difficult to understand; when the English King shows himself to be human as in case of Edward, it raises a furore; you set up an ideal and expect the King to be the embodiment of virtue.
The key to situation is that Edward is a product of the war generation when old standards were destroyed.
Edward's father King George V suppressed his own desires and wishes. There has been the traditional British calmness in all his crisis. There would have been a civil war and revolution in any other country.

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recorded by Mr Grant of Can. Brd. Corp. @ 54 at Chateau Laurier

Ottawa, December 10, 1936.

C 115249

7.30 P.M. - E.S.T.

Columbia Broadcasting System

Announcer:

Here is a special Press Radio Bureau bulletin: London: - A heavy force of policemen was summoned tonight to check several thousand persons who were demonstrating close to number 10 Downing street, the Prime Minister's official residence. They were lead by some one hundred and fifty Black Shirt Fascists. The crowd sang "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia". The demonstrators shouted they wanted a workers' King and they also kept yelling 'put it to a vote'. 'We want Edward'. " Down with Baldwin'.

The King said he would broadcast as a private citizen tomorrow and would pay allggiance to the new King. He may speak through a microphone from Fort Belvedere as his last act before going abroad.

This bulletin is from the Press Radio Bureau. Further details in your newspapers.

WABC - New York.

JPG
Can. Broadcasting Corporation.

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Ottawa, December 1[illegible] 1936

C 115250

7.40 P.M. - E.S.T.

British Broadcasting Corporation.

Empire News Bulletin.

12.40 A.M. -G.M.T. - By Daventry - England. - December 11,1936.

Most of our listeners know the main subject of to-day's events in London. This afternoon King Edward the VIII announced his intention of abdicating. The Prime Minister has introduced in Parliament a Bill to give effect to the King's abdication.

The Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa had all assented to the enactment of the legislation necessary to give effect to the King's message, and it is expected the British Parliament will carry the Bill throughout all its stages tomorrow.

King Edward will be succeeded on the Throne by His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

His Majesty /

King Edward has expressed his desire to broadcast as soon as he ceases to be King and desires to pay allegiance to the new King as a private citizen. The proclamation of the new King will probably be made on Saturday.

The Irish Free State Government has been summoned to meet tomorrow to pass necessary legislation.

JPG
Can. Broadcasting Corporation.

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W/6 P. C. 3144 C115251

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 10th December, 1936

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 10th December, 1936, from the Right Honourable the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitting, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, as follows:

1. That His Majesty the King, through His Majesty's Representative in Canada, has this 10th day of December, 1936, informed His Majesty's Government in Canada that he has this day duly executed an instrument of abdication, a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

2. That His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have communicated their intention to introduce immediately legislation in the Parliament at Westminster in order to give effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication and to provide for the succession to the throne, the said legislation to be based upon a draft bill, a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

3. That the Statute of Westminster, 1931, provides in the second recital of the preamble as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom,

and in the fourth section, as follows:

> 4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof.

The Right Honourable
The Prime Minister

4.

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4. That, in order to insure that the requirements of the fourth section of the Statute are satisfied, it is necessary to provide for the request and consent of Canada to the enactment of the proposed legislation; and, in order to insure compliance with the constitutional convention expressed in the second recital of the preamble, hereinbefore set forth, it is necessary to make provision for securing the assent of the Parliament of Canada thereto;

5. That, by proclamation dated the thirtieth day of November, 1936, the Parliament of Canada has been summoned to meet on the 14th day of January, 1937;

6. That it is impossible so to expedite the assembling of the Parliament of Canada as to enable appropriate parliamentary action to be taken prior to or contemporaneously with the enactment of the proposed legislation by the Parliament at Westminster.

The Committee, therefore, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, advise -

(a) That the enactment of legislation by the Parliament at Westminster, following upon the voluntary abdication of His Majesty the King, providing for the validation thereof, the consequential demise of the Crown, succession of the heir presumptive and revision of the laws relating to the succession to the throne, and declaring that Canada has requested and consented to such enactment, be hereby approved;

(b) That the proposed legislation, in so far as it extends to Canada, shall conform as nearly as may be to the annexed draft bill;

(c) That the legislation, enacted as aforesaid, shall be submitted to the Parliament of Canada, immediately after the opening of the next session, so as to enable the Parliament of Canada to take appropriate action pursuant to the provisions of the Statute of Westminster;

(d) That His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdon shall be informed accordingly.

All of which is respectfully submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 115253

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

INSTRUMENT OF ABDICATION

I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty Six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

Signed EDWARD R.I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

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PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

BILL For an ACT TO GIVE EFFECT TO HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION OF ABDICATION AND FOR PURPOSES CONNECTED THEREWITH.

WHEREAS His Majesty by his Royal message of the 10th day of December in this present year has been pleased to declare that he is irrevocably determined to renounce the Throne for himself and his descendants and has for that purpose executed the Instrument of Abdication set out in the schedule to this Act and has signified his desire that effect thereto should be given immediately.

AND WHEREAS, following upon the communication to his Dominions of His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada, pursuant to the provisions of section four of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act, and the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa have assented to (the enactment of this Act)

BE it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in/

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in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows:-

1. (1) Immediately upon the Royal Assent being signified to this Act, the Instrument of Abdication executed by His present Majesty on the 10th day of December, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, set out in the schedule to this Act, shall have effect and thereupon His Majesty shall cease to be King and there shall be a demise of the Crown and accordingly a member of the Royal Family next in succession to the Throne shall succeed thereto and to all the Rights Privileges and Dignities thereunto belonging.

(2) His Majesty, his Issue, if any, and descendants of that Issue, shall not, after His Majesty's abdication, have any Right Title or Interest to or in the Succession to the Throne, and Section One of the Act of Settlement shall be construed accordingly.

(3) The Royal Marriages Act of 1772, shall not apply to His Majesty after his abdication nor to the issue, if any, of His Majesty or descendants of that Issue.

Short Title

2. This Act may be cited as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act nineteen hundred and thirty-six.

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TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, has the honour to submit as follows:

1. That His Majesty the King, through His Majesty's representative in Canada, has this 10th day of December, 1936, informed His Majesty's Government in Canada that he has this day signed an instrument of abdication, duly executed by him, a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

2. That His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have communicated their intention to introduce immediately legislation in the Parliament at Westminster in order to give effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication and to provide to the succession to the throne, the said legislation to be based upon a draft bill, a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

3. That the Statute of Westminster, 1931, provides in the second recital of the preamble as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom;

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and in the fourth section, as follows:

> 4. No Act of Parliament of United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof.

4. That, in order to insure that the requirements of the fourth section of the Statute are satisfied, it is necessary to provide for the request and consent of Canada to the enactment of the proposed legislation; and, in order to insure compliance with the constitutional convention expressed in the second recital of the preamble, hereinbefore set forth, it is necessary to make provision for securing the assent of the Parliament of Canada thereto;

5. That, by proclamation dated the Parliament of Canada has been summoned to meet on the 14th day of January, 1937.

6. That it is impossible so to expedite the assembling of the Parliament of Canada as to enable appropriate parliamentary action to be taken prior to or contemporaneously with the enactment of the proposed legislation by the Parliament at Westminster.

The undersigned, therefore, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, has the honour to recommend:

(a) That the enactment of legislation by the Parliament at Westminster, following upon the voluntary abdication of His Majesty the King, providing for the validation thereof, the consequential demise of the Crown, succession of the heir presumptive and revision of the laws relating to the succession to the throne, and declaring that Canada has requested and consented to such enactment, is hereby approved;

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(b) That the proposed legislation, in so far as it extends to Canada, shall conform as nearly as may be to the annexed draft bill;

(c) That the legislation, enacted as aforesaid, shall be submitted to the Parliament of Canada, immediately after the opening of the next session, so as to enable the Parliament of Canada to take appropriate action pursuant to the provisions of the Statute of Westminster;

(d) That His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall be informed accordingly.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Prime Minister and Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

Ottawa, December, 1936.

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Radio Address by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister, Dec. 10, 1936, re abdication of King
Edward VIII.

C 115259

His Majesty King Edward VLII has this morning declared his irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and for his descendants, and has expressed his desire that effect should immediately be given to an instrument of abdication which His Majesty has signed.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom today is dealing with the situation which has arisen as a result of His Majesty's decision to renounce the Throne. I understand that the Speaker has read His Majesty's message in the House of Commons at Westminster, and Lord Halifax in the House of Lords. It was understood that thereafter Mr. Baldwin would move that the King's message be considered forthwith. Following the discussion, a bill will be introduced to provide for the validation of the instrument of abdication, and the consequent alterations in the law relating to the succession to the Throne.

The question is not one which concerns alone His Majesty's people in the United Kingdom. It is of the deepest concern to his people throughout the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the present constitutional relationship it is necessary that action be taken by the government and parliament of each member of the Commonwealth. This necessity flows from the Statute of Westminster which was enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1931 and which, as its title declares, was passed "to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930".

The preamble of the Statute reads as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

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The present situation is without precedent. Questions arise as to the procedure required to carry out this provision of the Statute of Westminster, which were **not** contemplated when it was drawn and enacted. The constitutional convention set forth in the preamble requires the assent "as well of the parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom", to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne. The action involved in giving effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication constitutes such an alteration. But the time element enters in. It is understood to be the desire of His Majesty as well as of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the required legislation be introduced at once. So far as Canada is concerned, parliament has been called to meet on January 14th. It could not be summoned in special session before

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definite action had been taken by His Majesty which would require the consideration of Parliament. If summoned now, it could not, under our geographical conditions, meet in time to take action prior to or simultaneous with that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Under these circumstances the Canadian Government is adopting a course designed in the first place to ensure that from a legal standpoint the abdication of His Majesty and the accession of his successor will take place in Canada at the same time as in the United Kingdom, and in the second place, to preserve the constitutional convention referred to. To achieve the first end, action is being taken by the Government of Canada in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, which reads as follows:

> "4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

Following upon the receipt this morning of the expression of the King's declaration and desire, an order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council was approved, embodying the necessary request and consent to the enactment of the appropriate legislation as regards Canada by the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United Kingdom was advised accordingly. To achieve the second end, the Government will invite Parliament, immediately after the opening of the session, to take appropriate action to give its assent to the alteration in the succession.

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KODAK SAFE

C 115262

It may be of interest to note that there are some differences in the position of the several Dominions in relation to the Statute of Westminster. Every Dominion in 1931 formally requested the enactment of the Statute. It was however provided that certain sections, including section 4, should not extend to Australia or New Zealand unless and until adopted by their respective parliaments. That action has not been taken in either country. South Africa, on the other hand, passed the Status of the Union Act in 1934, involving certain further limitations on the application of a United Kingdom Act to the Union. Some differences in the language of the United Kingdom bill, as regards the several Dominions, is therefore necessary and these differences may be seen in the preamble to the Bill.

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The Statute as a whole does apply to Canada, which is therefore guaranteed under Section 4 that no legislation of the United Kingdom Parliament can apply to Canada unless Canada has expressly requested such application in advance, and consented to its terms. Accordingly the Government of Canada, following upon receipt of the King's declaration and desire, has so requested and consented, and this request and consent will appear in the recitals of the United Kingdom Act. The same guarantee does not apply in exactly the same way to any other Dominion, and slightly different language will therefore be necessary in their case. The use of these words "request and consent" does not of course refer to the initiation of any part of the proceedings other than the inclusion of Canada in the contemplated legislation. They embody the safeguarding words expressly provided in the Statute of Westminster.

As regards the constitutional convention which requires the assent of the Canadian Parliament to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne, it will be asserted and safeguarded to the greatest practicable extent consistent with all the circumstances of time and space and with the imperative practical necessities which confronted the Government on this unprecedented occasion.

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The Instrument of Abdication which His Majesty has personally communicated to his subjects is in the following words:

I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty Six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

Signed EDWARD R.I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

Publication of the Instrument of Abdication in a special Edition of the Canada Gazette was arranged for immediately upon the receipt of the text of the Instrument of Abdication by His Excellency the Governor General.

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I need only add that I am sure the statement of His Majesty as set forth in the Instrument I have just read will be received with profound regret throughout Canada.

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C115266

ABDICATION - CHRONOLOGY

October 20, 1936 - First interview between Mr. Baldwin and King at Mr. Baldwin's request.

October 27 - Decree Nisi granted Mrs. Simpson at Ipswich

November 16 (1) - King requests interview with Mr. Baldwin

King, speaking informally, told Mr. Baldwin of fixed intention to marry Mrs. S. but that he appreciated that her becoming Queen and her children succeeding to the Throne, was out of question; that he, therefore, contemplated abdication and leaving succession to Duke of York. This complete surprise to Mr. Baldwin.

King subsequently informs Queen Mary and his brothers that this course of action was contemplated by him.

November 25 (2) - King requests interview with Mr. Baldwin. Asks his view on suggestion of marriage. Baldwin expresses view Parliament would not enact it, but offers to examine it formally placing it before his colleagues and Dominion Governments. The King so desired.

November 28 (Saturday) - 10 a.m. First communication received by Prime Minister of Canada from Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin advises as above, points out question touching Crown is of concern to Dominions and asks for consideration of the matter; opinion as to how marriage (1) as Queen, (2) as wife but not Queen, would be viewed in Canada.

December 2nd (3) - King requests another interview with Mr. Baldwin. Baldwin tells him, after Cabinet meeting, neither

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United Kingdom, nor Dominions, was there prospect of legislation to permit morganatic marriage.
Baldwin said he considered proposal impracticable.
King said he was not surprised.
Issue narrowed to decision by King himself between two loyalties.

Mr. Baldwin subsequently has many interviews with King.

December 7 - Mr. Baldwin states in House of Commons, Government desires to afford His Majesty, opportunity of weighing his decision; that "except on question of a morganatic marriage, no advice had been tendered the King by the Government".

December 8 - (Tuesday)
Canadian Cabinet tender advice to His Majesty through His Excellency the Governor General.
King informs Mr. Baldwin of his decision to abdicate.

December 9 - (Wednesday)
British Cabinet sends a message asking him to reconsider.
He declines.

December 10 - (Thursday)
The King signs an Instrument of Abdication, and sends it in a message communicating his final and irrevocable decision, and his request for immediate action to Government of United Kingdom and to Governments in the Dominions, through Governor General, by telegraph and by mail.

Canadian Cabinet advised of King's decision to abdicate, and passes Order in Council giving request and consent of Canada to enactment of Abdication Bill.

At noon (December 10), Prime Minister of Canada broadcasts statement as to passing of Order in Council.

Baldwin reviews at length discussion with the King, and in the evening introduces Abdication Bill.

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December 11 - (Friday) - Abdication Bill passed through all stages in British House of Commons and House of Lords.
King broadcasts farewell message.

December 12 - (Saturday) - King George proclaimed King.

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DRAFT TELEGRAM

SECRET

Ottawa

(King Edward VIII)

His Majesty the King,
Buckingham Palace,
London.

May I convey to Your Majesty an expression of the overwhelming sorrow and regret with which the Government and the people of Canada have learned of your decision to relinquish the Throne. The hearts of your people have been profoundly touched by the sad and momentous events of these past days. As Prince of Wales and as Sovereign, Your Majesty has been greatly beloved of the Canadian people. Your Majesty will ever hold a deep and abiding place in our affection.

W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister.

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DRAFT TELEGRAM

SECRET

Ottawa,

His Majesty the King,
Buckingham Palace,
London.

I respectfully extend to Your Majesty, on behalf of the Government and the people of Canada, the expression of our deepest loyalty and devotion, and assure Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen of the warm affection of the Canadian people. We pray that Divine Providence will strengthen and uphold Your Majesty in the heavy responsibilities which now rest upon you.

W. L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister.

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Coll C115271 Edward VIII

BROADCAST BY DR. H.L. STEWART FROM HALIFAX, N.S. TO THE NATIONAL NETWORK OF THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION - 10th DECEMBER, 1936.

I have been asked by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, at the close of a day which has saddened many British hearts, to address a few words to the Canadian people about what has happened.

First, let me refer to the sadness of the occasion. This is not to be minimized or dismissed with the phrases of a facile optimism. In the hopeful, courageous, confident temper with which I believe we should inaugurate the reign of King George VI, I would not for a moment forget the pain of farewell to the King who is gone. In this respect the official leave-taking set a pattern. It is not the least extraordinary feature of this extraordinary affair that the abdication of a sovereign through conflict with the will of parliament and people was executed not only without bitterness, not only with calm, but with unmistakable affection on both sides. No one thinks that this was either perfunctory or simulated. When Edward VIII assured his subjects, whom he was leaving, of his deep concern for their welfare and his earnest hope for the happy reign of his successor, no one doubts that he spoke from his heart. When King and Prime Minister parted last Tuesday night, after long and earnest

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conferences in which they were alike inflexible, they parted with a mutual esteem not lowered but raised, and -- says Mr. Baldwin -- with a friendship cemented more strongly than ever. If the nation's interests will still hold their old place in the heart of one who is no longer its King, we may be no less sure that his fortunes and happiness will long remain precious to the country he served. That such a paradox of simultaneous and conflicting emotions should be possible is what Emerson used to call an "English trait". It is one of those characteristics which make the national strength; the power of inexorable resistance on a matter of high principle, joined not only to sympathy but to love for the person resisted. In the seven or eight trying days through which we have passed, the strength of King Edward's hold on his people was marvellously shown, We have watched a tremendous expenditure of spiritual capital in a last struggle -- and what a store of capital it proved to be, rallying support from quarters so diverse, revealing such assets of personal devotion among multitudes high and low. Can we wonder at this? Still less can we regret it. When these who followed him in this last impossible conflict spoke of his fascination, his leadership, his human sympathy, his superiority to sham, his innumerable engaging qualities of head and heart, they struck a responsive chord. How far the nation would viberate to such a call remained at least in the first few days of public confusion, altogether unpredictable. No man, least of all in these days a Prince, can

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accumulate such reserves of strength in public loyalty without great qualities and none that has been in contact with the arresting personality of Edward VIII can feel surprise at the ovations in his honor last week in London. Above all just now, no one should desire either to depreciate or to forget the distinction of his long princely and his short royal career.

It is as one thinks of this personal magnetism, reinforcing such official prestige that one realizes how exacting, how exorbitant, must have been the request which the nation would not concede even to him. The first day or two after this storm broke -- what I have called the time of public confusion -- was marked by the vociferous readiness of not a few to bid the King do as he liked, and an abrupt impatience with Ministers who were standing in his way. But the situation quickly and painfully cleared itself, so that British people at home and overseas took up, quietly but immovably, the only positions which their national heritage allowed them. Parliament and people came to realize that what they were being asked to yield was what is most precious in British life. They were asked to acquiesce in re-establishment of personal rule, the sovereign disregarding on matters of high official concern, the advice of his own ministers. And they were asked to grant such acquiescances not in a field relatively unimportant, but in respect of those traditions of home and family relationship which the British people prize most of all.

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That challenge there could be but one answer, and the period of apparent hesitation could last only so long as it was imperfectly understood. Very obvious indeed has been the gradual but decisive hardening of the public will since Sunday last.

On such matters decisiveness in act cannot, I think, be too carefully combined with a charitable disposition. The two sanctions I have just mentioned which means so much to us, mean far less to other peoples whose judgement we cannot wholly despise. Personal rule, over-riding parliament, is very much in vogue in certain great countries; and in other countries, by no means without high pretentions our ideas of divorce are thought puritanic narrowness. One may well have no patience with legends about dictatorship superior to justice or about a romantic attachment absolving one from plain duty. But in these days of intellectual and emotional excitement the illusion of a benevolent despotism has shown in many places a new power. And however austere may be one's disapproval of its upshot, one cannot but remember how distraught have been some of the finest natures at the touch of an unfortunate romance. These are considerations not to change our judgement, but to mitigate--so far as may be--our severities.

What we shall have reason to remember, not with satisfaction only but with pride, about this last week is the display of moral fibre by all the peoples of the British Commonwealth--the more I think, to be admired because the first reactions were hesitant, the public love of fair play demanded

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many reasons and many proofs, it took time -- not long but some time -- to consolidate support behind political leaders of whom it is perhaps always wholesome to be critical. It will be remembered and recorded in history that this defence of the institutions political and social which the British people prize was offered not easily or lightly but with acute pain, resisting the King whose popularity was perhaps greater than that of any predecessor who ever sat upon his throne, one to whom nothing in reason--or even a little beyond reason--would have been denied, but who could not be allowed by his personal act to cancel the results of long ages of social and political progress. A place will be found, too, in the record of this last week for the forecasts and threats futile and falsified, that if the British people dared to stand steadfastly by their institutions they would provoke revolution, split the Empire, bring upon themselves immediate military conscription, or range the masses, whose one champion was the King, in a royal party against ministers and parliament who were all heartless towards the poor. What we have seen today is a sufficient commentary upon this product of a propagandist press and of ex-ministers restless for office, making it seem a tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. In perfect order and quietness. The throne has passed from one to another, and the coronation arrangements, which had never indeed been seriously interrupted, will be fulfilled at the appointed date. The

Dominions,

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held together in one commonwealth with the Kingship as the only remaining symbol of unity, have shown no sign of breaking that unity because one King withdrew and another will take his place; on the contrary, whatever might be the omens, spontaneous or manufactured, of discord in the London cabinet, Mr. Baldwin was able to cite the unanimous support of the Dominions.

Already abroad they are expressing surprise, and indeed amazement at a change so perilous, so far-reaching, unprecedented in character and incalculable in consequence at this uncertain time in international affairs, yet achieved in the end so easily. Persons to whom this is astonishing have need, I think, to refresh their minds with much that happened in the past of British political change; not that they will find any close parallel to this one in detail, for there is none, but because the spirit which has carried through so much else in the transformations of the past has but applied itself here to a new problem. I would not say prematurely that the difficulties are ended, or nearly ended. Here and there the fearful are wondering about what may happen in South Africa, or in the Irish Free State, both of which have very vigorous parties favoring an independent republic, and perhaps seeing in this situation an unlooked for opportunity. But at least there is as yet no sign that the sections of the commonwealth which have hitherto held so firmly together will be driven apart by a movement in which their governments have been unanimous, a movement which expresses first and foremost

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the very doctrine of responsibility to parliament and to the electorate on which the crown constitutions rest.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, I close my broadcast on this night of serious, perhaps sombre, but by no means alarming suggestiveness, in the same spirit which I think pervaded the events of the day. Grave things have been done. Strong wills have met in conflict. Nervous strain has been high. But through it all there has been an eager disposition to think the best of one another, to make necessary separations as free as possible from rankling pain; and to yield, in common devotion to a common country, all that can be yielded without sacrifice of the supreme value. On what is supremely valuable, parliament and King Edward VIII were in conflict, each perfectly sincere--a conflict that could not be accomodated. So the one way out was taken, and a new chapter opens in British history with a new reign.

An object lesson has been given to a wondering, a long sceptical, but a much interested world; a lesson not only on British attachment to what we think the foundation values in life, but also on the delicacy, the consideratness, the desire always to achieve a needful purpose with the minimum of pain to anyone, prince or peasant, that has marked British statesmanship in the past. Can any of us have followed the speech of Mr. Baldwin today without a thrill of pride in such combination of what we like to believe our national virtues?

What we need is to carry the temper of today's

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achievement into all that still lies ahead. As before, in quietness and in confidence shall be our strength. If those--the vast overwhelming majority--to whom Mr. Baldwin's management in this crisis seems admirable may well take him for their pattern, there is a pattern too for those who have another way of thinking, those who have been denouncing Mr. Baldwin with such vehemence. Let them imitate if not the Premier, then the retiring King. For in the spirit which animates his moving message of farewell is the same high patriotism, the same devotion to the country which will still be his though he is no longer its King, the same temper at once humane, intrepid and resolute.

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le
Sa Majesté/Roi Edouard VIII a fait part ce matin de sa résolution irrévocable de renoncer au Trône pour lui-même et pour ses descendants et a exprimé le désir qu'il soit donné immédiatement effet à un Instrument d'Abdication qu'il a signé.

Le Parlement du Royaume-Uni s'occupe aujourd'hui de la situation résultant de la décision de Sa Majesté de renoncer au Trône. Je comprends qu'en ce moment l'orateur a communiqué le message de Sa Majesté à la Chambre des Communes à Westminster et Lord Halifax à la Chambre des Lords. Il était entendu que M. Baldwin proposerait alors que le message de Sa Majesté soit considéré immédiatement. Après discussion, un projet de loi sera présenté en vue de valider l'Instrument d'Abdication et les modifications qui en découleront en ce qui concerne la Loi relative à la succession au Trône.

Cette question ne concerne pas seulement les sujets de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni. Elle concerne profondément tous ses sujets habitant le Commonwealth des Nations britanniques. D'après les relations constitutionnelles actuelles, il est nécessaire que le Gouvernement et le Parlement de chaque membre de la Communauté britannique prennent les mesures nécessaires. Cette nécessité découle du Statut de Westminster qui fut établi par le Parlement du Royaume-Uni en 1931 lequel, comme son titre l'indique, fut adopté "pour donner effet à certains voeux formulés par les Conférences impériales de 1926 et 1930".

Le préambule du Statut se lit comme suit:-

"Considérant qu'il est expédient et à propos, puisque la Couronne est le symbole de la libre association des membres de la Communauté des nations britanniques et que ces dernières se

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trouvent unies par une allégeance commune à la Couronne, d'exposer sous forme de préambule à la présente loi qu'il serait conforme au statut constitutionnel consacré de tous les members de la Commmauté dans leurs rapports réciproques, de statuer que toute modification de la Loi relative à la succession au Trône ou au Titre royal et aux Titres reçut désormais l'assentiment aussi bien des Parlements de tous les Dominions que du Parlement du Royaume-Uni."

La situation présente est sans précédent. Des questions se posent quant à la procédure à suivre pour exécuter cette disposition du Statut de Westminster, lesquelles questions ne furent pas envisagées quand ledit Statut fut élaboré et adopté. L'entente constitutionnelle énoncée dans le préambule exige l'assentiment "aussi bien des Parlements de tous les Dominions que du Royaume-Uni" pour modifier la Loi relative à la succession au Trône. Les mesures qui doivent être prises pour donner effet à l'instrument d'abdication de Sa Majesté constituent une telle modification. Mais le temps presse. Il est entendu que le désir de Sa Majesté, aussi bien que du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni, est que la législation nécessaire soit présentée immédiatement. En ce qui concerne le Canada, le Parlement a été convoqué pour le 14 janvier. Il ne pourrait se réunir en session spéciale avant qu'un acte définitif soit posé par Sa Majesté qui demanderait à être considéré par le Parlement. Etant donné nos conditions géographiques si le Parlement était convoqué immédiatement, il ne pourrait se réunir à temps pour prendre les mesures nécessaires avant ou en même temps que le Parlement du Royaume-Uni. Dans ces circonstances, le Gou-

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vernement canadien adopte une ligne de conduite permettant, tout d'abord, d'assurer au point de vue légal, que l'abdication de Sa Majesté et l'accession de son successeur produisent leurs effets au Canada en même temps que dans le Royaume-Uni et, en second lieu, de préserver l'entente constitutionnelle susdite. Pour accomplir le premier but, des mesures seront prises par le Gouvernement du Canada en vertu des dispositions de la section 4 du Statut de Westminster, qui se lit comme suit:-

> "4. Nulle loi du Parlement du Royaume-Uni adoptée postérieurement à l'entrée en vigueur de la présente Loi ne doit s'étendre ou être censée s'étendre à un Dominion, comme partie de la législation en vigueur dans ce Dominion, à moins qu'il n'y soit expressément déclaré que ce Dominion a demandé cette loi et a consenti à ce qu'elle soit édictée."

Après avoir reçu ce matin la déclaration du Roi et l'expression de son désir, un arrêté de Son Excellence le Gouverneur Général en Conseil fut approuvé, incorporant la requête et l'assentiment nécessaires en vue de l'adoption des lois appropriées en ce qui concerne le Canada par le Parlement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni fut avisé en conséquence. Pour ce qui est du second but, le Gouvernement invitera le Parlement dès l'ouverture de la session à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour donner son assentiment à la modification dans la succession.

Il peut y avoir intérêt à noter qu'il y a quelques différences dans la position des divers Dominions vis-à-vis du Statut de Westminster. Chaque Dominion, en 1931, a demandé formellement l'adoption de ce Statut.

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Il fut prévu cependant que certains articles, dont l'article 4, ne s'appliqueraient à l'Australie et à la Nouvelle-Zélande qu'une fois adoptés par leurs parlements respectifs. Aucun de ces deux pays ne l'a fait. L'Afrique du Sud, d'autre part, a passé en 1934 l'Acte du Status de l'Union, lequel comporte certaines restrictions additionnelles relativement à l'application d'une loi du Royaume-Uni à l'Union. En ce qui concerne les divers Dominions, certaines différences seront nécessaires dans la forme de l'Acte du Royaume-Uni, différences qui sont consignées dans le préambule de cet Acte.

Le Statut s'applique dans son ensemble au Canada, et celui-ci, par conséquent, en vertu de l'article 4, se voit garantir qu'aucune loi du Parlement du Royaume-Uni ne s'appliquera au Canada à moins que ce dernier n'en ait auparavant expressément demandé l'application et n'ait consenti à ses termes. Aussi le Gouvernement du Canada, après avoir pris connaissance de la déclaration et du désir du Roi, a demandé cette application et y a consenti tel que ci-dessus, et cette demande ainsi que ce consentement seront consignés dans les dispositions de l'Acte du Royaume-Uni. La même garantie ne joue pas exactement de la même manière à l'égard de tous les Dominions, de sorte qu'il y aura lieu à

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de légères différences de rédaction en ce qui les concerne. L'emploi des mots "demande et consentement" n'a pas trait bien entendu à l'initiation de la procédure, mais incorpore la formule de garantie expressément prévue dans le Statut.

Pour ce qui est de la convention d'ordre constitutionnel qui requiert l'assentiment du Parlement canadien pour toute modification de la loi relative à la succession au Trône, elle sera affirmée et il y sera pourvu dans toute la mesure compatible avec les circonstances de temps et de lieu, non moins qu'avec les nécessités impératives et pratiques qui ont dû être affrontées par le Gouvernement en cette occasion sans précédent.

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L'Instrument d'Abdication que Sa Majesté a communiqué personnellement à ses sujets se lit comme suit:

Je, Edouard VIII, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires britanniques au delà des Mers, Empereur des Indes, déclare par les présentes avoir décidé irrévocablement de renoncer au Trône, pour moi-même et pour mes descendants, et je désire que le présent acte d'abdication prenne effet immédiatement, en foi de quoi j'y ai apposé mon seing ce dixième jour de décembre mil neuf cent trente-six en présence des témoins dont les signatures apparaissent ci-après.

signé EDOUARD R.I.

J'ai signé le présent acte en présence de mes trois frères, LL. AA. Royales le Duc d'York, le Duc de Gloucester et le Duc de Kent.

Signé en présence de

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

Des mesures ont été prises pour publier l'Instrument d'Abdication dans une édition spéciale de la Gazette du Canada dès la réception du texte de l'Instrument d'Abdication par Son Excellence le Gouverneur Général.

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Il ne me reste à ajouter que je suis certain que la déclaration de Sa Majesté, telle que je viens de vous la communiquer, sera reçue avec un profond regret dans tout le Canada.

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I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty Six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

Signed EDWARD R.I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of

ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE

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INSTRUMENT OF ABDICATION.

I, Edward the Eighth, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

SIGNED AT
FORT BELVEDERE
IN THE PRESENCE
OF

Edward R.I.

Albert

Henry.

George

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Fort Belvedere,
Sunningdale,
Berkshire.

After long and anxious consideration, I have determined to renounce the Throne to which I succeeded on the death of My father, and I am now communicating this, My final and irrevocable decision. Realising as I do the gravity of this step, I can only hope that I shall have the understanding of My peoples in the decision I have taken and the reasons which have led Me to take it. I will not enter now into My private feelings, but I would beg that it should be remembered that the burden which constantly rests upon the shoulders of a Sovereign is so heavy that it can only be borne in circumstances different from those in which I now find Myself. I conceive that I am not overlooking the duty that rests on Me to place in the forefront the public interest, when I declare that I am conscious that I can no longer discharge this heavy task with efficiency or with satisfaction to Myself.

I have accordingly this morning executed an Instrument of Abdication in the terms following:-

"I, Edward VIII, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect

should/

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"should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

(signed) EDWARD R.I."

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by My three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

I deeply appreciate the spirit which has actuated the appeals which have been made to Me to take a different decision, and I have, before reaching My final determination, most fully pondered over them. But My mind is made up. Moreover, further delay cannot but be most injurious to the peoples whom I have tried to serve as Prince of Wales and as King and whose future happiness and prosperity are the constant wish of My heart.

I take My leave of them in the confident hope that the course which I have thought it right to follow is that which is best for the stability of the Throne and Empire and the happiness of My peoples. I am deeply sensible of the consideration which they have always extended to Me both before and after My accession to the Throne and which I know they will extend in full measure to My successor.

I am most anxious that there should be no delay of any kind in giving effect to the Instrument which I have/

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C 115290

have executed and that all necessary steps should be taken immediately to secure that My lawful successor, My brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, should ascend the Throne.

Edward R.I.

10th December, 1936.

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Cold - Abdication of Edward VIII

C 115291

INSTRUMENT OF ABDICATION.

I, Edward the Eighth, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

SIGNED AT
FORT BELVEDERE
IN THE PRESENCE
OF

Edward R.I.

Albert

Henry.

George

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Fort Belvedere,
Sunningdale,
Berkshire.

After long and anxious consideration, I have determined to renounce the Throne to which I succeeded on the death of My father, and I am now communicating this, My final and irrevocable decision. Realising as I do the gravity of this step, I can only hope that I shall have the understanding of My peoples in the decision I have taken and the reasons which have led Me to take it. I will not enter now into My private feelings, but I would beg that it should be remembered that the burden which constantly rests upon the shoulders of a Sovereign is so heavy that it can only be borne in circumstances different from those in which I now find Myself. I conceive that I am not overlooking the duty that rests on Me to place in the forefront the public interest, when I declare that I am conscious that I can no longer discharge this heavy task with efficiency or with satisfaction to Myself.

I have accordingly this morning executed an Instrument of Abdication in the terms following:-

"I, Edward VIII, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect

should/

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"should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

(signed) EDWARD R.I."

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by My three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

I deeply appreciate the spirit which has actuated the appeals which have been made to Me to take a different decision, and I have, before reaching My final determination, most fully pondered over them. But My mind is made up. Moreover, further delay cannot but be most injurious to the peoples whom I have tried to serve as Prince of Wales and as King and whose future happiness and prosperity are the constant wish of My heart.

I take My leave of them in the confident hope that the course which I have thought it right to follow is that which is best for the stability of the Throne and Empire and the happiness of My peoples. I am deeply sensible of the consideration which they have always extended to Me both before and after My accession to the Throne and which I know they will extend in full measure to My successor.

I am most anxious that there should be no delay of any kind in giving effect to the Instrument which I have/

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have executed and that all necessary steps should be taken immediately to secure that My lawful successor, My brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, should ascend the Throne.

Edward R.I.

10th December, 1936.

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Coll - Abdication of Edward VIII
Instrument of Abdication C 115295
His Majesty King Edward VIII

EXTRA

THE CANADA GAZETTE

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1936

DESPATCHES

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL has received the text of an Instrument of Abdication executed on the tenth day of December, 1936, by His Majesty KING EDWARD VIII.

The text of the Instrument is as follows:—

I, EDWARD VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas KING, Emperor of India, do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty-six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

(Signed) EDWARD R. I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of: ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE

DÉPÊCHES

SON EXCELLENCE LE GOUVERNEUR GÉNÉRAL a reçu le texte d'un acte d'abdication signé le dixième jour de décembre 1936 par Sa Majesté le ROI EDOUARD VIII.

Le texte de l'acte d'abdication se lit comme suit:

Je, EDOUARD VIII, ROI de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des territoires britanniques au delà des mers, Empereur de l'Inde, déclare par les présentes avoir décidé irrévocablement de renoncer au Trône, pour moi-même et pour mes descendants, et je désire que le présent acte d'abdication prenne immédiatement effet, en foi de quoi j'ai apposé mon seing aux présentes, ce dixième jour de décembre mil neuf cent trente-six, en présence des témoins dont les signatures apparaissent ci-après.

(Signé) EDWARD R.I.

J'ai signé le présent acte en présence de mes trois frères, Leurs Altesses Royales le duc d'York, le duc de Gloucester et le duc de Kent.

Signé en présence de: ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE

OTTAWA: Printed by Joseph Oscar Patenaude, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

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Coll - Abdication of Edward VIII Rt. Hon.
Dec. 10, 1936. - Radio Speech, W.L.M. King,
read by Hon. E. Lapointe.

C 115296

Abdication of King Edward VIII

Sa Majesté le Roi Edouard VIII a fait part ce matin de sa résolution irrévocable de renoncer au Trône pour lui-même et pour ses descendants et a exprimé le désir qu'il soit donné immédiatement effet à un Instrument d'Abdication qu'il a signé.

Le Parlement du Royaume-Uni s'occupe aujourd'hui de la situation résultant de la décision de Sa Majesté de renoncer au Trône. Je comprends qu'en ce moment l'orateur a communiqué le message de Sa Majesté à la Chambre des Communes à Westminster et Lord Halifax à la Chambre des Lords. Il était entendu que M. Baldwin proposerait alors que le message de Sa Majesté soit considéré immédiatement. Après discussion, un projet de loi sera présenté en vue de valider l'Instrument d'Abdication et les modifications qui en découleront en ce qui concerne la Loi relative à la succession au Trône.

Cette question ne concerne pas seulement les sujets de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni. Elle concerne profondément tous ses sujets habitant le Commonwealth des Nations britanniques. D'après les relations constitutionnelles actuelles, il est nécessaire que le Gouvernement et le Parlement de chaque membre de la Communauté britannique prennent les mesures nécessaires. Cette nécessité découle du Statut de Westminster qui fut établi par le Parlement du Royaume-Uni en 1931 lequel, comme son titre l'indique, fut adopté "pour donner effet à certains voeux formulés par les Conférences impériales de 1926 et 1930".

Le préambule du Statut se lit come suit:-

> "Considérant qu'il est expédient et à propos, puisque la Couronne est le symbole de la libre association des membres de la Communauté des nations britanniques et que ces dernières se trouvent unies par une allégeance commune à la Couronne, d'exposer sous forme de préambule à la présente loi qu'il serait conforme au statut constitutionnel consacré de tous les membres de la Communauté dans leurs rapports réciproques, de statuer que toute modification de la Loi relative à la succession au Trône ou au Titre royal et aux Titres reçut désormais l'assentiment aussi bien des Parlements de tous les Dominions que du Parlement du Royaume-Uni."

La situation présente est sans précédent. Des questions se posent quant à la procédure à suivre pour exécuter cette

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disposition du Statut de Westminster, lesquelles questions ne furent pas envisagées quand ledit Statut fut élaboré et adopté. L'entente constitutionnelle énoncée dans le préambule exige l'assentiment "aussi bien des Parlements de tous les Dominions que du Royaume-Uni" pour modifier la Loi relative à la succession au Trône. Les mesures qui doivent être prises pour donner effet à l'instrument d'abdication de Sa Majesté constituent une telle modification. Mais le temps presse. Il est entendu que le désir de Sa Majesté, aussi bien que du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni, est que la législation nécessaire soit présentée immédiatement. En ce qui concerne le Canada, le Parlement a été convoqué pour le 14 janvier. Il ne pourrait se réunir en session spéciale avant qu'un acte définitif soit posé par Sa Majesté qui demanderait à être considéré par le Parlement. Etant donné nos conditions géographiques si le Parlement était convoqué immédiatement, il ne pourrait se réunir à temps pour prendre les mesures nécessaires avant ou en même temps que le Parlement du Royaume-Uni. Dans ces circonstances, le Gouvernement canadien adopte une ligne de conduite permettant, tout d'abord, d'assurer au point de vu légal, que l'abdication de Sa Majesté et l'accession de son successeur produisent leurs effets au Canada en même temps que dans le Royaume-Uni et, en second lieu, de préserver l'entente constitutionnelle susdite. Pour accomplir le premier but, des mesures seront prises par le Gouvernement du Canada en vertu des dispositions de la section 4 du Statut de Westminster, qui se lit comme suit:-

> "4. Nulle loi du Parlement du Royaume-Uni adoptée postérieurement à l'entrée en vigueur de la présente Loi ne doit s'étendre ou être censée s'étendre à un Dominion, comme partie de la législation en vigueur dans ce Dominion, à moins qu'il n'y soit expressément déclaré que ce Dominion a demandé cette loi et a consenti à ce qu'elle soit édictée."

Après avoir reçu ce matin la déclaration du Roi et l'expression de son désir, un arrêté de Son Excellence le Gouverneur

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Général en Conseil fut approuvé, incorporant la requête et l'assentiment nécessaires en vue de l'adoption des lois appropriées en ce qui concerne le Canada par le Parlement du Royaume-Uni et le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni fut avisé en conséquence. Pour ce qui est du second but, le Gouvernement invitera le Parlement dès l'ouverture de la session à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour donner son assentiment à la modification dans la succession.

Il peut y avoir intérêt à noter qu'il y a quelques différences dans la position des divers Dominions vis-à-vis du Statut de Westminster. Chaque Dominion, en 1931, a demandé formellement l'adoption de ce Statut. Il fut prévu cependant que certains articles, dont l'article 4, ne s'appliqueraient à l'Australie et à la Nouvelle-Zélande qu'une fois adoptés par leurs parlements respectifs. Aucun de ces deux pays ne l'a fait. L'Afrique du Sud, d'autre part, a passé en 1934 l'Acte du Status de l'Union, lequel comporte certaines restrictions additionnelles relativement à l'application d'une loi du Royaume-Uni à l'Union. En ce qui concerne les divers Dominions, certaines différences seront nécessaires dans la forme de l'Acte du Royaume-Uni, différences qui sont consignées dans le préambule de cet Acte.

Le Statut s'applique dans son ensemble au Canada, et celui-ci, par conséquent, en vertu de l'article 4, se voit garantir qu'aucune loi du Parlement du Royaume-Uni ne s'appliquera au Canada à moins que ce dernier n'en ait auparavant expressément demandé l'application et n'ait consenti à ses termes. Aussi le Gouvernement du Canada, après avoir pris connaissance de la déclaration et du désir du Roi, a demandé cette application et y a consenti tel que ci-dessus, et cette demande ainsi que ce consentement seront consignés dans les dispositions de l'Acte du Royaume-Uni. La même garantie ne joue pas exactement de la même manière à l'égard de tous les Dominions, de sorte qu'il y aura lieu à de légères différences de rédaction en ce qui les

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concerne. L'emploi des mots "demande et consentement" n'a pas trait bien entendu à l'initiation de la procédure, mais incorpore la formule de garantie expressément prévue dans le Statut.

Pour ce qui est de la convention d'ordre constitutionnel qui requiert l'assentiment du Parlement canadien pour toute modification de la loi relative à la succession au Trône, elle sera affirmée et il y sera pourvu dans toute la mesure compatible avec les circonstances de temps et de lieu, non moins qu'avec les nécessités impératives et pratiques qui ont dû être affrontées par le Gouvernement en cette occasion sans précédent.

L'Instrument d'Abdication que Sa Majesté a communiqué personnellement à ses sujets se lit comme suit:

Je, Edouard VIII, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires britanniques au delà des Mers, Empereur des Indes, déclare par les présentes avoir décidé irrévocablement de renoncer au Trône, pour moi-même et pour mes descendants, et je désire que le présent acte d'abdication prenne effet immédiatement, en foi de quoi j'y ai apposé mon seing ce dixième jour de décembre mil neuf cent trente-six en présence des témoins dont les signatures appareissent ci-après.

signé EDOUARD R.I.

J'ai signé le présent acte en présence de mes trois frères, LL. AA. Royales le Duc d'York, le Duc de Gloucester et le Duc de Kent.

Signé en présence de

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

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C 115300

Des mesures ont été prises pour publier l'Instrument d'Abdication dans une édition spéciale de la Gazette du Canada dès la réception du texte de l'Instrument d'Abdication par Son Excellence le Gouverneur Général.

Il ne me reste à ajouter que je suis certain que la déclaration de Sa Majesté, telle que je viens de vous la communiquer, sera reçue avec un profond regret dans tout le Canada.

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Dec. 10, 1936 - Radio Speech
Mr. King re abdication
Coll - Abdication of Edward VIII

C-115301

His Majesty King Edward VLII has this morning declared his irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and for his descendants, and has expressed his desire that effect should immediately be given to an instrument of abdication which His Majesty has signed.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom today is dealing with the situation which has arisen as a result of His Majesty's decision to renounce the Throne. I understand that the Speaker has read His Majesty's message in the House of Commons at Westminster, and Lord Halifax in the House of Lords. It was understood that thereafter Mr. Baldwin would move that the King's message be considered forthwith. Following the discussion, a bill will be introduced to provide for the validation of the instrument of abdication, and the consequent alterations in the law relating to the succession to the Throne.

The question is not one which concerns alone His Majesty's people in the United Kingdom. It is of the deepest concern to his people throughout the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the present constitutional relationship it is necessary that action be taken by the government and parliament of each member of the Commonwealth. This necessity flows from the Statute of Westminster which was enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1931 and which, as its title declares, was passed "to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930".

The preamble of the Statute reads as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom,

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The present situation is without precedent. Questions arise as to the procedure required to carry out this provision of the Statute of Westminster, which were **not** contemplated when it was drawn and enacted. The constitutional convention set forth in the preamble requires the assent "as well of the parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom", to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne. The action involved in giving effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication constitutes such an alteration. But the time element enters in. It is understood to be the desire of His Majesty as well as of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the required legislation be introduced at once. So far as Canada is concerned, parliament has been called to meet on January 14th. It could not be summoned in special session before

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definite action had been taken by His Majesty which would require the consideration of Parliament. If summoned now, it could not, under our geographical conditions, meet in time to take action prior to or simultaneous with that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Under these circumstances the Canadian Government is adopting a course designed in the first place to ensure that from a legal standpoint the abdication of His Majesty and the accession of his successor will take place in Canada at the same time as in the United Kingdom, and in the second place, to preserve the constitutional convention referred to. To achieve the first end, action is being taken by the Government of Canada in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, which reads as follows:

> "4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

Following upon the receipt this morning of the expression of the King's declaration and desire, an order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council was approved, embodying the necessary request and consent to the enactment of the appropriate legislation as regards Canada by the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United Kingdom was advised accordingly. To achieve the second end, the Government will invite Parliament, immediately after the opening of the session, to take appropriate action to give its assent to the alteration in the succession.

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It may be of interest to note that there are some differences in the position of the several Dominions in relation to the Statute of Westminster. Every Dominion in 1931 formally requested the enactment of the Statute. It was however provided that certain sections, including section 4, should not extend to Australia or New Zealand unless and until adopted by their respective parliaments. That action has not been taken in either country. South Africa, on the other hand, passed the Status of the Union Act in 1934, involving certain further limitations on the application of a United Kingdom Act to the Union. Some differences in the language of the United Kingdom bill, as regards the several Dominions, is therefore necessary and these differences may be seen in the preamble to the Bill.

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SAFETY FILM

The Statute as a whole does apply to Canada, which is therefore guaranteed under Section 4 that no legislation of the United Kingdom Parliament can apply to Canada unless Canada has expressly requested such application in advance, and consented to its terms. Accordingly the Government of Canada, as I have already intimated, following upon receipt of the King's declaration and desire, has so requested and consented, and this request and consent will appear in the recitals of the United Kingdom Act. The same guarantee does not apply in exactly the same way to any other Dominion, and slightly different language will therefore be necessary in their case. The use of these words "request and consent" does not of course refer to the initiation of any part of the proceedings other than the inclusion of Canada in the contemplated legislation. They embody the safeguarding words expressly provided in the Statute of Westminster.

As regards the constitutional convention which requires the assent of the Canadian Parliament to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne, it will be asserted and safeguarded to the greatest practicable extent consistent with all the circumstances of time and space and with the imperative practical necessities which confronted the Government on this unprecedented occasion.

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C115306

The Instrument of Abdication which His Majesty has personally communicated to his subjects is in the following words:

I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty Six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

Signed EDWARD R.I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

Publication of the Instrument of Abdication in a special Edition of the Canada Gazette was arranged for immediately upon the receipt of the text of the Instrument of Abdication by His Excellency the Governor General.

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I need only add that I am sure the statement of His Majesty as set forth in the Instrument I have just read will be received with profound regret throughout Canada.

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Case - Abdication ? Edward VIII

Radio Address by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, Dec. 10, 1936, re abdication of King Edward VIII.

C 115308

His Majesty King Edward VIII has this morning declared his irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and for his descendants, and has expressed his desire that effect should immediately be given to an instrument of abdication which His Majesty has signed.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom today is dealing with the situation which has arisen as a result of His Majesty's decision to renounce the Throne. I understand that the Speaker has read His Majesty's message in the House of Commons at Westminster, and Lord Halifax in the House of Lords. It was understood that thereafter Mr. Baldwin would move that the King's message be considered forthwith. Following the discussion, a bill will be introduced to provide for the validation of the instrument of abdication, and the consequent alterations in the law relating to the succession to the Throne.

The question is not one which concerns alone His Majesty's people in the United Kingdom. It is of the deepest concern to his people throughout the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the present constitutional relationship it is necessary that action be taken by the government and parliament of each member of the Commonwealth. This necessity flows from the Statute of Westminster which was enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1931 and which, as its title declares, was passed "to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930".

The preamble of the Statute reads as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

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The present situation is without precedent. Questions arise as to the procedure required to carry out this provision of the Statute of Westminster, which were not contemplated when it was drawn and enacted. The constitutional convention set forth in the preamble requires the assent "as well of the parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom", to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne. The action involved in giving effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication constitutes such an alteration. But the time element enters in. It is understood to be the desire of His Majesty as well as of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the required legislation be introduced at once. So far as Canada is concerned, parliament has been called to meet on January 14th. It could not be summoned in special session before

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definite action had been taken by His Majesty which would require the consideration of Parliament. If summoned now, it could not, under our geographical conditions, meet in time to take action prior to or simultaneous with that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Under these circumstances the Canadian Government is adopting a course designed in the first place to ensure that from a legal standpoint the abdication of His Majesty and the accession of his successor will take place in Canada at the same time as in the United Kingdom, and in the second place, to preserve the constitutional convention referred to. To achieve the first end, action is being taken by the Government of Canada in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, which reads as follows:

> "4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

Following upon the receipt this morning of the expression of the King's declaration and desire, an order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council was approved, embodying the necessary request and consent to the enactment of the appropriate legislation as regards Canada by the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United Kingdom was advised accordingly. To achieve the second end, the Government will invite Parliament, immediately after the opening of the session, to take appropriate action to give its assent to the alteration in the succession.

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It may be of interest to note that there are some differences in the position of the several Dominions in relation to the Statute of Westminster. Every Dominion in 1931 formally requested the enactment of the Statute. It was however provided that certain sections, including section 4, should not extend to Australia or New Zealand unless and until adopted by their respective parliaments. That action has not been taken in either country. South Africa, on the other hand, passed the Status of the Union Act in 1934, involving certain further limitations on the application of a United Kingdom Act to the Union. Some differences in the language of the United Kingdom bill, as regards the several Dominions, is therefore necessary and these differences may be seen in the preamble to the Bill.

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C115312

The Statute as a whole does apply to Canada, which is therefore guaranteed under Section 4 that no legislation of the United Kingdom Parliament can apply to Canada unless Canada has expressly requested such application in advance, and consented to its terms. Accordingly the Government of Canada, following upon receipt of the King's declaration and desire, has so requested and consented, and this request and consent will appear in the recitals of the United Kingdom Act. The same guarantee does not apply in exactly the same way to any other Dominion, and slightly different language will therefore be necessary in their case. The use of these words "request and consent" does not of course refer to the initiation of any part of the proceedings other than the inclusion of Canada in the contemplated legislation. They embody the safeguarding words expressly provided in the Statute of Westminster.

As regards the constitutional convention which requires the assent of the Canadian Parliament to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne, it will be asserted and safeguarded to the greatest practicable extent consistent with all the circumstances of time and space and with the imperative practical necessities which confronted the Government on this unprecedented occasion.

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C115313

The Instrument of Abdication which His Majesty has personally communicated to his subjects is in the following words:

I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty Six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

Signed EDWARD R.I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

Publication of the Instrument of Abdication in a special Edition of the Canada Gazette was arranged for immediately upon the receipt of the text of the Instrument of Abdication by His Excellency the Governor General.

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C 115314

I need only add that I am sure the statement of His Majesty as set forth in the Instrument I have just read will be received with profound regret throughout Canada.

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Coll - Abdication of Edward VIII

C 115315

ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VIII

Resolved: That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty the King in the following words:

To The King's Most Excellent Majesty:

Most Gracious Sovereign:

We, Your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to express our deep sympathy with Your Majesty in the affliction and loss You have sustained by the death of the late King, Your Majesty's beloved Father.

Your Majesty's sorrow is shared by the people of this Dominion, whose representatives we are. King George V, by His fidelity to duty, His public service, and His constant endeavour to advance the well-being and happiness of all classes, had greatly endeared Himself to His Canadian subjects. We remember with gratitude His unremitting efforts to secure friendship and peace among the nations of the world. In common with all parts of the Empire, we shall ever deeply cherish His memory.

We welcome Your Majesty's accession to the Throne of Your ancestors. We desire, in so doing, to express to You our loyalty and devotion. It is our firm conviction that Your Majesty will ever seek to promote the happiness and to protect the liberties of all Your people. As members of the Parliament of Canada, we wish to assure Your Majesty that, in the discharge of these great responsibilities, it is our desire and determination to uphold and support Your Majesty, to the utmost of our authority and wisdom.

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POOR COPY

C 115316

EHG.

EHG.

NU18EHG.

EOS BULLETIN

NEW YORK, DEC. 11-(AP)-THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF FORMER KING EDWARD VIII'S FAREWELL ADDRESS AS TRANSCRIBED FROM THE BROADCAST:

AT LONG LAST I AM ABLE TO SAY A FEW WORDS OF MY OWN. I HAVE NEVER WANTED TO WITHHOLD ANYTHING BUT UNTIL NOW IT HAS NOT BEEN CONSTITUTIONALLY POSSIBLE FOR ME TO SPEAK. A FEW HOURS AGO I DISCHARGED MY LAST DUTY AS KING AND EMPEROR AND NOW THAT I HAVE BEEN SUCCEEDED BY MY BROTHER, THE DUKE OF YORK, MY FIRST WORDS MUST BE TO DECLARE MY ALLEGIANCE TO HIM. THIS I DO WITH ALL MY HEART.

YOU ALL KNOW THE REASONS WHICH HAVE IMPELLED ME TO RENOUNCE THE THRONE, BUT I WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN MAKING UP MY MIND I DID NOT FORGET THE COUNTRY OR THE EMPIRE WHICH AS PRINCE OF WALES AND LATELY AS KING, I HAVE FOR 25 YEARS TRIED TO SERVE, BUT YOU MUST BELIEVE ME WHEN I TELL YOU THAT I HAVE FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY THE HEAVY BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY AND TO DISCHARGE MY DUTIES AS KING AS I WOULD WISH TO DO WITHOUT THE HELP AND SUPPORT OF THE WOMAN I LOVE, AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE DECISION THAT I HAVE MADE HAS BEEN MINE AND

more

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MINE ALONE. THIS WAS A THING I HAD TO JUDGE ENTIRELY FOR MYSELF. MORE X510P

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POOR COPY

EHO

NU21

EOS ADD KING TEXT NEW YORK XX FOR MYSELF.

THE OTHER PERSONS, THOSE NEARLY CONCERNED, HAVE TRIED TO THE LAST TO PERSUADE ME TO TAKE A DIFFERENT COURSE. I HAVE MADE THIS MOST SAD DECISION OF MY LIFE ONLY UPON THE SINGLE THOUGHT OF WHAT WOULD IN THE END BE BEST FOR ALL.

I HAVE MADE THIS MOST SERIOUS DECISION OF MY LIFE ONLY UPON THE SINGLE THOUGHT OF WHAT WOULD in [redacted] THE END, BE [redacted] best for ALL. THIS DECISION HAS BEEN MADE LESS DIFFICULT TO ME BY THE FOREKNOWLEDGE THAT MY BROTHER WITH HIS LONG TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF THIS COUNTRY AND WITH HIS FINE QUALITIES WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE MY PLACE FORTHWITH WITHOUT INTERRUPTION OR INJURY TO THE LIFE AND PROGRESS OF THE EMPIRE. AND HE HAD ONE BLESSING, ENJOYED BY SO MANY OF YOU AND NOT BESTOWED ON ME, A HAPPY HOME WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN.

DURING THESE HARD DAYS I HAVE BEEN COMFORTED BY HER MAJESTY MY MOTHER AND BY MY FAMILY. THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN AND MOST PARTICULARLY MR. BALDWIN, THE PRIME MINISTER, HAVE ALWAYS TREATED ME WITH FULL CONSIDERATION. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN ANY CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ME AND THEM AND BETWEEN ME AND PARLIAMENT.

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

POOR COPY

NU22 XX PARLIAMENT. FOLLOWING THE CONSTITUTIONAL TRADITION

C 115319

OF MY FATHER I SHOULD HAVE NEVER ALLOWED ANY SUCH ISSUE TO ARISE.

EVER SINCE I WAS PRINCE OF WALES AND LATER ON WHEN I OCCUPIED THE THRONE I HAVE BEEN TREATED WITH THE GREATEST KINDNESS BY ALL CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE WHEREVER I HAVE LIVED OR JOURNEYED THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE. FOR THAT I AM VERY GRATEFUL. I NOW QUIT ALTOGETHER PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND I LAY DOWN MY BURDEN. IT MAY BE SOME TIME BEFORE I RETURN TO MY NATIVE LAND BUT I SHALL ALWAYS FOLLOW THE FORTUNES OF THE BRITISH RACE AND EMPIRE WITH PROFOUND INTEREST AND IF AT ANY TIME IN THE FUTURE I CAN BE FOUND OF SERVICE TO HIS MAJESTY IN A PRIVATE STATION I SHALL NOT FAIL. AND NOW WE ALL HAVE A NEW KING. I WISH HIM AND YOU HIS PEOPLE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY WITH ALL MY HEART. GOD BLESS YOU ALL, GOD SAVE THE KING.

(END TEXT)

(EDS: PGH STARTING WE HAVE MADE THIS MOST SERIOUS XX IS BEING CHECKED).

X521P

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All, Indy.
Recd Dec 11th, 11 pm.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

C115320

Mr. King ;

According to a radio broadcast at 10.45 p.m. this evening, based on C.P. despatches, the former King left England at 1.50 a.m. on H.M.S. "Enchantress" from Portsmouth, under sealed orders as to destination. The ship was escorted by another vessel, the H.M.S. "Wolfhound".

R.L.F.

Dec. 11, 1936

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C 115321

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRIME MINISTER -

Attached is a short note prepared by Mr. Christie on the question of Accession Council and a letter from Sir Francis Floud on the same subject. We have no record of any discussions at the time of the Proclamation of King Edward VIII nor any intimation that Accession Councils had been held anywhere else than in London.

[A question arises whether it is desirable to introduce any innovation in procedure in Canada under the personal and constitutional circumstances attaching to the occasion. Mr. Coleman, who has just been in my office, shares this doubt.]

OTTAWA, December 11, 1936.

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December 10, 1936.

QUESTION OF ACCESSION COUNCIL

Composition of Accession Council in United Kingdom:

(1) "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted

(2) with these of His late Majesty's Privy Council,

(3) with Numbers of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality,

(4) with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London" -

> "do now hereby with one Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and proclaim, That...Prince Edward etc....is now, by the death of our late Sovereign...become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Eighth, by the Grace of God, etc....King etc." (See London Gazette, Extraordinary Supplement, January 21, 1936).

Place:

St. James's Palace

Reading and Signature of Proclamation:

The Proclamation was read by the Clerk of the Council and signed by all the members of the Council present, including the Clerk. (See London Times, January 22, 1936).

Purpose:

> "In these days, of course, this is only a matter of ceremony, but there were some present at the Council who thought of those bygone days when it was a matter of vital

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"importance to the supporters of the new King that they should obtain at the earliest possible moment the written allegiance of the members of the Council 'being assisted with members of other gentlemen of quality and with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of London.'" (London Times, January 22, 1936).

Subsequent Proceedings:

"After the members of the Council had taken the Oath of Allegiance to King Edward, his Majesty entered the Council Chamber, addressed the assembled company, made the Accession Declaration in the form prescribed under the Act of 1910, and took the Oath relating to the security of the Church of Scotland". (London Times, January 22, 1936).

Procedure in Canada on the death of King George V:

See Proclamation of January 21, 1936, Canada Gazette, Extra, of same date.

"I, the said...Baron Tweedsmuir...Governor General of Canada...assisted by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada" -

"do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and and proclaim" etc.

High Commissioners:

The London Gazette of January 21, 1936, shows that the High Commissioners for Canada, South Africa and New Zealand attended the Accession Council in London that day and signed the document.

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C 115324

The Department of External Affairs
DEC 11 1936
Canada

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.
Earnscliffe,
OTTAWA.

10th December, 1936.

My dear Dr. Skelton,

I have looked up our papers to see if they contain information on the question whether special Accession Councils were held in other Dominions last January at which other persons than members of the Governments were present, but I find that we have no information on that point. I have therefore sent a telegram to the Dominions Office asking if they can supply the information.

I may add that I received a telegram from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs on the 21st January last saying that the United

Kingdom/

Dr. O.D.Skelton, M.A.,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
OTTAWA.

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G.R.

C 115325

Kingdom Government thought that if it was practicable it would be very desirable that I should be associated with the issue of the Accession Proclamation in Canada as the representative of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. I was instructed to discuss this with the Prime Minister and endeavour to arrange it but, as you will remember, it was not found possible to constitute a special body for this purpose at short notice, though the Prime Minister indicated that the matter might be considered with a view to deciding on the constitution of a special body for a future occasion and that, if this were done, the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom should be included.

Yours sincerely,

F. K. C. Hoad

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C 115326
February 19, 1936.

NOTE ON THE PROCLAMATION OF JANUARY 21, 1936 PROCLAIMING HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARY VIII.

1. The Proclamation in Canada, as published, proclaimed as follows (see The Canada Gazette, Extra January 21, 1936):

> "Now Know Ye that I, the said Right Honourable Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, Governor General of Canada as aforesaid, assisted by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and proclaim that the High and Mighty Prince Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David is now by the death of Our late Sovereign of happy and glorious memory become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Eighth by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas KING, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, Supreme Lord in and over the Dominion of Canada, to whom we acknowledge all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection,"

2. The Proclamation in Great Britain proclaimed as follows (see Supplement to The London Gazette, January 21, 1936, Numb. 34245, page 449):

> "We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these of His late Majesty's Privy Council, with Numbers of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, do now hereby with one Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and proclaim, That the High and Mighty Prince Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, is now, by the Death of our late Sovereign of happy Memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Eighth, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and constant Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection;"

3. It will be noted that the Canadian Proclamation contains a phrase, "Supreme Lord in and over the Dominion of Canada", as underlined above, to which there is no corresponding phrase in the British Proclamation. This Canadian formula followed the formula used in 1910 when His late Majesty King George V

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was proclaimed. On that occasion a telegram of May 8, 1910, confirmed by a despatch of May 13th, from the Colonial Secretary, communicated the terms of a Proclamation which, it was stated in the despatch, "was approved by His Majesty the King in Council on the 7th instant for proclaiming His Gracious Majesty King George the Fifth". The form so approved was described in Enclosure 3 of the despatch as "Form of Proclamation for proclaiming His Majesty in the Colonies". The pertinent clause of this form was given in the enclosure as follows:

> "We
>
> "(Insert the description of the Persons making the Proclamation.)
>
> "Therefore do now hereby with one full voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart Publish and Proclaim That the High and Mighty Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert is now by the Death of our Late Sovereign of Happy and Glorious Memory become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord George the Fifth by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, Supreme Lord, &c.
>
> "(Here insert the description of the Possession or Colony where the Proclamation is made.)"

4. It seems unfortunate the 1910 formula was used this time. The Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee adopted by the Imperial Conference, 1926, recorded the following agreed opinion concerning the title of His Majesty the King:

> "The title of His Majesty the King is of special importance and concern to all parts of His Majesty's Dominions. Twice within the last fifty years has the Royal Title been altered to suit changed conditions and constitutional developments.
>
> "The present title, which is that proclaimed under the Royal Titles Act of 1901, is as follows:-

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> "'George V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.'
>
> "Some time before the Conference met, it had been recognised that this form of title hardly accorded with the altered state of affairs arising from the establishment of the Irish Free State as a Dominion. It had further been ascertained that it would be in accordance with His Majesty's wishes that any recommendation for change should be submitted to him as the result of discussion at the Conference.
>
> "We are unanimously of opinion that a slight change is desirable, and we recommend that, subject to His Majesty's approval, the necessary legislative action should be taken to secure that His Majesty's title should henceforward read:-
>
> "'George V, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.'"

The Statute of Westminster, 1931, in its preamble recorded the constitutional position as follows:

> "And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom:"

5. It may be said that the extra phrase in the Canadian Proclamation, "Supreme Lord in and over the Dominion of Canada", was not intended to form any part of the Royal style and title and that in any case, since the Proclamation could not change the law or custom of the Constitution, this phrase should be regarded as harmless surplusage, but actually the use of this phrase has given rise to public misunderstandings as to the Royal title and this in itself constitutes a good practical objection against the use of the same form in the future. The real

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objection, however, is that, considering the circumstances noted above under which the phrase came into use in 1910, it cannot well be regarded as appropriate to the status of a Dominion today. The proper course is to adhere exactly to the Royal Title as laid down by the Imperial Conference, 1926, subject to any amendments which may be approved by the parliaments of the United Kingdom and the Dominions.

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C 115330

Broadcast

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

Ottawa, December 11th, 1936.

10.45 a.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Mr. Murray has just telephoned to say that the British Broadcasting Corporation is broadcasting, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will also carry, the reading of the text of the Proclamation in London. This broadcast will take place at 9.55 to 10.10 a.m., our time, Saturday, December the 12th.

B.B.C. have told Mr. Murray they would like to carry the reading of the Proclamation in Canada, preferably beginning at 10.10 a.m., our time, or as soon thereafter as possible. Mr. Murray is aware that the Proclamation is not read in Canada ~~in the same way~~ as in London. If the government wished to have the Proclamation read publicly, or in an appropriate office, he believed B.B.C. would make an effort to carry the reading to all parts of the Empire. If the govt. wishes to follow the previous practice – of only publishing the Proclamation in the Gazette, would it be your opinion if its text being read by C.B.C. over the air?

E. A. P.

10.10

Mr. Lapointe

get working today

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(5) K. Burchell

C115331

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRIME MINISTER -

Mr. Coleman raises the question of the date of the celebration of the new King's birthday which falls on the 14th December. The situation is that ~~if~~ any special proclamation is issued December 14th would become a public and bank holiday. There is precedent for changing the day of celebration of the King's birthday. Edward VII's birthday fell on November 9th and was so celebrated the first year but by special proclamation was celebrated on May 24th for some years thereafter because of the climatic unsuitability of the November date.

It is desirable to reach a decision as soon as possible for the convenience of schools, banks, etc. A special problem by the Quebec elections in Montreal which are set for December 14th arises. According to press reports, under the Law of Quebec, if the 14th is a public holiday, elections will be held the day following, but I have no official confirmation of this.

OD?

OTTAWA, December 11th, 1936.

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C115332

CANADA

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Ottawa, 11th December, 1936.

Memorandum for the
Right Honourable the Prime Minister.

Following the Proclamation which will be issued tomorrow announcing the accession of the new Sovereign, a second Proclamation will be issued which directs that all persons in office as officers of Canada holding commissions under the former Sovereign, and all functionaries who exercise any profession by virtue of any such commissions, and all judges of Dominion and Provincial Courts, do continue the due exercise of their respective duties, functions and professions. This Proclamation requires, however, that all incumbents of offices as mentioned above do, as soon thereafter as possible, take the usual and customary Oath of Allegiance before the proper officer or officers thereunto appointed.

In effect, the practice so far as the Dominion Government at Ottawa is concerned, is the following:-

The Chief Justice of Canada will first take the Oath of Allegiance before the Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Chief Justice will then administer the same Oath to His Excellency the Governor General, after which the

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C 115333

Clerk of the Privy Council will himself swear allegiance to the new Sovereign.

Immediately after this ceremony has been performed, the Clerk of the Privy Council will administer the Oath of Allegiance to the Prime Minister and the members of the Cabinet present in Ottawa.

The Chief Justice of Canada will administer the Oath of Allegiance to the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court, and every member of the Civil Service (Inside Service) at Ottawa will be required to swear allegiance to the King before the Clerk of the Privy Council, or his representatives.

The same procedure will obtain in the several Provinces of the Dominion. After themselves being sworn in, the Chief Justices of the Provinces will swear in the Lieutenant Governors, who will administer the Oath to their Executive Councillors. The Chief Justices will then administer the Oath to their own Puisne Judges, and the usual arrangements will be made for the swearing in of the Provincial Civil Servants.

Respectfully submitted;

E.J.Lemaire,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 115334

Ottawa, 11th December, 1936.

Memorandum for the
Right Honourable the Prime Minister.

Following the Proclamation which will be issued tomorrow announcing the accession of the new Sovereign, a second Proclamation will be issued which directs that all persons in office as officers of Canada holding commissions under the ~~late~~ former Sovereign, and all functionaries who exercise any profession by virtue of any such commissions, and all judges of Dominion and Provincial Courts, do continue the due exercise of their respective duties, functions and professions. This Proclamation requires, however, that all incumbents of offices as mentioned above do, as soon thereafter as possible, take the usual and customary Oath of Allegiance before the proper officer or officers thereunto appointed.

In effect, the practice so far as the Dominion Government at Ottawa is concerned, is the following:-

The Chief Justice of Canada will first take the Oath of Allegiance before the Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 115335

Clerk of the Privy Council will himself swear allegiance to the new Sovereign.

Immediately after this ceremony has been performed, the Clerk of the Privy Council will administer the Oath of Allegiance to the Prime Minister and the members of the Cabinet present in Ottawa.

The Chief Justice of Canada will administer the Oath of Allegiance to the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court, and every member of the Civil Service (Inside Service) at Ottawa will be required to swear allegiance to the King before the Clerk of the Privy Council, or his representatives.

The same procedure will obtain in the several Provinces of the Dominion. After themselves being sworn in, the Chief Justices of the Provinces will swear in the Lieutenant Governors, who will administer the Oath to their Executive Councillors. The Chief Justices will then administer the Oath to their own Puisne Judges, and the usual arrangements will be made for the swearing in of the Provincial Civil Servants.

Respectfully submitted,

E.J.Lemaire,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 115386

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

For Mr. King:

The Royal Commission in the House of Lords today gave Royal Assent to the Abdication Bill to treating Edward's renunciation of the British Throne, and elevation of the Duke of York to the kingship.

The Royal Commission was made up of: Lord Onslow; Lord Denman, and the Earl of Stanhope. They acted for Edward in giving the Abdication Act, the full force of law so that the Duke of York automatically became Sovereign with the Commission's final approval.

The House of Commons and the House of Lords have adjourned. Adjournment was reported by the press at 9.27 a.m.

(Information received over the 'phone by Handy from Turnbull).

December 11, 1936.

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Rec'd 10:15 Friday Dec 11 '36

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C 115337

MEMORANDUM

For Mr. King:

A later press despatch corrected the story about 2nd Reading, and said it had gone through the 3rd Reading before it went through to the House of Lords.

It was then given Royal Commission which had been authorized to act for the King; it does not require his signature but he may still put his signature on it.

EH

December 11, 1936.

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C115338

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

For Mr. King:

Dr. Skelton has telephoned to say that from reports received, the 2nd Reading of Abdication Bill was passed in the Commons at 12.42 p.m.

Third Reading, 1.18 p.m.

All stages of the House of Lords completed at 1.36 p.m.

Royal Assent given at 1.52 p.m. (8.52 a.m. our time).

EH

December 11, 1936.

Rw. G 17 - v/11

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C 115339

C A N A D A

TWEEDSMUIR
(L.S.)

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE BARON TWEEDSMUIR OF ELSFIELD, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of Canada.

TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come,

GREETING :

WHEREAS by an Instrument of Abdication, dated the tenth day of December instant, His former Majesty King Edward The Eighth did declare His irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Himself and His descendants, and the said Abdication has now taken place, whereby the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, Ireland and all other His former Majesty's dominions is now solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George,
NOW KNOW YE that I, the said Right Honourable Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, Governor General of Canada as aforesaid, assisted by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and proclaim that the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George is now ~~by the demise of the Crown~~ become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord George the Sixth by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas KING, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to whom we acknowledge all faith

and -

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C115340

and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection, beseeching God by whom all Kings and Queens do reign to bless the Royal Prince George the Sixth with long and happy years to reign over us.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Ottawa, this twelfth day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, and in the first year of His Majesty's reign.

By Command,

FERNAND RINFRET.

Secretary of State of Canada.

GOD SAVE THE KING

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MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, C 115341

Mr Turnbull – Mr Pickering asked me to give you 2 copies of this despatch for Laurier House M. R.

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C 115342

EXTRA

THE CANADA GAZETTE

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

OTTAWA, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1936

DESPATCHES

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL has received the text of an Instrument of Abdication executed on the tenth day of December, 1936, by His Majesty KING EDWARD VIII.

The text of the Instrument is as follows:—

I, EDWARD VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas KING, Emperor of India, do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty-six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

(Signed) EDWARD R. I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of: ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE

DÉPÊCHES

SON EXCELLENCE LE GOUVERNEUR GÉNÉRAL a reçu le texte d'un acte d'abdication signé le dixième jour de décembre 1936 par Sa Majesté le ROI EDOUARD VIII.

Le texte de l'acte d'abdication se lit comme suit:

Je, EDOUARD VIII, ROI de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des territoires britanniques au delà des mers, Empereur de l'Inde, déclare par les présentes avoir décidé irrévocablement de renoncer au Trône, pour moi-même et pour mes descendants, et je désire que le présent acte d'abdication prenne immédiatement effet, en foi de quoi j'ai apposé mon seing aux présentes, ce dixième jour de décembre mil neuf cent trente-six, en présence des témoins dont les signatures apparaissent ci-après.

(Signé) EDWARD R.I.

J'ai signé le présent acte en présence de mes trois frères, Leurs Altesses Royales le duc d'York, le duc de Gloucester et le duc de Kent.

Signé en présence de: ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE

OTTAWA: Printed by Joseph Oscar Patenaude, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

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C 115345

BIRMINGHAM POST
December 14th, 1936

No. A. 111
Annex 1.

IRISH FREE STATE AND THE CROWN

THE WEAKENING OF THE LINK.

Change Merely Expedited by Recent Events.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DUBLIN, December 12. 1936

We have become familiar in recent times with the phrase "except the Irish Free State" in all matters affecting the constitution of the British Commonwealth. In the happenings of the last few days the only unit that failed to come into line with the Dominions was the Irish Free State. Mr. de Valera persisted in that aloof awareness for which he has been noted since his accession to power. That the President's aloofness was not shared by the people of the Free State was evident the moment the Constitutional crisis became public. The demand for newspapers from all parts of Britain jumped so quickly that agents could not cope with it. Extra consignments of newspapers were hurriedly obtained from England, and even then it was difficult to secure an English newspaper unless one was a very early bird.

It is possible that people in the Free State were more fully -- one must not say better -- informed about King Edward's personal affairs than people in Great Britain, and the climax was therefore, less of a shock when it came. Most families in the Free State, and indeed in all parts of Ireland, have intimate contacts with the United States of and Canada, and the newspapers and periodicals of these countries have been flooding this country for some months. Separatists are jubilant, but even King Edward's fervent admirers are now strong in denunciation.

New "Head of the State."

No matter what the British Government's decision about a Royal morgantic marriage, a strong impetus would have been given to the secession movement in the Free State. Such a marriage would have outraged religious feeling in the Free State. In a country in which almost the entire population is fervently Roman Catholic, and in which the remarriage of divorced people is unrecognised, the marriage of the Monarch with one who had divorced two husbands would have been more than frowned upon. It would have thrown all Catholic opinion, whether favourable to the notion of secession or not, on the side of secession. Those who believe in the great political experiment of the British Commonwealth would have been rendered speechless and powerless. That was a possibility which no thinking person in the Free State cared to harbour.

Although political thought here believed that abdication was the best solution of the problem, it was aware also of the

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Constitutional dangers to the Free State involved in that act. It was known that Mr. de Valera had the draft of a new Constitution ready for the Dail when it reassembled in February, and that in this Constitution the powers and duties of the Monarchy would be deleted in so far as they affected internal affairs. In the place of the Monarchy there would be a new "head of the State", elected directly by the people and acting as a bulwark and protection of popular rights. Those are the functions allotted to the new dignitary by Mr. de Valera in one of his speeches, but no one outside the Cabinet knew exactly what the actual duties and powers would be. What the abdication of Edward VIII has meant is that the relevant sections of the new Constitution will be enacted at once and that the new Monarch will be excluded from participation in the internal affairs of the Free State.

Significance of the Change.

The Monarchical crisis in Britain did not therefore bring about this change in the Free State Constitution: This change would have been made next year in any event. The crisis has merely hastened the change. King George VI will ascend the Throne accompanied by a new definition of "Dominion status", at least in so far as the Irish Free State is concerned, and the link of the Crown will have been correspondingly weakened. The new definition of "Dominion status" is, in effect, a rewriting of Mr. de Valera's famous alternative to the "Treaty" of 1921. This alternative became known as "Document No. 2", and it defined the position of the Free State to the British Commonwealth and Empire as one of "external association" only. With the beginning of the new reign, the link of the Crown with the Irish Free State will be confined rigidly to matters affecting external affairs; there will be no question of the Crown being an integral part of the legislative system for internal affairs or for administrative matters. The new "Head of the State" will be a dual personality; in internal affairs he will be completely independent, but in external matters he will act as the personal representative of the Crown in the Free State. It looks rather complex and confusing, but, in the event, the change will probably alter nothing fundamentally.

Nevertheless, the change is of some consequence to the British Commonwealth as a whole. It undoubtedly makes a difference in the relations of the Crown to a Dominion, by depriving the Crown of its place in the legislative system. The bonds that kept the Commonwealth in being are loosened and, in that loosening there may be unlooked-for consequences. People in the Free State and elsewhere may fail to realise the significance of the change; but Constitutional lawyers will not fail to perceive the goal towards which it points.

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

E.J. LEMAIRE

IH/1 P.C. 3168

abdication of Edward VIII
George VI

C115347

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 12th December, 1936.

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, advise that a Proclamation do issue in the form hereto appended concerning the Demise of the Crown.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE CANADA

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EXTRA

THE CANADA GAZETTE

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

OTTAWA, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1936

PROCLAMATIONS

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE BARON TWEEDSMUIR OF ELSFIELD, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of Canada.

TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come,—
GREETING:

WHEREAS by an Instrument of Abdication, dated the tenth day of December instant, His former Majesty King Edward the Eighth did declare His irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Himself and His descendants, and the said Abdication has now taken place, whereby the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, Ireland and all other His former Majesty's dominions is now solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George, NOW KNOW YE that I, the said Right Honourable Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, Governor General of Canada as aforesaid, assisted by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and proclaim that the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George is now become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord George the Sixth by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the Seas KING, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to whom we acknowledge all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and

PROCLAMATIONS

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

PAR SON EXCELLENCE LE TRÈS HONORABLE BARON TWEEDSMUIR D'ELSFIELD, Chevalier grand-croix de l'Ordre très distingué de Saint-Michel et de Saint-Georges, membre de l'Ordre des Compagnons d'honneur, Gouverneur général et commandant en chef du Dominion du Canada.

A tous ceux qui les présentes verront,—SALUT:

ATTENDU que par un acte d'abdication en date du dixième jour de décembre courant, Sa cidevant Majesté le Roi Edouard VIII a déclaré avoir décidé irrévocablement de renoncer au Trône, pour lui-même et pour ses descendants, et que ladite abdication a maintenant eu lieu, en vertu de laquelle la Couronne Impériale de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et de tous les autres territoires de Sa cidevant Majesté est maintenant passée uniquement et légitimement au Haut et Puissant Prince Albert-Frédéric-Arthur-George, SACHEZ que moi, ledit Très Honorable Baron Tweedsmuir d'Elsfield, Gouverneur général du Canada, comme susdit, d'accord avec le Conseil privé de Sa Majesté pour le Canada, publie et proclame maintenant par les présentes, d'une voix unanime et de consentement de bouche et de cœur, que le Haut et Puissant Prince Albert-Frédéric-Arthur-George est maintenant devenu Notre seul et légitime seigneur lige, George VI, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des territoires britanniques au delà des mers, Défenseur de la Foi, Empereur de l'Inde, à qui Nous reconnais-

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humble affection, beseeching God by whom all Kings and Queens do reign to bless the Royal Prince George the Sixth with long and happy years to reign over us.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Ottawa, this twelfth day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, and in the first year of His Majesty's reign.

By Command,

FERNAND RINFRET,
Secretary of State of Canada.

GOD SAVE THE KING

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE THE SIXTH, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas KING, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come,
GREETING:

ERNEST LAPOINTE, Attorney General, Canada. } WHEREAS by Chapter forty-six of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, it is, amongst other things, in effect enacted, that upon the demise of the Crown it shall not be necessary to renew any commission by virtue whereof any officer of Canada, any functionary in Canada or any Judge of a Dominion or Provincial Court in Canada, held his office or profession during the previous reign; but that a proclamation shall be issued by the Governor General authorizing all persons in office as officers of Canada who held commissions under the former Sovereign, and all functionaries who exercised any profession by virtue of any such commissions and all Judges of Dominion or Provincial Courts to continue in the due exercise of their respective duties, functions and professions; and that such proclamation shall suffice and that the incumbents shall, as soon thereafter as possible, take the usual and customary oath of allegiance before the proper officer or officers thereunto appointed,—

NOW, THEREFORE, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council for Canada, We do, by this Our Proclamation, authorize all persons in office as officers of Canada and all functionaries in Canada, and all Judges of the Dominion and Provincial Courts in Canada, who, at the time of the demise of the Crown by Our Royal Brother, were duly and lawfully holding or were duly and lawfully possessed of or invested in any office, place or employment, civil or military, within our Dominion of Canada, or who held commissions under the former Sovereign, and all functionaries who exercised any profession by virtue of any such commissions, to severally continue in the due exercise of their respective duties, functions and professions, for which this Our Proclamation shall be sufficient warrant.

AND WE DO ORDAIN that all incumbents of such offices and functions and all persons holding commissions as aforesaid shall, as soon hereafter as possible, take the usual and customary oath of allegiance to Us before the proper officer or officers hereunto appointed.

sons toute foi et obéissance constante, ainsi qu'une humble et sincère affection, priant Dieu de qui tous les Rois et les Reines tiennent leur puissance d'accorder au Prince Royal George VI un long et heureux règne.

DONNÉ SOUS MON Seing et le Sceau de Mes Armes, à Ottawa, ce douzième jour de décembre, en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent trente-six et du Règne de Sa Majesté la première année.

Par ordre,

FERNAND RINFRET,
Secrétaire d'État du Canada.

DIEU PROTÈGE LE ROI !

TWEEDSMUIR
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE VI, par la Grâce de Dieu, Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des territoires britanniques au delà des mers, Défenseur de la Foi, Empereur de l'Inde.

A TOUS CEUX QUI les présentes verront,—SALUT:

ERNEST LAPOINTE, Procureur général du Canada. } ATTENDU que sous l'empire du chapitre quarante-six des Statuts revisés du Canada, 1927, il est entre autres choses statué, qu'advenant la transmission de la prérogative royale, il n'est pas nécessaire de renouveler les commissions en vertu desquelles les officiers, employés, fonctionnaires du Canada ou les juges d'une cour fédérale ou provinciale exerçaient leur profession ou remplissaient leurs fonctions sous le règne précédent; mais une proclamation est émise par le Gouverneur général, autorisant toutes les personnes en place en qualité d'officiers du Canada, qui détenaient des commissions sous le règne du ci-devant Souverain, et tous les fonctionnaires exerçant quelque profession en vertu de pareilles commissions, et tous les juges des cours fédérales ou provinciales, à continuer l'exercice de leurs devoirs, fonctions et professions, respectivement. Cette proclamation suffit; et le plus tôt possible ensuite, les titulaires prêtent le serment d'allégeance ordinaire et d'usage devant le fonctionnaire ou les fonctionnaires préposés à cette fin,—

C'EST POURQUOI, sur et de l'avis de Notre Conseil privé pour le Canada, par Notre présente proclamation, Nous autorisons toutes les personnes en place en qualité d'officiers du Canada et tous les fonctionnaires du Canada, et tous les juges des cours fédérales ou provinciales du Canada, qui lors de la transmission de la prérogative par Notre Royal Frère, tenaient dûment et légitimement ou étaient en possession légitime ou étaient revêtus d'une charge, place ou emploi, civil ou militaire, dans Notre Dominion du Canada, ou qui détenaient des commissions sous le règne du ci-devant Souverain, et tous les fonctionnaires qui exerçaient quelque profession en vertu de pareilles commissions à continuer l'exercice de leurs devoirs, fonctions et profession, respectivement; et pour ce Notre présente proclamation suffira.

ET Nous ordonnons que tous les titulaires de ces charges et fonctions, et toutes les personnes détenant des commissions comme susdit, Nous prêtent le serment d'allégeance ordinaire et d'usage aussi tôt que possible devant le fonctionnaire ou les fonctionnaires préposés à cette fin.

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AND WE DO hereby require and command all Our loving subjects to be aiding, helping and assisting all such officers of Canada and other functionaries in the performance of their respective offices and places.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS: Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved John, Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Member of Our Order of the Companions of Honour, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Our Dominion of Canada.

AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE, in Our City of Ottawa, this twelfth day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, and in the first year of Our Reign.

By Command,

FERNAND RINFRET,
Secretary of State of Canada.

GOD SAVE THE KING

Et par les présentes Nous mandons et commandons à tous Nos féaux sujets de prêter aide et assistance à tous tels officiers du Canada et autres fonctionnaires dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions et professions.

EN FOI DE QUOI, Nous avons fait émettre Nos présentes Lettres Patentes, et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau du Canada. TÉMOIN: Notre très fidèle et bien-aimé John, Baron Tweedsmuir d'Elsfield, Chevalier Grand-Croix de Notre Ordre très distingué de Saint-Michel et de Saint-Georges, membre de Notre Ordre des Compagnons d'honneur, Gouverneur général et Commandant en chef de Notre Dominion du Canada.

A NOTRE HÔTEL DU GOUVERNEMENT, en Notre cité d'Ottawa, ce douzième jour de décembre, en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent trente-six et de Notre règne la première année.

Par ordre,

FERNAND RINFRET
Secrétaire d'Etat du Canada.

DIEU PROTÈGE LE ROI!

OTTAWA: Printed by Joseph Oscar Patenaude, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

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Cor - Abdication of Edward Prepared VIII Eng. Apps.

C 115351

ABDICATION - CHRONOLOGY

(Action in the United Kingdom)

1936

Oct. 18: Mr. Baldwin asks the King for an interview.

Oct. 20: Mr. B. sees the King, and tells him of the criticism of his relations with Mrs. S., and of the injury caused thereby.

Oct. 27: Decree nisi granted Mrs. S. at Ipswich: (effective April 27, 1937 unless....)

Nov. 16: The King asks Mr. B. to see him; Mr. B. tells him that he does not think a marriage with Mrs. S. would be approved by the country. The King replies: "I am going to marry Mrs. S., and I am prepared to go."

Nov. 16: The King tells the Queen of his intention; and in the next few days, his brothers.

Nov. The suggestion is made to Mr. B. that a compromise might be arranged - the King to marry Mrs. S., and Parliament to pass an Act enabling her to be the King's wife but not Queen: (and to bar any issue from the succession?)

Nov. 25: The King sends for Mr. B. and asks for his view on this suggestion. Mr. B. says his first reaction is that Parliament would never pass it, but offers to examine it formally, placing it before his colleagues and Dominion Governments; the King so desired.

Dec. 1: Bishop (Blunt) of Bradford breaks the silence by criticising the King in a public address for a lack of awareness of his need of God's grace: later he declares he referred to the King's attitude to the public practice of religion, not to his private life, but the result was a flood of comment on December 2nd in the northern press, followed on December 3rd by the London press and a nation-wide controversy.

Dec. 2: The King sends for Mr. B., who tells him, after a Cabinet meeting, that neither in the Dominions nor in the U.K. would there be an prospect of such legislation being accepted. Mr. B. said in response to the King's question that he considered the proposal impracticable; at which the King said he was not surprised. (The question was not again brought up). Mr. B. points out that possible alternatives had been ruled out, and the King was in the difficult position of having to decide between abandoning his projected marriage and remaining as King, or abdicating and marrying Mrs. S. later, if possible, as he had indicated on Nov. 16.

Dec. 3: In Parliament the Leader of the Opposition asks Mr. B. if any constitutional difficulty has arisen. Mr. B. replies he has no statement this day; while there does not at present exist any constitutional difficulty, the situation is such that it is inexpedient that he should be questioned at this stage. Mr. Churchill asks if assurance will be given that no irrevocable step will be taken before a formal statement had been made in Parliament; Mr. B. replied he would consider the question.

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Dec. 4, following: Mr.B. stated on December 10: "In the last few days we have had many talks on this limited aspect of the problem"(the alternatives discussed on December 2nd).

Dec. 4: Mr.B. in reply to a question in the House by the Leader of the Opposition, refers to press suggestions that if the King decided to marry, his wife need not be Queen, and declares that this view has no constitutional foundation; "there is no such thing as what is called a morganatic marriage known to our law"; the lady whom the King marries necessarily becomes Queen with all the status, rights and privileges attaching, and her children are in the line of succession. The only way by which this result could be avoided would be by special legislation and neither the United Kingdom nor the Dominion Governments would be prepared to introduce such legislation.

Sixty M.P.'s, including Churchill, send the King a letter assuring him of support in any action he may think necessary to defend his constitutional rights.

Dec. 7: Mr.B. states in the House that the Government desire to afford His Majesty the fullest opportunity of weighing his decision; that prolonged suspense would, however, be injurious; that except on the question of a morganatic marriage, no advice had been tendered the King by the Government; that as soon as His Majesty had decided on his course, he would doubtless communicate to his Governments in the United Kingdom and Dominions, which will then have to decide what advice, if any, they feel it their duty to tender in the light of this conclusion. Churchill attempts to reply, but is shouted down.

Dec. 8: The King informs Mr.B. of his decision to abdicate.

Dec. 9: The British Cabinet send a message asking him to reconsider; he declines.

Dec. 10: The King signs an Instrument of Abdication, and sends it and a message communicating his final and irrevocable decision and his request for immediate action to His Government in the United Kingdom(and to each of His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions, through the Governors-General, by telegraph and by mail).

Mr.Baldwin, Mr.Attlee, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Mr. Churchill make statements in the House, Mr.

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C 115353

1936

Dec. 10: Baldwin reviewing at length his discussions with the King.

At the evening session, the Abdication Bill was introduced into the House of Commons.

Dec. 11: The Bill goes through all stages in the Commons and Lords, and is signed by the King.

The King broadcasts a farewell message and leaves England.

Dec. 12: King George VI is proclaimed King.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER C115354

MEMORANDUM

Saturday,
December 12, - ~~1936~~
1 9 3 6

MR. KING:

According to an
Associated Press Despatch this
evening, the Coronation of
His Majesty King George VI
will take place on May the 12th.

HH.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

C115355

MEMORANDUM

Saturday,
December 12, 1936

MR. KING:

It is announced in the evening papers that the new title of the former King will be:

His Royal Highness the Duke of Windsor.

Mr. Measures says that it was announced over the radio this afternoon that the former King was on a train which was passing through Basel, Switzerland, and that the destination of that particular train is Innsbruck, in the Austrian Tyrol.

HH.

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C115356

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

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C 115357

Statement for the Press

Procedure

By procedure

Canada – Council meets (December 12th) 9.30 a.m.

(1) Order in Council will be passed

directing that a Proclamation do issue, announcing the accession of the King. (It will make mention of the ~~desire~~ demand of the Crown)

(2) Order in Council re Public Servants

carrying on their several functions, and taking oath of allegiance to new King.
Not swearing in
No new Commissions.

Clerk of Council will go to Government House at 9.45 - administer Oath of Allegiance to Chief Justice.
ChiefJustice will administer Oath to Governor General.
Clerk will return- administer oath to Prime Minister, and Ministers who sign a book.

Secretary of State

in advising Lieutenant Governors of Provinces of this procedure, which will properly be followed by them.

Flags will be hoisted at mast head from 8.00 a.m. till sunset on all public buildings.

Royal Salutes will be fired at five minutes to ten a.m. for His Majesty's accession.

Carillon will play National Anthem three times in succession- two verses each time (No other air.)

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C 115358

10.10 a.m. Proclamation to be read

by Prime Minister in English
and Minister of Justice in French.

Monday- The King's Birthday

(5)

A Statutory Holiday.
Hope and believe it will be widely and enthusiastically celebrated in all parts of Canada.
(Comes at a very opportune time)

Holiday in Civil Service
Schools &c - for Provinces
Direct deliver and postal service as usual.

Announcement of new King

Informed by His Excellency

Date of Coronation

to be taken up with His Majesty, King George the VI

To receive His Majesty's approval.

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(1) Draft of statement

C115359

It is my duty to communicate the following message from His Majesty the King which has been received by His Majesty's Representative in Canada:

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I am sure.

C 115360

I am sure that all Canadians will profoundly regret the decision which has been taken, and that their personal sympathy and good will are extended to a King who for many years has had a special place in the affections of the Canadian people. I am also confident that all Canada will earnestly pray that the measures adopted to deal with a most difficult situation will ensure the continued loyalty of all British peoples to the Throne and the continued strength of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

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KODAK SAFETY

(2)

His Majesty King Edward VIII has this morning declared his irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and for his descendants, and has expressed his desire that effect should be given to this decision without delay.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom today is dealing with the situation which has arisen as a result of His Majesty's decision to renounce the throne. I understand that Mr. Baldwin the Speaker is to read His Majesty's message in the House of Commons at Westminster, and Lord Halifax in the House of Lords. It was understood that Mr. Baldwin would move that the King's message be considered forthwith. Following the discussion, a bill will be introduced to provide for the validation of the instrument of abdication, and the consequent alterations in the law relating to the succession to the throne.

The question is not one which concerns alone His Majesty's people in the United Kingdom. It is of the deepest concern to his people throughout the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the present constitutional relationship it is necessary that action be taken by the government and parliament of each member of the Commonwealth. This necessity flows from the Statute of Westminster which was enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1931 and which, as its title declares, was passed "to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930".

The preamble of the Statute reads as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

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C 115362

The present situation is without precedent. Questions arise as to the procedure required to carry out this provision of the Statute of Westminster, which were **not** contemplated when it was drawn and enacted. The constitutional convention set forth in the preamble **requires** the assent "as well of the parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom", to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne. The action involved in giving effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication constitutes such an alteration. But the time element enters in. It is understood to be the desire of His Majesty as well as of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the required legislation be introduced at once. So far as Canada is concerned, parliament has been called to meet on January 14th. It could not be summoned in special session before

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C 115363

definite action had been taken by His Majesty which would require the consideration of Parliament. If summoned now, it could not, under our geographical conditions, meet in time to take action prior to or simultaneous with that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Under these circumstances the Canadian Government is adopting a course designed in the first place to ensure that from a legal standpoint the abdication of His Majesty and the accession of his successor will take place in Canada at the same time as in the United Kingdom, and in the second place, to preserve the constitutional convention referred to. To achieve the first end, action is being taken by the Government of Canada in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, which reads as follows:

> "4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

Following upon the receipt this morning of the expression of the King's declaration and desire, an order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council was approved, embodying the necessary request and consent to the enactment of the appropriate legislation, as regards Canada, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and the Government of the United Kingdom was advised accordingly. To achieve the second end, the Government will invite Parliament, immediately after the opening of the session, to take appropriate action to give its assent to the alteration in the succession.

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C115364

It may be of interest to note that there are some differences in the position of the several Dominions in relation to the Statute of Westminster. Every Dominion in 1931 formally requested the enactment of the Statute. It was however provided that certain sections, including section 4, should not extend to Australia or New Zealand unless and until adopted by their respective parliaments. That action has not been taken in either country. South Africa, on the other hand, passed the Status of the Union Act in 1934, involving certain further limitations on the application of a United Kingdom Act to the Union. Some differences in the language of the United Kingdom bill, as regards the several Dominions, is therefore necessary and these differences may be seen in the preamble to the Bill.

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C 115365

The Statute as a whole does apply to Canada, which is therefore guaranteed under Section 4 that no legislation of the United Kingdom Parliament can apply to Canada unless Canada has expressly requested such application in advance, and consented to its terms. Accordingly the Government of Canada, (as I have already intimated), following upon receipt of the King's declaration and desire, has so requested and consented, and this request and consent will appear in the recitals of the United Kingdom Act. The same guarantee does not apply in exactly the same way to any other Dominion, and slightly different language will therefore be necessary in their case. The use of these words "request and consent" does not of course refer to the initiation of any part of the proceedings other than the inclusion of Canada in the contemplated legislation. They embody the safeguarding words expressly provided in the Statute of Westminster.

As regards the constitutional convention which requires the assent of the Canadian Parliament to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne, it will be asserted and safeguarded to the greatest practicable extent consistent with all the circumstances of time and space and with the imperative practical necessities which confronted the Government on this unprecedented occasion.

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C 115366

7

The Instrument of Abdication which His Majesty has personally communicated to his subjects is in the following words:

I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately, in token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Thirty Six in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

Signed EDWARD R.I.

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by my three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

Signed in the presence of

ALBERT

HENRY

GEORGE

Publication of the Instrument of Abdication in a special Edition of the Canada Gazette was arranged for immediately upon the receipt of the text of the Instrument of Abdication by His Excellency the Governor General.

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8

I need only add that I am sure the statement of His Majesty as set forth in the Instrument I have just read will be received with profound regret throughout Canada.

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C115368

The Parliament of the United Kingdom today is dealing with the situation which has arisen as a result of His Majesty's decision. I understand that Mr. Baldwin ~~is~~ to read His Majesty's message in the House of Commons at Westminster, and Lord Halifax in the House of Lords. Mr. Baldwin ~~will~~ then move that the King's message be considered forthwith. Following the discussion, a bill will be introduced to provide for the validation of the instrument of abdication, and the consequent alterations in the law relating to the succession to the throne.

The question is not one which concerns alone His Majesty's people in the United Kingdom. It is of the deepest concern to his people throughout the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the present constitutional relationship it is necessary that action be taken by the government and parliament of each member of the Commonwealth. This necessity flows from the Statute of Westminster which was enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1931 and which, as its title declares, was passed "to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930".

The preamble of the Statute reads as follows:

> And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

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The present situation is without precedent. Questions arise as to the procedure required to carry out this provision of the Statute of Westminster, which were not contemplated when it was drawn and enacted. The constitutional convention set forth in the preamble requires the assent "as well of the parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom", to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne. The action involved in giving effect to His Majesty's instrument of abdication constitutes such an alteration. But the time element enters in. It is ~~understood to be~~ the desire of His Majesty as well as of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the required legislation be introduced at once. So far as Canada is concerned, parliament has been called to meet on January 14th. It could not be summoned in special session before/ definite

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-#5.

C 115370

It may be of interest to note that there are some differences in the position of the several Dominions in relation to the Statute of Westminster. Every Dominion in 1931 formally requested the enactment of the Statute. It was however provided that certain sections, including section 4, should not extend to Australia or New Zealand unless and until adopted by their respective parliaments. That action has not been taken in either country. South Africa, on the other hand, passed the Status of the Union Act in 1934, involving certain further limitations on the application of a United Kingdom Act to the Union. Some differences in the language of the United Kingdom bill, as regards the several Dominions, is therefore necessary and these differences may be seen in the preamble to the Bill.

more to follow.

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C 115371

Action in Canada

Saturday November 28th	First communications from Mr. Baldwin, including messages from New Zealand, South Africa and Australia.
Friday December 4th	Prime Minister of Canada issues statement to press
Tuesday December 8th	Advice to King Edward

His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1436

Thursday December 10th a.m.	Message received by Governor General from His Majesty, setting forth his fixed and irrevocable decision to abdicate and the text of the Instrument of Abdication. (in Votes and Proceedings) Order in Council passed, providing for the request and consent of Canada to the Abdication Bill to be introduced this day at Westminster; communicated to United Kingdom Government. Broadcast by self re Abdication and action taken by Government of Canada.
Friday December 11th	Bill passed British House King Edward broadcast
Saturday December 12th:	Proclamation of accession of King George VI issued, and read by Prime Minister in broadcast, and gazetted. Proclamation issued continuing all persons in office and requiring Oath of Allegiance to the new King.

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C115372

Statement - Canadian Press

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C115373

For Mr. King:

I followed your instructions implicitly.

Before leaving Laurier House, I telephoned to Mr. Redfern, and he agreed that it would be best if the two messages were sent at one a.m. tomorrow morning Monday.

I then delivered personally to Sir Francis Floud the letter about which you phoned to him.

From there, I went to the C.N.R. telegraph office, and handed the message in to the clerk on duty. I enquired about the Governor General's message, and found that Mr. Redfern had phoned a moment before, asking that the message to the King be released at one a.m. tomorrow morning.

At 5.30, I went to see Mr. Carnegie at "The Citizen" and handed over to him the memo for the Canadian Press. In answer to my enquiry, he said "the information will be given to them all" (all newspapers).

EH

December 13, 1936.

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For

~~To~~ the Canadian Press:

Early Saturday morning, the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, sent the following cablegram to Her Majesty, Queen Mary, at Marlborough House, London, England:

Dated as of Sunday.

"Ottawa, December 12, 1936.

Her Majesty, Queen Mary,
Marlborough House,
London.

May I be permitted to express to Your Majesty the deep sympathy and affection felt by my colleagues and myself, and by all the people of Canada, in the anxiety and distress of heart and mind which Your Majesty has been called upon to endure. We pray that Your Majesty may be greatly comforted by the accession to the Throne today of His Majesty King George VI whose reign, we believe, will resemble, in more ways than one, that of his beloved father, His late Majesty King George V.

W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister."

~~Yesterday~~ Today, (Sunday morning), the Prime Minister received a reply from the Queen, sent by marconi at eleven o'clock, London time, Saturday night, from Buckingham Palace, London, It was in the following words:

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KODAK SAFETY

C 115375

"Buckingham Palace, London,

December 12, 1936.

Prime Minister,

Ottawa.

Deeply appreciate message of sympathy from yourself, colleagues and people of Canada, and assurances of goodwill towards new King.

Mary R."

dated as of Monday - a.m.

(Monday)

At an early hour this morning, a cable ~~of~~ birthday greetings and congratulations was sent to His Majesty, King George VI, by His Excellency, the Governor General, ~~on his own behalf~~ His Excellency's own behalf, and on behalf of the people of Canada.

At the same time, a telegram was sent by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, on behalf of the Government. The Prime Minister's telegram was as follows:

"Ottawa, December 14, 1936.

His Majesty, King George VI,
London, England.

(Code)

~~The~~ Ministers of the Crown in ~~His~~ Your Majesty's Government in Canada respectfully extend heartiest greetings on the celebration by Your Majesty today, of your forty-first birthday

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anniversary.

We send our united good wishes for a happy birthday anniversary, and for many very happy returns of the day.

W. L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister of Canada."

The Prime Minister expresses the hope that the Canadian Press will find it possible to advise the morning papers to carry the message which was sent by him (on Saturday morning) on behalf of the Government and people of Canada, to King George VI at the time of his accession to the Throne. Also the personal message sent, as the King's representative, by the Governor General. These messages appeared only in some, not all, of the afternoon papers on Saturday.

The historic interest and importance of these messages would seem to make it advisable that they should find a place in all the morning papers of Monday.

Sequence would be
① Personal message from His Excellency to new King (Saturday) on his accession.
② Official message from Prime minister to new King on his accession. Sent on behalf of the Govt. and people of Canada (Saturday).
③ Message from Prime Minister to Queen Mary (Saturday).
④ " " Queen Mary to P. M. (rec'd Sunday).
⑤ " " Gov. General to King on behalf of himself & people of Canada on King's birthday (Monday)
⑥ " of Prime Minister on behalf of Govt. to King on his birthday (Monday).

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Coll. Abdication of Edward VIII
C 115377

EARNSCLIFFE
LINEN BOND
MADE IN CANADA

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of events during the crisis leading up to the

ABDICATION OF KING EDWARD VIII

and the

ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE VI

October 27th to December 15th, 1936

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HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VIII

Chronological Summary of Constitutional Issue.

1936		Clipping No.
January 20	Death of King George V. Edward VIII becomes King.	
" 21	Edward VIII takes oath of office.	
August 1	King goes on holiday cruise to Mediterranean.	
October 27	Decree nisi granted to Mrs. Wallis Simpson in Ipswich, England. (Montreal Gazette)	1.
November 5	Speech from the Throne - King refers to forthcoming Coronation and his succession to the Imperial Crown. (Debates)	2.
" 25	Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, with Sir John Davidson, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, confers with the King. (New York Times)	3.
December 1	Bishop of Bradford makes reference to the King in his address to the Diocesan Conference. (New York Times)	4.
	Explanation of remarks. (Manchester Guardian)	4a.
" 2	Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin makes second call on His Majesty. (Gazette)	5.
" 2	The Manchester Guardian advises King to "listen to whatever advice his Prime Minister has to offer in all matters affecting the welfare of Great Britain." (Ottawa Journal)	6.
" 2	James Maxton, Leader of the Left Wing of the Labour Party, declares: "If it is a dispute between the King and the Government, I cast my lot with the Government. We want no dictator". (Windsor Star, Dec. 2)	7.

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		Clipping No.
December 3	Prime Minister Baldwin's statement in House of Commons in reply to Major Attlee, saying it is inexpedient that he should be questioned at present. (Montreal Star, December 3rd)	8.
" 3	Prime Minister Mackenzie King's statement that he will not be drawn into any discussion on the subject. (Ottawa Citizen)	9.
" 3	Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., tables motion "that in the opinion of this House the Oath of Allegiance which they have already taken to King Edward VIII is unaffected by any form of Coronation Ceremony or by the presence thereat or absence therefrom of any dignitary or personage whatsoever, nor will they substitute any other for the King of England". Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., also publishes article, "Parliament, Cabinet and Crown", upholding the King, dated December 4. (See Montreal Gazette, December 5th)	10.
" 3	London Evening Star says: "Representations made in London by two Dominions (Canada and South Africa) have been generally responsible for bringing matters to a head. (Montreal Star)	11.
" 3	Australia - Cabinet meeting called at Canberra to discuss crisis. It is reported that the Government and Opposition are united and will support the British Cabinet against the King, on the ground that it is necessary for the King to accept the advice of his Ministers. (Montreal Star)	12.
" 3	New Zealand - Viscount Galway, Governor General, returned to Wellington by airplane, abandoning his Southern tour. (Montreal Star)	13.
" 3	House of Lords summoned to meet at 11 a.m. Friday. (New York Times)	14.

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		Clipping No.
December 3	Resignation of Sir Ralph Harwood, Financial Secretary to His Majesty. (New York Times)	15.
" 3	The London Times calls on the King to end once and for all the rumours surrounding the Throne. (Ottawa Journal)	16.
" 3	Dominions in constant communication with London. Rights under the Statute of Westminster. Canadian High Commissioner confers with Mr. MacDonald. (Ottawa Citizen)	17.
" 3	Premier Lyons of Australia has no statement to make. "The Australian public and Government have not been asked from any source for their opinion on the Constitutional crisis". (Ottawa Citizen)	18.
" 4	President Eamon de Valera silent on Constitutional Issue. (Globe and Mail)	19.
" 4	Text of Premier Baldwin's statement to House of Commons respecting a morganatic marriage: "His Majesty's Government are not prepared to introduce the necessary legislation". (London Times)	20.
" 4	Premier King's statement to the press respecting consultations between the several Governments of the Empire. (Ottawa Journal)	21.
" 4	Premier King cancels engagement to speak at Home Improvement Plan Meeting. (Journal)	22.
" 4	Indefinite postponement of Coronation Committee. (Ottawa Citizen)	23.
" 4	Royal Family cancels all engagements. King confers with Queen Mary, Premier Baldwin and Duke of York.	24.

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			Clipping No.
December	4	Sir Oswald Mosley says: "Before a junta of politicians can force the King to abdicate, the issue should be submitted to the votes of the people of Great Britain and the Dominions. (London Times)	25.
"	4	Mrs. Simpson leaves England for the Continent. (Montreal Gazette)	26.
"	4	Winston Churchill and sixty other Members of Parliament in a personal letter, offered to support the King. (Montreal Gazette)	27.
"	4	Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., assails Bishop of Bradford for exposing the King to publicity. (Montreal Gazette)	28.
		Sir Archibald Sinclair, Parliamentary Liberal Leader, states only issue is whether an Act can be passed giving the lady whom the King desires to marry a status other than that of Queen. Mr. Baldwin's statement in this regard represents the general feeling of the House.	. . (see also 28a)
		Ernest Bevan, President of the Trades and Labour Congress, made a public statement that: "We cannot forget the supremacy of Parliament". (Montreal Gazette)	
		James Maxton, Independent Labour, states those who have been responsible for the situation which has arisen struck a very deadly blow at the monarchic institution.	
"	4	The Archbishop of Canterbury announces that prayers will be offered in all Anglican Churches "for the lasting good of the realm and Empire". (Ottawa Journal)	29.
"	4	Demonstrations in London in praise of the King. (Ottawa Citizen)	30.
"	4	In Ottawa, National Anthem sung with unusual feeling. (Citizen)	31.
"	5	Australian Parliament to meet on December the 9th to discuss crisis. (Citizen)	32.
"	5	King Edward cancels all his official engagements for the present. (London Times)	32a.

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		Clipping No.
December 6	His Excellency the Governor General returned to Ottawa and saw the Prime Minister twice. (Journal)	33.
" 6	Sir Francis Floud cancels his trip to Sudbury. (Citizen)	34.
" 6	Premier King remains silent during week-end. The situation is being closely watched. Considered likely that within a day or two the details of the exchanges between Canada and Mr. Baldwin will be disclosed either here or in London. (Journal)	35.
" 6	British Cabinet holds two Cabinet meetings, and consults with His Majesty's Legal Adviser, Walter Monckton, K.C., Attorney General to the Duchy of Cornwall. His Majesty motors from Fort Belvedere to London to consult with Prime Minister Baldwin. Cabinet Ministers greeted with boos and counter cheers. Queen Mary visited by Prime Minister Baldwin. His Majesty and Mr. Monckton returned to Fort Belvedere, Mr. Monckton returning to London later for Cabinet deliberations. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Liberal Opposition Leader, called at Downing Street. The Archbishop of Canterbury called at Downing Street. Cabinet Session lasting two hours, at the close of which Mr. Baldwin stated he would make a statement to the House of Commons at 2.45 p.m. Monday, December 7th. Conservative group, supporting King, call meeting for 11.30 Monday morning, stating "acute and grave anxiety was felt as to the government's action and procedure". (Journal)	36.
" 6	Lord Dawson, of Penn, visits His Majesty and finds him in good health. (Montreal Gazette)	37.

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			Clipping No.
December	6	Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes, Australia's war-time premier, appeals to the King to make a supreme sacrifice for the sake of the Empire. The people of the Empire are alarmed and grieved beyond words, and feel that the world's foundations are crumbling. (Citizen)	38.
"	6	Political commentators in Great Britain urge His Majesty to heed Constitutional Advisers. (Journal)	39.
"	6	Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill issued statement that time and patience are demanded, and that no ministry has the authority to advise abdication of the Sovereign. (Journal)	40.
"	6	Lord Marley, Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords, addressing the Institute of Arts and Science in Brooklyn, N.Y., declares that the Dominions have no legal right to play any part in the "Simpson case". The Statute of Westminster, passed in 1931, relates to the connection between the Overseas Empire and the Throne without giving the Dominions any control whatever. (Montreal Gazette)	41.
"	6	British Columbia section of Douglas Social Credit, numbering seventy-five members, cabled His Majesty's Secretary that they regarded the constitutional crisis as an attack on the integrity of the Throne and an attempt to subject the Beloved Monarch of the British peoples to the power of political and economic reaction. (Ottawa Citizen)	42.
"	6	Premier Lyons, of Australia, announces that the Commonwealth Government had informed Premier Baldwin on its complete agreement with the stand taken by the British Government, as well as with any action contemplated in consequence of that event. (Gazette)	43.
"	6	Premier Michael Savage, of New Zealand, conferred with Viscount Galway, Governor General, after a secret two-hour session of the Cabinet. (Montreal Gazette)	44.

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		Clipping No.
December 6	National Anthem used as a "weapon" against the Police. (Citizen)	45.
" 6	The King's estate at Fort Belvedere put under guard. (Citizen)	46.
" 7	Premier Baldwin's statement to the House of Commons that it is the earnest desire of the Government to afford His Majesty the fullest opportunity of weighing his decision. (Journal)	47.
" 7	Mrs. Simpson's announcement on her attitude. Willing to withdraw from a situation that has become unhappy and untenable. (Journal)	48.
" 7	Clement Attlee, Leader of the Labour Opposition, questions Mr. Baldwin. Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill also questions Mr. Baldwin and causes scene with the Speaker. (Journal)	49.
" 7	Prime Minister Baldwin refuses a motion by Mr. Josiah Wedgwood - "to re-affirm Parliament's allegiance to the King". (London Times)	50.
" 7	Dr. Maud Royden declares King has challenged whole of "our insincere politics". (Citizen)	51.
" 7	Premier Savage, of New Zealand, hopes the Throne will never become a shuttlecock in a political fight. The government of New Zealand has endorsed Prime Minister Baldwin of Great Britain in his Cabinet's opposition to the King's proposed marriage. (Citizen)	52.
" 7	The London Times praises the attitude of Canadian papers and the Government, and states: "With no less self-suppression, their Government has been content to express no opinion until at His Majesty's own instance they were consulted". (Journal)	53.
" 7	Professor Berridale Keith declares that the Statute of Westminster expressly provided that for any alteration touching the succession there is requisite the assent of the Dominions, but this requirement is only placed in the preamble to the Act. It was deliberately decided not to give it the force of law. (Manchester Guardian)	54.

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		Clipping No.
December 7	Viscount Halifax, the Lord Privy Seal, delivered in the House of Lords, a similar statement to that made by Premier Baldwin in the House of Commons, that the King has yet to give his final decision. (Montreal Gazette) and London Times.	55 55a
" "	Lord Ponsonby, former Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, in a broadcast from London said that the very worst solution of the crisis would be the abdication of the King. (Montreal Gazette)	56
" "	Premier King issued statement saying that Mr. Baldwin, in his two statements to the House of Commons, had made the position perfectly clear and has said all that is necessary for the moment, and "I have nothing to add to them." (Montreal Gazette.)	57
" "	Sir Oswald Mosley and his Fascists seized upon the crisis to further their own political ends. (Montreal Gazette.)	58
" "	Winston Churchill's leadership receives set-back in the House of Commons, fewer than thirty Members of Parliament responding to the invitation to organize to "fight" for the King as against Mr. Baldwin. Resolution outlining the project was withdrawn because a dozen Members refused to sign it andanything less than unanimity would be fatal to the whole intrigue. (Montreal Gazette.)	59
" "	New Zealand - Premier Savage, in a statement issued at Wellington said that when the time comes New Zealand Government will make a statement about the crisis as a whole and its attitude toward the difficult and most delicate question. (Gazette)	60
" "	English Investment Trusts and Insurance Companies are buying large blocks of Canadian securities. (Journal)	61
" 8	Australia - After Cabinet met Premier Lyons said the Government were awaiting further communication from Mr. Baldwin. If the situation is unresolved by Wednesday, contingent legislation may be passed with the	62

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		Clipping No.
December 8	main object of insuring Princess Elizabeth's succession to the Throne after the Duke of York, in the event of the King's abdication. (Montreal Gazette)	
" "	Labour Leader Curtin issued a statement denying that the Labour Party concurs with the views of Premier Lyons. Mr. Lyons did not consult him regarding any advice tendered Mr. Baldwin. The Labour Party has not met in Conference and no agreement has been reached among its members. (Montreal Gazette)	62
" "	B. S. S. Stevens, Premier of New South Wales issued a statement in which he says "Let us ask him, (the King) to make this sacrifice only in deepest affection and humble loyalty. (Montreal Gazette)	63
" "	Premier Baldwin summoned to Fort Belvedere to receive the final decision of the King. The Duke of York and Duke of Kent also see His Majesty. (Ottawa Citizen)	64 64a
" "	Sir Edward Peacock, Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster, together with other officials are consulting at Fort Belvedere. (Citizen)	65
" "	South Africa - Parliament will convene on January the 8th. Concurrence in any action taken by the British Government in connection with the King's marraige would be automatic. (Ottawa Journal)	66
" "	Sir Robert Garran, Constitutional lawyer of Australia expresses the opinion that since the advice given by Premier Baldwin was also that of the Dominion Governments, the latter would have to resign if the British Government took this course. (Ottawa Journal)	67
" "	United Kingdom Social Crediters telegraph King Edward their support. (Ottawa Citizen)	68
" "	Mrs. Simpson made at least four telephone calls during day, and later posed for press photograph. (Journal)	69

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			Clipping No.
December	8	Premier Baldwin returned to No. 10 Downing Street after his conference with the King at Fort Belvedere, and spent some time with Sir John Simon, the Home Secretary. Citizen)	70.
"	8	Major Honourable Alexander Hardinge, Private Secretary to His Majesty, went to Lambeth Palace, the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Journal)	71.
"	8	Theodore Goddard, Mrs. Simpson's lawyer, accompanied by Dr. W. Douglas Kirkwood and a clerk, made a hurried flight to Cannes.	72.
"	8	Lord Brownlow stated Mrs. Simpson wished to dispose of her London residence, as she is not returning there for some time. (Citizen)	
"	8	Prime Minister Mackenzie King conferred again with the Governor General, and also with Sir Francis Floud. (Citizen)	73.
"	8	Mr. Lloyd George cancels his passage to England from Jamaica, saying he believed the crisis was passed, and that it would be a tragedy for everybody in the British Empire if King Edward quit the Throne. (Journal)	74.
"	8	The Social Credit Bureau of Canada expresses full support to His Majesty. (Citizen)	75.
"	8	Parliamentary Labour Party, under the Chairmanship of Clement Attlee, met privately today. Mr. Attlee said that Mr. Baldwin had not asked him for any pledge not to form a government in the event of the Cabinet's resignation, nor had one been given voluntarily. (Gazette)	76.
"	8	London Times Editorial discusses Mrs. Simpson's offer, and states that it is for the King alone to make the decision. We can only wait while he debates in his own conscience an issue of which the government became aware less than a fortnight ago, but which he must have foreseen for a very much longer period. (Gazette)	77.
"	8	Australia - Premier Lyons told the House of Representatives that a respectful and sympathetic silence in Parliament was the best contribution that could be offered. (Journal)	78.

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			Clipping No.
December	8	South Africa - following a Cabinet meeting it was said that the concurrence of the South African Government in any action taken by the British Government in connection with the King's marriage would be automatic. This, because such action would be taken only after the British Government had consulted with the Dominions. (Gazette)	79.
		New Zealand - Premier Savage today requested Adam Hamilton, Leader of the Opposition, to proceed to Wellington "since need of his presence there might arise".	
"	8	Premier Baldwin in the House of Commons today, replying to a question by Mr. Attlee, said: "I regret I am not in a position to add anything today, but I hope to make a statement tomorrow. (Citizen)	80.
"	8	Premier Baldwin calling Cabinet meeting and moving to ensure full Session of Parliament tomorrow, prepares to ask Vote of Confidence from the House of Commons. (Journal)	81.
"	9	Queen Mary visits His Majesty alone. She was accompanied by the Princess Royal and the Earl of Athlone, who also saw the King. (Gazette)	82.
"	9	Irish Free State - Cabinet meeting called by President Eamon de Valera. (Citizen)	83.
"	9	Australia - Liberal Opposition demands disclosure of all communications in connection with the crisis. (Gazette)	84.
"	9	Lord Brownlow states Mrs. Simpson's offer still stands. (Citizen)	85.
"	9	British Cabinet meets in last tragedy of the King. (Citizen)	86.
"	9	Chronology of the day, as recorded by the Montreal Gazette.	87.
"	10	His Majesty King Edward VIII renounces the Throne. Text of his abdication and message as read by the Speaker of the House of Commons. (Journal)	88.
"	10	Premier Baldwin's statement to the House of Commons, giving details of steps leading up to His Majesty's abdication. (Journal)	89.
"	10	Premier Mackenzie King's radio address; Canada's part in the crisis. (Gazette)	90.
"	10	Order-in-Council passed by the Dominion Government authorizing the British Government to include Canada in the Act of Acceptance of the King's abdication which the British Parliament will pass. (Journal)	91.

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C 115395

			Clipping No.
December	10	Mr. J. S. Woodsworth protests as a Member of Parliament pledged to loyalty to King Edward VIII, against the usurpation by the Cabinet of the powers of Parliament. (Citizen)	92.
"	10	Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League issued a statement expressing regret at the abdication of King Edward and affirms its loyalty to the Throne. (Citizen)	93.
"	10	Fascists in London demonstrate before No. 10 Downing Street. (Journal)	94.
"	10	Australia - Strong protests were made by the Labour Opposition to the government's policy of silence in regard to a matter of major importance to the Throne. (Gazette)	95.
"	10	Speeches by prominent Members of the British House of Commons, following Premier Baldwin's statement: (Gazette)	
		Clement Attlee, Leader of the Labour Opposition.	96.
		Sir Archibald Sinclair, Leader of the Liberal Opposition.	97.
		Josiah Wedgwood, Independent Labour.	98.
		Winston Churchill, Conservative.	99.
		James Maxton, Independent Labour Party Leader.	100.
		William Gallacher, Communist.	101.
		George Buchanan, Independent Labour.	102.
		Sir Ian Fraser, Conservative.	103.
"	11	Australia - The Senate today passed a resolution assenting to the provisions of the succession legislation introduced in the British Parliament. (Citizen)	104.
"	11	Canada Gazette - Special issue containing the Instrument of Abdication. (Citizen)	105.
"	11	South Africa - Premier J. B. M. Hertzog cables to King Edward VIII message thanking him for the signal services he rendered to the Empire as Prince of Wales and during his reign as King. (Gazette)	105a.

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C115396

			Clipping No.
December	11	British House of Commons and House of Lords by Royal Commission gave assent to Instrument of Abdication signed by Edward VIII. (Citizen)	106.
"	11	Irish Free State abolishes position of Governor General and deprives the King of any executive power except in foreign affairs. (Gazette)	107.
"	11	Prince Edward dines with Her Majesty Queen Mary, his brother, King George VI, and other members of the Royal Family. (Journal)	108.
"	11	Prince Edward broadcasts from Windsor Castle his farewell message to the Empire, and vows his allegiance to the new King. (Montreal Gazette)	109.
"	11	Queen Mary issues statement to the peoples of the Empire, thanking them for their sympathy and commending His Majesty King George VI to them. (Gazette)	110.
"	12	Prince Edward leaves England from Portsmouth at 1.50 a.m., on board the yacht "Enchantress" for destination unknown. (Citizen)	111.
"	12	George VI is proclaimed King in Canada at 10.10 a.m., Eastern Standard Time, by the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, and the Honourable Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, this proclamation taking place immediately following the proclamation at St. James' Palace in London, England	112. Citizen 112a.
		Text of Proclamation read by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King. (Citizen)	113.
"	12	His Excellency Lord Tweedsmuir sends message of loyalty to King George VI. (Citizen)	114.
"	12	Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King cables message of loyalty to King George VI. (Citizen)	115.
"	12	King George VI confers title His Royal Highness the Duke of Windsor on His former Majesty King Edward VIII. (Citizen)	116.

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			Clipping No.
December 12		Accession of His Majesty King George VI proclaimed in Australia (Gazette)	117.
		South Africa (Citizen)	118.
		British West Indies (Gazette)	119.
		Singapore (Citizen)	120.
"	12	President Roosevelt cables felicitations on behalf of the people of the United States to King George VI on his accession to the Throne. (Citizen)	121.
"	12	Premier Lebrun of France sends his good wishes to the new King. (Journal)	122.
"	12	His Majesty King George VI issues messages to the British Army, Navy and Air Force. (Citizen)	123.
"	12	Coronation of His Majesty as King George VI announced officially from London to take place on May 12th, 1937. (Citizen)	124.
"	12	Birthday of His Majesty not to be celebrated in London by special request of the King. (Citizen)	125.
"	12	Canada to celebrate His Majesty's birthday by public holiday, according to an announcement made by the Prime Minister. (Journal)	126.
"	13	His Majesty's speech to the Accession Council. (Gazette)	127.
"	13	Irish Free State passes Bill recognising His Majesty as King of the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Gazette)	128.
"	13	Province of Ontario - Lieutenant-Governor H.A. Bruce sends message of loyalty and affection to the King. (Citizen)	129.
"	13	Duke of Windsor reaches Vienna to be the guest of Baron Eugene de Rothschild at Enzesfeld Castle. (Gazette)	130.
"	13	Archbishop of Canterbury publicly rebukes the former King in regard to his proposed marriage and for the selection of his friends. (Gazette)	131.
"	14	King George VI celebrates his 41st birthday and honours Queen Elizabeth by conferring on her membership in the Most Noble Order of the Garter. (Citizen)	132.

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		Clipping No.
December 14	Canada sends birthday greetings to His Majesty King George VI by His Excellency the Governor General and by the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister. (Gazette)	133.
" 14	Chancellor Hitler sends birthday felicitations to the new King. (Citizen)	134.
" 14	King George VI in his first message to Parliament, re-affirms his intention to "uphold the honour of the realm and promote the happiness of my peoples". (Citizen)	135.
" 14	Premier King voices thanks of Government to Sir Francis Floud for his co-operation throughout the crisis. (Citizen)	136.
" 15	King George VI sends expressions of appreciation to the Governor General and the Prime Minister for their birthday wishes. (Journal)	137.

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MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

C 115399

Ottawa, December 16, 1936.

Mr. Pickering:

The attached summary of radio broadcasts on the abdication of Edward VIII may be of some use for the record which is being compiled. This was prepared by Mr. Measures.

W.J.T.

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C 115400 Dec. 16, 1936

B-102-2
Urle(b)

8.20 p.m.
Short Wave

Bulletin from London.:

David Windsor will speak at 10.00 p.m. Friday, as a private citizen. His farewell address will be an expression of his loyalty to his brother, and a plea to the people of the British Empire to rally to his support.

His broadcast will be carried by British Broadcasting Corporation and by United States and Canadian stations.

8.45 p.m.
Short Wave

Local Broadcast at Baltimore:

Mrs. Simpson's home capitalized her today, on her name. Everything from hats to ice cream was named after her.

8.50 p.m.

New York:

The magazine " Life" declared that the real rub between Edward and the Cabinet is not Mrs. Simpson, but Edward's symptoms of turning into an aggressive King. It touches the old Tories on their rawest spot; he has embarrassed the Government by declaring that something must be done about the depressed areas. Edward has continually opposed the Cabinet, not only on unemployment but on foreign policy.

8.52 p.m.

London:

Large crowds cheered the new King and crowded around him when he returned to his house in Piccadilly, He raised his hat in response. When he entered the house they sang "God Save the King".

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9.00 p.m. Dr. H. L. Stewart, Halifax, N.S.

The ~~suddenness~~ sadness of todays events cannot be minimized, but confident temper inaugurated the new regime. The leave taking is without bitterness, and in calm and with affection. Baldwin and Edward have parted both inflexible, but with mutual esteem. There has been shown a power of inexorable res istance. The strength of Edward's hold on the people has been shown.

Dr. Stewart referred to Edward's characteristics- superiority to sham &c. No one is likely to depreciate or forget his long Princely, and his short Royal career, but the exacting exorbitant request of Edward could not be granted.

What Parliament and people asked to yield is most precious in British practice- the re-establishment of personal rule and the disregard of Ministers' advice, Most of the traditions of home and family relationship which British people prize most of all.

There has been an obvious hardening of public opinion against Edward since Sunday last.

The braak has come with decisiveness combined with charitableness. The unfortunate romance should assuage our severities.

There has been a display of moral fibre by the British peoples. It took time to consolidate the support of political leaders.

Grave things have been done, strong wills have met in conflict on the question as to what is supremely valuable.

Throughout it all there has been a disposition to think best of one another.

It has been a an object lesson to a sceptical world.

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C115402

We should carry the ~~timbre~~ temper of todays achievement into the future; take Baldwin as a model.

Edward made a moving and patriotic message of farewell.

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(1937) C 115403

ROYAL ASSENT

The Royal Assent to a Bill which is passed in both Houses of course may be affixed either in person or by a Commission under the Sign Manual and Great Seal.

In the case of the Abdication Bill, Assent was signified through a Royal Commission. A full statement will be found in the London Times of Saturday December 12th, page 7, columns 2 and 3.

Five minutes after the Act had passed the House, the Lords Commissioners - the Earl of Onslow, Earl Stanhope, and Lord Denman - entered in their robes and took their seats on the Woolsack. The Earl of Onslow then spoke the Commissioners' instruction to Black Rod to secure the attendance of the Commons. He then declared in the traditional formula -"His Majesty, not thinking fit to be personally present here at this time, has been pleased to cause a Commission to be issued under the Great Seal and thereby given his Royal Assent to an Act which has been agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, the title whereof is particularly mentioned; and by the said Commission hath commanded us to declare and notify his Royal Assent to the said Act in the presence of you, the Lords and Commons assembled for that purpose, which Commission you will now hear read."

THE COMMISSION

"Signed by the King's Own Hand" was then read.

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C 115404

The Earl of Onslow then declared that"His Majesty has given his Royal Assent to the Act and the Clerks are required to pass the same in the usual form and words."

Sir Claud Schuster (the Clerk of the Crown) then read the title of the Act and Sir Henry Badeley (Clerk of the Parliaments) turning to the Commons, declared in the old formula "Le roy le veult."

The new reign had begun.

O.D. SKELTON

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Coll - Abdication of Edward VIII

C 115405

ORDERS OF THE HOUSE

For a copy of all correspondence, telegrams, cablegrams, memoranda exchanged between the Prime Minister of Canada or any Canadian official and the Prime Minister of Great Britain or any official or representative of the British Government or Crown regarding the proposed marriage and abdication of His former Majesty, King Edward VIII, or the succession to the Throne, and accession of His Majesty King George VI. Also copies of all orders-in-Council relative to above matters.

MR. J. S. WOODSWORTH.

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(J.E. READ) JAN. 5, 1937.

J. S. H. 115406
Jan.5/37.

Abdication of Edward VIII re Crown

NOTES CONCERNING ROYAL ABDICATION AND SUCCESSION.

I. CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

A - Constitutional Position in Canada as to the Power of the Parliament to take Action with regard to Succession.

The preamble of the British North America Act 1867, refers to the desire of the provinces to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Section 2 provides for the application of provisions referring to the Queen, to the "Heirs and Successors of Her Majesty, Kings and Queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland".

There are many important provisions relating directly to the Crown in the Act, but particular reference may be made to Sections 9, 17, 55, 56, 57, 91.

The Crown is interwoven into the constitutional structure of Canada. Alteration of these provisions would involve, not ordinary legislation, but amendment of the Constitution. The Crown, by the provisions of the British North America Act is, in so far as Canada is concerned, identical with the Crown in the United Kingdom.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that from the strictly legal point of view, prior to the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, it would have been beyond the powers of the Parliament of Canada to enact a law changing the succession. This does not mean that the

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Parliament of Canada could not have enacted a declaratory statute, a confirmatory enactment, or a legislative expression of assent; it simply means that the Parliament of Canada could not by operative enactment change the succession.

A change of this sort would have been a fundamental constitutional change which could only be made legally effective by enactment by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This enactment,if former precedents had been followed, would have been pursuant either to a humble address from the Senate and House of Commons of Canada or, in the alternative, pursuant to request from the Government of Canada.

The Statute of Westminster affects this position. The preamble provides that "any alteration in the law, touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all of the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." It is true that this provision is set forth in the preamble to the Act. Consequently, it cannot be regarded as actually changing the law. It can merely be regarded as expressing a solemn constitutional convention, whereby any such alterations require the assent of all of the Parliaments. While this recital cannot be regarded as adding to the powers of the Parliament of Canada, in the strictly legal sense, it places beyond dispute the propriety of parliamentary action expressing Canadian assent. It has already been pointed out that, apart altogether from the Statute of Westminster, there could be no question raised, if the

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Parliament of Canada expressed its assent to action which was beyond its ordinary legislative powers. The fact that the Parliament of Canada could not deal with the matter substantive enactment could not properly be raised as an objection. There is no rule known to the Constitutional Law of Canada or of Great Britain requiring a Parliament to limit its activity to substantive enactment. Indeed, the precedents run the other way.

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B - Application of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster and the question of the Propriety of Action by the Governor-in-Council in submitting the request and Consent of Canada.

Two parts of the Statute of Westminster are relevant; the third recital and the fourth section. They are as follows:

Third Recital

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion:

Section 4.

No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to the enactment thereof.

The third recital sets forth the constitutional convention.

The third recital was incorporated in the Statute of Westminster pursuant to the recommendation contained in the Report of the Committee on the Operation of Dominion Legislation 1929, para. 54, which was approved by the Imperial Conference 1930, by resolution. The purpose of this recital was to record a statement embodying the conventional usage, with a view to

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reconciling the existence of the legal power in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate for the Dominions with the established constitutional position.

In the same report, in para. 55, it was recognized that practical considerations affecting the drafting of Bills and interpretation of Statutes, made it desirable that the principle should also be expressed in the enacting part of the Statute of Westminster, and a clause was drafted accordingly. This clause was revised by the Imperial Conference 1930 and appears as Section 4 of the Statute. The revision consisted in adding the words: "as part of the law in force in that Dominion."

Accordingly, it appears that both the recital and Section 4 were included in the Statute of Westminster for the purpose of making provision for the continuance in a technical, legal sense, of Imperial legislative supremacy. In so far as South Africa and the Irish Free State are concerned, there can be strong arguments advanced for the view that the Statute of Westminster was a renounciation of legislative sovereignty. This view is strengthened by the South African action in enacting the status of the Union Act. In the case of Canada, however, the position is much more difficult. The weight of opinion amongst lawyers and judges would undoubtedly favour the view that the supreme legislative power continued in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and accordingly the recital in question, and Section 4, were essential restraints upon the exercise of that power.

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It may thus be assumed that there remained in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the power to make laws extending to Canada, and that if the laws set forth on their face the request and consent of Canada, they would be effective. This is particularly true in the case of a law relating to the constitution, such as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936. There could be no doubt as to the validity of this law, which contained on its face a recital of the request and consent of Canada.

It should be borne in mind that Section 4 is not conferring a power upon the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It is imposing a limitation upon the exercise of a power already existing. It could not be argued that laws relating to the succession do not come within Section 4, and that therefore the Parliament of the United Kingdom could not enact such laws extending to Canada, because if you exclude the laws from Section 4, which is not a source of power to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, they would remain within the scope of the original power of that Parliament. The effect of exclusion would be merely to release them from the limitation. Further, it could not be effectively argued that the specific reference to the laws in the preamble excluded them from the operation of Section 4. It is inconceivable that the Parliaments which were concerned in the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, in setting forth the second recital, proposed to weaken the position of the kingship by withdrawing it from the limitation

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imposed by Section 4.

The true interpretation of the effect of the second and third recitals and Section 4, when read together, is that the second recital is intended to express a conventional limitation superimposed upon the first limitation, as set forth in the third recital andSection 4. It is designed to create a constitutional obligation of unanimity in the one type of legislation which was fundamentally important. The common kingship was the essential prerequisite of the of the continued existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations. No one member and no two members should be able to destroy the common kingship by unilateral or bilateral action. Unilateral or bilateral action would be in fact succession, and the second recital is an expression of this fact.

Accordingly, it is submitted that the change in the succession, by an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, reciting the request and consent of Canada, was legally effective. The question remains whether the request and consent could properly be made by the Government, as distinct from the Parliament of Canada.

The word "Dominion" as used in the third recital and Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931, cannot be construed as equivalent to the parliament of a Dominion. In the drafting of the Statute of Westminster great care was taken to use the word "Parliament" where Parliament was intended, and it would not be practicable

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to incorporate it by implication where the word "Parliament" is omitted. Reference might be made to the second recital, Section 2, and to the express exception in Section 9 (3), where a special interpretation is placed upon the word "Dominion", in Section 4, in the case of Australia. It provides that the request and consent referred to in Section 4 shall mean the request and consent of the Parliament and Government of the Commonwealth.

Further, during the Debates in the House of Commons, when the Statute of Westminster was under consideration, an amendment substituting the words, "Parliament of that Dominion" in Section 4, was rejected.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that the request of the Government of Canada would in all ordinary cases be an adequate compliance with the provisions of Section 4. The Government of the United Kingdom could not look behind the request, and the responsibility would be upon the Government of Canada to determine the extent of the consents or approvals that ought to precede the submission of such a request.

The present position is, however, complicated by the fact that the legislation was dealing with a matter governed by the second recital. That recital required the assent of the Parliament of Canada to legislation of this sort. It was, however, included in the preamble and the failure to furnish the assent could not affect the legal validity of the legislation. It could only go to the question of constitutional propriety.

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There can be no doubt that as a matter of constitutional propriety the assent of the Parliament of Canada should be obtained as a condition precedent to the condition of request for a fundamental change in the Canadian constitution. The only justification that can be put forward is the matter of urgency. In a constitutional crisis, a government may be compelled to go beyond strict legality or strict constitutional propriety in order to preserve the essentials of the constitutional position. In the present instance, it may be contended that it was not practicable to consult Parliament before the enactment of the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Upon this assumption, no Canadian Government could possibly face potential chaos that would exist in the event of a gap in the kingship intervening.

Any reference to the provinces' interest is doubtful policy. OD.

The situation would be different in the Irish Free State or South Africa, whose constitutions are essentially unitary. In Canada the great extent of provincial powers makes it impracticable for any Canadian Government to accept a situation which would involve a gap in the kingship. For instance, let us assume that the Canadian Government had summoned Parliament and deferred action until after the Parliament of the United Kingdom had acted, there would be grave doubts as to the kingship during the interval, and even after the interval, assuming subsequent Canadian legislative action. These doubts would affect provincial, as well as Dominion matters and would be incapable of being cured by the defacto exercise of power pending effective confirmatory legislation and subsequent acts of indemnity.

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The curative measures would involve legislation by all nine of the Provinces, as well as by the Parliament of Canada, and no Canadian Government could accept responsibility for ultimate legislation by nine provinces.

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C - Constitutional Power in the Other Dominions to take Action with regard to the Succession.

In the case of Australia and New Zealand, Sections 2 and 4 of the Statute of Westminster have no application until adoption by the respective Parliaments. There has been no such adoption and, consequently, Australia and New Zealand are in the position of being subject to the preamble, but not to the relevant operative sections of the Act. Accordingly, to satisfy the constitutional provisions set forth in the second recital, the assent of the Parliaments of Australia and New Zealand would be necessary. No action by any Australian or New Zealand agency was required in order to make the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom legally effective in those Dominions.

It is clear that in the case of Australia it would not be within the power of the Parliament of the Commonwealth to enact operative legislation dealing with the Succession. That could only be done by constitutional amendment, and even in that manner the provisions of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, relating to the Crown, could not be affected.

I have not available complete texts of the relevant constitutional documents in so far as New Zealand is concerned. It may, however, safely be assumed that the New Zealand position is essentially the same as the Australian, in this respect.

The Union of South Africa is in a different position. The Statute of Westminster has been adopted

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and re-enacted by the Status of the Union Act. Further, the Union Parliament, subject to special procedures in certain instances, has complete power to amend the constitution. Consequently, there could be no doubt that the Union Parliament would have power, by a substantive enactment, to change the kingship.

The position in the Irish Free State is obscure. In the absence of texts of the present constitution, it is not possible to speak with certainty. It may be said, however, that, prior to recent constitutional changes, the Parliament of the Irish Free State was fully empowered to make constitutional changes and, consequently, that legislation in relation to the kingship would be intra vires. It is probably safe to assume, in view of the recent Irish legislative action dealing with the abdication, that there have been no recent limitations imposed upon legislative power.

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SAFETY FILM

D - Constitutional Position in the other Dominions with regard to Application of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931.

It has already been pointed out that Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster has no application in the case of Australia and New Zealand. This probably explains the fact that Australia and New Zealand did not request and consent to the enactment of His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936, but simply assented to the enactment. The statute was legally effective in Australia and New Zealand, apart altogether from their participation, and the only action by Australia and New Zeland that was necessary was assent, pursuant to the second recital of the preamble.

The case of South Africa is different. The Status of the Union Act 1934, re-enacted the preamble and Sections1 to 5, 11 and 12 of the Statute of Westminster. It provided by Section 2 that no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom should extend to the Union as part of the law of the Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union. Section 5 amends Section 2 of the South Africa Act by the insertion of a definition of Heirs and Successors, as follows:-

> "'heirs and successors' shall be taken to mean His Majesty's heirs and successors in the sovereignty of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as determined by the laws relating to the succession of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Accordingly, in the case of South Africa, it was impossible to act under Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster by reason of the provisions of Section 2

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of the Status of the Union Act. An expression of request and consent was inappropriate in the case of South Africa. The position there is somewhat obscure, but it seems probable that, by virtue of Section 5 of the Status of the Union Act, i.e. under a South African Statute, the demise of the Crown, resulting from the abdication, would be legally effective.
It is possible that the expression of assent in the preamble was intended to express the subsequent assent which would, in the ordinary course, be given by the Union Parliament, pursuant to the provisions of the second recital.

There is, however, a possibility that there may have been a vacancy pending Parliamentary action in South Africa, but this cannot be cleared up without further information.

In the case of the Irish Free State, the position with regard to Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, is similar to the Canadian. There is no doubt that the Free State could have acted in that way, but instead they preferred to submit the matter to Parliament and to rely upon independent legislation involving a disunity in the kingship for at least a day. There was a short period during which King Edward was King of Ireland and King George was the King of the rest of the British Commonwealth.

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Jan. 5/37. 4

NOTES CONCERNING ROYAL ABDICATION AND SUCCESSION

I. CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

A - Constitutional Position in Canada as to the Power of the Parliament to take Action with regard to Succession.

The preamble of the British North America Act 1867 refers to the desire of the provinces to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Section 2 provides for the application of provisions referring to the Queen, to the "Heirs and Successors of Her Majesty, Kings and Queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland".

There are many important provisions relating directly to the Crown in the Act, but particular reference may be made to Sections 9, 17, 55, 56, 57, 91.

The Crown is interwoven into the constitutional structure of Canada. Alteration of these provisions would involve, not ordinary legislation, but amendment of the Constitution. The Crown, by the provisions of the British North America Act is, in so far as Canada is concerned, identical with the Crown in the United Kingdom.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that from the strictly legal point of view, prior to the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, it would have been beyond the powers of the Parliament of Canada to enact a law changing the succession. This does not mean that the

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Parliament of Canada could not have enacted a declaratory statute, a confirmatory enactment, or a legislative expression of assent; it simply means that the Parliament of Canada could not by operative enactment change the succession.

A change of this sort would have been a fundamental constitutional change which could only be made legally effective by enactment by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This enactment, if former precedents had been followed, would have been pursuant either to a humble address from the Senate and House of Commons of Canada or, in the alternative, pursuant to request from the Government of Canada.

The Statute of Westminster affects this position. The preamble provides that "any alteration in the law, touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all of the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." It is true that this provision is set forth in the preamble to the Act. Consequently, it cannot be regarded as actually changing the law. It can merely be regarded as expressing a solemn constitutional convention, whereby any such alterations require the assent of all of the Parliaments. While this recital cannot be regarded as adding to the powers of the Parliament of Canada, in the strictly legal sense, it places beyond dispute the propriety of parliamentary action expressing Canadian assent. It has already been pointed out that, apart altogether from the Statute of Westminster, there could be no question raised, if the

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Parliament of Canada expressed its assent to action which was beyond its ordinary legislative powers. The fact that the Parliament of Canada could not deal with the matter by substantive enactment could not properly be raised as an objection. There is no rule known to the Constitutional Law of Canada or of Great Britain requiring a Parliament to limit its activity to substantive enactment. Indeed, the precedents run the other way.

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B - Application of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster and the question of the Propriety of Action by the Governor-in-Council in submitting the request and Consent of Canada.

Two parts of the Statute of Westminster are relevant; the third recital and the fourth section. They are as follows:

Third Recital

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominions

Section 4.

No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to the enactment thereof.

The third recital sets forth the constitutional convention.

The third recital was incorporated in the Statute of Westminster pursuant to the recommendation contained in the Report of the Committee on the Operation of Dominion Legislation 1929, para. 54, which was approved by the Imperial Conference 1930, by resolution. The purpose of this recital was to record a statement embodying the conventional usage, with a view to

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reconciling the existence of the legal power in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate for the Dominions with the established constitutional position.

In the same report, in para. 55, it was recognized that practical considerations affecting the drafting of Bills and interpretation of Statutes, made it desirable that the principle should also be expressed in the enacting part of the Statute of Westminster, and a clause was drafted accordingly. This clause was revised by the Imperial Conference 1930 and appears as Section 4 of the Statute. The revision consisted in adding the words: "as part of the law in force in that Dominion."

Accordingly, it appears that both the recital and Section 4 were included in the Statute of Westminster for the purpose of making provision for the continuance in a technical, legal sense, of Imperial legislative supremacy. In so far as South Africa and the Irish Free State are concerned, there can be strong arguments advanced for the view that the Statute of Westminster was a renunciation of legislative sovereignty. This view is strengthened by the South African action in enacting the status of the Union Act. In the case of Canada, however, the position is much more difficult. The weight of opinion amongst lawyers and judges would undoubtedly favour the view that the supreme legislative power continued in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and accordingly the recital in question, and Section 4, were essential restraints upon the exercise of that power.

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It may thus be assumed that there remained in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the power to make laws extending to Canada, and that if the laws set forth on their face the request and consent of Canada, they would be effective. This is particularly true in the case of a law relating to the constitution, such as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936. There could be no doubt as to the validity of this law, which contained on its face a recital of the request and consent of Canada.

It should be borne in mind that Section 4 is not conferring a power upon the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It is imposing a limitation upon the exercise of a power already existing. It could not be argued that laws relating to the succession do not come within Section 4, and that therefore the Parliament of the United Kingdom could not enact such laws extending to Canada, because if you exclude the laws from Section 4, which is not a source of power to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, they would remain within the scope of the original power of that Parliament. The effect of exclusion would be merely to release them from the limitation. Further, it could not be effectively argued that the specific reference to the laws in the preamble excluded them from the operation of Section 4. It is inconceivable that the Parliaments which were concerned in the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, in setting forth the second recital, proposed to weaken the position of the kingship by withdrawing it from the limitation

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imposed by Section 4.

The true interpretation of the effect of the second and third recitals and Section 4, when read together, is that the second recital is intended to express a conventional limitation superimposed upon the first limitation, as set forth in the third recital and Section 4. It is designed to create a constitutional obligation of unanimity in the one type of legislation which was fundamentally important. The common kingship was the essential prerequisite of the continued existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations. No one member and no two members should be able to destroy the common kingship by unilateral or bilateral action. Unilateral or bilateral action would be in fact secession, and the second recital is an expression of this fact.

Accordingly, it is submitted that the change in the succession, by an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, reciting the request and consent of Canada, was legally effective. The question remains whether the request and consent could properly be made by the Government, as distinct from the Parliament of Canada.

The word "Dominion" as used in the third recital and Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931, cannot be construed as equivalent to the parliament of a Dominion. In the drafting of the Statute of Westminster great care was taken to use the word "Parliament" where Parliament was intended, and it would not be practicable

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to incorporate it by implication where the word "Parliament" is omitted. Reference might be made to the second recital, Section2, and to the express exception in Section 9 (3), where a special interpretation is placed upon the word "Dominion", in Section 4, in the case of Australia. It provides that the request and consent referred to in Section 4 shall mean the request and consent of the Parliament and Government of the Commonwealth.

Further, during the Debates in the House of Commons, when the Statute of Westminster was under consideration, an amendment substituting the words, "Parliament of that Dominion" in Section 4, was rejected.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that the request of the Government of Canada would in all ordinary cases be an adequate compliance with the provisions of Section 4. The Government of the United Kingdom could not look behind the request, and the responsibility would be upon the Government of Canada to determine the extent of the consents or approvals that ought to precede the submission of such a request.

The present position is, however, complicated by the fact that the legislation was dealing with a matter governed by the second recital. That recital required the assent of the Parliament of Canada to legislation of this sort. It was, however, included in the preamble and the failure to furnish the assent could not affect the legal validity of the legislation. It could only go to the question of constitutional propriety.

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There can be no doubt that as a matter of constitutional propriety the assent of the Parliament of Canada should be obtained as a condition precedent to the condition of request for a fundamental change in the Canadian constitution. The only justification that can be put forward is the matter of urgency. In a constitutional crisis, a government may be compelled to go beyond strict legality or strict constitutional propriety in order to preserve the essentials of the constitutional position. In the present instance, it may be contended that it was not practicable to consult Parliament before the enactment of the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Upon this assumption, no Canadian Government could possibly face potential chaos that would exist in the event of a gap in the kingship intervening.

I would doubt the expediency of any reference to the provincial factor O.D.

The situation would be different in the Irish Free State or South Affica, whose constitutions are essentially unitary. In Canada the great extent of provincial powers makes it impracticable for any Canadian Government to accept a situation which would involve a gap in the kingship. For instance, let us assume that the Canadian Government had summoned Parliament and deferred action until after the Parliament of the United Kingdom had acted, there would be grave doubts as to the kingship during the interval, and even after the interval, assuming subsequent Canadian legislative action. These doubts would affect provincial, as well as Dominion matters and would be incapable of being cured by the defacto exercise of power pending effective confirmatory legislation and subsequent acts of indemnity.

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The curative measures would involve legislation by all nine of the Provinces, as well as by the Parliament of Canada, and no Canadian Government could accept responsibility for ultimate legislation by nine provinces.

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C - Constitutional Power in the Other Dominions to take Action with regard to the Succession.

In the case of Australia and New Zealand, Sections 2 and 4 of the Statute of Westminster have no application until adoption by the respective Parliaments. There has been no such adoption and, consequently, Australia and New Zealand are in the position of being subject to the preamble, but not to the relevant operative sections of the Act. Accordingly, to satisfy the constitutional provisions set forth in the second recital, the assent of the Parliaments of Australia and New Zealand would be necessary. No action by any Australian or New Zealand agency was required in order to make the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom legally effective in those Dominions.

It is clear that in the case of Australia it would not be within the power of the Parliament of the Commonwealth to enact operative legislation dealing with the Succession. That could only be done by constitutional amendment, and even in that manner the provisions of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, relating to the Crown, could not be affected.

I have not available complete texts of the relevant constitutional documents in so far as New Zealand is concerned. It may, however, safely be assumed that the New Zealand position is essentially the same as the Australian, in this respect.

The Union of South Africa is in a different position. The Statute of Westminster has been adopted

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and re-enacted by the Status of the Union Act. Further, the Union Parliament, subject to special procedures in certain instances, has complete power to amend the constitution. Consequently, there could be no doubt that the Union Parliament would have power, by a substantive enactment, to change the kingship.

The position in the Irish Free State is obscure. In the absence of texts of the present constitution, it is not possible to speak with certainty. It may be said, however, that, prior to recent constitutional changes, the Parliament of the Irish Free State was fully empowered to make constitutional changes and, consequently, that legislation in relation to the kingship would be intra vires. It is probably safe to assume, in view of the recent Irish legislative action dealing with the abdication, that there have been no recent limitations imposed upon legislative power.

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D - Constitutional Position in the other Dominions with regard to Application of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931

It has already been pointed out that Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster has no application in the case of Australia and New Zealand. This probably explains the fact that Australia and New Zealand did not request and consent to the enactment of His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936, but simply assented to the enactment. The statute was legally effective in Australia and New Zealand, apart altogether from their participation, and the only action by Australia and New Zealand that was necessary was assent, pursuant to the second recital of the preamble.

The case of South Africa is different. The Status of the Union Act 1934, re-enacted the preamble and Sections 1 to 5, 11 and 12 of the Statute of Westminster. It provided by Section 2 that no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom should extend to the Union as part of the law of the Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union. Section 5 amends Section 2 of the South Africa Act by the insertion of a definition of Heirs and Successors, as follows:-

> "'heirs and successors' shall be taken to mean His Majesty's heirs and successors in the sovereignty of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as determined by the laws relating to the succession of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Accordingly, in the case of South Africa, it was impossible to act under Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster by reason of the provisions of Section 2

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of the Status of the Union Act. An expression of request and consent was inappropriate in the case of South Africa. The position there is somewhat obscure, but it seems probable that, by virtue of Section 5 of the Status of the Union Act, i.e. under a South African Statute, the demise of the Crown, resulting from the abdication, would be legally effective.
It is possible that the expression of assent in the preamble was intended to express the subsequent assent which would, in the ordinary course, be given by the Union Parliament, pursuant to the provisions of the second recital.

There is, however, a possibility that there may have been a vacancy pending Parliamentary action in South Africa, but this cannot be cleared up without further information.

In the case of the Irish Free State, the position with regard to Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, is similar to the Canadian. There is no doubt that the Free State could have acted in that way, but instead they preferred to submit the matter to Parliament and to rely upon independent legislation involving a disunity in the kingship for at least a day. There was a short period during which King Edward was King of Ireland and King George was the King of the rest of the British Commonwealth.

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O. D. SKELTON

Memorandum for Dr. Skelton

C 110434

Jan. 9, 1937.

SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE

Procedure in altering the Succession.

The title to the Crown was vested by the Act of Settlement, 1701, in the heirs of the body of Sophia, Electress of Hanover and granddaughter of James I. This provision involved the Crown descending, with certain exceptions, as if it were real property under the law of inheritance of the United Kingdom before 1926, when this branch of the property law was altered. Power remained in the King in Parliament to alter the Succession.

Until 1931 this power to alter the Succession was vested solely in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. In that year formal recognition was given to the fact that the Succession to the Throne was a matter of direct and deep concern to all the members of the British

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Commonwealth of Nations.* This recognition was contained in the Statute of Westminster, which was enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1931 for the purpose, as its title declares, of ratifying, confirming and establishing certain of the declarations and resolutions of the Conferences of 1926 and 1930, and in accordance with requests for the enactment of such a measure received from the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland.

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* Statement by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs on the second reading of the Statute of Westminster Bill, House of Commons, London, 20th November, 1931.

'In the first place, I would call special attention to the recital in the Preamble which contains the expression of a constitutional convention relating to the Succession to the Throne in the following terms:

'inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of etc.,'

I would just say this about the Constitutional Convention expressed in the above words. The personal devotion to the King and the Monarchy of His Majesty's subjects is one of the most striking features of the world today. It seems to me of special significance and importance that the place of the Crown as the abiding link between the members of the British Commonwealth should be emphasised in the very forefront of this Bill. Incidentally, as we all know, nowhere is the feeling towards the King and the Royal Family warmer or more devoted than in His Majesty's self-governing Dominions beyond the sea.'

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The second recital of the Statute of Westminster reads as follows:

> "And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom;"

As this provision was contained in the preamble and not in the operative clauses of the Statute, it does not in strict law alter the power previously vested in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Constitutionally, however, the preamble is effective. The requirement of Dominion concurrence, in the words of the preamble itself, is "in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another. It has become a formally recognized and established constitutional convention governing the relations between the several members of the Commonwealth."*

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* Note the Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929, paragraphs 56,59,60,61:

> "56. The association of constitutional conventions with law has long been familiar in the history of the British Commonwealth; it has been characteristic of political development both in the domestic government of those

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communities and in their relations with each other; it has permeated both executive and legislative power. It has provided a means of harmonizing relations where a purely legal solution of practical problems was impossible, would have impaired free development, or would have failed to catch the spirit which gives life to institutions. Such conventions take their place among the constitutional principles and doctrines which are in practice regarded as binding and sacred whatever the powers of Parliaments may in theory be."

"59. As, however, these freely associated members are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it is clear that the laws relating to the succession to the Throne and the Royal Style and Titles are matters of equal concern to all."

"60. We think that appropriate recognition would be given to this position by means of a convention similar to that which has in recent years controlled the theoretically unfettered powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate upon these matters. Such a constitutional convention would be in accord with and would not derogate from and is not intended in any way to derogate from the principles stated by the Imperial Conference of 1926 as underlying the position and mutual relations of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. We therefore recommend that this convention should be formally put on record in the following terms:-

'Inasmuch as the Crown, etc.,.' "

"61. We recommend that the statement of principles set out in the three preceding paragraphs be placed on record in the proceedings of the next Imperial Conference, and that the constitutional convention itself in the form which we have suggested should appear as a formal recital or preamble in the proposed Act to be passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

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Under the circumstances which developed in the second week of December,1936, the Canadian Government and the Governments of other members of the Commonwealth were faced with a difficulty because of the urgency for action. It was indicated by his former Majesty that it was his desire that his abdication should be given effect and the Succession pass to the Duke of York during that week. It was impossible in the geographical conditions existing in Canada to summon Parliament after the King's definite intention had become known, in time to take action simultaneously with the action taken at Westminster. Under these circumstances the plain necessity of the situation called for the adoption of a course which, in the first place, would ensure that from a legal standpoint the abdication of His Majesty and the accession of his successor would take place in Canada at the same time as in the United Kingdom, and in the second place, that the constitutional convention should be observed by action as early as possible after the assembling of the Parliament of Canada,which had been called to meet on January 14th.

To achieve the first end, action was taken by the Government of Canada in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, which reads as

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follows:

> "4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

On December 10th, after the receipt of the expression of the King's irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and for his descendants and his desire that effect should be given to his Instrument of Abdication immediately, an order of His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council was approved, embodying the necessary request and consent to the enactment of the appropriate legislation, as regards Canada, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This request and consent were conveyed to the Government of the United Kingdom. His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, passed by the Parliament at Westminster on the same day, contained the recital that "following upon the communication to his Dominions of His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada, pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act."

The suggestion has been made that the request and consent of the Dominion provided for in Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster could only be expressed by Parliament and not by the Governor-General-in-Council. This is clearly not the case. It will be borne in mind that Section 4 was in the nature of a renunciation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of its legal

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right to pass measures extending to a Dominion, as part of the law of that Dominion, by providing that no such measure should be passed hereafter, unless it was expressly declared therein that the Dominion had requested and consented to its enactment. The exception contained in the latter clause recognized that contingencies might arise in an emergency where recourse might require to be had to action by the Parliament at Westminster, but that recourse should not be taken except on the initiative and request of the Dominion itself and its approval of the bill as drafted. In the discussions which took place it was recognized that this request and consent could be conveyed by the Government of the Dominion. This is evident from the language of the Statute of Westminster itself, which, in Section 9, subsection 3, provides explicitly for an exception to this provision by declaring that in the case of the Commonwealth of Australia the request and consent referred to in Section 4 shall mean the request and consent of the Government and Parliament of the Commonwealth. It is further evidenced by the fact that when the Statute of Westminster Bill was before the House of Commons at Westminster on the 24th November, 1931, a motion was made to amend Section 4 to provide that the declaration of the request and consent must be

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conveyed by "the Parliament of that Dominion". The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs stated that what was now proposed was put in at the request of the Dominions. The amendment was negatived.

In order to comply with the constitutional convention expressed in the second recital of the Statute of Westminster, a Bill providing for the assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne has now been introduced.

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Procedure in Other Dominions.

The procedure followed has not been uniform in all the Dominions, for the reason that the constitutional position is not uniform. All the Dominions shared in the Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation of 1929, and in the resolutions of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930. All joined in formally requesting the enactment of the Statute of Westminster. But there the uniformity ended.

So far as Australia and New Zealand were concerned, a provision was inserted as Section 10 of the Statute of Westminster, at their request, that the main operative sections of the Act(Sections two,three,four,five and six) were not to apply to them unless adopted by their respective Parliaments. In neither case has this adoption been made. The preamble of the Statute,including the second recital,requiring their assent to changes in the Succession, and the third recital,setting forth that it is the constitutional position that no law made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom should extend to any Dominion otherwise than at its request and consent, applies to Australia and New Zealand. But the operative Section, Section four, which provides that no such act should extend or be deemed to extend to a Dominion unless it is expressly declared therein that that Dominion has requested and consented to its

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enactment, does not extend to Australia or New Zealand. They have not secured the formal safeguard against such legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom which exists in the case of Canada, and in their case the necessity therefore does not arise of expressing formal request and consent before any such legislation can be enacted at Westminster. The Parliament of the Commonwealth, which had adjourned on December 4th to a date to be fixed, was recalled two days later, and reassembled on the 9th. On December 11 a resolution was passed by both Houses to convey the assent provided in the preamble. The resolution, after reciting the Instrument of Abdication, the introduction into the Parliament of the United Kingdom of a Bill to give effect to that Abdication, which upon Royal Assent would involve an alteration in the law touching the Succession, and the preamble of the Statute of Westminster, declared that it was desirable that the Parliament of the Commonwealth should assent to such alteration, and that the House of Representatives(Senate) did thereby assent to it.

The Parliament of New Zealand, which adjourned in after a long session, will not meet for some months yet. The Government of New Zealand have indicated their intention to ask Parliament when it does assemble to express its assent. In both countries the United Kingdom

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Abdication Act became immediately effective.

The situation in South Afrion is quite different. In 1934 its Parliament enacted the Status of the Union Act, which effected a number of amendments to its constitution as contained in the South Afrion Act, 1909, and adopted the Statute of Westminster, except for the sections relating solely to Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as an Act of the Parliament of the Union. Section 4 of the Statute was included in that adoption. But Section 2 of the 1934 Act ran as follows:

> "The Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union, and notwithstanding anything in any other law contained, no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland passed after the eleventh day of December, 1931, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to the Union as part of the law of that Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union."

In the South African view, it would therefore appear that no United Kingdom measure dealing with an alteration in the Succession could extend to South Afrion as part of the law of the Union, unless and until extended thereto by an Act of the Union itself. The South Afrioan Parliament was not then in session, and was not to meet until January 8th. A Bill is being introduced to give effect as from December 10th, to the alteration in the Succession.

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As regards the Irish Free State, the Statute of Westminster applied to it as to Canada. The Government of that country, however, has for some time been considering the introduction of legislation affecting the position of the Crown, to make it clear that the Crown was not part of the internal governmental and legislative machinery of the Free State, but was part of its constitutional machinery as regards external relations. The abdication of the King led to the immediate introduction of the legislation on the subject of the Crown, which was passed by the Dail Eireann on December 12. One of these measures, the External Relations Bill, included a provision making effective the abdication of King Edward and the succession of the Duke of York. No reference to the Irish Free State was contained in the United Kingdom measure.

It will thus be seen that since the Parliament of the United Kingdom could not, by the terms of the Statute of Westminster, pass an Abdication Act extending to Canada, unless the Dominion had requested such legislation in advance and consented to its terms, steps were taken to convey this request and consent and secure their expression in the United Kingdom Act, and steps are now being taken to secure the assent of the Parliament of Canada necessary for the alteration in the Succession. In the case of Australia and New Zealand, this explicit

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limitation of the power of the United Kingdom Parliament does not exist, but as the constitutional convention in the second recital of the Statute of Westminster called for the assent of its Parliament also to the alteration in the succession, a resolution expressing that assent was passed by its Parliament, then in session, and the United Kingdom Act recited that the Commonwealth of Australia had assented to the enactment of the Act.

In New Zealand, the constitutional position was substantially the same as in Australia, but as Parliament was not in session, the assent on its part set forth in the United Kingdom Act is to be considered as acquiescence in the action taken at Westminster rather than the necessary assent of its Parliament to the alteration in the law touching the Succession, which is still to be given. As to South Africa, the United Kingdom Act also recites that the Union has assented to the enactment of the Act, but here again the term has a still more restricted connotation, indicating that the Union had no objection to its passage, though considering it had no legal effect as regards South Africa. In the case of the Irish Free State, no assent or consent was expressed in the United Kingdom Act; the alteration in the Succession, so far as the Free State was concerned, was made explicitly and solely by its own legislation.

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It may perhaps be added that even more striking than this constitutional diversity was the substantial harmony in purpose throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations which the occasion made manifest, and the rapidity with which substantially concurrent action was effected.

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C 115448

NOTE.

One point not touched on above may raise some difficulty in connection with the proposed Bill.

What, it may be asked, is the source of the power of the Canadian Parliament to legislate on the Succession? No such power is explicitly granted the Dominion in the British North America Acts. The Statute of Westminster does not explicitly confer it. The reference to Dominion assent in that Statute is in the preamble, and not in the operative section, and such effect as it has may be purely negative, that is, it may bar action solely by the Parliament at Westminster, in the sense that such sole action would violate a solemnly declared constitutional convention, but it does not furnish the Dominion Parliament with the power to grant the necessary assent. In other words, there is a gap in the existing legislation regarding the Succession. To this it might be replied that this power can be found in the residuary peace order and good government provision, - a latent power brought into operation by the emergence of Canada to nationhood and the recognition by the Imperial Parliament of the right and duty of the Parliament of Canada to participate in the determination of the Royal Succession.

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It is not to be assumed that the Parliaments of the Dominions and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, all of which co-operated in the inclusion of the Preamble, considered it would be an empty and in fact a blocking gesture. The power must have been considered to be vested in the Dominion Parliaments. But the point is not free from difficulty.

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C 115450

Succession to the Throne

Supplementary Material

1. Instrument of Abdication and Message from His Majesty, December 10th.

2. Order-in-Council, Ottawa, December 11th, 1936.

3. United Kingdom Abdication Act (to follow)

4. Memorandum on Legal Points by Mr. Read.

5. Draft Bill for Canadian Parliament.

6. Telegrams from New Zealand, Australia and South Africa re their procedure.

7. Chronology - Abdication (Ex. Affs).

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Rh Fredenburgh

Notes prepared by R.F.
Jan. 12, 1937.

C 115451

Abdication of King Edward VIII

Succession of King George VI

Introductory:

No need to review events pertaining to His former Majesty which led to his decision to renounce the Throne -

News carried in press very full;

P.M. Baldwin's recital of events prior to Abdication very frank and complete

See exhibit 1

Unprecedented situation which arose:

First time in history a King of Britain voluntarily renounced the Throne -

Feelings throughout Commonwealth stirred more deeply because of affection for Royal Family;

Unprecedented constitutional situation:

Changed relationship between Throne and Dominions and between Government of U.K. and Dominions as result of Statute of Westminster;

No such problem as that presented by change in Succession, contemplated at time of enactment of Statute of Westminster;

Situation made more difficult by swiftness of events:

Mr. Baldwin's first discussion of matter with King Edward took place October 20th;

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King Edward Signed Instrument of Abdication 9 days after issue first brought before the public of United Kingdom;

Decisions had to be made quickly on issues of gravest character;

Constitutional position of Canada re Succession to Throne:

Title to Throne governed by the Act of Settlement, 1701;

Power to alter Succession held by the King in Parliament;

Prior to 1931, this power vested solely in Parliament of U.K.;

Statute of Westminster, 1931, formally recognized, inter alia, Succession to Throne was a matter of concern to all members of British Commonwealth; See exhibit 2

This recognition contained in recital, not in operative clauses of Statute;

In strict law, therefore, power previously vested in U.K. Parliament not altered;

Constitutionally the preamble is effective, however;

Requirement of Dominion concurrence is, in words of Preamble, "in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another"; See exhibit 2

This has become a formally recognized and established constitutional convention of B.C. of N.;

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The Problem which confronted Government of Canada;

On Dec.10, King Edward indicated to H. M. Government in Canada his "final and irrevocable decision" to renounce the Throne;

In Instrument of Abdication and Message which accompanied it, King Edward declared his desire "that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately";

P.M. Baldwin, in discussing King's decision in H. of C., Dec.10, announced his intention of introducing necessary legislation the same day, saying, "it is very important that it should be passed into law to-morrow"; See Exhibit 1

Parliament at Westminster in session at time and, hence, possible to enact legislation immediately;

Impossible to summon Parliament of Canada in time to give effect to King Edward's desire, and to act prior to, or simultaneously with Parliament of U.K;

Government of Canada, therefore adopted necessary steps to ensure:

i - that, from a legal standpoint, abdication of King Edward and accession of his successor would take place in Canada at same time as in U.K.;

ii - that constitutional convention embodied in recital of Statute of W. would be observed as early as

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possible after Assembling of Parliament of Canada, which had been summond for Jan. 14th.

Re (1) - Action of Government re Abdication and Succession:

See exhibit 3

Action taken was in accordance with provisions of Section 4 of Statute of Westminster, which reads:

> "No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

On Dec.10, immediately following receipt of expression of King's final determination to renounce Throne, Order-in-Council (P.C. 3144) was approved -

Embodied necessary request and consent to the enactment of appropriate legislation, as regards Canada, by the Parliament of U.K.;

This request and consent conveyed to U.K. Government;

"His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act" introduced on same day in British House, next day (Dec.11) passed both Houses and ~~signed~~ assented to by Commissioners on behalf of King;

Act contained recital, in accordance with constitutional convention, that:

> "following upon the communication to his Dominions of His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada, pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act";

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King Edward's Abdication became effective upon assent to Bill by duly authorized Commissioners, Dec. 11 - Accession of Duke of York took place simultaneously; H. M. proclaimed as King George VI, in Ottawa (and in other parts of Commonwealth), Dec. 12;

Re (2) - Action of Parliament of Canada re change in law touching Succession to Throne:

Bill providing for assent of Parliament of Canada has been introduced -

Accords with constitutional convention expressed in Second recital of Statute of Westminster;

Re Contention that Parliament of Canada should first have assented to Change in Succession:

Parliament of Canada not in session as in case of Parliament of U.K.;

Impossible, due to geographical factors to summon Parliament of Canada in time to act prior to, or simultaneously with Parliament at Westminster;

King Edward's definite and irrevocable intention made known only on Dec. 10;

King Edward's expressed desire that Instrument of Abdication be executed immediately;

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C 115456

Re Summoning of Parliament (See Memo. by Mr. Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice).

In U.K., 6 days must, by statute, elapse between summoning of Parliament and its meeting;

No definite or minimum period fixed by law in Canada, between summoning and meeting of Parliament;

In absence of specific law or custom in matters of procedure, Parliament at Ottawa follws practice in U.K.;

Therefore intervening period could not be less than 6 days;

In view of geographical differences, would be only reasonable for period to be longer in Canada that in U.K.;

Fact that a quorum (20 members) might have been convoked in time to act re Abdication and Succession, is irrelevant;

A portion of membership of H. of C., summoned from eastern Canada, though sufficient to constitute a quorum, could not act in name of Parliament of Canada;

If not definitely illegal, would be contrary to whole spirit of Confederation by allowing a geographical section of Canada to legislate for Dominion as a whole.

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C 115457

Re Contention that the request and consent of the Dominion, re extension to that Dominion of an Act of U.K. Parliament provided for in Section 4 of Statute of W., could be expressed only by Parliament and not by Governor-General-in-Council:

Section 4 was a renunciation by Parliament of U.K. of its legal right to pass measures extending to Dominions, unless Dominion had requested and consented to enactment;

The exception expressed by the clause, "unless it is ... requested and consented to", recognizes that contingencies might arise in an emergency where recourse to action by U.K. Parliament might be practically unavoidable;

Hence explicitly stated that such recourse is to be taken only on initiative and request of Dominion -

In practice, Dominion must approve of draft bill to be introduced at its request in U.K. Parliament;

Obvious that the necessary request and consent can be conveyed by the Government of the Dominion -

(1) Since Section 9, sub-section 3, explicitly provides for an exception to this provision in case of Australia:

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"In the application of this Act to the Commonwealth of Australia the request and consent referred to in section four shall mean the request and consent of the Parliament and Government of the Commonwealth."

(2) During consideration of Statute of W. in H.of C. of U.K., Nov. 24, 1931, a motion made to amend Section 4 to provide that the declaration of the request and consent must be conveyed by "the Parliament of that Dominion"; See exhibit 4

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs stated that the provision of the Act as drafted was put in at request of the Dominions -

The Amendment was negatived;

Procedure in other Dominions re Abdication and Succession:

Procedure has not been uniform, since constitutional position is not uniform in all Dominions;

All Dominions shared in Report of Conference on Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929, also in the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1926 and 1930; all joined in requesting enactment of Statute of Westminster -

There the uniformity ended.

Australia:

Position re Abdication and Succession Act of U.K.:

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Preamble of Statute of W. applies to Australia, including

2nd recital - requiring assent to changes in the Succession,

3rd " - setting forth that it is constitutional position that no law made by U.K. Parliament should extend to any Dominion otherwise than at its request and consent;

But the operative section, section 4, does not apply to Australia—

Section 4 provides that no such act should extend or be deemed to extend to a Dominion unless it is expressly declared therein that the Dominion has requested and consented to its enactment;

Therefore, necessity does not arise, as in case of Canada, of expressing formal request and consent and before any such legislation can be enacted at Westminster;

Action of Australia re Abdication and Succession:

Parliament of Australia had adjourned, Dec. 4, to a date to be fixed;

Recalled, Dec. 6, and re-assembled Dec. 9;

Dec. 11, a resolution passed both Houses of Parliament to convey assent provided for in Preamble of Statute of W.

New Zealand:

Position re Statute of Westminster same as that of Australia;

Parliament of N. Z. not in session -

Will not meet for some months;

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Government has indicated its intention of asking Parliament to express its assent when it does meet;

Immediately upon its assent in London, U.K. Act re Abdication became effective in N.Z.

South Africa:

Constitutional position different from that of other Dominions;

"Status of the Union Act" enacted in 1934, by S.A. Parliament, adopted, inter alia, Statute of W. (except Section relating solely to other Dominions) as an Act of the Parliament of S.A. -

Section 4 of Statute of W. included in S. A. Act;

But section 8 of S. A. Act of 1934 declares:

> "The Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in an over the Union, and notwitstanding anything in any other law contained, no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland passed after the eleventh day of December, 1931, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to the Union as part of the law of that Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union."

Therefore, in South African view it would appear that no Act of U.K. Parliament altering the Succession could extend to S. A. as part of law of Union, unless and until extended by An Act of the Union;

South African Parliament was not in Session at time.

Not to meet until Jan. 6th;

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Covernment has expressed intention of introducing a bill to give effect as from Dec. 10, to alteration in the Succession.

Irish Free State:

Statute of W. applied to I.F.S. as to Canada;

The External Relations Bill, passed by Dail Eireann, Dec. 12, contained a provision making effective the Abdication of King Edward VIII and Succession of Duke of York.

Harmony of Action throughout Commonwealth:

Diversity in constitutional position of various members;

Consequently, action regarded as necessary in various parts of C., differs considerably;

In spite of this, substantial harmony of purpose throughout C. in face of grave issues raised by Abdication and Succession.

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Exhibit 2

C115462

Second and Third Recitals of the Statute of Westminster, 1931

"And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion."

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Exhibit 4

C 115463

Parliamentary Debates (United Kingdom)

Vol. CCLX, page 279

Clause 4.- (Parliament of United Kingdom not to legislate for Dominion except by consent)

SIR J. WITHERS: I beg to move, in page 3, line 8, after the second word "That", to insert the words "the Parliament of".

If my Amendment is accepted the Clause will read:

"No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that the Parliament of that Dominion has requested and consented to the enactment thereof."

This Amendment, to a certain extent, is a drafting Amendment. The Parliament of each Dominion is always referred to as the authority for testing the opinion of that particular Dominion, and, therefore, to make the Clause read properly, the words I have suggested ought to be inserted.

MR. J. H. THOMAS: If I had only to consult my own personal wishes I should be quite willing to accept this Amendment, but the Clause was drafted in its present form at the request of the Dominions themselves. The Government were indifferent on this point, but the real answer is that as far as the Government was concerned we did not care which method was adopted, but what is now proposed was put in at the request of the Dominions.

Amendment negatived.

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Amendment negatived.

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Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929.

(Paragraphs 60 and 61)

"We think that appropriate recognition would be given to this position by means of a convention similar to that which has in recent years controlled the theoretically unfettered powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate upon these matters. Such a constitutional convention would be in accord with and would not derogate from and is not intended in any way to derogate from the principles stated by the Imperial Conference of 1926 as underlying the position and mutual relations of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. We therefore recommend that this convention should be formally put on record in the following terms:-

'Inasmuch as the Crown, etc.,'"

"We recommend that the statement of principles set out in the three preceding paragraphs be placed on record in the proceedings of the next Imperial Conference, and that the constitutional convention itself in the form which we have suggested should appear as a formal recital or preamble in the proposed Act to be passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

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C 115466

Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931

"No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

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Memo by R.F.
C 115467 11/37.

Abdication of King Edward VIII

Succession of King George VI

Introductory:

No need to review events pertaining to His former Majesty which led to his decision to renounce the Throne -

News carried in press very full;

P.M. Baldwin's recital of events prior to Abdication very frank and complete

See exhibit 1

Unprecedented situation which arose:

First time in history a King of Britain voluntarily renounced the Throne -

Feelings throughout Commonwealth stirred more deeply because of affection for Royal Family;

Unprecedented constitutional situation:

Changed relationship between Throne and Dominions and between Government of U.K. and Dominions as result of Statute of Westminster;

No such problem as that presented by change in Succession, contemplated at time of enactment of Statute of Westminster;

Situation made more difficult by swiftness of events:

Mr. Baldwin's first discussion of matter with King Edward took place October 20th;

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King Edward Signed Instrument of Abdication 9 days after issue first brought before the public of United Kingdom;

Decisions had to be made quickly on issues of gravest character;

Constitutional position of Canada re Succession to Throne:

Title to Throne governed by the Act of Settlement, 1701;

Power to alter Succession held by the King in Parliament;

Prior to 1931, this power vested solely in Parliament of U.K.;

Statute of Westminster, 1931, formally recognized, inter alia, Succession to Throne was a matter of concern to all members of British Commonwealth; See exhibit 2

This recognition contained in recital, not in operative clauses of Statute;

In strict law, therefore, power previously vested in U.K. Parliament not altered;

Constitutionally the preamble is effective, however;

Requirement of Dominion concurrence is, in words of Preamble, "in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another"; See exhibit 2

This has become a formally recognized and established constitutional convention of B.C. of N.;

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C 115469

The Problem which confronted Government of Canada:

On Dec.10, King Edward indicated to H. M. Government in Canada his "final and irrevocable decision" to renounce the Throne;

In Instrument of Abdication and Message which accompanied it, King Edward declared his desire "that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately";

P.M. Baldwin, in discussing King's decision in H. of C., Dec.10, announced his intention of introducing necessary legislation the same day, saying, "it is very important that it should be passed into law to-morrow"; See Exhibit 1

Parliament at Westminster in session at time and, hence, possible to enact legislation immediately;

Impossible to summon Parliament of Canada in time to give effect to King Edward's desire, and to act prior to, or simultaneously with Parliament of U.K;

Government of Canada, therefore adopted necessary steps to ensure:

i - that, from a legal standpoint, abdication of King Edward and accession of his successor would take place in Canada at same time as in U.K.;

ii - that constitutional convention embodied in recital of Statute of W. would be observed as early as

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C115470

possible after Assembling of Parliament of Canada, which had been summond for Jan. 14th.

Re (1) - Action of Government re Abdication and Succession:

See exhibit 3

Action taken was in accordance with provisions of Section 4 of Statute of Westminster, which reads:

> "No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

On Dec.10, immediately following receipt of expression of King's final determination to renounce Throne, Order-in-Council (P.C. 3144) was approved -

Embodied necessary request and consent to the enactment of appropriate legislation, as regards Canada, by the Parliament of U.K.;

This request and consent conveyed to U.K. Government;

"His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act" introduced on same day in British House, next day (Dec.11) passed both Houses and ~~signed~~ assented to by Commissioners on behalf of King;

Act contained recital, in accordance with constitutional convention, that:

> "following upon the communication to his Dominions of His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada, pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act";

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C 115471

King Edward's Abdication became effective upon assent to Bill by duly authorized Commissioners, Dec. 11 - Accession of Duke of York took place simultaneously; H. M. proclaimed as King George VI, in Ottawa (and in other parts of Commonwealth), Dec. 12;

Re (2) - Action of Parliament of Canada re change in law touching Succession to Throne:

Bill providing for assent of Parliament of Canada has been introduced -

Accords with constitutional convention expressed in Second recital of Statute of Westminster;

Re Contention that Parliament of Canada should first have assented to Change in Succession:

Parliament of Canada not in session as in case of Parliament of U.K.;

Impossible, due to geographical factors to summon Parliament of Canada in time to act prior to, or simultaneously with Parliament at Westminster;

King Edward's definite and irrevocable intention made known only on Dec. 10;

King Edward's expressed desire that Instrument of Abdication be executed immediately;

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C115472

Re Summoning of Parliament (See Memo. by Mr. Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice).

In U.K., 6 days must, by statute, elapse between summoning of Parliament and its meeting;

No definite or minimum period fixed by law in Canada, between summoning and meeting of Parliament;

In absence of specific law or custom in matters of procedure, Parliament at Ottawa follws practice in U.K.;

Therefore intervening period could not be less than 6 days;

In view of geographical differences, would be only reasonable for period to be longer in Canada that in U.K.;

Fact that a quorum (20 members) might have been convoked in time to act re Abdication and Succession, is irrelevant;

A portion of membership of H. of C., summoned from eastern Canada, though sufficient to constitute a quorum, could not act in name of Parliament of Canada;

If not definitely illegal, would be contrary to whole spirit of Confederation by allowing a geographical section of Canada to legislate for Dominion as a whole.

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C 115473

Re Contention that the request and consent of the Dominion, re extension to that Dominion of an Act of U.K. Parliament provided for in Section 4 of Statute of W., could be expressed only by Parliament and not by Governor-General-in-Council:

Section 4 was a renunciation by Parliament of U.K. of its legal right to pass measures extending to Dominions, unless Dominion had requested and consented to enactment;

The exception expressed by the clause, "unless it is ... requested and consented to", recognizes that contingencies might arise in an emergency where recourse to action by U.K. Parliament might be practically unavoidable;

Hence explicitly stated that such recourse is to be taken only on initiative and request of Dominion -

In practice, Dominion must approve of draft bill to be introduced at its request in U.K. Parliament;

Obvious that the necessary request and consent can be conveyed by the Government of the Dominion -

(i) Since Section 9, sub-section 3, explicitly provides for an exception to this provision in case of Australia:

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"In the application of this Act to the Commonwealth of Australia the request and consent referred to in section four shall mean the request and consent of the Parliament and Government of the Commonwealth."

(2) During consideration of Statute of W. in H.of C. of U.K., Nov. 24, 1931, a motion made to amend Section 4 to provide that the declaration of the request and consent must be conveyed by "the Parliament of that Dominion"; See exhibit 4

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs stated that the provision of the Act as drafted was put in at request of the Dominions -

The Amendment was negatived;

Procedure in other Dominions re Abdication and Succession:

Procedure has not been uniform, since constitutional position is not uniform in all Dominions;

All Dominions shared in Report of Conference on Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929, also in the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1926 and 1930; all joined in requesting enactment of Statute of Westminster -

There the uniformity ended.

Australia:

Position re Abdication and Succession Act of U.K.:

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Preamble of Statute of W. applies to Australia, including

2nd recital - requiring assent to changes in the Succession,

3rd " - setting forth that it is constitutional position that no law made by U.K. Parliament should extend to any Dominion otherwise than at its request and consent;

But the operative section, section 4, does not apply to Australia -

Section 4 provides that no such act should extend or be deemed to extend to a Dominion unless it is expressly declared therein that the Dominion has requested and consented to its enactment;

Therefore, necessity does not arise, as in case of Canada, of expressing formal request and consent and before any such legislation can be enacted at Westminster;

Action of Australia re Abdication and Succession:

Parliament of Australia had adjourned, Dec. 4, to a date to be fixed;

Recalled, Dec. 6, and re-assembled Dec. 9;

Dec. 11, a resolution passed both Houses of Parliament to convey assent provided for in Preable of Statute of W.

New Zealand:

Position re Statute of Westminster same as that of Australia;

Parliament of N. Z. not in session -

Will not meet for some months;

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Government has indicated its intention of asking Parliament to express its assent when it does meet;

Immediately upon its assent in London, U.K. Act re Abdication became effective in N.Z.

South Africa:

Constitutional position different from that of other Dominions;

"Status of the Union Act" enacted in 1934, by S.A. Parliament, adopted, inter alia, Statute of W. (except Section relating solely to other Dominions) as an Act of the Parliament of S.A. -

Section 4 of Statute of W. included in S. A. Act;

But section 2 of S. A. Act of 1934 declares:

> "The Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in an over the Union, and notwitstanding anything in any other law contained, no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland passed after the eleventh day of December, 1931, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to the Union as part of the law of that Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union."

Therefore, in South African view it would appear that no Act of U.K. Parliament altering the Succession could extend to S. A. as part of law of Union, unless and until extended by An Act of the Union;

South African Parliament was not in Session at time.

Not to meet until Jan. 8th;

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Government has expressed intention of introducing a bill to give effect as from Dec. 10, to alteration in the Succession.

Irish Free State:

Statute of W. applied to I.F.S. as to Canada;

The External Relations Bill, passed by Dail Eireann, Dec. 12, contained a provision making effective the Abdication of King Edward VIII and Succession of Duke of York.

Harmony of Action throughout Commonwealth:

Diversity in constitutional position of various members;

Consequently, action regarded as necessary in various parts of C., differs considerably;

In spite of this, substantial harmony of purpose throughout C. in face of grave issues raised by Abdication and Succession.

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Slight 2

C 115478

Second and Third Recitals of the Statute of Westminster, 1931

"And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion."

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Exhibit 4

Parliamentary Debates (United Kingdom) C115479

Vol. CCLX, page 279

Clause 4. - (Parliament of United Kingdom not to legislate for Dominion except by consent)

SIR J. WITHERS: I beg to move, in page 3, line 8, after the second word "That", to insert the words "the Parliament of".

If my Amendment is accepted the Clause will read:

"No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that the Parliament of that Dominion has requested and consented to the enactment thereof."

This Amendment, to a certain extent, is a drafting Amendment. The Parliament of each Dominion is always referred to as the authority for testing the opinion of that particular Dominion, and, therefore, to make the Clause read properly, the words I have suggested ought to be inserted.

MR. J. H. THOMAS: If I had only to consult my own personal wishes I should be quite willing to accept this Amendment, but the Clause was drafted in its present form at the request of the Dominions themselves. The Government were indifferent on this point, but the real answer is that as far as the Government was concerned we did not care which method was adopted, but what is now proposed was put in at the request of the Dominions.

Amendment negatived.

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Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929,

(Paragraphs 60 and 61)

"We think that appropriate recognition would be given to this position by means of a convention similar to that which has in recent years controlled the theoretically unfettered powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate upon these matters. Such a constitutional convention would be in accord with and would not derogate from and is not intended in any way to derogate from the principles stated by the Imperial Conference of 1926 as underlying the position and mutual relations of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. We therefore recommend that this convention should be formally put on record in the following terms:-

'Inasmuch as the Crown, etc.,'"

"We recommend that the statement of principles set out in the three preceding paragraphs be placed on record in the proceedings of the next Imperial Conference, and that the constitutional convention itself in the form which we have suggested should appear as a formal recital or preamble in the proposed Act to be passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

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C 115481

Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931

"No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof."

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

C 115482

Ottawa, January 12th, 1937.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Dr. Skelton has informed me that in the case of the Abdication Bill, Assent was signified through a Royal Commission, and that King Edward VIII did not, himself, signify Assent.

E. A. P.

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ROYAL ASSENT

The Royal Assent to a Bill which is passed in both Houses of course may be affixed either in person or by Commission under the Sign Manual and Great Seal.

In the case of the Abdication Bill, Assent was signified through a Royal Commission. A full statement will be found in the London Times of Saturday December 12th, page 7, Columns 2 and 3.

Five minutes after the Act had passed the House, the Lords Commissioners - the Earl of Onslow, Earl Stanhope, and Lord Denman - entered in their robes and took their seats on the Woolsack. The Earl of Onslow then spoke the Commissioners' instruction to Black Rod to secure the attendance of the Commons. He then declared in the traditional formula -"His Majesty, not thinking fit to be personally present here at this time, has been pleased to cause a Commission to be issued under the Great Seal and thereby given his Royal Assent to an Act which has been agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, the title whereof is particularly mentioned; and by the said Commission hath commanded us to declare and notify his Royal Assent to the said Act in the presence of you, the Lords and Commons assembled for that purpose, which Commission you will now hear read."

THE COMMISSION

"Signed by the King's Own Hand" was then read.

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The Earl of Onslow then declared that"His Majesty has given his Royal Assent to the Act and the Clerks are required to pass the same in the usual form and words."

Sir Claud Schuster (the Clerk of the Crown) then read the title of the Act and Sir Henry Badeley (Clerk of the Parliaments) turning to the Commons, declared in the old formula "Le roy le veult."

The new reign had begun.

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C 115485

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, January 13th, 1937.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Reading by Speaker of instrument of abdication and message from the King.

As these documents were executed in the English language only, Mr. Lapointe agrees that the Speaker cannot read a translation in French. He wishes, however, to suggest to you that the Speaker, after reading these documents in English, might ask the Clerk to read a translation in French. He asked me, if possible, to mention this to you before Council this afternoon.

E. A. P.

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13 Jan.,1937

"IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER". C115486

In the memorandum on the Succession to the Throne - "Procedure in Altering the Succession" which I sent on Saturday, it is stated on page 5, end of first paragraph -

> "a course which would ensure .....that the constitutional convention should be observed by action as early as possible after the assembling of the Parliament of Canada".

On page 8 it is stated -

> "in order to comply with the constitutional convention expressed in the second recital of the Statute of Westminster, a Bill providing for the assent....."

Possibly these statements should have been more qualified. It is difficult to contend that assent a month after the Parliament of the United Kingdom has acted and the change in the Monarchy has been effected, fully meets the requirement of the preamble that no change in the Succession can be effected without the assent of all the Parliaments. This was recognized in the Prime Minister's press and broadcast statement of December 10th, the last paragraph on page 5 reading as follows:

> "As regards the constitutional convention which requires the assent of the Canadian Parliament to any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne, it will be asserted and safeguarded to the greatest practicable extent consistent with all the circumstances of time and space and with the imperative practical necessities which confronted the Government on this unprecedented occasion."

The same considerations apply to the use of the phrase "in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of Westminster" in the Speech from the Throne with reference to the introduction of the Bill for assent.

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13th January, 1937

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

C 115487

Bill re Alteration in the Succession.

Attached are printed copies of the Bill.

Mr. Olivier and Mr. Read did not consider it would be necessary to print explanations on the right hand pages, as the preambles fully set forth the occasion and basis of the action taken, and because a further explanation would involve the writing of a treatise rather than a note.

It is somewhat late to raise the question of a substantial change in the wording of the Bill, but I think definitely a change should be made. I have had an uneasy feeling that the Bill as drafted does not conform in its operative section with the preamble of the Statute of Westminster, which provides that "any alteration in the law.... shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom". What the Bill should express is the assent to a certain alteration in the law of the Succession.

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C 115488

What it does express is assent to an Act of the British Parliament by which the change has already been effected. It is quite true that legally the change was effected on December 11th by the British Act which we requested and consented to. In this Bill, however, it is the constitutional convention that we are trying to safeguard. I think, therefore, it would be desirable to amend the first twelve lines on page 2 of the Bill in the way indicated in the enclosure. Mr. Read and Mr. Christie concur in this suggestion. I have not had an opportunity to take it up with Mr. Edwards.

O.D.S.

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C 115489 (omitted)

To replace lines 1 to 12 inclusive on page 2 of printed Bill.

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and accordingly it becomes necessary to declare the Assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne set forth in His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act,1936.

Now,therefore, His Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada enacts as follows:

Assent to Alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne.

The alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne set forth in the Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom intituled "His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936" is hereby assented to.

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The Bill provides for the assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne set forth in His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936.

The Bill is introduced at this stage in accordance with the undertaking of the government that such legislation would be submitted to Parliament immediately after the opening of the session.

The measure is being introduced in the place of the pro forma bill with respect to the Administration of the Oaths of Office customarily given first reading at this point in the proceedings of the House on the Opening day of a new Session.

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O.D. SKELTON

C115491 16/37

RE: ABDICATION AND SUCCESSION

There are two distinct issues:-

I. The facts as to the events and discussions which arose before the King announced his decision to abdicate, including the question of any advice tendered him.

II. The legal and constitutional propriety of the course adopted by the Canadian government to deal with the situation presented by the King's decision.

As to the first issue:-

(a) How did the question arise?

An answer to this, if we were to seek ultimate causes, would carry us far afield into consideration of such points as

the whole system of constitutional monarchy as it has been worked out in the United Kingdom through long centuries;

the great demands the operation of such a system with its nicely balanced adjustments makes upon (i) the sovereign, who is called upon to contribute knowledge, interest, continuous devotion without overstepping the bounds set by the ultimate decision of parliament and people, demands which have been increased by the fortunate experience of the years of devoted service by King George V, and also by the exaggerated adulation from many sections of the press and public, setting up standards of perfection of conduct which few mortals could live up to and (ii) on the people, who must give loyalty freely,

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and at the same time resist any tendency, if it should develop, to revive arbitrary personal authority, a genius for political compromise and sense of reality: (no wonder so few countries have been able to work this system of constitutional monarchy)

the bearing of temperament, training, changes in social customs and standards, and the immediate environment, upon the ability and willingness of the sovereign to carry out this heavy task.

More directly, the question arose because of relations between the King and Mrs. Simpson and the widespread comments and criticisms upon these relations, or what were reported to be these relations, in the press of other countries and the club and dinner-table conversation in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, this discussion was greatly intensified by the announcement of a divorce action which was to be brought at Ipswich on October 27.

(b) <u>What steps were taken by the Prime Minister of the U.K.?</u>

It is unnecessary to deal with this question in any detail, in view of the admirably lucid and feeling statement given by Mr.Baldwin himself at Westminster on December 10. It is only necessary to summarize the main developments:

i. Mr.Baldwin conceived it to be his duty "not only as a counsellor but as a friend" to discuss the question with the King and point out to him the danger that such reports and criticisms involved. No one will deny that the situation did involve serious danger

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of bringing the Throne into question and even into disrepute, or that under the circumstances it was the duty of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, as head of that of his Governments which was most directly and closely concerned, to talk it over with his sovereign, or that Mr. Baldwin's personal qualities and genuine friendship with the King gave him peculiar fitness for this difficult and unwelcome task. This task Mr. Baldwin preformed in the interview which he sbught with the King, and held on October 20.

ii. The next development came nearly a month later, on November 16, when the King sent for Mr.Baldwin. In the meantime the granting of the divorce on October 27 had strengthened rumours as to the possibility of a marriage. Mr.Baldwin then stated that such a marriage would not in his opinion meet with the approbation of the country. The King replied that he wanted to tell Mr.Baldwin something <u>that he had long wanted to tell</u>. "I am going to marry Mrs. Simpson and I am prepared to go." Mr.Baldwin replied it was impossible to comment on this most grievous news that day. Shortly afterwards the King told the Queen and his brothers.

iii. The next stage came on November 25, when the King again sent for Mr.Baldwin, and asked his opinion upon a possible compromise that had been suggested meantime - the King to marry Mrs.Simpson and Parliament to pass an Act enabling the lady to be the King's wife without the position of Queen. Mr.Baldwin said he could give no considered opinion,but his first reaction was against it: the King requested he should examine the proposal formally, which it was agreed would

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mean putting it formally before the whole U.K. cabinet and communicating with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions.

iv. On December 1st the whole issue became a public one as a result of an episcopal address, referring to the King's unawareness of his need of God's grace; an address later declared to deal with religions observances rather than private morality, but which resulted in the outburst of the pent-up flood of press and public discussion.

v. On December 2nd the King again sent for Mr.Baldwin who told him inquiries while incomplete had shown that neither in the Dominions nor in the U.K. would there be any prospect of such legislation being accepted. The King, Mr.Baldwin states, did not again recur to that suggestion.

vi. Mr.Baldwin pointed out at that interview that the alternatives had been narrowed, and that the King was in the difficult position of having to decide between two loyalties - whether to abandon the project of marriage and remaining as King, and "going" and later, if possible, contracting that marriage. The remaining time before the King's decision was announced was given in Mr.Baldwin's words "to the struggle in which His Majesty has been engaged" - his decision between these alternatives.

vii. Mr.Baldwin stated on December 7th that except on the question of a so-called morganatic marriage, no advice had been tendered the King by the Government of the U.K.

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viii. As regards the Canadian Government,

? date on which issue was first raised

? only point on which Canadian Government indicated its view as to the King's course was a reply given to the question he had himself asked as to whether they would support the legislation required to give effect to the morganatic marriage compromise. The Canadian Government informed Mr.B. that it would not undertake to propose such a course to Parliament and did not believe it would meet with any appreciable support if it did. An early answer to that question was asked for and in the circumstances was essential. I do not think any other answer could have been given. The institution of a morganatic marriage has no place or recognition in our monarchy. It could not, we believed, be a workable or permanent arrangement, to have a lady as wife who would be shut up in Buckingham Palace and not be Queen. In any case, the circumstances which led the King to declare that he was going to marry Mrs. Simpson and was prepared to "go", indicated that if he then considered such a marriage would mean she could not become Queen, must lead his advisers, if requested whether they were prepared to propose legislation, to consider that the same circumstances would make it unfitting for her to become his wife.

? direct communication to King.

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C 115496

ix. On December 9 the informally and on December 10th formally announced he had reached his decision, his irrevocable determination to abdicate.

x. It will be clear

i. That the issue was not raised by any of His Majesty's Governments; they were simply compelled to face a situation which they had not created and with which they were most reluctant to have to deal.

ii. That the only indication of government attitude given was with regard to the inquiry as to our willingness to support legislation for a morganatic marriage.

iii. That the King never raised the question of marrying the lady and remaining on the Throne?

iv. That no pressure was exerted or advice tendered by any of His Majesty's government in support of the decision to which His Majesty eventually came; on the contrary as Mr.Baldwin has stated, his "efforts during these last few days have been directed in trying to help him to make the choice which he has not made."

? also Canadian Government.

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C 115497

With regard to Mr. Woodsworth's points on this aspect of the question:-

p. 21. 1. "Who created the imperative crisis?"

Certainly not Mr.Baldwin or Mr. King. See page 1 and 2 above.

p.19. 2. "Mr.Baldwin put the King in a position where he had to make a choice and he chose abdication." -

(a) Mr.Baldwin (or any Dominion Prime Minister) did not create the situation.

(b) The King indicated from the beginning his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson.

(c) The only alternatives inthat case were

i. To remain King and make her Queen. He never proposed this (?).

ii. To remain King and make her his wife but not Queen. Governments declined this alternative.

iii. To abdicate. This he himself recognized as the outset was the probable result.

(d) The only advice tendered as regards iii was against such a decision(?)

p. 20. 3. "Was Mr. Baldwin's action after all caused by pressure from the Dominions?"
Certainly not, so far at least as this Dominion was concerned. Some reports to that effect appeared in London newspapers and were immediately denied (Quote statement).

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II. As to the legal and constitutional propriety of the course adopted by the Canadian Government to deal with the situation created by the King's decision:-

1. The general position was -

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(b) that until 1931 any such alteration was wholly a matter for the Parliament of the United Kingdom;

(c) but that in 1931 the preamble of the Statute of Westminster had recognized a constitutional convention requiring thereafter the assent of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as well as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to any such alteration.

2. The special difficulty arose from the facts -

(a) that not until December, , was the probable decision of the King to abdicate communicated to the Canadian Government;

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could not have been done before the King's decision was known, without implying that the decision would be for abdication, thus requiring legislation, and could not have been done after the decision was known

3. There was no question as to what was to be done;

every Government was agreed as to that,- the United Kingdom and the Irish Free State, Australia and South Africa, New Zealand and Canada. The King's decision had settled that, a decision taken on his own initiative and responsibility. The only question was as to the procedure in dealing with the unescapable consequences of that decision.

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4. As to this procedure, there were two alternative courses:

(a) To postpone any action until Parliament could be summoned;

(b) To meet the immediate legal situation by recourse to Section 4 to permit action by the United Kingdom Parliament, and to provide for the constitutional convention by submitting a Bill to express the assent of Parliament as soon as it met.

As between these alternatives, the Government considered that the uncertainty and confusion and doubt as to the legality of executive and judicial acts would be a greater evil than the postponement of the observance of the constitutional convention for a few weeks.

(See further in comment on Mr. Woodsworth's criticisms)

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Mr. Woodsworth's Objections on Legal and Constitutional Procedure.

1°. Dominion Government had not power to invoke Section 4 of Statute of Westminster.

(a) Because any recourse to this Section requires action not merely by the Government of Canada but by the Parliament. To this the answer is, briefly,
(i) that the express exception in the case of Australia proves the rule that the Government could act, and
(ii) that an amendment making action by a Dominion Parliament necessary was rejected in 1931.

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N.B. This objection is not made directly by Mr. Woodsworth, but will be made by others.

(b) Because recourse to this Section on a subject as to which a contrary method, i.e. action by Parliament, is provided, is wrong, and the preamble does so provide as regards the subject of alteration of the law touching the succession. (Woodsworth, page 21).

As to this:

i. The preamble is not an operative part of the Statute, so would not in a strictly legal sense overrule an operative section. (not a point to be stressed).

ii. It must be borne in mind that Section 4 does not confer any power on the Parliament of the United Kingdom; it imposed a limitation upon the exercise of a power then existing.

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If the laws re the succession were excluded from the operation of Section 4, that would only mean that they were released from this limitation and were within the scope of the original power of that Parliament to legislate upon with binding effect.

The reference to these laws in the preamble does not operate to exclude them from the operation of Section 4; it is inconceivable that the Parliaments concerned in the enactment of the Statute wished to weaken the position of the Kingship by withdrawing it from the limitation imposed by that Section on overriding United Kingdom legislation.

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2. If Dominion Government has that power, it is a dangerour power:

"if the Prime Minister can choose our King, he can declare war or commit this country to any policy of less importance than the selection of the head of the state".

page 21.

As to this:-

(1) The United Kingdom Act to which we requested and consented to did not "select a King"; it merely gave effect to the King's irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and his descendants, thus recognizing a demise of the Crown, and provided that the member of the Royal Family who would succeed on any such demise should now succeed. The Act neither forced a King from the throne nor introduced any change as to the member of the Royal Family who would succeed him.

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(2) There is no shadow of similarity betweena formal recognition of an established fact, i.e. the King's determination to leave the Throne, and a decision to plunge the country into war. The declaration of war is now and has long been a prerogative of the Crown, acting on ministerial advice. The whole policy of this Administration has been to set limits on the exercise of this power and make parliamentary action essential.

(3) While the monarchy is very important in our constitutional system, it does not follow that the action taken with regard to it, once the King had determined on abdication, was an important policy or involved an important exercise of discretion.

3°. "If the action by the Government on December 10 was constitutional, surely further legislation is unnecessary.

Certainly not; the action of December 10 was designed to secure immediate legal effect to the change; the present legislation is designed to carry out the constitutional convention, expressed in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster.

4°. The Prime Minister has not kept the Statute - merely "asserted and safeguarded it to the greatest practicable extent, consistent with the limitations of time and space, and the imperative practical necessities", in the words of the Prime Minister's public address of Dec.11. (Page 22)

(1) This statement quoted from the Prime Minister's address of December 11, is, it is submitted, more

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accurate than the contention on page 21 that "the Government's action in every particular complied with the Statute of Westminster". Assent by the Canadian Parliament a month after the accomplished fact, rather than as a necessary prerequisite to action, and after the presumably equal Parliament of the United Kingdom has acted, can hardly be considered full compliance with the provisions of the preamble. The position taken in the discussion of the constitutional position early in December was that action by the Canadian Parliament in advance was the only means by which full compliance with the new constitutional convention could be ensured, and when that was found impossible, a choice had to be made between risking the uncertainty and confusion involved in delay, and <u>some</u> sacrifice of the constitutional position.

The reply to Mr.Woodsworth's criticism of the statement of December 11th would appear to be to state the actual grounds for the Government's decision at that time, - that under the unforeseen and unprecedented circumstances of that week, a situation had arisen for which no completely satisfactory solution had been provided in the Statute, and that a choice had to be made between delay and confusion, particularly likely to be extensive in a federal country, and, on the other hand, a temporary refraining from full observance of a constitutional convention which in fact,however,will be strengthened by the focussing of discussion and action upon this blessed preamble for weeks past.

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5°. The Prime Minister's attitude to the British North America Act is inconsistent with his attitude to the Statute of Westminster; why not recognize that conditions have changed more as regards the subject matter of the British North America Act, e.g. rise of unemployment, debt, etc. than as regards the subject matter of the Statute of Westminster.

(page 22).

The meaning of this comment is obscure. Precisely what does Mr.Woodsworth want the Government to do with reference to the British North America Act? Does he mean that we should assert some federal power to deal with these problems which the British North America Act does not grant? If so, the argument is far-fetched; there is no analogy between an assertion of legal powers which in the assumed case we do not possess, and the temporary deferment of the exercise of rights which under a constitutional convention we do possess.

6°. Members should not have been asked to take the Oath of Allegiance, or the House to pass an address of loyalty to a new King, before Parliament had assented to his being King.

(Page 20, 19)

It might be replied that legally, King George VI is now our King, but it must be admitted this does not satisfactorily answer the point that in the relations between the Canadian Parliament and George VI it would be desirable to have Parliament assent to his becoming King, for whatever that assent is worth, before swearing allegiance or voting addresses to a man who so far as action by this Parliament is concerned, is not yet King by its assent.

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7°. As to bringing down Correspondence (page 20)

1. Largely personal, and essentially so because of the informal and provisional character of the consultation until the end.

2. Mr.Woodsworth must recognize that there has been shown no ground whatever to exist for assuming that Mr.Baldwin's statement was not full and fair; certainly it was so accepted by the King himself.

3. The correspondence was not brought down in the United Kingdom Parliament, nor in Australia.

There is no ground for believing that it will be brought down in New Zealand. The New Zealand Parliament adjourned on December 8, and will not meet again for months, until well after the Coronation. (For these reasons, while cabling to Australia and South Africa on the point, in addition to the United Kingdom as directed, I did not send an inquiry to New Zealand. O.D.S.)

As to South Africa, we have not yet a reply to our inquiry.

As to the Irish Free State, the question does not arise. The Irish Free State Government did not participate actively in the consultations with the United Kingdom or express any opinion on the alternative courses. There is no reference in the United Kingdom legislationto the Irish Free State and equally no reference to the United Kingdom in the Act passed by the Irish Free State.

The Irish Free State Parliament acted independently. On Dec.11 it passed a Bill providing that the King should have no part in the internal legislative machinery of the Irish Free State; on Dec.12 it passed another Bill providing for the abdication of Edward and the succession of the Duke of York. (Will anyone claim that Mr.de Valera was endeavouring to please Mr.Baldwin?)

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RE: "Citizen" Editorial, January 16.

1. Real force behind British Government's anxiety to displace the King, and at which the Canadian Government will be suspected of conniving, unless all papers are produced, was the resentment of vested interests against the King's expression of sympathy with the Welsh miners.

As to which:-

(a) British Government were not anxious to displace the King: quite the contrary.

(b) Not aware of any public or private intimation which would support the idea that this factor played any part in the action of the British Government, or in the support given by the Labour opposition. Certainly never remotest consideration given to this incident by the Government of Canada.

2. A constitutional innovation: Hitherto the practice has been for Ministers to resign when the King or his representative declines to accept their advice; in this case, when the King declines, he goes, the Prime Minister stays.

As to this:

No formal advice was tendered by the United Kingdom Government except on the question of facilitating a morganatic marriage. The United Kingdom Government did urge him not to abdicate, but formal advice on this point was neither sought nor given: the British Cabinet's Minute of Dec. 10 declared they "ventured to hope that before Your

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Majesty pronounces any formal decision, Your Majesty will be pleased to reconsider an intention which must so deeply distress and so vitally affect all Your Majesty's subjects".

(? Canadian Government)

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(2nd copy - Keep attached to memo of O.D. Skelton, Jan 16, 1937)

for 2 [illegible]

Jan 1 C115508

O.D.S.

RE: ABDICATION AND SUCCESSION

There are two distinct issues:-

I. The facts as to the events and discussions which arose before the King announced his decision to abdicate, including the question of any advice tendered him.

II. The legal and constitutional propriety of the course adopted by the Canadian government to deal with the situation presented by the King's decision.

As to the first issue:-

(a) How did the question arise?

An answer to this, if we were to seek ultimate causes, would carry us far afield into consideration of such points as

the whole system of constitutional monarchy as it has been worked out in the United Kingdom through long centuries;

the great demands the operation of such a system with its nicely balanced adjustments makes upon (i) the sovereign, who is called upon to contribute knowledge, interest, continuous devotion without overstepping the bounds set by the ultimate decision of parliament and people, demands which have been increased by the fortunate experience of the years of devoted service by King George V, and also by the exaggerated adulation from many sections of the press and public, setting up standards of perfection of conduct which few mortals could live up to and (ii) on the people, who must give loyalty freely,

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and at the same time resist any tendency, if it should develop, to revive arbitrary personal authority, a genius for political compromise and sense of reality: (no wonder so few countries have been able to work this system of constitutional monarchy)

the bearing of temperament, training, changes in social customs and standards, and the immediate environment, upon the ability and willingness of the sovereign to carry out this heavy task.

More directly, the question arose because of relations between the King and Mrs. Simpson and the widespread comments and criticisms upon these relations, or what were reported to be these relations, in the press of other countries and the club and dinner-table conversation in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, this discussion was greatly intensified by the announcement of a divorce action which was to be brought at Ipswich on October 27.

(b) <u>What steps were taken by the Prime Minister of the U.K.?</u>

It is unnecessary to deal with this question in any detail, in view of the admirably lucid and feeling statement given by Mr.Baldwin himself at Westminster on December 10. It is only necessary to summarize the main developments:

i. Mr.Baldwin conceived it to be his duty "not only as a counsellor but as a friend" to discuss the question with the King and point out to him the danger that such reports and criticisms involved. No one will deny that the situation did involve serious danger

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of bringing the Throne into question and even into disrepute, or that under the circumstances it was the duty of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, as head of that of his Governments which was most directly and closely concerned, to talk it over with his sovereign, or that Mr. Baldwin's personal qualities and genuine friendship with the King gave him peculiar fitness for this difficult and unwelcome task. This task Mr. Baldwin preformed in the interview which he sbught with the King, and held on October 20.

ii. The next development came nearly a month later, on November 16, when the King sent for Mr.Baldwin. In the meantime the granting of the divorce on October 27 had strengthened rumours as to the possibility of a marriage. Mr.Baldwin then stated that such a marriage would not in his opinion meet with the approbation of the country. The King replied that he wanted to tell Mr.Baldwin something <u>that he had long wanted to tell</u>. "I am going to marry Mrs. Simpson and I am prepared to go." Mr.Baldwin replied it was impossible to comment on this most grievous news that day. Shortly afterwards the King told the Queen and his brothers.

iii. The next stage came on November 25, when the King again sent for Mr.Baldwin, and asked his opinion upon a possible compromise that had been suggested meantime - the King to marry Mrs.Simpson and Parliament to pass an Act enabling the lady to be the King's wife without the position of Queen. Mr.Baldwin said he could give no considered opinion,but his first reaction was against it: the King requested he should examine the proposal formally, which it was agreed would

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mean putting it formally before the whole U.K. cabinet and communicating with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions.

iv. On December 1st the whole issue became a public one as a result of an episcopal address, referring to the King's unawareness of his need of God's grace; an address later declared to deal with religious observances rather than private morality, but which resulted in the outburst of the pent-up flood of press and public discussion.

v. On December 2nd the King again sent for Mr.Baldwin who told him inquiries while incomplete had shown that neither in the Dominions nor in the U.K. would there be any prospect of such legislation being accepted. The King, Mr.Baldwin states, did not again recur to that suggestion.

vi. Mr.Baldwin pointed out at that interview that the alternatives had been narrowed, and that the King was in the difficult position of having to decide between two loyalties - whether to abandon the project of marriage and remaining as King, and "going" and later, if possible, contracting that marriage. The remaining time before the King's decision was announced was given in Mr.Baldwin's words "to the struggle in which His Majesty has been engaged" - his decision between these alternatives.

vii. Mr.Baldwin stated on December 7th that except on the question of a so-called morganatic marriage, no advice had been tendered the King by the Government of the U.K.

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viii. As regards the Canadian Government,

? date on which issue was first raised

? only point on which Canadian Government indicated its view as to the King's course was a reply given to the question he had himself asked as to whether they would support the legislation required to give effect to the morganatic marriage compromise. The Canadian Government informed Mr.B. that it would not undertake to propose such a course to Parliament and did not believe it would meet with any appreciable support if it did. An early answer to that question was asked for and in the circumstances was essential. I do not think any other answer could have been given. The institution of a morganatic marriage has no place or recognition in our monarchy. It could not, we believed, be a workable or permanent arrangement, to have a lady as wife who would be shut up in Buckingham Palace and not be Queen. In any case, the circumstances which led the King to declare that he was going to marry Mrs. Simpson and was prepared to "go", indicated that if he then considered such a marriage would mean she could not become Queen, must lead his advisers, if requested whether they were prepared to propose legislation, to consider that the same circumstances would make it unfitting for her to become his wife.

? direct communication to King.

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ix. On December 9 the informally and on December 10th formally announced he had reached his decision, his irrevocable determination to abdicate.

x. It will be clear

i. That the issue was not raised by any of His Majesty's Governments; they were simply compelled to face a situation which they had not created and with which they were most reluctant to have to deal.

ii. That the only indication of government attitude given was with regard to the inquiry as to our willingness to support legislation for a morganatic marriage.

iii. That the King never raised the question of marrying the lady and remaining on the Throne?

iv. That no pressure was exerted or advice tendered by any of His Majesty's government in support of the decision to which His Majesty eventually came; on the contrary as Mr.Baldwin has stated, his "efforts during these last few days have been directed in trying to help him to make the choice which he has not made."

? also Canadian Government.

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With regard to Mr. Woodsworth's points on this aspect of the question:-

p. 21. 1. "Who created the imperative crisis?"

Certainly not Mr.Baldwin or Mr. King. See page 1 and 2 above.

p.19. 2. "Mr.Baldwin put the King in a position where he had to make a choice and he chose abdication." -

(a) Mr.Baldwin (or any Dominion Prime Minister) did not create the situation.

(b) The King indicated from the beginning his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson.

(c) The only alternatives inthat case were

i. To remain King and make her Queen. He never proposed this (?).

ii. To remain King and make her his wife but not Queen. Governments declined this alternative.

iii. To abdicate. This he himself recognized as the outset was the probable result.

(d) The only advice tendered as regards iii was against such a decision?

p. 20. 3. "Was Mr. Baldwin's action after all caused by pressure from the Dominions?"
Certainly not, so far at least as this Dominion was concerned. Some reports to that effect appeared in London newspapers and were immediately denied (Quote statement).

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(b) that until 1931 any such alteration was wholly a matter for the Parliament of the United Kingdom;

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C115521

5°. <u>The Prime Minister's attitude to the British North America Act is inconsistent with his attitude to the Statute of Westminster</u>; why not recognize that conditions have changed more as regards the subject matter of the British North America Act, e.g. rise of unemployment, debt, etc. than as regards the subject matter of the Statute of Westminster.

(page 22).

The meaning of this comment is obscure. Precisely what does Mr. Woodsworth want the Government to do with reference to the British North America Act? Does he mean that we should assert some federal power to deal with these problems which the British North America Act does not grant? If so, the argument is far-fetched; there is no analogy between an assertion of legal powers which in the assumed case we do not possess, and the temporary deferment of the exercise of rights which under a constitutional convention we do possess.

6°. <u>Members should not have been asked to take the Oath of Allegiance</u>, or the House to pass an address of loyalty to a new King, <u>before Parliament had assented</u> to his being King.

(Page 20, 19)

It might be replied that legally, King George VI is now our King, but it must be admitted this does not satisfactorily answer the point that <u>in the relations between the Canadian Parliament and George VI</u> it would be desirable to have Parliament assent to his becoming King, for whatever that assent is worth, before swearing allegiance or voting addresses to a man who so far as action by this Parliament is concerned, is not yet King by its assent.

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7°. As to bringing down Correspondence (page 20)

1. Largely personal, and essentially so because of the informal and provisional character of the consultation until the end.

2. Mr.Woodsworth must recognize that there has been shown no ground whatever to exist for assuming that Mr.Baldwin's statement was not full and fair; certainly it was so accepted by the King himself.

3. The correspondence was not brought down in the United Kingdom Parliament, nor in Australia.

There is no ground for believing that it will be brought down in New Zealand. The New Zealand Parliament adjourned on December 8, and will not meet again for months, until well after the Coronation. (For these reasons, while cabling to Australia and South Africa on the point, in addition to the United Kingdom as directed, I did not send an inquiry to New Zealand. O.D.S.)

As to South Africa, we have not yet a reply to our inquiry.

As to the Irish Free State, the question does not arise. The Irish Free State Government did not participate actively in the consultations with the United Kingdom or express any opinion on the alternative courses. There is no reference in the United Kingdom legislationto the Irish Free State and equally no reference to the United Kingdom in the Act passed by the Irish Free State.

The Irish Free State Parliament acted independently. On Dec.11 it passed a Bill providing that the King should have no part in the internal legislative machinery of the Irish Free State; on Dec.12 it passed another Bill providing for the abdication of Edward and the succession of the Duke of York. (Will anyone claim that Mr.de Valera was endeavouring to please Mr.Baldwin?)

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RE: "Citizen" Editorial, January 16.

1. Real force behind British Government's anxiety to displace the King, and at which the Canadian Government will be suspected of conniving, unless all papers are produced, was the resentment of vested interests against the King's expression of sympathy with the Welsh miners.

As to which:-

(a) British Government were not anxious to displace the King: quite the contrary.

(b) Not aware of any public or private intimation which would support the idea that this factor played any part in the action of the British Government, or in the support given by the Labour opposition. Certainly never remotest consideration given to this incident by the Government of Canada.

2. A constitutional innovation: Hitherto the practice has been for Ministers to resign when the King or his representative declines to accept their advice; in this case, when the King declines, he goes, the Prime Minister stays.

As to this:

No formal advice was tendered by the United Kingdom Government except on the question of facilitating a morganatic marriage. The United Kingdom Government did urge him not to abdicate, but formal advice on this point was neither sought nor given: the British Cabinet's Minute of Dec. 10 declared they "ventured to hope that before Your

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Majesty pronounces any formal decision, Your Majesty will be pleased to reconsider an intention which must so deeply distress and so vitally affect all Your Majesty's subjects".

(? Canadian Government)

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(Keep this copy of memo of J.E. Read attached to memo of O.D. Skelton, Jan 16, 1937)

Read

JER/S/P
Jan 5/37.

C 115523

NOTES CONCERNING ROYAL ABDICATION AND SUCCESSION

I. CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

A - Constitutional Position in Canada as to the Power of the Parliament to take Action with regard to Succession.

The preamble of the British North America Act 1867 refers to the desire of the provinces to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Section 2 provides for the application of provisions referring to the Queen, to the "Heirs and Successors of Her Majesty, Kings and Queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland".

There are many important provisions relating directly to the Crown in the Act, but particular reference may be made to Sections 9, 17, 55, 56, 57, 91.

The Crown is interwoven into the constitutional structure of Canada. Alteration of these provisions would involve, not ordinary legislation, but amendment of the Constitution. The Crown, by the provisions of the British North America Act is, in so far as Canada is concerned, identical with the Crown in the United Kingdom.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that from the strictly legal point of view, prior to the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, it would have been beyond the powers of the Parliament of Canada to enact a law changing the succession. This does not mean that the

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Parliament of Canada could not have enacted a declaratory statute, a confirmatory enactment, or a legislative expression of assent; it simply means that the Parliament of Canada could not by operative enactment change the succession.

A change of this sort would have been a fundamental constitutional change which could only be made legally effective by enactment by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This enactment, if former precedents had been followed, would have been pursuant either to a humble address from the Senate and House of Commons of Canada or, in the alternative, pursuant to request from the Government of Canada.

The Statute of Westminster affects this position. The preamble provides that "any alteration in the law, touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all of the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." It is true that this provision is set forth in the preamble to the Act. Consequently, it cannot be regarded as actually changing the law. It can merely be regarded as expressing a solemn constitutional convention, whereby any such alterations require the assent of all of the Parliaments. While this recital cannot be regarded as adding to the powers of the Parliament of Canada, in the strictly legal sense, it places beyond dispute the propriety of parliamentary action expressing Canadian assent. It has already been pointed out that, apart altogether from the Statute of Westminster, there could be no question raised, if the

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Parliamet of Canada expressed its assent to action which was beyond its ordinary legislative powers. The fact that the Parliament of Canada could not deal with the matter by substantive enactment could not properly be raised as an objection. There is no rule known to the Constitutional Law of Canada or of Great Britain requiring a Parliament to limit its activity to substantive enactment. Indeed, the precedents run the other way.

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E - Application of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster and the question of the Propriety of Action by the Governor-in-Council in submitting the request and Consent of Canada.

Two parts of the Statute of Westminster are relevant; the third recital and the fourth section. They are as follows:

Third Recital

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion:

Section 4.

No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to the enactment thereof.

The third recital sets forth the constitutional convention.

The third recital was incorporated in the Statute of Westminster pursuant to the recommendation contained in the Report of the Committee on the Operation of Dominion Legislation 1929, para. 54, which was approved by the Imperial Conference 1930, by resolution. The purpose of this recital was to record a statement embodying the conventional usage, with a view to

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reconciling the existence of the legal power in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate for the Dominions with the established constitutional position.

In the same report, in para. 55, it was recognized that practical considerations affecting the drafting of Bills and interpretation of Statutes, made it desirable that the principle should also be expressed in the enacting part of the Statute of Westminster, and a clause was drafted accordingly. This clause was revised by the Imperial Conference 1930 and appears as Section 4 of the Statute. The revision consisted in adding the words: "as part of the law in force in that Dominion."

Accordingly, it appears that both the recital and Section 4 were included in the Statute of Westminster for the purpose of making provision for the continuance in a technical, legal sense, of Imperial legislative supremacy. In so far as South Africa and the Irish Free State are concerned, there can be strong arguments advanced for the view that the Statute of Westminster was a renunciation of legislative soversignty. This view is strengthened by the South African action in enacting the status of the Union Act. In the case of Canada, however, the position is much more difficult. The weight of opinion amongst lawyers and judges would undoubtedly favour the view that the supreme legislative power continued in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and accordingly the recital in question, and Section 4, were essential restraints upon the exercise of that power.

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It may thus be assumed that there remained in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the power to make laws extending to Canada, and that if the laws set forth on their face the request and consent of Canada, they would be effective. This is particularly true in the case of a law relating to the constitution, such as His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936. There could be no doubt as to the validity of this law, which contained on its face a recital of the request and consent of Canada.

It should be borne in mind that Section 4 is not conferring a power upon the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It is imposing a limitation upon the exercise of a power already existing. It could not be argued that laws relating to the succession do not come within Section 4, and that therefore the Parliament of the United Kingdom could not enact such laws extending to Canada, because if you exclude the laws from Section 4, which is not a source of power to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, they would remain within the scope of the original power of that Parliament. The effect of exclusion would be merely to release them from the limitation. Further, it could not be effectively argued that the specific reference to the laws in the preamble excluded them from the operation of Section 4. It is inconceivable that the Parliaments which were concerned in the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, in setting forth the second recital, proposed to weaken the position of the kingship by withdrawing it from the limitation

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imposed by Section 4.

The true interpretation of the effect of the second and third recitals and Section 4, when read together, is that the second recital is intended to express a conventional limitation superimposed upon the first limitation, as set forth in the third recital and Section 4. It is designed to create a constitutional obligation of unanimity in the one type of legislation which was fundamentally important. The common kingship was the essential prerequisite of the continued existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations. No one member and no two members should be able to destroy the common kingship by unilateral or bilateral action. Unilateral or bilateral action would be in fact secession, and the second recital is an expression of this fact.

Accordingly, it is submitted that the change in the succession, by an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, reciting the request and consent of Canada, was legally effective. The question remains whether the request and consent could properly be made by the Government, as distinct from the Parliament of Canada.

The word "Dominion" as used in the third recital and Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931, cannot be construed as equivalent to the parliament of a Dominion. In the drafting of the Statute of Westminster great care was taken to use the word "Parliament" where Parliament was intended, and it would not be practicable

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to incorporate it by implication where the word "Parliament" is omitted. Reference might be made to the second recital, Section2, and to the express exception in Section 9 (3), where a special interpretation is placed upon the word "Dominion", in Section 4, in the case of Australia. It provides that the request and consent referred to in Section 4 shall mean the request and consent of the Parliament and Government of the Commonwealth.

Further, during the Debates in the House of Commons, when the Statute of Westminster was under consideration, an amendment substituting the words, "Parliament of that Dominion" in Section 4, was rejected.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that the request of the Government of Canada would in all ordinary cases be an adequate compliance with the provisions of Section 4. The Government of the United Kingdom could not look behind the request, and the responsibility would be upon the Government of Canada to determine the extent of the consents or approvals that ought to precede the submission of such a request.

The present position is, however, complicated by the fact that the legislation was dealing with a matter governed by the second recital. That recital required the assent of the Parliament of Canada to legislation of this sort. It was, however, included in the preamble and the failure to furnish the assent could not affect the legal validity of the legislation. It could only go to the question of constitutional propriety.

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There can be no doubt that as a matter of constitutional propriety the assent of the Parliament of Canada should be obtained as a condition precedent to the condition of request for a fundamental change in the Canadian constitution. The only justification that can be put forward is the matter of urgency. In a constitutional crisis, a government may be compelled to go beyond strict legality or strict constitutional propriety in order to preserve the essentials of the constitutional position. In the present instance, it may be contended that it was not practicable to consult Parliament before the enactment of the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Upon this assumption, no Canadian Government could possibly face potential chaos that would exist in the event of a gap in the kingship intervening.

I would doubt the reference to the Provincial factor

The situation would be different in the Irish Free State or South Affica, whose constitutions are essentially unitary. In Canada the great extent of provincial powers makes it impracticable for any Canadian Government to accept a situation which would involve a gap in the kingship. For instance, let us assume that the Canadian Government had summoned Parliament and deferred action until after the Parliament of the United Kingdom had acted, there would be grave doubts as to the kingship during the interval, and even after the interval, assuming subsequent Canadian legislative action. These doubts would affect provincial, as well as Dominion matters and would be incapable of being cured by the defacto exercise of power pending effective confirmatory legislation and subsequent acts of indemnity.

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The curative measures would involve legislation by all nine of the Provinces, as well as by the Parliament of Canada, and no Canadian Government could accept responsibility for ultimate legislation by nine provinces.

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C - Constitutional Power in the Other Dominions to take Action with regard to the Succession.

In the case of Australia and New Zealand, Sections 2 and 4 of the Statute of Westminster have no application until adoption by the respective Parliaments. There has been no such adoption and, consequently, Australia and New Zealand are in the position of being subject to the preamble, but not to the relevant operative sections of the Act. Accordingly, to satisfy the constitutional provisions set forth in the second recital, the assent of the Parliaments of Australia and New Zealand would be necessary. No action by any Australian or New Zealand agency was required in order to make the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom legally effective in those Dominions.

It is clear that in the case of Australia it would not be within the power of the Parliament of the Commonwealth to enact operative legislation dealing with the Succession. That could only be done by constitutional amendment, and even in that manner the provisions of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, relating to the Crown, could not be affected.

I have not available complete texts of the relevant constitutional documents in so far as New Zealand is concerned. It may, however, safely be assumed that the New Zealand position is essentially the same as the Australian, in this respect.

The Union of South Africa is in a different position. The Statute of Westminster has been adopted

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and re-enacted by the Status of the Union Act. Further, the Union Parliament, subject to special procedures in certain instances, has complete power to amend the constitution. Consequently, there could be no doubt that the Union Parliament would have power, by a substantive enactment, to change the kingship.

The position in the Irish Free State is obscure. In the absence of texts of the present constitution, it is not possible to speak with certainty. It may be said, however, that, prior to recent constitutional changes, the Parliament of the Irish Free State was fully empowered to make constitutional changes and, consequently, that legislation in relation to the kingship would be intra vires. It is probably safe to assume, in view of the recent Irish legislative action dealing with the abdication, that there have been no recent limitations imposed upon legislative power.

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D - Constitutional Position in the other Dominions with regard to Application of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster 1931

It has already been pointed out that Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster has no application in the case of Australia and New Zealand. This probably explains the fact that Australia and New Zealand did not request and consent to the enactment of His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936, but simply assented to the enactment. The statute was legally effective in Australia and New Zealand, apart altogether from their participation, and the only action by Australia and New Zealand that was necessary was assent, pursuant to the second recital of the preamble.

The case of South Africa is different. The Status of the Union Act 1934, re-enacted the preamble and Sections 1 to 5, 11 and 12 of the Statute of Westminster. It provided by Section 2 that no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom should extend to the Union as part of the law of the Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union. Section 5 amends Section 2 of the South Africa Act by the insertion of a definition of Heirs and Successors, as follows:-

> "'heirs and successors' shall be taken to mean His Majesty's heirs and successors in the sovereignty of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as determined by the laws relating to the succession of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Accordingly, in the case of South Africa, it was impossible to act under Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster by reason of the provisions of Section 2

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of the Status of the Union Act. An expression of request and consent was inappropriate in the case of South Africa. The position there is somewhat obscure, but it seems probable that, by virtue of Section 5 of the Status of the Union Act, i.e. under a South African Statute, the demise of the Crown, resulting from the abdication, would be legally effective.
It is possible that the expression of assent in the preamble was intended to express the subsequent assent which would, in the ordinary course, be given by the Union Parliament, pursuant to the provisions of the second recital.

There is, however, a possibility that there may have been a vacancy pending Parliamentary action in South Africa, but this cannot be cleared up without further information.

In the case of the Irish Free State, the position with regard to Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, is similar to the Canadian. There is no doubt that the Free State could have acted in that way, but instead they preferred to submit the matter to Parliament and to rely upon independent legislation involving a disunity in the kingship for at least a day. There was a short period during which King Edward was King of Ireland and King George was the King of the rest of the British Commonwealth.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

February 9th, 1937.

For Mr. King:

Mr. Tubman has sent over, for you to retain, the moving picture film which was taken on December the 11th, in connection with the announcement of the Abdication of King Edward the Eighth.

Lewis Zanchelli

E. A. P.

Please see this and others are is properly labelled

put in a cool place - better

be down stairs - large cellar

room (not - one in which

boiler is.)

[illegible]

14-2-37

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C 115540

Thursday, January 14th. 1937

INTRODUCTION OF BILL RESPECTING ALTERATION IN THE LAW TOUCHING THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE.

King Edward executes Instrument of Abdication.

As Honourable Members are aware, His former Majesty, King Edward VIII, by a Royal message dated 10th of December, 1936, declared that he was irrevocably determined to renounce the Throne for himself and his descendants, that he had for that purpose executed an Instrument of Abdication and signified his desire that effect thereto should be given immediately.

Act intituled "His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936" enacted by Parliament of the United Kingdom.

On the same day, a Bill intituled "His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936" was introduced in the House of Commons at Westminster. On the following day, the Bill passed through all stages and received Royal Assent. The request and consent of Canada was communicated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Section 4, Statute of Westminster, 1931.

The Statute of Westminster contains the following provision which is number 4 of the Statute:

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"4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed "after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be "deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that "Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that "that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment "thereof."

The request and consent of Canada given to the enactment of His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act.

The text of the Instrument of Abdication setting forth His former Majesty's declaration and desire having been communicated to His Majesty's Government in Canada, the request and consent of Canada, pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster was communicated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Recital in preamble to Statute of Westminster respecting alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne.

The following recital is set forth in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, 1931:

"And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way "of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the "symbol of the free association of the members of the British "Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common "allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the

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"established constitutional position of all the members of the "Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration "in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the "Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent "as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the "Parliament of the United Kingdom."

Declaration of the assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne.

As His Majesty's declaration of Abdication Act, 1936, alters the law touching the succession to the Throne, to be in accord with the established constitutional position, it becomes necessary to declare the assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne.

Assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the succession.

The present Bill is for the purpose of declaring the assent of the Parliament of Canada to the alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne effected by His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936.

The provision with respect thereto is as follows:

"The provisions of the Act of the Parliament of the "United Kingdom intituled His Majesty's Declaration of "Abdication Act, 1936, and relating to alteration in the

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"law touching the succession to the Throne are hereby "assented to".

RE: PROCEEDING WITH BILL

The Government has thought it advisable to introduce this Bill at the earliest possible moment in order that Honourable Members may be immediately acquainted with the Government's intention with respect to the subject matter of the legislation, and the exact provisions of the Bill.

The Government does not intend to ask the House to proceed with the second reading of the Bill until after the conclusion of the debate on the Address to His Excellency in reply to the speech from the Throne.

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RE: ABDICATION AND SUCCESSION

There are two distinct issues:-

I. The facts as to the events and discussions which arose before the King announced his decision to abdicate, including the question of any advice tendered him.

II. The legal and constitutional propriety of the course adopted by the Canadian government to deal with the situation presented by the King's decision.

As to the first issue:-

(a) How did the question arise?

An answer to this, if we were to seek ultimate causes, would carry us far afield into consideration of such points as

the whole system of constitutional monarchy as it has been worked out in the United Kingdom through long centuries;

the great demands the operation of such a system with its nicely balanced adjustments makes upon (i) the sovereign, who is called upon to contribute knowledge, interest, continuous devotion without overstepping the bounds set by the ultimate decision of parliament and people, demands which have been increased by the fortunate experience of the years of devoted service by King George V, and also by the exaggerated adulation from many sections of the press and public, setting up standards of perfection of conduct which few mortals could live up to and (ii) on the people, who must give loyalty freely,

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

and at the same time resist any tendency, if it should develop, to revive arbitrary personal authority, a genius for political compromise and sense of reality: (no wonder so few countries have been able to work this system of constitutional monarchy)

the bearing of temperament, training, changes in social customs and standards, and the immediate environment, upon the ability and willingness of the sovereign to carry out this heavy task.)

More directly, the question arose because of relations between the King and Mrs. Simpson and the widespread comments and criticisms upon these relations, or what were reported to be these relations, in the press of other countries and the club and dinner-table conversation in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, this discussion was greatly intensified by the announcement of a divorce action which was to be brought at Ipswich on October 27.

(b) <u>What steps were taken by the Prime Minister of the U.K.</u>?

It is unnecessary to deal with this question in any detail, in view of the admirably lucid and feeling statement given by Mr.Baldwin himself at Westminster on December 10. It is only necessary to summarize the main developments:

i. Mr.Baldwin conceived it to be his duty "not only as a counsellor but as a friend" to discuss the ~~questio~~n with the King and point out to ~~him~~ the danger that such reports and criticisms involved. No one will deny that the situation did involve serious danger

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of bringing the Throne into question and ~~even into~~ controversy ~~disrepute~~, or that under the circumstances it was the duty of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, as head of that of his Governments which was most directly and closely concerned, to talk it over with his sovereign, or that Mr. Baldwin's personal qualities and genuine friendship with the King gave him peculiar fitness for this difficult and unwelcome task. This task Mr. Baldwin preformed in the interview which he sought with the King, and held on October 20.

ii. The next development came nearly a month later, on November 16, when the King sent for Mr.Baldwin. In the meantime the granting of ~~the~~ a divorce to Mrs Simpson on October 27 had strengthened rumours as to the possibility of a marriage. Mr.Baldwin then stated that such a marriage would not in his opinion meet with the approbation of the country. The King replied that he wanted to tell Mr.Baldwin something that he had long wanted to tell. "I am going to marry Mrs. Simpson and I am prepared to go." Mr.Baldwin replied it was impossible to comment on this most grievous news that day. Shortly afterwards the King told the Queen and his brothers.

iii. The next stage came on November 25, when the King again sent for Mr.Baldwin, and asked his opinion upon a possible compromise that had been suggested meantime - the King to marry Mrs.Simpson and Parliament to pass an Act enabling the lady to be the King's wife without the position of Queen. Mr.Baldwin said he could give no considered opinion,but his first reaction was against it: the King requested he should examine the proposal formally, which it was agreed would

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mean putting it formally before the whole U.K. cabinet and communicating with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions.

iv. On December 1st the whole issue became a public one as a result of an episcopal address, referring to the King's unawareness of his need of God's grace; an address later declared to deal with religious observances rather than private morality, but which resulted in the outburst of the pent-up flood of press and public discussion.

v. On December 2nd the King again sent for Mr.Baldwin who told him inquiries while incomplete had shown that neither in the Dominions nor in the U.K. would there be any prospect of such legislation being accepted. The King, Mr.Baldwin states, did not again recur to that suggestion.

vi. Mr.Baldwin pointed out at that interview that the alternatives had been narrowed, and that the King was in the difficult position of having to decide between two loyalties - whether to abandon the project of marriage and remaining as King, and "going" and later, if possible, contracting that marriage. The remaining time before the King's decision was announced was given in Mr.Baldwin's words "to the struggle in which His Majesty has been engaged" - his decision between these alternatives.

vii. Mr.Baldwin stated on December 7th that except on the question of a so-called morganatic marriage, no advice had been tendered the King by the Government of the U.K.

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viii. As regards the Canadian Government,

? date on which issue was first raised

~~only~~ point on which Canadian Government indicated its view as to the King's course was a reply given to the question he had himself asked as to whether they would support the legislation required to give effect to the morganatic marriage compromise. The Canadian Government informed Mr.B. that it would not undertake to propose such a course to Parliament and did not believe it would meet with any appreciable support if it did. An early answer to that question was asked for and in the circumstances was essential. I do not think any other answer could have been given. The institution of a morganatic marriage has no place or recognition in our monarchy. ~~It~~ could not, we believed, be a workable or permanent arrangement, ~~to have a lady as wife who would be shut up in Buckingham Palace and not be Queen.~~ In any case, the circumstances which led the King to declare that he was going to marry Mrs. Simpson and was prepared to "go", indicated that if he then considered such a marriage would mean she could not become Queen, must lead his advisers, if requested whether they were prepared to propose legislation, to consider that the same circumstances would make it unfitting for her to become his wife.

? direct communication to King.

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ix. On December 9 the King informally, and on December 10th formally, announced he had reached his decision, his irrevocable determination to abdicate.

x. It will be clear

i. That the issue was not raised by any of His Majesty's Governments; they were simply compelled to face a situation which they had not created, and with which they were most reluctant to have to deal.

ii. That the only indication of government attitude given was with regard to the inquiry as to our willingness to support legislation for a morganatic marriage.

iii. That the King never raised the question of marrying the lady and remaining on the Throne?

iv. That no pressure was exerted or advice tendered by any of His Majesty's government in support of the decision to which His Majesty eventually came; on the contrary as Mr.Baldwin has stated, his "efforts during these last few days have been directed in trying to help him to make the choice which he has not made."

? also Canadian Government.

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With regard to Mr. Woodsworth's points on this aspect of the question:-

p. 21. 1. "Who created the imperative crisis?"

Certainly not Mr.Baldwin or Mr. King. See page 192 above.

p.19. 2. "Mr.Baldwin put the King in a position where he had to make a choice and he chose abdication." -

(a) Mr.Baldwin (or any Dominion Prime Minister) did not create the situation.

(b) The King indicated from the beginning his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson.

(c) The only alternatives inthat case were

i. To remain King and make her Queen. He never proposed this (?).

ii. To remain King and make her his wife but not Queen. Governments declined this alternative.

iii To give up the proposed marriage

iv ~~iii.~~ To abdicate. This he himself recognized as the outset was the probable result.

(d) The only advice tendered as regards iii was against such a decision?

p. 20. 3. "Was Mr. Baldwin's action after all caused by pressure from the Dominions?"
Certainly not, so far at least as this Dominion was concerned. Some reports to that effect appeared in London newspapers and were immediately denied (Quote statement).

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II. As to the legal and constitutional propriety of the course adopted by the Canadian Government to deal with the situation created by the King's decision:-

1. The general position was -

(a) that abdication involved an alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne, e.g. in barring any descendants of Edward;

(b) that until 1931 any such alteration was wholly a matter for the Parliament of the United Kingdom;

(c) but that in 1931 the preamble of the Statute of Westminster had recognized a constitutional convention requiring thereafter the assent of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as well as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to any such alteration.

2. The special difficulty arose from the facts -

(a) that not until December, ? , was the probable decision of the King to abdicate communicated to the Canadian Government;

(b) that at the same time(? or on Dec. ?), it was indicated that if the King did abdicate, he would like immediate release;

(c) that while the Government of course would have desired to call Parliament in time to take simultaneous action with the Parliament of the United Kingdom, this, given the King's wish and the size of Canada, ~~was impossible.~~ could not have been done before the King's decision was known, without implying that the decision would be for abdication, thus requiring legislation, and could not have been done after the decision was known,

3. There was no question as to what was to be done;

every Government was agreed as to that,- the United Kingdom and the Irish Free State, Australia and South Africa, New Zealand and Canada. The King's decision had settled that, a decision taken on his own initiative and responsibility. The only question was as to the procedure in dealing with the unescapable consequences of that decision.

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4. As to this procedure, there were two alternative courses:

(a) To postpone any action until Parliament could be summoned;

(b) To meet the immediate legal situation by recourse to Section 4 to permit action by the United Kingdom Parliament, and to provide for the constitutional convention by submitting a Bill to express the assent of Parliament as soon as it met.

As between these alternatives, the Government considered that the uncertainty and confusion and doubt as to the legality of executive and judicial acts would be a greater evil than the postponement of the observance of the constitutional convention for a few weeks.

(See further in comment on Mr. Woodsworth's criticisms)

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Mr.Woodsworth's Objections on Legal and Constitutional Procedure.

1°. Dominion Government had not power to invoke Section 4 of Statute of Westminster.

(a) Because any recourse to this Section requires action not merely by the Government of Canada but by the Parliament. To this the answer is, briefly,
(i) that the express exception in the case of Australia proves the rule that the Government could act, and
(ii) that an amendment making action by a Dominion Parliament necessary was rejected in 1931.

See Memorandum Succession to the Throne, pages 6 to 8.

N.B. This objection is not made directly by Mr. Woodsworth, but will be made by others.

(b) Because recourse to this Section on a subject as to which a contrary method, i.e. action by Parliament, is provided, is wrong, and the preamble does so provide as regards the subject of alteration of the law touching the succession. (Woodsworth, page 21).

As to this:

i. The preamble is not an operative part of the Statute, so would not in a strictly legal sense overrule an operative section. (not a point to be stressed).

ii. It must be borne in mind that Section 4 does not confer any power on the Parliament of the United Kingdom; it imposed a limitation upon the exercise of a power then existing.

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If the laws re the succession were excluded from the operation of Section 4, that would only mean that they were released from this limitation and were within the scope of the original power of that Parliament to legislate upon with binding effect.

The reference to these laws in the preamble does not operate to exclude them from the operation of Section 4; it is inconceivable that the Parliaments concerned in the enactment of the Statute wished to weaken the position of the Kingship by withdrawing it from the limitation imposed by that Section on overriding United Kingdom legislation.

See Mr.Read's memo. p. 6.

2. If Dominion Government has that power, it is a dangerour power:

page 21. "if the Prime Minister can choose our King, he can declare war or commit this country to any policy of less importance than the selection of the head of the state".

As to this:-

(1) The United Kingdom Act to which we requested and consented to did not "select a King"; it merely gave effect to the King's irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for himself and his descendants, thus recognizing a demise of the Crown, and provided that the member of the Royal Family who would succeed on any such demise should now succeed. The Act neither forced a King from the throne nor introduced any change as to the member of the Royal Family who would succeed him.

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(2) There is no shadow of similarity betweena formal recognition of an established fact, i.e. the King's determination to leave the Throne, and a decision to plunge the country into war. The declaration of war is now and has long been a prerogative of the Crown, acting on ministerial advice. The whole policy of this Administration has been to set limits on the exercise of this power and make parliamentary action essential.

(3) While the monarchy is very important in our constitutional system, it does not follow that the action taken with regard to it, once the King had determined on abdication, was an important policy or involved an important exercise of discretion.

3°. "If the action by the Government on December 10 was constitutional, surely further legislation is unnecessary.

Certainly not; the action of December 10 was designed to secure immediate legal effect to the change; the present legislation is designed to carry out the constitutional convention, expressed in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster.

4°. The Prime Minister has not kept the Statute - merely "asserted and safeguarded it to the greatest practicable extent, consistent with the limitations of time and space, and the imperative practical necessities", in the words of the Prime Minister's public address of Dec.11. (Page 22)

(1) This statement quoted from the Prime Minister's address of December 11, is, it is submitted, more

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accurate than the contention on page 21 that "the Government's action in every particular complied with the Statute of Westminster". Assent by the Canadian Parliament a month after the accomplished fact, rather than as a necessary prerequisite to action, and after the presumably equal Parliament of the United Kingdom has acted, can hardly be considered full compliance with the provisions of the preamble. The position taken in the discussion of the constitutional position early in December was that action by the Canadian Parliament in advance was the only means by which full compliance with the new constitutional convention could be ensured, and when that was found impossible, a choice had to be made between risking the uncertainty and confusion involved in delay, and some sacrifice of the constitutional position.

The reply to Mr.Woodsworth's criticism of the statement of December 11th would appear to be to state the actual grounds for the Government's decision at that time, - that under the unforeseen and unprecedented circumstances of that week, a situation had arisen for which no completely satisfactory solution had been provided in the Statute, and that a choice had to be made between delay and confusion, particularly likely to be extensive in a federal country, and, on the other hand, a temporary refraining from full observance of a constitutional convention which in fact,however,will be strengthened by the focussing of discussion and action upon this blessed preamble for weeks past.

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5°. The Prime Minister's attitude to the British North America Act is inconsistent with his attitude to the Statute of Westminster; why not recognize that conditions have changed more as regards the subject matter of the British North America Act, e.g. rise of unemployment, debt, etc. than as regards the subject matter of the Statute of Westminster.

(page 22).

The meaning of this comment is obscure. Precisely what does Mr.Woodsworth want the Government to do with reference to the British North America Act? Does he mean that we should assert some federal power to deal with these problems which the British North America Act does not grant? If so, the argument is far-fetched; there is no analogy between an assertion of legal powers which in the assumed case we do not possess, and the temporary deferment of the exercise of rights which under a constitutional convention we do possess.

6°. Members should not have been asked to take the Oath of Allegiance, or the House to pass an address of loyalty to a new King, before Parliament had assented to his being King.

(Page 20, 19)

It might be replied that legally, King George VI is now our King, but it must be admitted this does not satisfactorily answer the point that in the relations between the Canadian Parliament and George VI it would be desirable to have Parliament assent to his becoming King, for whatever that assent is worth, before swearing allegiance or voting addresses to a man who so far as action by this Parliament is concerned, is not yet King by its assent.

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7°. As to bringing down Correspondence (page 20)

1. Largely personal, and essentially so because of the informal and provisional character of the consultation until the end.

2. Mr.Woodsworth must recognize that there has been shown no ground whatever to exist for assuming that Mr.Baldwin's statement was not full and fair; certainly it was so accepted by the King himself.

3. The correspondence was not brought down in the United Kingdom Parliament, nor in Australia.

There is no ground for believing that it will be brought down in New Zealand. The New Zealand Parliament adjourned on December 8, and will not meet again for months, until well after the Coronation. (For these reasons, while cabling to Australia and South Africa on the point, in addition to the United Kingdom as directed, I did not send an inquiry to New Zealand. O.D.S.)

As to South Africa, we have not yet a reply to our inquiry.

As to the Irish Free State, the question does not arise. The Irish Free State Government did not participate actively in the consultations with the United Kingdom or express any opinion on the alternative courses. There is no reference in the United Kingdom legislationto the Irish Free State and equally no reference to the United Kingdom in the Act passed by the Irish Free State.

The Irish Free State Parliament acted independently. On Dec.11 it passed a Bill providing that the King should have no part in the internal legislative machinery of the Irish Free State; on Dec.12 it passed another Bill providing for the abdication of Edward and the succession of the Duke of York. (Will anyone claim that Mr.de Valera was endeavouring to please Mr.Baldwin?)

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KODAK SAFETY

C115559

RE: "Citizen"Editorial, January 16.

1. Real force behind British Government's anxiety to displace the King, and at which the Canadian Government will be suspected of conniving, unless all papers are produced, was the resentment of vested interests against the King's expression of sympathy with the Welsh miners.

As to which:-

(a) British Government were not anxious to displace the King: quite the contrary.

(b) Not aware of any public or private intimation which would support the idea that this factor played any part in the action of the British Government, or in the support given by the Labour opposition. Certainly never remotest consideration given to this incident by the Government of Canada.

2. A constitutional innovation: Hitherto the practice has been for Ministers to resign when the King or his representative declines to accept their advice; in this case,when the King declines, he goes, the Prime Minister stays.

As to this:

No formal advice was tendered by the United Kingdom Government except on the question of facilitating a morganatic marriage. The United Kingdom Government did urge him not to abdicate,but formal advice on this point was neither sought nor given: the British Cabinet's Minute of Dec. 10 declared they "ventured to hope that before Your

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Majesty pronounces any formal decision, Your Majesty will be pleased to reconsider an intention which must so deeply distress and so vitally affect all Your Majesty's subjects".

(? Canadian Government)

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May 26th, 1936 C115561

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EGYPT

Attached are two telegrams on the progress of negotiations between United Kingdom and Egypt.

The British are prepared to withdraw troops from Cairo if allowed right to retain troops in Alexandria and near the Suez Canal. At the same time Egypt would be required to recognize permanent British rights and interests in the Suez Canal, involving right to maintain in the Egyptian territory such armed forces as Great Britain considers necessary to protect the Suez Canal. The treaty would last for twenty years but the recognition of British rights in the Suez Canal and right to maintain troops in Egypt would be permanent. The only point the British suggest their willingness to consider at the end of twenty years would be the question of the number of troops required for the protection of (permanent) British rights.

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C 115562

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: 3rd April, 1936

Egypt

Attached are four telegrams regarding the British negotiations with Egypt(Nos. 110,111,112 and 113). Apparently the British Government has been compelled to withdraw from its insistence on retaining British garrisons in Cairo and/or Alexandria, and proposes to meet the military situation by a treaty of alliance.

The matter will require careful consideration, though I assume there will be no question of our participation in any of the Egyptian arrangements. I am checking this up, however, to see if there has been any definite statement that the Agreement will be signed by His Majesty in respect of the United Kingdom only.

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C115563

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August 4, 1936.

SECTION 1.

[J 6802/2/16]

Copy No. 112

Sir M. Lampson to Mr. Eden.—(Received August 4.)

(No. 890. Secret.)

THE High Commissioner for Egypt presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copies of the revised text of the draft military articles as initialled by the heads of the British and Egyptian delegations on the 24th July (together with map(1) referred to therein and a note by the Residency).

Cairo, July 25, 1936.

Enclosure.

Note by the Residency, Cairo.

THE annexed copy of the draft military clauses was initialled by the heads of the two delegations on the 24th July at Zafaran Palace. The texts include the following alterations from the draft clauses initialled by Makram Ebeid Pasha and Mr. Beckett on the 22nd July(2) :—

Paragraph 14 *of Annex to Article H* (9).—Omit the words "for the use of the Egyptian or British air forces" in lines 6 and 7.

Agreed Minute (*i*).—Insert the word "British" before the word "forces" in line 3.

Between Agreed Minutes (*viii*) *and* (*ix*).—Insert a fresh minute as follows :—

"(ix) With reference to paragraph 12 of the annex to article H (9), it is understood that the number of the detachment referred to shall be limited to the minimum strictly necessary to handle and guard this material."

The numbers of the remaining agreed minutes were altered accordingly.

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty Negotiations, 1936 : *Draft Military Clauses.*

(Agreed and initialled by M. Nahas and Miles W. Lampson, at Zafaran Palace, Cairo, on July 24, 1936.)

ARTICLE A.

(Old Article 1.)

The military occupation of Egypt by the forces of His Majesty The King and Emperor is terminated.

ARTICLE D.

(Old Article 5.)

An alliance is established between the high contracting parties with a view to consolidating their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations.

(1) Not reproduced.

(2) For text, see Enclosure in Cairo despatch No. 865 of July 23, 1936 [J 6656/2/16]: Not printed.

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ARTICLE E.

(Old Article 6.)

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes not to adopt in relation to foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance nor to conclude political treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty.

ARTICLE F.

(Old Article 7.)

Should any dispute with a third State produce a situation which involves a rupture with that State, the high contracting parties will consult each other with a view to the settlement of the said dispute by peaceful means, in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of any other international obligations which may be applicable to the case.

ARTICLE G.

(Old Article 8.)

Should, notwithstanding the provisions of article F (7) above, either of the high contracting parties become engaged in war, the other high contracting party will, subject always to the provisions of article 12 below, immediately come to his aid in the capacity of an ally.

The aid of His Majesty the King of Egypt in the event of war, imminent menace of war or apprehended international emergency will consist in furnishing to His Majesty The King and Emperor on Egyptian territory, in accordance with the Egyptian system of administration and legislation, all the facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of his ports, aerodromes and means of communication. It will accordingly be for the Egyptian Government to take all the administrative and legislative measures, including the establishment of martial law and an effective censorship, necessary to render these facilities and assistance effective.

ARTICLE H.

(Old Article 9.)

In view of the fact that the Suez Canal, whilst being an integral part of Egypt, is a universal means of communication, as also an essential means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt, until such time as the high contracting parties agree that the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal, authorises His Majesty The King and Emperor to station forces in Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the Canal in the zone specified in the annex to this article with a view to ensuring, in co-operation with the Egyptian forces, the defence of the Canal. The detailed arrangements for the carrying into effect of this article are contained in the annex hereto. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.

It is understood that at the end of the period of twenty years specified in article P (14) the question whether the presence of British forces is no longer necessary owing to the fact that the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal may, if the high contracting parties do not agree thereon, be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for decision in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant in force at the time of signature of the present treaty, or to such other person or body of persons for decision in accordance with such other procedure as the high contracting parties may agree.

ARTICLE I.

The immunities and privileges in jurisdictional and fiscal matters to be enjoyed by the forces of His Majesty The King and Emperor who are in Egypt

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in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty will be determined in a separate convention to be concluded between the Egyptian Government and the Government of the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE P.

(Old Article 14.)

At any time after the expiration of a period of twenty years from the coming into force of the treaty, the high contracting parties will, at the request of either of them, enter into negotiations with a view to such revision of its terms by agreement between them as may be appropriate in the circumstances as they then exist. In case of the high contracting parties being unable to agree upon the terms of the revised treaty, the difference will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for decision in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant in force at the time of signature of the present treaty, or to such other person or body of persons for decision in accordance with such procedure as the high contracting parties may agree. It is agreed that any revision of this treaty will provide for the continuation of the alliance between the high contracting parties in accordance with the principles contained in articles 5, 6, 7 and 8. Nevertheless, with the consent of both high contracting parties, negotiations may be entered into at any time after the expiration of a period of ten years after the coming into force of the treaty, with a view to such revision as aforesaid.

Annex to Article H (9).

1. Without prejudice to the provisions of article G (8), the numbers of the forces of His Majesty The King and Emperor to be maintained in the vicinity of the Canal shall not exceed, of the land forces, 10,000, and of the air forces, 400 pilots, together with the necessary ancillary personnel for administrative and technical duties. These numbers do not include civilian personnel, *e.g.*, clerks, artisans and labourers.

2. The British forces to be maintained in the vicinity of the Canal will be distributed (*a*) as regards the land forces, in Moascar and the Geneifa area on the south-west side of the Great Bitter Lake, and (*b*) as regards the air forces, within 5 miles of the Port Said–Suez Railway from Kantara in the north, to the junction of the railway Suez–Cairo and Suez–Ismailia in the south, together with an extension along the Ismailia–Cairo Railway to include the Royal Air Force station at Abu Sueir and its stellite landing grounds, together with areas suitable for air firing and bombing ranges, which may have to be placed east of the Canal.

3. In the localities specified above there shall be provided for the British land and air forces of the numbers specified in paragraph 1 above, including 4,000 civilian personnel (but less 2,000 of the land forces, 700 of the air forces and 450 civilian personnel for whom accommodation already exists), the necessary lands and durable barrack and technical accommodation, including an emergency water supply. The lands, accommodation and water supply shall be suitable according to modern standards. In addition, amenities such as are reasonable, having regard to the character of these localities, will be provided by the planting of trees and the provision of gardens, playing fields, &c., for the troops, and a site for the erection of a convalescent camp on the Mediterranean coast.

4. The Egyptian Government will make available the lands and construct the accommodation, water supplies, amenities and convalescent camp, referred to in the preceding paragraph as being necessary over and above the accommodation already existing in these localities, at its own expense, but His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will contribute (1) the actual sum spent by the Egyptian Government before 1914 on the construction of new barracks as alternative accommodation to the Kasr-el-Nil Barracks in Cairo, and (2) the cost of one-fourth of the barrack and technical accommodation for the land forces. The first of these sums shall be paid at the time specified in paragraph 8 below for the withdrawal of the British forces from Cairo and the second at the time for the withdrawal of the British forces from Alexandria, under paragraph 18 below. The Egyptian Government may charge a fair rental for the residential accommodation provided for the civilian personnel. The amount of the rent will be agreed between His Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government.

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5. The two Governments will each appoint, immediately the present treaty comes into force, two or more persons, who shall together form a committee to whom all questions relating to the execution of these works from the time of their commencement to the time of their completion shall be entrusted. Proposals for or outlines of plans and specifications put forward by the representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will be accepted provided they are reasonable and do not fall outside the scope of the obligations of the Egyptian Government under paragraph 4. The plans and specifications of each of the works to be undertaken by the Egyptian Government shall be approved by the representatives of both Governments on this committee before the work is begun. Any member of this committee, as well as the commanders of the British forces or their representatives, shall have the right to examine the works at all stages of their construction, and the United Kingdom members of the committee may make suggestions as regards the manner in which the work is carried out. The United Kingdom members shall also have the right to make, at any time while the work is in progress, proposals for modifications or alterations in the plans and specifications. Effect shall be given to suggestions and proposals by the United Kingdom members subject to the condition that they are reasonable and do not fall outside the scope of the obligations of the Egyptian Government under paragraph 4. In the case of machinery and other stores, where standardisation of type is important, it is agreed that stores of the standard type in general use by the British forces will be obtained and installed. It is, of course, understood that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom may, when the barracks and accommodation are being used by the British forces, make at their own expense improvements or alterations thereto and construct new buildings in the areas specified in paragraph 2 above.

6. In pursuance of their programme for the development of road and railway communications in Egypt, and in order to bring the means of communications in Egypt up to modern strategic requirements, the Egyptian Government will construct and maintain the following roads, bridges and railways:—

A.—Roads.

(i) Ismailia–Alexandria, via Tel-el-Kebir, Zagazig, Zifta, Tanta, Kafr-el-Zayat, Damanhour.

(ii) Ismailia–Cairo, via Tel-el-Kebir and thence continuing along the Sweet Water Canal to Heliopolis.

(iii) Port Said–Ismailia–Suez.

(iv) A link between the south end of the Great Bitter Lake and the Cairo–Suez road about 15 miles west of Suez.

In order to bring them up to the general standard of good class roads for general traffic, these roads will be 20 feet wide, have bye-passes round villages, &c., and be made of such material as to be permanently utilisable for military purposes, and will be constructed in the above order of importance. They will comply with the technical specifications set out below, which are the ordinary specifications for a good class road for general traffic.

Bridges and roads shall be capable of carrying a double line of continuous columns of either heavy four-wheeled mechanical transport, six-wheeled mechanical transport or medium tanks. With regard to four-wheeled vehicles, the distance between the front axle of one vehicle and the rear axle of the vehicle next ahead to be calculated at 20 feet, the load on each rear axle to be 14 tons, on each front axle to be 6 tons and the distance between axles 18 feet. With regard to six-wheeled vehicles, the distance between the front axle of one vehicle and the rear axle of that next ahead to be 20 feet, between rear axle and middle axle to be 4 feet and between middle axle and front axle 13 feet; the load on each rear and middle axle to be 8·1 tons and on each front axle to be 4 tons. Tanks to be calculated for as weighing 19·25 tons, to be 25 feet over all in length and to have a distance of 3 feet between the front of one tank and the rear of the next ahead; the load of 19·25 tons to be carried by tracks which have a bearing of 13 feet upon the road or bridge.

B.—Railways.

(i) Railway facilities in the Canal Zone will be increased and improved to meet the needs of the increased garrison in the zone and to provide facilities for

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rapid entrainment of personnel, guns, vehicles and stores according to the requirements of a modern army. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are hereby authorised to make, at their own expense, such subsequent additions and modifications to these railway facilities as the future requirements of the British forces may demand. Where such additions or modifications affect railway lines used for general traffic, the permission of the Egyptian Government must be obtained.

(ii) The line between Zagazig and Tanta will be doubled.

(iii) The Alexandria–Mersa Matruh line will be improved and made permanent.

7. In addition to the roads specified in paragraph 6 A above and for the same purposes, the Egyptian Government will construct and maintain the following roads :—

(i) Cairo, south along the Nile, to Kena and Kus;
(ii) Kus to Kosseir;
(iii) Kena to Hurghada.

These roads and the bridges thereon will be constructed to satisfy the same standards as those specified in paragraph 6 above.

It may not be possible for the construction of the roads referred to in this paragraph to be undertaken at the same time as the roads referred to in paragraph 6, but they will be constructed as soon as possible.

8. When, to the satisfaction of both the high contracting parties, the accommodation referred to in paragraph 4 is ready (accommodation for the forces retained temporarily at Alexandria in accordance with paragraph 18 below not being included) and the works referred to in paragraph 6 above (other than the railways referred to in (ii) and (iii) of part B of that paragraph) have been completed, then the British forces in parts of Egypt other than the areas in the Canal Zone specified paragraph 2 above and except for those maintained temporarily at Alexandria, will withdraw and the lands, barracks, aircraft landing grounds, seaplane anchorages and accommodation occupied by them will be vacated and, save in so far as they may belong to private persons, be handed over to the Egyptian Government.

9. Any difference of opinion between the two Governments relating to the execution of paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 above will be submitted to the decision of an arbitral board, composed of three members, the two Governments nominating each a member and the third being nominated by the two Governments in common agreement. The decision of the board shall be final.

10. In order to ensure the proper training of British troops, it is agreed that the area defined below will be available for the training of British forces : (*a*) and (*b*) at all times of the year and (*c*) during February and March for annual manœuvres :—

(*a*) West of the Canal, from Kantara in the north to the Suez–Cairo Railway (inclusive) in the south, and as far as longitude 31 degrees 30 minutes east, exclusive of all cultivation.
(*b*) East of the Canal as required.
(*c*) A continuation of (*a*) as far south as latitude 29 degrees 52 minutes north, thence south-east to the junction of latitude 29 degrees 30 minutes north and longitude 31 degrees 44 minutes east, and from that point eastwards along latitude 29 degrees 30 minutes north.

The area of the localities referred to above are included in the map (scale 1 : 500.000) which is annexed to the treaty.([3])

11. Unless the two Governments agree to the contrary, the Egyptian Government will prohibit the passage of aircraft over the territories situated on either side of the Suez Canal and within 20 kilom. of it, except for the purpose of passage from east to west or *vice-versa*, by means of a corridor 10 kilom. wide at Kantara. This prohibition will not, however, apply to the forces of the high contracting parties or to genuinely Egyptian air organisations, or to air organisations genuinely belonging to any part of the British Commonwealth of Nations operating under the authority of the Egyptian Government.

([3]) Not reproduced.

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12. The Egyptian Government will provide, when necessary, reasonable means of communication and access to and from the localities where the British forces are situated, and will also accord facilities at Port Said and Suez for the landing and storage of material and supplies for the British forces, including the maintenance of a small detachment of the British forces in these ports to handle and guard this material and these supplies in transit.

13. In view of the fact that the speed and range of modern aircraft necessitate the use of wide areas for the efficient training of air forces, the Egyptian Government will accord permission to the British air forces to fly wherever they consider it necessary for the purpose of training. Reciprocal treatment will be accorded to Egyptian air forces in British territories.

14. In view of the fact that the safety of flying is dependent upon provision of a large number of places where aircraft can alight, the Egyptian Government will secure the maintenance and constant availability of adequate landing grounds and seaplane anchorages in Egyptian territory and waters. The Egyptian Government will accede to any request from the British air forces for such additional landing grounds and seaplane anchorages as experience may show to be necessary to make the number adequate for allied requirements.

15. The Egyptian Government will accord permission for the British air forces to use the said landing grounds and seaplane anchorages, and in the case of certain of them, to send stocks of fuel and stores thereto, to be kept in sheds to be erected thereon for this purpose, and in case of urgency to undertake such work as may be necessary for the safety of aircraft.

16. The Egyptian Government will give all necessary facilities for the passage of the personnel of the British forces, aircraft and stores to and from the said landing grounds and seaplane anchorages. Similar facilities will be afforded to the personnel, aircraft and stores of the Egyptian forces at the air bases of the British forces.

17. The British military authorities shall be at liberty to request permission from the Egyptian Government to send parties of officers in civilian clothes to the Western Desert to study the ground and draw up tactical schemes. This permission shall not be unreasonably withheld.

18. His Majesty the King of Egypt authorises His Majesty The King and Emperor to maintain units of his forces at or near Alexandria for a period not exceeding eight years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, this being the approximate period considered necessary by the two high contracting parties—

(*a*) For the final completion of the barrack accommodation in the Canal zone;

(*b*) For the improvement of the roads—

(i) Cairo–Suez;
(ii) Cairo–Alexandria, via Giza and the desert;
(iii) Alexandria–Mersa Matruh;

so as to bring them up to the standard specified in part A of paragraph 6;

(*c*) The improvement of the railway facilities between Ismailia and Alexandria, and Alexandria and Mersa Matruh, referred to in (ii) and (iii) of part B of paragraph 6.

The Egyptian Government will complete the work specified in (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) above before the expiry of the period of eight years aforesaid. The roads and railway facilities mentioned above will, of course, be maintained by the Egyptian Government.

19. The British forces in or near Cairo shall, until the time for withdrawal under paragraph 8 above, and the British forces in or near Alexandria until the expiry of the time specified in paragraph 18 above, continue to enjoy the same facilities as at present.

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Egyptian Military Note No. 2.

Sir,

I WISH to place on record certain further understandings in regard to military matters which have been reached between us in connexion with the Treaty of Alliance signed this day.

(1) British personnel shall be withdrawn from the Egyptian army and the functions of the Inspector-General and his staff shall terminate.

(2) The Egyptian Government, desiring to perfect the training of the Egyptian army including the air force, and intending, in the interests of the alliance which has been established, that such foreign instructors as they may deem necessary shall be chosen from amongst British subjects only, will avail themselves of the advice of a British Military Mission for such time as they may deem necessary for the purposes aforesaid. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will furnish the military mission which the Egyptian Government desire, and will also undertake to receive and provide proper training in the United Kingdom for any personnel of the Egyptian forces which the Egyptian Government may desire to send for the purpose of being trained. In the circumstances created by this treaty the Egyptian Government will naturally not desire to send any personnel of their armed forces to undergo a course in any training establishment or unit abroad elsewhere than in the United Kingdom provided that this shall not prevent it from sending to any other country such personnel as cannot be received in training establishments and units in the United Kingdom.

(3) In the interests of the alliance, and in view of the possible necessity of co-operative action between the British and Egyptian forces, the armament and equipment, land and air, of the Egyptian forces shall not differ in type from those of the British forces. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom undertake to use their good offices to facilitate the supply of such armament and equipment from the United Kingdom, at prices similar to those which would be paid by His Majesty's Government, whenever the Egyptian Government so desire.

Agreed Minutes.

The Egyptian and United Kingdom delegations desire to record in a minute to the negotiations certain points of interpretation of the provisions of the Treaty of Alliance upon which they are agreed. These points are as follows :—

(i) It is, of course, understood that the facilities provided for in article G (8) to be furnished to His Majesty The King and Emperor include the sending of British forces or reinforcements in the eventualities specified in that article.

(ii) It is understood that, as a result of the provisions of article 7, there will have been mutual consultation between the two Governments in the case of a risk of a rupture. In the case of an apprehended international emergency, the same principle of mutual consultation applies.

(iii) The " means of communication " referred to in the second sentence of article G (8) include telecommunications (cables, telegraphs, telephones and wireless).

(iv) Amongst the military, administrative and legislative measures in the third sentence of article G (8) are included measures under which the Egyptian Government, in the exercise of their powers as regards radio electric communications, will take into account the requirements of the W/T stations of the British forces in Egypt and will continue to co-operate with the British authorities to prevent any mutual interference between British and Egyptian W/T stations, and measures providing for the effective control of all means of communications referred to in that article.

(v) The words " Geneifa area " in paragraph 2 (*a*) of the annex to article H (9) mean : along the shore of the Great Bitter Lake from a point 3 kilom. north of Geneifa Station to a point 3 kilom. south-east of Fayid Station to a depth of 3 kilom. from the shore of the lake.

(vi) With reference to (*b*) of paragraph 2 of the annex to article H (9), it is understood that the exact sites in the area therein referred to where the air forces will be located will be defined as soon as possible.

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The Royal Air Force Depot at present situated at Aboukir will also be transferred to this area not later than the date of the withdrawal of the British forces from Cairo under paragraph 8.

(vii) With reference to paragraph 3 of the annex to article H (9), it is understood (*a*) that British barrack accommodation includes married quarters for officers and for a proportion of the other ranks; (*b*) that, though the site of the convalescent camp cannot be definitely fixed at the moment, El Arish might possibly prove suitable, and (*c*) that the Egyptian Government in pursuance of the policy which they have already taken in hand for the benefit of the inhabitants of those areas will take all reasonable sanitary measures for the combating of malaria in the areas adjacent to those where the British forces are situated.

(viii) With reference to paragraph 6 of the annex to article H (9), it is understood that, with regard to road No. (iii), the Egyptian Government will, unless they are able to make arrangements with the Suez Canal Company for the use of this road by the British and Egyptian forces and for the improvement of those sections (which are not already up to this standard) so as to satisfy the conditions laid down in paragraph 6, construct an entirely new road connecting these places.

(ix) With reference to paragraph 12 of the annex to article H (9), it is understood that the number of the detachment referred to shall be limited to the minimum strictly necessary to handle and guard this material.

(x) With reference to paragraph 13 of the annex to article H (9), it is understood that flying will take place for training purposes mostly over desert areas, and that populated areas will only be flown over where necessity so demands.

(xi) With reference to paragraph 2 of Egyptian note No. 2, it is, of course, understood that the cost of the military mission will be defrayed by the Egyptian Government, and that the words "proper training" in this paragraph include training in British military colleges and academies.

(xii) Paragraph 2 of Egyptian note No. 2 only applies to persons who are already at the time members of the Egyptian armed forces.

(xiii) The word "equipment" in paragraph 3 of Egyptian note No. 2 means all such stores as it is desirable for forces acting together to have as a common pattern. It does not include articles of clothing or articles of local production.

Letter from His Excellency Sir Miles Lampson to His Excellency Nahas Pasha.

With reference to paragraph 6 B (1) of the annex to article H (9) your Excellency asked me, on behalf of the Egyptian delegation, to communicate information as regards the work which would be required to be done under this paragraph. I have the honour to enclose a statement which gives these details so far as they can be stated at the present moment. This statement is, however, only approximate and further details might have to be added to it.

I avail, &c.

Approximate Railway Requirements in Canal Zone.

Moascar.

The existing siding with troop entrainment platform and one siding with end loading ramp, each to hold "60" unit trains, with facilities to enable a train to be despatched every three hours will be maintained.

Geneifa Area.

(*a*) *Entrainment Station.*—Two sidings with loop entrainment platforms and two sidings with end loading ramps, each to hold "60" unit trains.

(*b*) Depot Area, facilities as given below together with the necessary shunting loops, &c.:—

Supply Depot: One spur with two loading sidings (each 20 units).
Petrol Depot: One loading siding (10 units).
M.T. Vehicle Reception Depot: One end loading siding (30 Flats).
Ordnance Depot: One spur with one loading and one end loading siding (each 20 units).

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Camp Equipment Depot : One loading siding (40 units).
Ammunition Depot : One spur with two loading sidings (each 20 units).
Hospital Area : One siding and one off-loading platform for one hospital train.
R.E. Stores Depot : One loading siding (20 units).
N.A.A.F.I. Depot : One loading siding (10 units).

(*c*) Marshalling and locomotive yards to enable one personnel train or one M.T. train being despatched every three hours throughout the twenty-four.
(*d*) Wharves and other unloading facilities as required.

NOTE.—All loading sidings to have platforms corresponding with the length of the train.

Letter from Nahas Pasha to the High Commissioner.

With reference to paragraph 18 (*b*) of the draft annex to article H (9) initialled the 24th July last, I have the honour to assure you that the work which is at present being done upon the roads Cairo–Alexandria via Giza and the desert, and Cairo–Suez, will be pushed forward and will be completed by the end of 1936.

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KODAK SAFETY

It is my purpose tonight to discuss with you quietly and frankly some of the great issues which will be submitted to your judgment as electors on the dissolution of the present parliament. In the ordinary course of events these issues would have been presented to you at the opening of the election campaign. That procedure has been changed by the action of Mr. Bennett in seeking your support for his election programme through a series of radio broadcasts in January of this year. Whether Mr. Bennett spoke to you through these broadcasts as Prime Minister of Canada or as leader of the Conservative party, does not concern me now. I welcome this opportunity to examine with you this programme he has submitted for your consideration. Moreover, I propose to place beside it in words which can be neither misunderstood or misrepresented, a declaration of the attitude of the Liberal party toward that programme, and a further statement of additional policies which the Liberal party believes are essentially alike to economic recovery and social reform.

I want to make it clear at the outset that I am prepared to discuss Mr. Bennett's programme at its face value. I shall not accuse him of insincerity. There is an old legal maxim that "the state of man's mind is not triable". I am content to accept Mr. Bennett's own statement that he has turned his back upon the traditional policies and attitudes of the Conservative party and is personally convinced that these policies are unsuited to the new era. With that view, I am in complete agreement. Nevertheless, I wish he had been more candid with you and with me in disclosing the time and the causes of his conversion. He has asked you to accept the guidance of the Conservative party in what he describes as a far-reaching movement for the reform of the capitalistic system. Yet the evidence is overpowering that his programme was not discussed with his colleagues in the cabinet before it was announced in his radio broadcast. It was not discussed by a caucus of his parliamentary supporters. It was not even submitted to an informal conference of Conservative leaders from the various provinces of the Dominion. It was a personal programme deliberately imposed upon the Conservative party under circumstances which he well knew would render its repudiation impossible. A general election was impending. Under these circumstances, it was impossible for his followers either to

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repudiate his policy or to force his resignation on the eve of the election. (see Kingston Whig - Jebb's articles)

It is necessary to mention this fact because it is of vital importance to know whether further instalments of this programme are to be presented to the electorate as a Conservative platform. Moreover, if it is to be the Conservative platform it is equally important to know whether it represents the deliberate conviction of the Conservative party regarding the present economic order or is merely a forced judgment that under the existing circumstances the new programme offers the best available means of retaining a Conservative administration in power for another five years. The weight of evidence strongly supports the second view. It is only on the assumption that the Conservative party has accepted Mr. Bennett as the dictator of its policies that we are justified in regarding the reform programme as the official platform of the Conservative party in the forthcoming campaign.

Apart altogether from the considerations of political strategy which lay behind the unexpected formulation of this programme, we are entitled to consider the various measures which had been included in it and to ask ourselves how far these measures are deserving of support and how far they are likely to accomplish the objects which Mr. Bennett has declared they are intended to serve. Although the Liberal party has good reason to suspect the influence of party strategy in the formulation of this programme, it has not hesitated to examine it on its merits. The session of parliament is sufficiently advanced to afford you convincing evidence of the attitude which we have decided to adopt. We have recognized that the programme contains a number of measures which the Liberal party has supported vigorously during past years and which we believe to be in the best interests of the country. Other features of the programme are of doubtful character and some are so vague as to make it impossible to oppose or support them until they are revealed in legislation. We realized that owing to the time necessary to complete the electoral lists, parliament could not

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be dissolved before April 15th. We decided, therefore, to offer to the government our earnest cooperation in carrying forward those measures of social reform which enjoyed the support of all schools of progressive thought in Canada. We assured Mr. Bennett that we would reserve the right to criticize details of legislation as it was introduced but that we would work with him in order to place as large a part of the sound portion of his reform programme on the statute books before the dissolution of parliament.

Let me now consider with you the broader aspects and implications of this programme of social and economic reform. When Mr. Bennett spoke to you on January 2nd he declared that his plan of social and economic reform was indispensable to the recovery of Canada and the prosperity of its citizens. As a reason for this unusual appeal to the people of Canada on the eve of the final session of the present parliament and within a few months of a general election, Mr. Bennett expressed his conviction that drastic changes were necessary in the capitalistic system. He announced that the old order was gone never to return. He declared that the world was in tragic circumstances with the signs of recovery few and doubtful. He made it clear that in his view reform meant an increasing degree of government control and regulation. And he asked for your cooperation in a programme of progress and reform. I want to recall his own words to your minds tonight. And I want to ask you when you have heard them before. These are his words. "When I say I will correct the system, I mean that I will reform it. And when the system is reformed and in full operation again, there will be work for all. We can then put behind us the danger of the dole. The dole is the condemnation, final and complete, of our economic system. If we cannot abolish the dole, we should abolish the system." These are the words of Mr. Bennett in 1935. I want to point out to you that they contain substantially the same undertaking to end unemployment which he gave to the people of Canada in 1930.

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In his succeeding addresses Mr. Bennett indicated a

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number of measures which he regarded as being necessary to effect the changes he desired in the present economic system to accomplish his major purpose-the abolition of unemployment. These several measures embraced unemployment insurance, health insurance, a revision of the old age pensions scheme, mámimum wages and maximum hours of labor, a national economic council, a reform of the civil service and such legislation as was found necessary to curb the abuses revealed in the evidence submitted to the Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass Buying. Up to the present time Mr. Bennett's programme of social and economic reform has remained vague and nebulous except for these specific measures which have been indicated in his radio broadcasts and in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of parliament. Accepting these proposals at their face value and assuming their enactment, it is fair to ask whether they do, in fact, bear out Mr. Bennett's original assertion that he proposed to apply drastic reforms to the existing economic system. It is also fair to inquire whether with this process of renovation completed, there is any reasonable liklihood that Mr. Bennett's prophecy of work and prosperity for all will be realized.

Disregarding the fact that this prediction has come from one whose record of prophetic accuracy during the past five years leaves much to be desired, I want to remind you that the various measures of reform which he has indicated thus far have been in operation for varying periods in most progressive countries. Great Britain has possessed unemployment insurance, health insurance, old-age pensions, a large degree of control over hours and wages, a national economic council, and legislation designed to prevent the abuses of monoply and combination against the public interest. Much of this legislation was in operation in Great Britain before the Great War. The bulk of it, I may say in passing, was introduced by a Liberal administration. At all events, we are justified in regarding Great Britain as a country which has already adopted in large part the scheme of economic and social reform which has been outlined by Mr. Bennett. You will remember that the Prime Minister

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declared most emphatically in his radio address on January 2nd that when the system was reformed by the measures which he had in view, there would be work for all. It is reasonable to ask whether the adoption of similar measures by people whose experience of government and business is greater than our own has succeeded in eliminating the dole and abolishing unemployment. You know the answer to this question. According to the latest available figures the number of unemployed wage earners in Great Britain is . There has been, it is true, an improvement in the conditions of employment in that country during the past three years. But any responsible economist would agree that the cause for that improvement did not lie in the measures which are now advocated by Mr. Bennett for the reform of our economic system. The improvement in employment in Great Britain has been due almost wholly to a national scheme of slum clearance and public works construction and to a vast programme of electrification through the aid of government subsidies. A temporary pause in these projects has indicated at once the important part they have played in improving the employment situation in Great Britain. Moreover, despite the influence of these vast public undertakings, the unemployment problem in Great Britain is recognized on all sides as grave and perplexing at the present moment.

It is far from my desire to begin this discussion of political issues on a pessimistic note. I feel, however, that no greater disservice can be done to democratic institutions in this country than to hold out to the electorate a further instalment of promises and expectations which are impossible of realization. If we are going forward with a programme of social and economic reform, we should do it honestly and without confusion of motives. I shall have something to say later on the relation of recovery and reform. The true basis of social reform is humanitarianism and social justice. It is a recognition that we are our brothers' keepers and that it is against every sound principle of social obligation that we should permit human distress, or poverty or fear to flourish in our midst if we have the means to prevent them.

not a charity but a brotherhood

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May I say here and now in the most emphatic terms that the Liberal party supports measures of social reform on broad grounds of humanity as it has always done in the past. A Liberal government in England blazed the trail for these social reforms under Lloyd George . A Liberal government in the United States under Mr. Roosevelt is advancing similar reforms today. A Liberal government in Canada enacted the Old Age Pensions legislation from which many thousands of our citizens are now receiving benefits. The Liberal party of Canada advocated unemployment insurance and health insurance before these important elements of a reform programme were adopted by the Conservative party on the eve of an election. The position of Canadian liberalism in respect to social reform is beyond successful misrepresentation. But in favoring this broad extension of social services to those who have suffered from the harshness of the competitive system, we decline to be a party to the extravagant prediction that these measures or any others that Mr. Bennett has proposed in his programme, will solve the grave problem of unemployment. When I listened to this astonishing prediction on the night of Jan. 2nd, my mind went back with yours to the election campaign of 1930 when Mr. Bennett declared with the same fervor and the same assumption of prophetic inspiration, that he would end unemployment, that he would abolish doles, that he would blast a way into the markets of the world, that he would raise the price of wheat for the farmers in the west, and the price of butter for the farmers in the east, and that under the policies of a Conservative administration, Canada would be safely launched in a new voyage to prosperity. How far these positive assurances influenced the result of the general elections of 1930, I am not prepared to say. I have no desire at this time to indulge in regrets or recrimminations. I am aware that the Canadian electorate of 1935 is interested in performances rather than in promises. But I should fail in my duty as a Canadian citizen and as leader of His Majesty's opposition if I did not utter this solemn warning against the danger of creating once more in the minds of the electorate the expectation that it lies in the power of Mr. Bennett or any other man by the

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reforms he has indicated to restore prosperity and banish the spectre of unemployment from our country.

There are three essential and separate elements in any programme of social reform. There is first of all the objective to be kept in view. We must ask ourselves what is the purpose of reform. Our answer to that question must influence to a large degree the ways and means we should adopt to reach the declared objective. The second element in a programme of social and economic reform is the method or methods to be utilized in the attainment of our objective. The third element consists of the financial measures which shall be used to divert larger portions of the national income into channels of social as distinguished from private and charitable service. Let me discuss these features of social reform in the order presented.

I have already indicated my personal conviction and the view of the Liberal party that the proper objective of social reform is the removal of distress from those who have suffered from the rigours of the competitive system and the progressive realization of a more abundant life for the members of the community. It is unnecessary to seek to justify a programme of social reform upon any other ground than this. It is the duty of government to so frame its policies as to create conditions which will produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number. That has always been a central doctrine of Liberal thought. It was enunciated by Bentham and Mill in the middle of the last century in Great Britain and has been a leading principle of Liberal policy from that time to this. But governments like individuals are obliged to learn by experience. The gift of plenary inspiration has not been given to man. In years of prosperity a government is not faced with the necessity of diverting substantial proportions of the national income into the provision of social services. Self-reliance has always been regarded as a cardinal virtue in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. It is in the nature of men and women to prefer to make their own provision for sickness, unemployment and old age if it is in their power to do so. Up to

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the beginning of the Great War this country enjoyed a large degree of growth and prosperity with a minimum of human want and suffering. During the war our thoughts were turned naturally to the supreme thought of victory in a conflict which we believed at that time to be a crisis in the history of civilization. At the conclusion of the war we became preoccupied, as did other countries, with the task of reconstruction. We can see more clearly now than we did then that this great world conflict was a climacteric phase in the world's history. We can see that it had profound effects upon international trade and industrial technique. We realize that it had a demoralizing effect upon human motivation and that the task of reconstruction was a vastly greater enterprise than we had imagined. It is a sober fact that the economic life of the world has never recovered from the effects of that stupendous struggle. What we thought was recovery, a few years ago, was a feverish illusion of prosperity which preceded a relapse from which we have not yet emerged. Even in this period of apparent prosperity, however, it was found necessary by governments to make greater provision than ever before for human distress and poverty. The increasing complexity of industry, the uncertainties involved in international trade, and the dislocations of foreign exchange combined to produce unemployment and a depletion of the accumulated savings of thrifty people in our own and other countries. The conviction grew upon us that the government must assume a larger degree of responsibility for the innocent victims of an economic system which was becoming difficult to understand and even more difficult to operate on a scale which would assure continuous employment for those who desire to work. The provision of social services is merely the response of government to the harsh and inescapable hazards of the existing economic order in a period of major readjustment. The circumstances which have led to their adoption are a standing denial that they can be, or are intended to be, a cure for unemployment. Measures of social reform and of economic recovery may move along parallel lines but they are essentially different in character and purpose.

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I come now to the methods by which a programme of social reform shall be carried into effect. These methods cannot be worked out in the quiet of our studies either in Washington or in Ottawa. The objective of social reform in two countries will be substantially the same. The methods by which these objectives may be obtained may be essentially different. A programme that is suitable for the United States or for Great Britain may not be equally suitable for Canada. Moreover, the time and spacing of reforms may be different because of divergent factors in their culture, their constitutional arrangements and their economic development. The Dominion of Canada is organized under the terms of a federal constitution. Without a federal constitution it could not have been created. Without a federal constitution it cannot be maintained. Under the terms of the Canadian constitution there is a distribution of powers and obligations between the Dominion and the provinces. There is also a corresponding division of the field of taxation in order that the Dominion and the provinces respectively shall have access to revenues adequate to the discharge of their obligations. When the terms of the Canadian constitution were proposed by the Fathers of Confederation, it was not anticipated that either the Dominion or the provincial governments would be called upon to assume any large degree of responsibility either for the maintenance of social services or for the imposition of industrial controls. When questions are raised regarding the proper powers of Dominion or provincial authorities, these disputes are determined by the courts and in the last resort by the judicial committee of the Privy Council. As a result of this process of judicial interpretation, it has been held by the courts that the provinces and not the Dominion are responsible for the administration of social services and the control of hours and wages of industry. This fact has been recognized by a succession of Canadian governments and by the outstanding constitutional authorities of the country. It was so stated by Mr. Bennett on numerous occasions while he was in opposition and during the past five years when he has been leader of the government. It was stated by him as late as when he accepted the resignation of Mr. Stevens from his cabinet.

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It was stated by the Secretary of State, Mr. Cahan, as late as Nove. 27th, 1934 in an address before the Canadian Club of Montreal.

The restricted jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament over social services and industrial conditions has handicapped the efforts of Dominion administrations to deal effectively with problems of social reform. It has not been a matter in which discretion could be exercised. On the contrary, it has been a question in which the administration in office has been bound by the letter and interpretation of the constitution. It has, therefore, created a condition which affects inevitably the methods by which the objectives of social reform shall be reached in this country. In announcing his programme of reform to the Canadian people on January 2nd, Mr. Bennett made the startling declaration that the various measures included in his programme would be carried through by the authority of the Dominion Parliament, and without seeking the cooperation of the provinces either in the formulation of the programme or in such amendments of the constitution as would place the powers of the Dominion Parliament beyond challenge in the court. If Mr. Bennett had given any earlier indication that the Dominion Parliament possessed this authority, his announcement would not have caused surprise. But his own words were against this assumption. The whole record of his government was against it. Up to the eve of the announcement of his reform programme he had indicated his firm belief that it was beyond the constitutional powers of the Dominion Parliament to take effective measures to deal with economic and social reform. If further proof were required that this was his attitude, it is supplied by the letter over his own signature which was sent to the premiers of the provinces at the end of August of last year. In that letter he made no claim to authority on behalf of the Dominion Parliament to deal with these questions. On the contrary, he admitted in effect that the legal authority lay with the provinces when he invited the provincial premiers

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to consider with him the advisability of so amending the constitution as to transfer these powers to the Dominion Parliament. Early in December, Mr. Bennett announced that the proposed Constitutional Conference with the provinces would be postponed indefinitely. If there were any advantage in dating his decision to reform the capitalistic system it could be demonstrated that this decision was very close in point of time to his announced intention of abandoning the method of conference with the provinces for the amendment of the constitution. It is equally significant that the five by-elections which resulted so disastrously for his government occurred between the date of his letter to the premiers of the provinces and his announcement that the proposed conference on constitutional amendments would be postponed indefinitely. This train of events has a greater significance than may appear at first thought. It explains why Mr. Bennett abandoned the tried path of conference and cooperation with the provinces and set his feet upon the uncertain and perilous path of autocratic assumption by the Dominion Parliament of an authority which he and leading members of his cabinet had declared in unequivocal terms was unconstitutional and dangerous to the unity of the Dominion. We are not concerned with constitutional technicalities. So far as the people of Canada are concerned the one important consideration is that measures of social reform shall be established permanently and harmoniously by properly constituted authorities. Mr. Bennett was on the right path in the closing months of 1934. If he has left it there is only one reason to explain his deviation. The permanence of the reforms, with the cooperation necessary to their effective operation, was jettisoned to serve the ends of party strategy. It was felt to be more important that these reforms in their original enactment should be attributed solely to the Conservative party than that they should be accomplished according to constitutional practice and in close and harmonious cooperation with the provinces of the Dominion.

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I wish to make our position perfectly clear. The Liberal party welcomes the most important measures of social reform which have been brought before parliament during the present session. We had accepted them in principle and had incorporated them in our own programme before they were adopted by Mr. Bennett and the Conservative party. We have reserved the right to criticize them in detail when they are brought down in the form of legislative proposals. We have indicated, nevertheless, that our criticism will be constructive and we have offered to give these measures the right of way over all other business of parliament during the present session.

Having said this, let me also make it clear that the Liberal party believes that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close cooperation between the Dominion and the provinces. This does not mean that we propose to raise constitutional objections to the form in which these measures have been presented to parliament. Thus far, we do question the wisdom of an assumption of authority over these matters by the Dominion Parliament without taking an advisory opinion from the Supreme Court of Canada. We take this view because we believe it would be most disturbing to business if these measures, subsequent to their enactment, were declared to be beyond the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament by the judicial committee of the Privy Council. And it must be remembered that up to the moment of his radio presentation of his programme, Mr. Bennett and other members of his government with long legal experience had expressed most positively the opinion that the Dominion Parliament could not deal with these matters without constitutional amendments. If, however, as Mr. Bennett now declares, these measures can be brought within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament because of international conventions dealing with social legislation and labor conditions, we shall be satisfied to have the problem settled in this way. It must be recognized, however, that the legal validity of this reform legislation is almost certain to be questioned by private interests in various parts of the Dominion and the matter of jurisdiction cannot be settled finally until the matter

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is brought before the judicial committee of the Privy Council. It may well be that the constitutionality of the reform legislation will not be determined until after the forthcoming general election. In these circumstances we believe it would have been an act of greater prudence and of greater honesty to the electorate if Mr. Bennett had sought to acquire jurisdiction for the Dominion Parliament over social services and hours and wages of labor through a conference with the provinces and by constitutional amendments which would have set the problem at rest for all time.

Even if we are justified in assuming that the Dominion Parliament can successfully establish its jurisdiction over these questions, it remains true that the larger objectives of social reform and economic regulation can only be attained under a federal constitution through the most intimate cooperation between the Dominion and the provinces. This is not merely a legal consideration. It arises from the character of our population and the different outlooks of racial and religious groups. It is supported by the entire history of our development toward nationhood. A federal state is a combination both of individuals and communities. Each of the provincial communities enjoys a life of its own within the framework of a federal constitution. The provinces cannot be extinguished by any act of the Dominion Parliament. To attempt to do so would split Confederation asunder and defeat the efforts of a long succession of Canadian statesmen who have sought to build a Canadian nation upon principles of compromise and conciliation. The task of social reform and economic reconstruction is so stupendous and so challenging that it requires the utmost that we are able to give to it through cooperation and good-will. To ignore the provinces or deliberately invade their constitutional rights is a dangerous assault upon the very foundations of our national life.

The third essential element in a programme of social reform consists of those economic and fiscal measures which are designed to support a programme of social services with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of interference with the forces which make

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for economic recovery. I have indicated in an earlier part of this address that I would deal with the relation between social reform and economic recovery. It is quite evident that Mr. Bennett' has confused the meaning of these terms and their economic relationship, one with the other. On Jan. 2nd, he said "Reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation. It means the end of laissez-faire. Reform heralds certain recovery. There can be no permanent recovery without reform". These are fine words. But words are no substitute for work and wages. The time has passed, I hope, when the Canadian electorate can be hypnotized by fine words. We must ask what these words mean. We must ask if they express truth or error.

We have in Mr. Bennett's own words, a declaration that his reforms herald certain recovery. We must, therefore, examine his reforms and consider how far they will operate to produce economic recovery. Let us take the proposed reforms one by one as he has given them and see what relation, if any, they bear to economic recovery.

The first is unemployment insurance. Unemployment insurance is an admission that unemployment will continue. It is a measure of social reform. It rests upon principles of social justice. It has no relation whatever to economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett's second reform measure, as originally announced, was health insurance. This, too, is a measure of social reform. It is justified on principles of social justice. In the long run it ought to serve to improve the productive capacity of the community. But it can make no direct contribution to economic recovery. As a matter of fact both health insurance and unemployment insurance will impose additional burdens on the Dominion Treasury. The present government has had a deficit during each of its years in office. It cannot create money unless it resorts to inflation. The only way additional money for these social services can be obtained on the basis of existing income is through increased taxes. This is the only alternative to larger deficits and the impairment of our credit

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abroad through our failure to balance the budget.

The third reform measure is a revision of the Old Age Pensions Act. This stands on precisely the same ground as unemployment insurance and health insurance. Any reasonable person could suggest for the moment that old age pensions would assist economic recovery.

The fourth reform measure is the establishment of a National Economic Council. There is much to be said for an Advisory Economic Council. It must be remembered, however, that Mr. Bennett's chief responsibility during the past five years has been the encouragement of economic recovery. If a national economic council could really contribute to this end why was it not established in 1930? There were no constitutional impediments in the way. The only impediment had been the reluctance of the Prime Minister to accept any advice which did not accord with his own views of policy.

The fifth reform measure is a reorganization of the Civil Service. There is much to be said also for a reorganization of the Civil Service. But if this has been needed now, it has been equally necessary during the past few years and if it could really contribute to economic recovery, the failure of Mr. Bennett to carry out this reform at an earlier date is an inditement against his own administration.

The sixth reform measure consists of a provision for minimum wages and maximum hours of labor. The case for minimum wages is based essentially on principles of social justice. Minimum wages are desirable because they are one means of preventing the exploitation of wage-earners by unscrupulous employers. There are also means of avoiding serious social abuses which follow the train of low wages. No-one, however, who can seriously contend with the enactment of minimum wage laws, will contribute directly to economic recovery. Maximum hours are also defensible on grounds of social justice and humanitarianism. A statuary limit upon the working day or working week is a means of protecting unorganized workers from exploitation.

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It is also possible that legislation for maximum hours may increase the number of employees in those industries where the normal working day has been in ~~a~~excess of the maximum set by statute. The experience of the United States has proved, however, that the increase of employment due to such legislation will not be substantial. This probable increase in employment, even though slight, may be regarded as an indirect contribution to economic recovery through its effect in producing a wider distribution of purchasing power. But it does not create new purchasing power and the effect of such a distribution in a country with a modest industrial development like Canada can afford only a slight stimulus to economic recovery.

When Mr. Bennett included in his reform programme a provision for maximum working hours and minimum wages, he declared that his conviction of the necessity of these measures was not born in a day but was the culmination of his study of the working of the capitalistic system over a period of years. He has been particularly vigorous in condemning the payment of low wages. The evidence brought before the Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass Buying showed that very low wages have been paid to textile workers in Canada during the last few years. The evidence also showed that the larger textile companies have enjoyed relatively to other industries a high degree of prosperity during the period of the depression. The valuation of the shares of these larger textile companies on the stock exchanges bears out this fact. One reason for the relative prosperity of the textile industry in Canada during the past four years is the high level of duties on imported textiles which were imposed by Mr. Bennett's emergency tariff legislation of 1930. Mr. Bennett would doubtless admit this himself. In fact, he has claimed on frequent occasions that his emergency tariff saved the Canadian textile industry from disaster.

It will be remembered that when the emergency tariff of 1930 was under discussion in parliament Mr. Bennett gave an assurance

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that the higher rates of duty on imported textiles would not lead to higher prices for Canadian textile products. To support this contention, he reported that he had obtained assurances in the form of letters from the heads of textile industries that the prices of their products would not be raised as a result of the increase of tariff. Some of these letters, if not all of them, were read into the records of parliament. Mr. Bennett assures us now that his real concern is for the wage-earner and that his present interest in reform goes back many years. If this be the case it is reasonable to ask why Mr. Bennett, when he was obtaining assurances from textile manufacturers in return for abnormal tariff protection, did not obtain at the same time an assurance from these same manufacturers that they would not enlarge their profits in a period of depression through the reduction of the wages of their employees. If Mr. Bennett could control prices through assurances given by textile manufacturers, there is no reason why he could not also have secured similar assurances with respect to wages. There is not the slightest evidence that the thought of doing so ever entered his mind. Yet as stated above the evidence brought before the Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass Buying shows clearly that many of these textile companies enlarged their profits at the existing price levels by the systematic exploitation of wage-earners through adjustment of wage scales and work shifts. It would appear that when he was safely installed in office in 1930, Mr. Bennett's interest in social reform was subordinated to his concern for the manufacturer.

Now these six measures are the only elements of Mr. Bennett's reform programme which have been revealed. These are the only measures which were mentioned specifically in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of parliament. Some of these measures will add to the financial burden of the government and must result either in larger deficits or increased taxes on the basis of the present national income. Only one of them, the provision for maximum hours has the remotest relationship with economic recovery. I have no desire to force this conclusion upon you. I

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shall be satisfied if you will reflect upon the purpose and character of various reform measures and form your own conclusions. As reform measures, they are desirable. They were supported by progressive thinkers in this and other countries long before they were adopted by Mr. Bennett as elements in his pre-election programme. But they cannot in themselves make any significant contribution to economic recovery. The truth is that Mr. Bennett's reform programme is like a house which has been thrown hurriedly together as a shelter against the icy blasts of winter. Such houses are seen sometimes on the outskirts of a great city. They are built, as it were, on stilts. They have no permanent foundations. More often than not, they fail to withstand the blasts of winter and the entire structure has to be builded over again on a new design and with more permanent foundations.

Mr. Bennett has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. I hope that I have proved to you that there is no relation of cause and effect between reform and recovery. It is an erroneous assumption for which there is no justification whatever either in economic theory or human experience. The truth of the matter is that Mr. Bennett has failed thus far to give any indication whatsoever regarding the method by which he is to achieve economic recovery. It becomes more and more apparent every day, however, that economic recovery is the one sure foundation for a successful and generous programme of social services. In the last resort the money which is required from employers and wage-earners to sustain social services must be taken from their income. If one half a million of our people are unemployed, it is obvious that they can contribute nothing to unemployment insurance, old age pensions or health insurance. If another quarter of a million of our population is living on low wages or part time employment, it is equally obvious that they cannot make any substantial contribution to a contributory scheme of social services. It is also apparent that employers with idle plants which are only working for part of the year, will be unable to contribute substantial amounts for the support of social

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services.

It is clear, therefore, that if the income of the community is relatively small because of unemployment, industrial stagnation or low wages, the individual and national sacrifice required to maintain social services will be vastly greater than it would be if the wheels of industry were turning steadily again and the great bulk of our employable population was actively engaged in production. To seek to erect an ambitious programme of social services upon a stationary or diminishing income is like building a house upon the sands. Measures of economic recovery are absolutely vital to a successful and continuous operation of social services. This ultimate and crucial problem of economic recovery has not been touched by Mr. Bennett in his so-called programme of social reform and economic recovery. He has dismissed it lightly with an expression of his confident belief that reform will produce recovery. I have already indicated reasons why this view is totally untenable and not deserving of the support of any serious person. Mr. Bennett sought to create an issue between the Conservative and Liberal parties on the basis of social reform. He has failed completely to achieve this object.

There is no issue between us on the question of social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek the objectives of social reform. And there is also a clear cut and fundamental difference between us in relation to the vital question of economic recovery. It is upon these latter differences that the Liberal party proposes to take issue with Mr. Bennett. We believe, moreover, that in focusing attention upon ways and means of economic recovery we are directing the thought of the electorate to those aspects of government and policy which are to be of crucial importance in the next five years. It is of this problem and its solution that I shall speak in the following address of this series.

x This appears also to Saturday

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Proportion of Seats in Each Province to Total Number of Seats

	No. of Seats	Percentage of Total	No. of Portfolios due each province (on basis of 14 portfolios)
P. E. I.	4	2	.28
Nova Scotia	12	5	.70
New Brunswick	10	4	.56
Quebec	65	26	3.64
Ontario	82	33	4.62
Manitoba	17	7	.98
Saskatchewan	21	8	1.12
Alberta	17	7	.98
B. C.	16	7	.98
(Yukon	1)		

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1931 Census

POPULATION OF CANADA

French Racial Origin

Provinces	Total Population	Total of French Racial Origin	Percentage of French Origin to total population.	Percentage of French Origin in each Province to total population in each Province.
Canada	10,376,786	2,927,990	28.22	
Prince Edward Island	88,038	12,962	0.12	14.72
Nova Scotia	512,846	56,629	0.55	11.04
New Brunswick	408,219	136,999	1.32	33.56
Quebec	2,874,255	2,270,059	21.88	78.98
Ontario	3,431,683	299,732	2.89	8.73
Manitoba	700,139	47,039	0.45	6.72
Saskatchewan	921,785	50,700	0.49	5.50
Alberta	731,605	38,377	0.37	5.25
British Columbia	694,263	15,028	0.14	2.16
Yukon	4,230	250	-	5.91
Northwest Territories	9,723	215	-	2.21

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1931

Census

POPULATION OF CANADA

Roman Catholics

Provinces	Total Population	Total of Roman Catholic Population	Percentage of Roman Catholic to total population	Percentage of Roman Catholic in each Province to Total population in each province
Canada	10,376,786	4,285,388	41.30	
Prince Edward Island	88,038	39,105	0.38	44.42
Nova Scotia	512,846	162,754	1.57	31.74
New Brunswick	408,219	188,098	1.81	46.08
Quebec	2,874,255	2,463,160	23.74	85.70
Ontario	3,431,683	744,740	7.18	21.70
Manitoba	700,139	189,693	1.83	27.09
Saskatchewan	921,785	233,979	2.25	25.38
Alberta	731,605	168,408	1.62	23.02
British Columbia	694,263	90,852	0.88	13.09
Yukon	4,230	667	0.01	15.77
Northwest Territories	9,723	3,932	0.04	40.44

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Racial and Religious Percentages

Census 1931

French-Canadian Population	29%
English Speaking Population (including all non-French-Canadian population)	71%
Roman Catholic Population (All nationalities)	41%
Protestant Population (i.e. all not Roman Catholic)	59%

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J.A.R. Toronto.

Re prpmises. What's in a name? A good deal in the names of the "Con" and "Recon" parties.

(Hard to say where "constructive programme" ends and "promises" begin. Thus far the Conservative and Recon. parties haveleaned to the promising end, and the Liberals have avoided them so far as to give ground for the attack that they have no constructive programme. Not many promises left that could be used. But room for more emphasis on constructive side and for making clear that Lib. have at least as much sympathy with the victims of the depression as the Con. and Recon.)

Nothing can give back to the youth of Canada the opportunities lost during the five years of the Bennett-Stevens administration. But they and every Canadaian of common sense will make sure that they are not exposed to another five years of depression and disillusionment under both or either of the Great Promisers.

Another reckless outburst of promises from the senior and the junior members of the Bennett-Stevens administration which has had charge of the Country's affairs for 5 years. Hard to say which is more expert at this game, the senior or the junior member, who together shared the achievements of the Administration. Sometimes one ahead, sometimes another. You will be able to judge of the relative desperateness of the outlook of each by the relative fertility of his bids. Probably by the end of the campaign they will jointly have given promissory notes that all the resources of the British Empire and the Two Americas could not suffice to meet.

Curious how the zeal of the Prime Minister for social reform is restrained in Council or Cabinet when he has the power to perform, and unrestrained every time he finds himself before a microphone.

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Laissez faire.

Prime Minister has been amusing his radio audiences for some time by ~~trying~~ humorous attempts to picture the Liberal party as committed to what he calls a policy of Laissez Faire. There is infinitely less ground for picturing the Liberals as committed to the laissez faire doctrines of a hundred years ago than for pointing out that the Con. and Recon. groups are heading for a return to the rigid controls and fussy interference with every man's business which marked the Middle Ages.

Every sane man recognizes that the task and scope of government must widen as the scale of private busineess organization widens, as the increasing specialization of industry brings with it greater instability, as the conquests of science bring all countries into interpendence. Liberals the first to realize this and to act accordingly, both in Britain and in Canada, in protecting individual and national interests against the uncertainties and unfairnesses of modern industrial life. That we have done and that we will continue to do. We will strive to the uttermost to increase the production of wealth and ensure its fairer distribution, to ensure opportunity for the young man and woman, achievement for the middle aged, security for declining years.

We will not try to create a regimented state, to do for people what they should be helped to do for themselves. Our policy is to regulate and control private initiative, not to destroy it. Liberty is as precious and indispensable as ~~security and stability~~. Our task is to further each without sacrificing the other.

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Relief.

For some time to come relief will continue a national problem; cannot reverse trends in a day. Canadians a friendly just and generous people- will insist that the less fortunate among them be helped through these stormy times. We believe (I) while the emergency continues the national government should share in assuring a decent ~~minimum~~ living to those in need; (2) that relief on a large scale should not be allowed to become a permanent feature of our national life; intolerable that in a country so young and rich as Canada hundreds of thousands who are able to work should not find work and be forced to subsist on stste dole or private charity; would ruin the state and demoralize the individual. -- a real danger if we do not go about the task with more constructive energy and business-like methods than in the five years of the Bennett-Stevens regime. /30/

(3) So long as relief on a large scale continues necessary, must seek firmness and continuity of policy and coordination of all the agencies concerned. Must get away from the spasmodic personal shifts of these five years, the unwillingness to sit down with the provinces and with men and women experienced in BUSINESS administration and social work in order to plan the year's programme well in advance, get away from the sudden threats of withdrawal of federal aid followed by spasmodic and arbitrary handouts. Only so can we attain the responsibility, the continuity. the fairness, the check on waste that are essential.

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Unemployment. C115598

I do not promise to end unemployment. I would not seek ~~to-tr-~~ to achieve single-handed that speedy and drastic reduction of unemployment taht we much attain or perish. I assure you that when the Liberal goverment is entrusted by the people with the conduct of your national affairs it will be our first and forem ost duty to ensure the full utilization of the human as well as the natural resources of this country. There are available for the tasks ~~men~~ a heartening combination of men of mature experience and men of youthful enthusiasm.

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C115599

Elections - Gen. Elec. of 1935 - ✓

Election Guesses

Senator Riley told me in the month of June that Senator Smeaton White told him, confidentially, that at the next general elections the Liberals would have 147 seats, and the Conservatives 67.

W.L.M.K.

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C 115600

Members of Parliament appointed to office 1930-1935

During its term, the Bennett Government has appointed to office 22 members of Parliament to various offices

= 9% total membership House of Commons;

= 16% total number conservative members House of Commons;

6 cabinet ministers have been given appointments

= approximately 1/3rd of cabinet.

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C115601

Re Authority of Parliament alienated

(1) purse

(2) legislation

(3) currency and credit

(4) railways

(5) trade -
valuation
wheat agreement
marketing

(6) marketing

(7) titles

(8) its own membership = representation:
vacancies
delay election
by-elections
provincial elections.

Krypton Extra Strong

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C115602

Re Conservative Headquarters at Brandon, Man.

(Sign across front of building at top)

CAMPBELL

UNDERTAKING & FURNITURE

FERGUSON

(Placards on windows)

CONSERVATIVE HEADQUARTERS

(Card placed in door)

"Removed to new funeral home."

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The Liberal - Conservative Platform. (p.1)

As laid down by R. L. Bordon, M.P., Opposition Leader,
at Halifax, August 20th, 1907.

Honest Elections

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

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C 115604

The Liberal - Conservative Platform. (p.1)

As laid down by R. L. Borden, M.P., Opposition Leader,
at Halifax, August 20th, 1907.

Honest Elections

(5). 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 indepndent prosecuting officer charged with that duty, to simplify the procedure therefor and to enforce the laws so amended.

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C115605

Liberal Record re Labour and Social Reform

1. **Department of Labour created 1900:**

   Labour Gazette;

   Conciliation and Labour Act.

2. **Fair Wages Policy:**

   On public works.

3. **Anti-Sweating Regulations:**

   On Government contracts.

4. **Technical Education:**

   Appointment of Commission.

5. **Inquiries:**

   Cotton Operatives;

   Telephone Operatives;

   Coal Operatives;

   Immigration of Printers;

   Causes of Industrial disputes in B.C.;

   Causes of industrial disputes in N.S.;

   Employment of Aliens on Pere Marquette Rly Co.

   Phosphorous Necrosis.

6. **Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907:**

7. **Combines Investigation Act, 1910; 1923.**

8. **Labour Represented in Government:**

   Murdock;

   Heenan.

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C115606

9. C. N. R.:

Labour represented on Board - Tom Moore

10. Old Age Pensions - 1927:

Rejected by Tory Senate 1926.

11. Fair Wages and Eight Hour Day Act, 1930:

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C115607

Liberal Policy

Mr. Bennett has sought to have you believe that the Liberal party has no policies and no proposals. On the contrary, the Liberal party has very definite policies and proposals, but unlike Mr. Bennett's they have not been especially concocted since the propogation of parliament. They have been set forth time and again over a period of years, and enjoyed the unanimous support of party unity from coast to coast. They have,moreover, been drafted, not for the purpose of winning a general election, but of meeting the actual problems of government afid of leading Canada out of the depression.

The Liberal party is pledged to the establishment of a representative national commission to co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed; to the enactment of a constitutionally valid system of unemployment insurance, and, as rapidly as the financial position of the country warrants its expansion, to embrace a scheme of social insurance generally, including Old Age Pensions and health insurance; to policies which will liberate or expand our external frade, upon which depends industrial and commercial recovery; to the liberation

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C115608

of internal trade by ending artificial price control and price fixing which restricts and hampers trade internally; the development of primary industries by reduction in the costs of instruments of production; State assistance in the marketing of natural products; the restoration of control by the State over currency and credit through the reconstitution of the Bank of Canada; the establishment of an Investment Control Board; the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways; the democratization of industries through policies which will seek to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry; the restoration of responsible government; the re-assertion of personal liberty and of the right of free speech and free association; measures of electoral reform to ensure a true parliamentary representation of the people and to reduce the cost of election campaigns; a balanced budget; retrenchment of public expenditures; reduction of the principal and interest on the public debt; an inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs of government; a furtherance of international peace, and the work of the League of Nations; a more equitable disposition of wealth which will have regard to human needs to the furtherance of social justice and the promotion of the common good.

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C 115609

Re Annual Convention of the Young Liberals Association of the Province of Quebec.

My Association with Young Liberals of Quebec:

Recall with pleasure speaking at Young Liberals Association banquet in Quebec City in January 1933;

Also at rally of Young Liberals Association, Montreal, September last year.

Co-Operation of Youth in work of party:

Young Liberals in all parts of Canada have taken real share in work of party -

helpful co-operation -

g. e. 1930

provincial elections since 1930

in present campaign

Great source of encouragement and inspiration to me as Leader.

Liberalism and Youth:

Liberalism welcomes co-operation of men and women of all classes, creeds and ages - is universal in its appeal and mission.

Liberalism appeals to idealism of youth

(a) goodwill towards manking general towards all sections, all nations, all classes;

goodwill also a characteristic of youth -

Liberalism based on love of fellow-men; not fear and hate.

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C115610

(b) Liberalism believes in progress; in the betterment of the lot of mankind; in the possibility of growth and achievement;

Based on a spiritual conception of life - this optimism and belief in progress also a characteristic of youth.

Liberal party seeks to combine the idealism of youth with the experience which comes with years and arises out of traditions of past.

Youth and Problems of Today:

Problems of depression or hardships of depression, have fallen upon youth with particular severity -

leaving our universities in thousands with no prospects;

concentrated in relief camps;

devastating effect on morale and character at formative period of life -

age has background and experience to help overcome difficulties.

Liberal party will have special concern for problems confronting our youth -

its policies alone can -

revive trade;

stimulate industry;

reduce unemployment;

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C115611

thus give opportunity for development as individuals and citizens.

Youth and Freedom:

Youth dislikes restraint and shackles of all kinds.

By nature of things youth opposed to dictatorship trend in Canada today -

only where youth twisted and dictorted

(e.g. Germany - Italy)

does it support dictatorship.

Youth must be warned against losing political liberty in effort to gain economic liberty.

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C115612

Are we going to miss 3rd chance?

Imperial Conference next year -

will follow line proposed by Baldwin et al.

Liberal party will seek immediate revision agreements 1932 -

if satisfactory, will not cancel tariffs;

if not satisfactory, will hold itself free to act as

interests of country demand.

Trade with all nations - prosperity and peace.

Re: Marketing Legislation.

See Rogers' biography.

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C115613

Ottawa,
October 12, 1935

MR. KING:

The following are the special topics which you wish to touch upon in tonight's speech:

(1) "Mr. Sage" broadcast.

(2) Intimidation of voters:

if necessary, will operate industries as experiment; re Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Lethbridge coal strike.

(3) Supporting official candidates.

(4) Bennett advertisements.

Do Canadians want the puglisit in public life? (Joe Louis).

(5) Political leaders tearing madly across the country making innumerable speeches every day - wildcat campaigning.

(6) Civil Service - preservation of the merit system.

(7) Bribery of the electorate - promises and expenditures.

(8) Co-operation with provinces to deal with pressing problems on which jurisdiction not clear, e.g. burden of debt, mortgage relief, interest rates.

(9) Democratization of industry.

Constitutional amendment to ensure labour's representation on boards of companies.

EAP.

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Currency, Credit & Banking

Comm — Social Credit

1. **Currency and Credit of National and First Importance:**

a first responsibility of government;

community and social need -

like water, transportation, etc.

to be supplied in manner best to serve public interest;

~~need for~~ Central Bank to control currendy and credit in public interest - in hard times, lower int. rates & increase flow of credit in boom, increase " & decrease ".

~~need 11 points.~~

2. **Central Bank** - ~~(See notes in Ring Binder)~~

a. **Advocated by Liberals** 1932 on;

b. **Government appoints commission** after evident public favoured creation of bank.

c. **Bank of Canada** -

i. - Private corporation;

ii. - No control by Parliament -

Tory Senate;

iii. - Currency handed over -

$69,000,000 in gold reserve;

iv - Securities handed over.

d. **Liberal Attitude** -

i. - Bank should be publicly controlled national institution;

ii. - first step - return control over currendy and credit to Parliament.

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C115615

3. Social Credit in Alberta:

a. Congratulations to new Premier -

reference to call on him during day;

b. Good wishes for experiment -

if successful will spread over Dominion;

" world

still an experiment -

Social credit not attained;

only mandate from people.

glad experiment to be made in single province -

results will be of benefit to Dominion as a whole.

c. Liberal attitude towards -

traditionally the party of provincial rights;

will co-operate with Mr. Aberhart -

"hands off Alberta";

"Square deal for Alberta";

d. Return of Natural Resources -

control over Natural Resources essential for Social Credit;

Returned to Alberta by Liberal Government;

Satisfactory solution of old problem;

Co-operation with U.F.A. government, which had defeated a Liberal government in province;

Mr. Brownlee's letter.

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C 115616

4. Relation of Federal Policies -

a. Liberal Policy -

Liberalism aims at removal of harmful restrictions;

High interest rates in money field = same as high tariffs in trade;

"Tight money policy" = restrictionist policy.

Remove restrictions to flow of credit, as of trade.

b. Other Policies than Credit -

Province may concentrate on single issue;

Dominion obliged deal with other matters -

external affairs - war;

relations with province;

taxation;

tariffs and trade, etc. etc.

c. Federal Policies May Help Province -

Alberta dependent upon sale of surplus of basic commodities in world markets;

Social Credit Manual does not contemplate change in this;

Liberal trade policies will help restore prosperity in province

will help therefore success of social credit;

Liberalism aims at return of confidence, trade, revival of industry, lower taxation -

all will help, not hinder, success of social credit.

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C 115617

5. Struggle vs. Money - Power:

public control vs. private control over credit;

political power vs. money power;

national policies vs. imperial policies;

Mr. Bennett on side of money power -

private bank;

influence of Bank of England;

Liberalism on side of people -

Statement H. of C. re Control of Parliament;

" by Gladstone;

Liberalism can be looked to for protecting Alberta government from efforts of money power to thwart social credit.

Soft. 11/37

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C115618

Currency, Credit and Banking

1. **Liberal Party's Position:**

   a. **Limitations of Monetary action:**

      Much may be accomplished by proper banking and credit policies;

      Monetary reform not capable of solving all ills;

      Trade an even more immediate consideration.

   b. **Currency and Credit of National and First Importance:**

      Currency and credit, a first responsibility of government;

      Credit - Social service;

      Community and social need -

         like water, transportation, etc.

         not given away, but supplied in manner best calculated

            to serve public interest;

      Public control vs. private monopoly;

      Political power vs. money power;

      National policies in trade vs. imperial policies in finance.

   c. **Statement of February 27, 1933:**

      Control of Credit

      "The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted National Central Bank, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and

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C 115619

"industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange."

2. Central Bank:

a. Advocacy by Liberal Party:

i. Mr. King, South Huron, Sept. 1932;

ii. Mr. King and others, House of Commons, 1932 on;

iii. Mr. Massey and others outside House of Commons.

b. Adoption of Proposal by Mr. Bennett:

i. Appointment Commission after evident public favoured creation of bank;

ii. Mr. Bennett announced intention to create bank, before Report published.

c. Bank of Canada:

i. Private Corporation -

(a) Board of Directors appointed for five year term for rotating period by private shareholders; first appointees -

1 for 2 years

2 for 3 years

2 for 4 years

2 for 5 years

Governor and Deputy Governor appointed for seven year term by government - Governor has veto;

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C 115620

Deputy Minister of Finance also a director but has no vote - a liason officer only.

(b) No control by Parliament - Dictatorship.

Bank thus placed deliberately beyond effective control of Parliament;

a private profit-making corporation;

a Fascist institution;

Money power in control independent of Parliament

surrender of sovereignty in matters affecting currency;

Tory Senate -

consent necessary for amendment of Act;

ultimate control in hands of Tory appointees and Tory Senate.

ii. Control of Currency and Credit:

(a) Currency -

Note issue in its hands;

National currency handed over by government - $69,000,000. in gold reserves actually transferred by Department of Finance to Bank.

Government created $63,000,000. new 3% securities which were transferred to the Bank as security for hitherto uncovered portion of Dominion note issue.

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(b) Credit -

Control over volume of credit - i.e. rediscounting function - also transferred from Department of Finance.

iii. General Purposes of Bank:

According to Bank of Canada Act, Bank is to -

a. Regulate credit and currency;

b. Control and protect the external value of the national monetary unit;

c. Mitigate fluctuations in general level of production, trade, prices and employment;

d. Promote economic and financial welfare of the Dominion.

iv. Liberal Attitude:

a. When Bill before Parliament, took position Bank should be publicly controlled national institution.

b. Protests transfer of sweeping powers, assets and functions to private corporation.

c. Control over currency and credit should be restored to Parliament, to ensure furtherance of public, not private aims.

d. Social or community control required -

(i.) does not mean government must buy all shares;

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C115622

(ii) directors, instead of being selected exclusively by private shareholders, should be appointed by government in such manner as to represent fairly the varied regional and industrial interests of the Dominion.

e. Statement by Mr. King, H. of C. on third reading Bank of Canada Act:-

"Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile."

f. Liberal Objectives:

Regain for nation what has been lost; secure properly constituted National Central Bank.

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The Question of Control

"In my mind, reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation."

Mr. Bennett, Radio Speech, Jan. 2, 1935

Parliamentary Control is more important than Govt. Control.

-A-

Mr. Bennett's Record re Control Wrested from House of Commons

1. General Powers of Parliament:

a. Expenditure and Taxation -

i - Special Session 1930 -

$20,000,000 vote for unemployment in lump sum - no specific appropriations; no control by Parlt.

No auditing of grants - "insult to provinces"; Auditor General servant of Parliament - not used.

ii - "Blank Cheque" -

Executive took power, at session 1931, to spend unnamed and unlimited amounts for relief purposes; no control by Parliament; no auditing; vast expenditures 1930-35 - $160,000,000; control over expenditures necessary to control over taxation.

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iii - Loans -

Under relief legislation, executive took power to
to make loans without approval of Parliament;
March 31, 1935, loans to provinces outstanding -
$82,000,000;
- vast liability in assumption of which Parliament had no voice or control.

iv - Guarantees -

also took power to guarantee loans;
March 31, 1935, guarantees outstanding - $66,000,000 -
another vast liability with which Parliament had nothing to do;
guarantees made re -
Newfoundland;
Beauharnois;
Steel Companies;
C. P. R. - $60,000,000;
Wheat - estimated liability May 31, 1935,
$7,000,000; not included in above total.

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b. Legislation -

i - Peace, Order and Good Government -

At session 1931, and each year since, government took power to legislate by order-in-council on any subject under this heading.

In 1932 session, took this power for period even while Parliament in session.

ii - Action taken under -

Prohibition of export of gold;

Revaluation of securities of insurance companies for balance sheet purposes;

These powers in possession of government even when Parliament dissolved;

No guarantee to what lengths government may not go.

2. Railways:

a. Board of Trustees -

Government took C.N.R. out of hands of Board of Directors appointed by government at pleasure;

Placed in hands of Board of Trustees appointed for fixed term;

- control not by H. of C., but by Tory appointees.

b. Removal of Trustees -

Can be removed only by vote of both Houses of Parliament;

Tory Senate -

ultimate control of railways in hands of Tory Senate.

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3. Currency and Credit: -

a. Transfer to Bank of Canada -

i - National currency handed over to Bank by Department of Finance - $69,000,000 in gold actually transferred;

ii - Rediscounting function (i.e. control over volume of credit) and securities on deposit for this purpose - also transferred.

b. Control of Bank of Canada -

i - Board -

7 directors appointed by private shareholders;

Governor, and Deputy Governor appointed by government for fixed term;

Deputy Minister of Finance - no vote;

ii - Control -

in hands of private corporation;

in part, in hands of Tory appointees;

change in constitution of Bank, requires consent of Tory Senate.

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C115627

4. Trade.

(a) Tariffs by Executive Action -

Customs and Tariff amendments special session gave Executive power to change regulations; impose dump duties; exchange duties.

Instability and excess of these special arbitrary duties have strangled trade as much as high tariffs.

(b) Marketing Act -

(i) - Permits Executive to prohibit import of any regulated product;

(ii) - to prohibit export of any natural product.

i and ii = great part of foreign trade.

(c) Ottawa Agreements -

(i) - Margin of preference guaranteed; tariffs "pegged";

(ii) - Agreements run five years;

(iii) - Intermediate tariff raised to height of general - no negotiating;

(iv) - House of Commons cannot lower duties below these levels, without:

revision of agreements;

consent of Tory Senate.

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

4. Trade.

(d) Wheat Agreement -

(i) - Not authorized, or ratified, or even presented to Parliament;

(ii) - Policy of scarcity inaugurated without consent of people's representatives.

5. Marketing Act.

(a) Gives Executive, not Parliament, power to approve of shhemes for marketing natunal products;

(b) Schemes enable local, self-interested, economic groups to:

(i) - limite sale;

(ii) - limit production - licences; (scarcity)

(iii) --create monopolies;

(iv) - create fines and penalties.

Negation of parliamentary system

" " British law.

(Magna Carta).

6. Titles.

Restored

(a) by Executive action;

(b) in defiance of resolution of House of Commons.

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- B -

Liberal Attitude

Restore Control to People's Representatives.

1. General Powers of Parliament -

(a) Expenditure and Taxation:

(i) - abolish blank cheque;

(after Parliament has opportunity to vote specific sums for relief purposes).

(ii) - restore practice of voting specific appropriations with fullest details;

(iii) - allow Auditor-General fullest scope;

(iv) - use Governor-General's warrants where extreme contingencies arise;

(v) - restore fullest measure of control to H. of C.

(b) Legislation:

(i) - abolish "Peace, Order and Good Government" clause;

(ii) - restore fullest measure of control to H. of C. -

Parliament, not Cabinet, legislative branch;

Liberalism = Trust of the people;

express of their will through representatives;

Parliament knows needs of people and remedies better than any other body.

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2. Railways.

(a) Place trustees under control of H. of C.

(b) No amalgamation under private ownership or control.

3. Credit and Currency.

(a) Liberalism believes this to be a first responsibility of Govt.

(b) Social or Community control required -

(i) - Board of Bank of Canada to be subjected to measure of state control to ensure furtherance of public, not private, aims;

(ii) - Does not necessarily mean Government to buy over all shares.

4. Trade.

(a) End making of tariffs by Executive action -

(i) abolish extra unwarranted special duties as imposed by Bennett Administration;

(ii) restore to Parliament full control over tariff and largest measure of control over regulations;

(iii) tariff stability necessary to trade recovery.

(b) Marketing Act -

abolish power to control foreign trade.

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C115631

4. Trade.

(c) Ottawa Agreements -

(i) revision necessary -

believe as much desired in Britain as here;

(ii) preference by percentage reductions;

(iii) restore fiscal freedom of Parliament -

no pegging;

provision for amendment;

(iv) restore intermediate tariff as basis of negotiating reciprocal agreements with other countries.

(d) Wheat Agreement -

(i) repudiation unnecessary -

still-born;

(ii) abandon policy of scarcity -

instead, policy of production and exchange.

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C115632

5. Marketing Act.

(a) Restore control to Parliament by requiring approval of schemes by both Houses;

(b) Revision necessary to -

(i) restore making of criminal law by Parliament;

(ii) protect interests of consumers;

(iii) guard against monopolies.

(c) State assistance for marketing -

(i) Party not opposed to;

(ii) Advocated as early as 1935.

6. Titles.

Will ask House of Commons to abolish.

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C115633

Debt

Mr. Bennett approaches the question of debt conversion with very serious disqualifications. Under his administration, the net public debt of Canada has been increased in five years by no less than six hundred million dollars, as against a decrease of two hundred and sixty-seven million dollars under the previous Liberal administration.

Furthermore, during his administration, the possibility of converting the public debt as been rendered more difficult of achievement by the issuing of hundreds of millions of dollars of Dominion of Canada bonds, which are not subject to call by the government.

During the years Mr. Bennett has been in office, the seriousness of the debt problem has been urged upon him repeatedly. His attitude, throughout, is best revealed by a statement made by him on the floor of Parliament as late as June 19th of the present year:

> "For the Dominion of Canada solemnly to determine that it would not pay the interest on its debt except at three per cent, when the bond said four per cent, would be the ruin of Canada."

He has, up to the present time, adopted an attitude of unyielding hostility, being content to stress the difficulties and the obstacles in such a course.

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C115634

The Liberal party, on the other hand, has not waited until the zero hour of a political campaign to make an announcement of such vital importance. Nor is it compelled, to meet the needs of an election, to adopt an attitude at variance with all its previous views and declarations. For over two and a half years, the Liberal party has publicly stated that one of its aims would be a "reduction of principal and interest on the public debt".

The people of Canada will, I believe, entrust so far-reaching an operation to a party which, when in office, has in the past succeeded in effecting great reductions in the public debt, and which will enjoy the confidence of the provincial governments, upon whose co-operation the success of the effort would in part depend.

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C115635

Re: Debt Repudiation

Mr. Bennett - House of Commons, June 19/36
Unrevised Hansard p.4113.

"Anything that smacks of repudiation of the obligations of this country, this young community cannot afford to permit. It may sound very hard, but for the Dominion of Canada solemnly to determine that it would not pay the interest on its debt except at three per cent, when the bond said four per cent, would be the ruin of Canada."

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C115636

Debt:

Burden of debt greater today owing to lower prices for farm and other produce brought about by strangling trade.

Relief must be afforded through -

1. National credit policies to this end effected through properly constituted national bank;
2. Co-operation between Dominion and Provinces -
   Constitutional question;
   Co-operation in administration of debt relief by legislation, eg. Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act.

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C 115637

Dictatorship

Mr. Bennett spoke in a jocular vein of the trend towards dictatorship in Canada. It is all very well for Mr. Bennett to jest and make sport on the subject. The fact remains that in the last five years Canada has travelled a long way on the road to dictatorship. How far we have gone is apparent from the fact that today Mr. Bennett has unlimited power over the public purse and can spend any amounts he wishes so long as he can relate them to unemployment and can, by Order-in-Council, make laws on any subject so long as he can bring them under the heading of peace, order and good government, and controls or prohibits the substantial part of Canada's foreign trade. All these powers are vested in one man, and this at a time when there is even no parliament, and when the threat of war looms on the world horizon.

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by Dictatorship

C 115638

Five Years of Dictatorship Under Bennett

Measures & Actions	Features
1930 Special Session:	
(1) $20,000,000. vote for unemployment relief:	Lump sum - No specific appropriations.
(2) Amendment to Customs & Tariff Acts:	Gave executive power to alter tariff regulations and improve arbitrary valuations and dump duties by order-in-council.
(3) Tariff Revision:	To establish policies of Economic Nationalism - isolate Canada.
(a) against nations generally	
(b) against Great Britain	
1930 Imperial Conference:	Sought to establish policies of Economic Imperialism.
	Sought to isolate British Empire
	House of Commons not taken into confidence of Prime Minister at Special Session
	Policies enunciated by Mr. Bennett at London not authorized by people, Parliament or colleagues.

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C 115639

1931 Session:

(1) Blank cheque:

No specific vote; appropriations in unlimited amounts.

No control by Parliament over expenditures, and thus, over taxation.

No effective auditing.

(2) Peace, Order & Good Government:

Legislation by Executive, not by Parliament.

Does away with third branch of Government.

Uses to which legislation put:

(1) revaluation of insurance company securities.

(2) Prohibition export of gold.

(3) Guarantees -
Wheat - (details not known by colleagues)
C. P. R. - $60,000,000.
Newfoundland;
Steel companies.

(3) Tariff Revision:

Higher Tariffs; more Economic Nationalism.

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C 115640

1932 Session:

Closure:

Blank cheque; peace, order and good government powers, to be used while Parliament in Session, wrested from Parliament under the most arbitrary device - closure.

1932 - 33 Session:

(1) **Ottawa Agreements:**

Economic Imperialism - isolate Empire; desire of Baldwin to lower tariffs.

Government compelled acceptance of Agreements before examination of items of Tariff.

Margins of preference guaranteed -
tariffs "pegged";
Parliament deprived of right to lower tariffs below certain levels - taxation.

Intermediate tariff raised to height of general -
no freedom to negotiate.

Parliament bound for five years -
Prime Minister stated at first no right to amend.

(2) **Railways:**

Control of Canadian National Railways placed in hands of Board of Trustees, removable not by Commons, but by vote of both Houses.

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1934 Session:

(1) Bank of Canada:

Control of Currency and Credit transferred from Department of Finance to Bank of Canada.

Gold and securities handed over to private corporation.

Directors of Bank appointed by private shareholders and Government's control limited to appointment of Governor and Deputy Minister of Finance, the latter having no vote.

(2) Marketing:

Under guise of helping agriculture, took away powers from Parliament.

Government by self-interested economic groups, not Parliament.

Power to establish monopolies, impose fines and penalties - without approval of Parliament.

Criminal law put in hands of groups; magna carta "law of the land" dispensed with.

Control of greater part of foreign trade given to executive.

(3) Wheat Agreement:

Agreement entered into without discussion in Parliament
Agreement not even submitted to Parliament
Policy of Scarcity -
Limit production
Planning for poverty.

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(4) Titles: Restored in defiance of resolution of House of Commons.

1935 Session:

(1) Social Reform Legislation: Announced without reference to colleagues or supporters.

Governor-General ignored.

Validity doubtful - attempt to occupy by force, provincial fields; unwilling to take opinion of Courts.

Regimentation of labour, uniformity - the aim of dictatorship - Bismark.

(2) Price Spreads Legislation: Validity doubtful - opinion taken where it suited purpose of Government.

Ministerial responsibility - Cahan, Guthrie.

Cabinet Solidarity - Meighen.

Economic Council - to advise Prime Minister - part of paraphernalia of dictatorship.

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(3) Representative Character of Institution Destroyed:

7 Vacancies in House of Commons -

7 Constituencies disfranchised;
"No taxation without representation"

17 Vacancies in Senate -

Tory Senate

(4) Defiance of People:

Trend against conservative party -
9 out of 10 by-elections since Conference;
all provincial conservative governments defeated.

Government has hung on to office for over five years, and for six sessions.

Constitution says Parliament not to extend more than five years; never meant Executive should exceed five years.

Mr. Bennett has absolute power even when Parliament ceases to exist.

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General:

(1) Tory Bureaucracy: Almost all Liberal Deputy Ministers retired.

Partisan appointments.

Holding appointments to end, to subdue following.

(2) Police and Military Expenditures: Barracks, armouries;
increase in forces.

(3) Overriding Provinces: Social Legislation;
Maintenance law and order - Regina;
Intimidate provinces - Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act.

(4) Cumulative Effect: Flood.

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C115645

Bribing the Electorate

Sir Robert Borden, H. of C. January 20, 1909

I say that the system of offering bribes to constituencies in this country is a vicious one, and that, so far as I am concerned, I lifted up my voice during the last parliament in favour of the prohibition by statute of such acts; and I hope some day to see this wrong righted in Canada by statute.

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C115646

R. L. Borden

Political Promises and Bribery

(Hansard, pp.31-33, Jan.22,1909)

I see no difference in principle, or rather lack of principle, between the system to which I have alluded (i.e. political patronage in exchange for party funds) and that of offering open bribes to a constituency by saying: "If you support the party now in power, certain public works, which are justly your due, will be constructed in your riding; but if you see fit to support a candidate not in sympathy with the government, no such works will be carridd on and you will not receive your due." Further, I can see no difference between that and the bribery of a single elector, except that the bribery by wholesale is ten-fold more iniquitous and demoralizing and deserves tenfold more punishment at the hands of the law than ordinary bribery."

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C 115647

R. L. Borden

Political Promises and Bribery

(Hansard, pp.31-33, Jan.22,1909)

I see no difference in principle, or rather lack of principle, between the system to which I have alluded (i.e. political patronage in exchange for party funds) and that of offering open bribes to a constituency by saying: "If you support the party now in power, certain public works, which are justly your due, will be constructed in your riding; but if you see fit to support a candidate not in sympathy with the government, no such works will be carried on and you will not receive your due." Further, I can see no difference between that and the bribery of a single elector, except that the bribery by wholesale is ten-fold more iniquitous and demoralizing and deserves tenfold more punishment at the hands of the law than ordinary bribery."

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TELEPHONE QUEEN 5805

C115648

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA

114 WELLINGTON STREET

OTTAWA , Ont., October 5th, 1935.

Mr. Pickering:

Attached memoranda give information requested in your wire to Mr. Lambert dated October 4th:

(1) Excerpt from R. L. Borden's speech re: Corruption and Bribery of Electorate through promise and undertakings in campaigns.

(2) Latest figures supplied by Mr. Hereford re: total numbers receiving direct relief.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA.

Per R. L. Richardson

SUPERIOR LONE-IN RECORD MADE IN CANADA

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R.L. Borden

C115649

~~BORDEN ON~~ POLITICAL PROMISES AND BRIBERY

(Hansard M31-3, Jan 22/09)

January 22, 1909

"The House proceeded to the consideration of His Excellency's speech at the opening of the session. . . . .

Mr. R. L. BORDEN, (Halifax): ..... A measure is promised having for its object the repression of the payment of secret commissions and gratuities both in public and private business. I assume, although I do not know, that this measure is based to some extent upon the evidence, not at present before the House, which has been taken before the Hon. Mr. Justice Cassels in the inquiry which he has been recently carrying on. I have no doubt that it is essential, but how far will it go? We raised the point last session that the inquiry was too restricted, that it dealt with only one paragraph of the report, concerning only one department, and we asked that the inquiry should go further and be extended to every one of the spending departments of the Government. Events have proved that point to have been well taken. There has been, I believe, a fairly thorough inquiry, so far as the officials are concerned; but when, according to the newspaper reports, the question was put to a certain witness whether or not the percentage of overcharges had any relation whatever to contributions to the political party now dominant, the objection was at once taken that no such inquiry came within the terms of the reference. I am not finding fault with the commissioner in that regard. He was restricted by the terms of his commission; but I say that when that question was put and the actual conditions revealed, the government should have taken the earliest possible opportunity to pass an order in council extending the scope of the inquiry and giving Mr. Justice Cassels the amplest opportunity of ascertaining whether or not the people of this country have been paying prices far in excess of those which should have been charged, and whether or not that was done in order to swell the political contributions to the Liberal election fund.. The system followed is very plain and simple in the light of the revelations which have been made. The ordinary citizen put upon the patronage list will sell his goods to the government at a fair rate. He will perhaps seek to obtain from the Government a little higher price than from his ordinary customers, although I do not know that that will always be the case. But when he expects to be called upon for political contributions, when he knows that the same influence which procured for him the patronage of the Government will afterwards demand from him political contributions out of his private purse, what will be the natural course for him to pursue if he be a man not specially scrupulous in matters of this kind. He will no doubt put an increased price upon his goods and in that respect reap some personal advantage to himself, the coffers of the Liberal party will also reap an additional and perhaps greater advantage, and both profits will come out of the people of this country. It is they who, out of their taxes, will pay the shot. That is what it amounts to. How far will this Bill which we are promised go? If it should go so far as to make criminally responsible those who see these things being done under their very eyes, who know that this system is being carried on, we may perhaps have, out of this legislation, conditions better than those which have prevailed within recent years. (I see no difference in principle, or rather lack of principle, between the system to which I have alluded, and that of offering open bribes to a constituency by saying: 'If you support the party now in power, certain public works, which are justly your due, will be constructed in your riding; but if you see fit to support a candidate not in sympathy with the government, no such works will be carried on and you will not receive your due.' Further, I can see no difference between that and the bribery of a single elector, except that the bribery by wholesale is ten-fold more iniquitous and demoralizing and deserves tenfold more punishment at the hands of the law than ordinary bribery.)" . . .

Revised Hansard, pages 31-33.

(i.e. political patronage in exchange for party funds)

1907-8, 1909

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From:

C 115650

THE LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE HANDBOOK

1911

THE LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PLATFORM

AS LAID DOWN BY R. L. BORDEN, M.P., OPPOSITION LEADER,

AT HALIFAX, AUGUST 20th, 1907.

Taxation - Expenditure - Debt

A Record of Waste and Extravagance.

. . . . . .

If there is one thing more clear than another in the government of a democratic country, it is that political leaders should be held to strict account for their pledges and platforms. These form the basis of the contract between them and the electorate. These undertakings are solemnly given. They are not actionable in courts of law, and therefore all the more should they be held cognizable in the great moot courts of the people, and their terms rigidly exacted. . . . . .

The Great Promise-Breaker.

. . . . . .

The general result of the change of government, as everybody knows, has been that the sums extracted from the people by taxation have trebled; that the expenditure has nearly quadrupled; and that the debt has greatly increased. The pledges have not been kept.

Does the Liberal party show any shame for this breach of faith? It does not. Instead, it uses its betrayal of its promises as an argument for its retention in office. The line of reasoning which it presents to the people is :-

We made those promises prior to 1896.

We broke them.

Because you cannot trust us, you cannot trust any party.

Therefore it is of no use for you to turn us out and trust to any promises of good government which the Conservatives may make.

Thus, by a wonderfully brazen avowal of their own dishonour, the Liberals argue that their dishonesty is proof that others are dishonest; and that their failure to keep their promises is a reason for leaving them undisturbed in office.

Yet Sir John A. Macdonald kept his pre-election promises in 1879.

Sir James Whitney kept his pre-election promises when he came into power in 1905.

Mr. Hazen kept his promises when he became Premier of New Brunswick in 1908.

Mr. McBride kept his pre-election promises when he became Premier of British Columbia in 1903.

Mr. Roblin kept his pre-election promises when he became Premier of

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Manitoba in 1900.

The one Promise-Breaker among Canadian Premiers is Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

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Intimidation of Electorate

(Dominion Elections Act, 1934)

Section 67 (1):

Every person is guilty of the corrupt practice of undue influence and of an indictable offence against this Act punishable as in this Act provided, who, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, makes use of, or threatens to make use of, any force, violence or restraint, or inflicts, or threatens the infliction, by himself, or by or through any other person, of any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm or loss, or in any manner practices intimidation upon or against any person, in order to induce or compel such person to vote for any candidate, or to refrain from voting, or on account of such person having voted for any candidate or refrained from voting at any election or who, by abduction, duress, or any false or fraudulent pretence, device or contrivance, impedes, prevents or otherwise interferes with the free exercise of the franchise of any elector, or thereby compels or induces or prevails upon any elector either to vote for any candidate or to refrain from voting at any election.

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Intimidation of Electorate

(Dominion Elections Act, 1934)

Section 78 (2):

Any person who is guilty of any indictable offence against this Act is liable on indictment or on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and costs of prosecution or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour, or to both such fine and costs and such imprisonment, and if the fine and costs imposed are not paid forthwith, in case only a fine and costs are imposed, or are not paid before the expiration of the term of imprisonment imposed, in case imprisonment as well as fine and costs is imposed, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for such term or such further term, as such fine and costs or either of them remain unpaid, not exceeding three months.

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Bribing the Electorate

Unemployment Insurance Commission:

Appointed July 1935.

8 Hour Day Act:

Effective October 5th, 1935.

Weekly Rest:

Effective July 4th, 1935

Economic Council:

To be appointed in few days.

Trade and Industry Commission:

Effective October 1st, 1935.

Public prosecutor to be appointed shortly.

Marketing:

$1,000,000. bonus to dairy industry.

Public Works: (supplementary Public Works Construction Act)

1. guarantee loans to railways for construction of equipment
   (a) Canadian National - $8,000,000.
   (b) Canadian Pacific - $7,000,000.
2. $18,000,000. in various public works, for which tenders need not be called, including -
   (a) $1,000,000. for elimination of railway level crossings (to be administered by railway commission - Guthrie)
   (b) $1,000,000. for tunnel under Toronto harbour.

Almost all spent now.

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Canadian Farm Loan Act (Amendment):

to provide for further expansion of credit to farmers.

Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act:

re drought areas; why not in 1933 or 1934?

Canadian Fishermen's Loan Act:

to establish a system of long term mortgage credit for fishermen.

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C 115656

Government's Delay in Bringing on Election

1. Constitutional Aspects:

a. Constitution fixes no definite date -

to permit election at any time;

" " will of people to prevail;

spirit of constitution - essence of British system.

b. Constitution fixes term of Parliament -

5 years from day of return of writs - Aug. 18, 1935;

never intended term of executive to be greater than that of Parliament;

government in office 5 years on Aug. 7 - 2 anniversaries;

~~if~~ with election held ~~end of Sept.~~ Oct. 4, government ~~would~~ will be in office ~~at least~~ over five years, 2 months.

c. Generally 4 Sessions of Parliament -

6 sessions in present Parlt.

d. Defiance of Will of People -

i - 9 out of 10 by-elections since I.E.C. have gone against government;

ii - every Tory provincial government swept out of office - fought on federal issues.

e. Vacancies in House of Commons -

7 vacancies when Parliament prorogued;

5 " for full period of last session;

"no taxation without representation";

government lost confidence in itself.

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2. Practical Aspects:

a. Handicapp Incoming Administration -

October at earliest before new government in office;
several months after that before negotiations conducted and measures completed;
next spring before policies can begin to have effect;
general elections should have been held when by-elections held last fall.

b. Disturbing to Business -

business will not settle down until elections over;
confidence will come in business, only when government in office which enjoys confidence of people;
will return to office of Mr. Stevens, or Mr. Woodsworth inspire confidence?

c. Holding measures of purposes of general election -

i - Social reform;
- Liberal attitude towards.

ii - Reciprocity.

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d. Holding Appointments to last minute -

i - Tory Senate -

allow as many vacancies as possible to accumulate -

thwart future Liberal H. of C.

Tory majo ity will be 32 - two-thirds Senate will be Tory

when present vacancies filled.

ii - Tory Bureaucracy -

civil service appointments;

Railway Commission -

Guthrie;

Fullerton appointed to Board of Trustees Dec. 23, 1933-

over 1½ years ago;

Radio Commission -

vice chairman appointed to succeed Cartier,

Tory organizer in Quebec, who has joined

Stevens.

iii - Dictatorship -

Mr. Bennett held appointments, allowed them to accumulate

to keep following in line;

consulted his own interests, not interests of service,

Senate, or country.

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C 115659

 Provincial Elections

New Brunswick:

June 27, 1935		June 19, 1930	
Liberals	43	Liberals	17
Conservatives	5	Conservatives	31

P. E. I.:

July 23, 1935		Aug. 6, 1931	
Liberals		Liberals	12
Conservatives		Conservatives	18

Alberta:

Aug. 22, 1935		June 19, 1930	
Social Credit	56	Farmers	39
Liberals	5	Liberals	11
Conservatives	2	Conservatives	5
		Labour	4
		Independents	3
		Vacant	1

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C 115660

How Labour Treated by Government

1. Minister of Labour in Senate for two sessions.

2. Portfolio of Labour held with Immigration and Mines.

3. No Labour representative in office

e.g. Robertson

Murdock

Heenan

4. Labour's representation on National Railways' Board under Liberals.

None under Board of Trustees of Conservatives.

Thornton held view Labour should have representative.

No Labour representative on Duff Commission.

5. No real discussion of Labour question in House of Commons;

Relief legislation brought in at end of Session, or before adjournment.

No social legislation until 1935.

If of value, why not introduced in 1930, 1, 2, 3, 4.

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C 115661

Laissez Faire

Mr. Bennett asserts that the Liberal party is the party of inaction, of laissez faire. In so doing, Mr. Bennett reveals his complete ignorance of the nature of Liberalism. Liberalism has as its aim the extension of freedom in allspheres of life. The interests of freedom may be advanced in some cases by laissez faire, which is the doctrine of non-interference. In many instances it can be advanced only by government intervention. Which method is to be applied depends upon the circumstances.

How little the liberal party in Canada has been a party of laissez faire, of do nothing, is apparent to all who are familiar with its history. It was a Liberal government which created the Department of Labour for the express purpose of intervening in the economic field in the interests of Labour; which introduced the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, the Combines Investigation Act, the Fair Wages and Eight Hour Day Act, respecting public works and government contracts, and which brought into being Government Annuities and Old Age Pensions.

When Mr. Bennett speaks of government intervention he speaks of government intervention being employed in the interests of privileged groups. Under his conception of intervention, the

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C 115662

control of the Canadian National Railways was taken away from the House of Commons and placed beyond the reach of the people's representatives. His intervention in banking has resulted in the creation of a privately owned Central Bank under which the Government has no control. The nation's currency and the control of credit, which formerly rested with parliament, has now been placed beyond its control.

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C 115663

Re World Example and Leadership

During the past five years, Mr. Bennett has stressed the smallness and the weakness of Canada among the nations of the world. He has said: What are 10 million people compared with a great country of 120 million. He has emphasized our material limitations.

Up to 1930, Canada enjoyed a place in the Councils of the world, far beyond her material possessions, population, wealth or armaments. She enjoyed this status because of her peculiar geographical situation on the North American continent. With the U.S. to the South, Japan her nearest neighbour across the Pacific, and as a Member of the British Empire; because of her leadership in the settlement of international problems by means of conciliation and arbitration ((international joint commission) as against force and war; because of her leadership in the transition of the British Empire into a community of self-governing nations. It was a leadership based on moral rather than material qualities.

Mr. Bennett has abdicated this leadership, and has stressed material interests and methods in world relations, the opposite of conciliation.

Canada today has a unique opportunity to set the world a much needed example, with the right policies and methods which can increase trade with the United States and with Great Britain, and

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C115664

restore trade with Japan. Her influence can be made to extend directly across the Pacific to Japan, throughout the North American continent. Indeed, the tragedy of the Ottawa conference may be repaired by new agreements, which will increase trade within the Empire, to the advantage, not at the expense of trade with the rest of the world.

Who can say how far-reaching action of the kind may be, and how much it may help to lead other nations from the path of economic nationalism which today is inevitably leading to war. Canada, under Liberalism, will seek to regain that proud place which she had attained as a foremost nation among the countries of the world, and seek to contribute to the world recovery on which her own prosperity, above all else, so much depends.

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C 115665

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C115667

The Story of Naaman

II Kings - 5.

Naaman was a captain of the host of the King of Syria. He was a leper.

Naaman's wife was waited on by a captive Israelite maid.

The maid told her mistress that there was a prophet in Samaria who could cure her husband's leprasy.

The King of Syria sent Naaman with a letter to the King of Israel. Naaman took with him 10 talents of silver and 6000 pieces of gold.

The King of Israel sent Naaman to Elisha.

Elisha told Naaman to wash seven times in the Jordan. Naaman thereupon went away angry.. He thought Elisha would have called on the name of the Lord, strike his hand on the place, and cure his leprasy. He asked if there were not rivers of Damascus better than the waters of Israel.

But his servants said if the prophet had asked him to do some great thing, would he not have done it.

Whereupon Naaman dipped himself seven times in Jordan "and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child and he was clean."

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C115669

Natural Products Marketing Act 1934

1. Purpose:

a. Alleged purpose -

i. State assistance in orderly marketing of natural products;

ii. Measure of state control and regulation re.

b. Liberal attitude -

i. Not opposed to legitimate measures to attain these ends - advocated as early as Feb. 27, 1933;

(see Liberal Party's Position - "Development of Primary Industries")

ii. Opposed to under guise of assisting agriculture -

(a) depriving Parliament of its control, and

(b) fostering policies of scarcity and economic nationalism,

(c) furthering ends of dictatorship.

object to obnoxious features only.

2. Regulation of Internal Trade:

a. Gives Executive, not Parliament, power to approve schemes;

b. Schemes enable local, self-interested, economic groups to make regulations having force of law, and among other things, to:

i. licence producers (limit production);

ii. determine all conditions of sale (limit or prohibit sale);

iii. creatermonopolies;

iv. create fines and penalties.

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c. Powers extend not to natural products only, but to any article of good or drink wholly or partly derived therefrom a large field of manufacturing as well.

3. Executive Given Control Over Foreign Trade:

Real Purpose of Act:

a. Imports -
Power to
Regulate or restrict importation of any natural product which competes with a regulated product.

b. Exports -

Power to regulate or restrict exportation of any natural product.

c. Licences -

Power to licence importers and exporters of natural products;

4. Restrictive Legislation:

a. Restricts production -

Licences,

Policy of Scarcity;

b. Restricts sale -

determines when, where, how much, if - goods may be sold;

controls foreign trade.

c. Enhances Prices -

Monopolies;

control machinery of marketing
limit production

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d. Economic Nationalism -

further effort to isolate and make country self-supporting.

5. Fascist Legislation:

Dictatorship:

a. Control Wrested from Parliament, over -

i. Marketing Schemes;

ii. Foreign trade.

b. Class Legislation -

i. in interests of producers only -

may, however, re-act against their interests;

places them at mercy of government;

deprives them of protection of Parliament and laws of land;

ii. no safeguards in interests of consumers;

iii. no safeguards in interests of community;

iv. no safeguards in interests of other producers.

c. Negation of Parliamentary System -

i. Criminal law -

put in hands of groups;

magna carta dispensed with "law of the land";

judgment of peers;

undermines basis of British liberty - security of person and property;

individual rights;

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undermines British judicial system.

ii. Legislation -

Parliament, not executive, or delegated body, to govern; will of Parliament to be supreme;

Legislation by economic groups, not Parliament = Sovietism;

Laws to be made by persons duly elected as representatives of people as whole in accordance with provisions of Franchise and Elections Acts.

Compulsion of minorities by groups, not legislation by Parliament.

iii. Taxation -

duties on foreign trade, imposed by executive;

"no taxation without representation."

d. Bureaucracy -

Vast extension of state powers and officials;

Regimentation of producers.

5. Validity:

a. question as to jurisdiction;

b. doubt very much that delegation of compulsory powers to local boards is constitutional.

6. Liberal A

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6. Liberal Attitude:

Revision Necessary -

a. Require approval of Parliament for all schemes;

b. control and regulation, not by Parliament.

b. Return to Parliament making of criminal law;

c. Provide for protection of consumers;

d. Safeguard against monopolies.

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C115674

Appropriations re Public Works

for Military & Police Purposes, 1934-1935

1.	Public Works Construction Act, 1934	$3,390,000.
2.	Main Estimates 1935-36	355,500.
3.	Supplementary Estimates 1935-36	407,000.
		$4,152,500.

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C115675

R. C. M. P.

Increased Expenditures 1930 to 1934

Fiscal Year	Total Expenditure	Increase over Fiscal Year 1929-30
1929-30 (last libaral year)	$3,101,000.	
1930-31	3,167,000.	
1931-32	3,569,000.	
1932-33	5,820,000.	88% (increase 9/10ths)
1933-34	5,528,000.	78% (increase 4/5ths)

Note: Increases due to additional duties involved in policing Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Maritime provinces, as well as expansion of activities generally.

(Auditor General's Report, Volume I, for fiscal years, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934.)

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A united Canada has been split into contending factions: West against East, class against class, youth against years. Discontent has bred a progeny of political parties, which baffle and bewilder the electorate, and which threaten the foundations, if not the very existence, of our parliamentary system of government. Class prejudice, class hatred, and class warfare are being fostered as at no previous time in Canada's history. There can be but one outcome of this sort of thing if it continues for long, and that is chaos itself.

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Re Canadian Railway Express Company and
Canadian Communications Company Act, 1934 Session

On June the 21st, Mr. Manion asked for leave to introduce the bill relating to the Express companies, and said that if it were granted, he would also introduce the corresponding bill relating to telegraph.

You took exception totthh legislation being introduced at that late stage of the Session, and before the people of the country had an opportunity to express their views.

On June the 25th, Mr. Manion stated that the government did not intend to proceed with the bills.

Attached is the Hansard discussion on both days. The bills were not distributed. Mr. Troop at the time was unable to give Mr. Henry even an advance copy. No resolution preceded the introduction.

EAP

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C115678

Re Withdrawl Bills for Amalgamation

Express & Telegraph Companies

(Hansard, June 25, 1934, page 4249)

On the order for the introduction of bills to incorporate Canadian Railway Express Company and Canadian Communications Company;

Hon. R. J. Manion (Minister of Railways): Regarding these two bills, the government was asked by the two railway companies to introduce them, as they regarded it as essential that enabling legislation should be made available to expedite whatever measures for unified operation the two companies might decide jointly to adopt with respect to the two subsidiary services referred to. However, latest information intimates that no agreement has as yet been reached or is in prospect of being reached at an early date, if at all. Therefore the matter cannot be said to be one of immediate urgency. For this reason the government does not intend to proceed with these bills.

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C115679

Railways

1. General:

   a. Trade and Traffic Solution of Railway Problem:

      i. Trade and railway revenue figures show close parallel;

      ii. Railways require traffic -

          imports as welcome to railway as exports;

      iii. Economic Nationalism at root of problem.

   b. Canadian Railways under Two Governments:

      (1929 vs. 1934)

      i. Total Railway Revenues, cut ½

      ii. Total Railway Wages, cut ½

      iii. Total Railway Workers, cut 1/3

2. Canadian National:

   a. Tory Attitude:

      i. Criticism and misrepresentation from outset - Bennett, Manion, etc.

      ii. Thornton - attacks on; resignation forced.

      iii. Interference -

           Admission by Manion;

           Contrast statement by Thornton re Mr. King keeping promises.

      iv. Recapitalization - Bennett's refusal to permit scheme of.

   b. Control of:

      i. Liberal Method -

         President for term of years.

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Board of Directors appointed by government holding office at pleasure;

could be changed by government with different policies.

Labour represented on Board.

ii. Conservative Method:

Canadian National - Canadian Pacific Act 1932 -

Control placed in hands of Board of Trustees;

Fixed terms of 7 years; rotating periods;

Chairman of Board has veto;

President = Chief Operating Official; no authority on policy.

First trustees appointed by government; succeeding appointments to be made by government from panel of 8 names nominated provided by President of Exchequer Court of Canada, Chief Commissioner of Railway Commission and remaining trustees.

Trustees removeable only by vote of both Houses of Parliament;

Control thus placed beyond Parliament -

in hands of Tory appointees;

in hands of Tory Senate;

another evidence of Dictatorship.

Liberal party will seek to place trustees under control of House of Commons.

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c. Amalgamation -

i. Liberal Statement, Feb. 27, 1933:

Safeguarding of National Railways

"The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and publicly controlled service."

ii. National Government:

aims at amalgamation;

will not countenance.

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C115682

The Record of the Two Parties

Mr. Bennett has set forth the record of his Administration. I need hardly tell you what the Liberal record was during the all but nine years the late Liberal government was in office.

Those years constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, total trade reached the highest point in our history - over two and half billion dollars. In seven out of the nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Under Liberal policies, Canada gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade, obtained by the expansion, not the restriction of trade, the total of which reached the colossal figure of one and a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in ~~August~~ any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on persons of moderate income, and the exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished.

Krypton Extra Strong

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There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production, and on articles of consumption.

In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. In spite of what Mr. Bennett says about Canada being as well off as other countries, we have fallen from fifth to eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent, and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Unemployment has increased from 117,000 in September, 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the Railways, have fallen by fifty per cent.

With trade strangled and industry paralized, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissention and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

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1935 Election

C 115684

Dominion Provincial Relations

Constitutional Reform

A - Relations with Provinces

1. National Unity Paramount -

a. Canada a federal state -

9 provinces and Dominion;

pillars and arch - Hall of Confederation, Parliament Bldgs.

different aspects of same organism;

citizens of one = citizens of other;

taxpayer of one = taxpayer of other;

co-operation an essential to good government in Canada.

b. Racial and Religious elements -

problems of Federal state increased by minority problems;

Canada, thus one of most difficult nations to govern.

c. Geographical Problems -

four zones - Maritimes;

Central Canada;

Prairies;

West Coast.

more accessible to U.S. than each other;

each has different economic requirements -

often conflicting and opposed requirements;

problem = reconcile needs of all.

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C115685

d. Unity and Harmony First Aim of Government -

state a means, not end in itself;

- end = well being of citizens;

state = house in which to dwell;

= family -

not quarreling factions;

not opposing sections of races or creeds;

not corporation, or "big business."

spirit of government should be spirit of family -

new spirit needed in government today.

2. Liberal Record:

a. Situation 1921 -

dissension, discord from coast to coast;

sectional isolation - Quebec, Maritimes;

despair - "Whispers of Death";

problems inherites from Confederation -

Natural Resources;

Railway Lands;

Maritime Rights.

b. Liberal Methods -

i. Representative government -

every province in cabinet;

problem of Alberta.

ii. Representative policies -

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reconcile views and needs of all parts and elements;

broad national policies -

trade,

taxation,

railways;

avoidance extremes;

same broad line of effort as characterized Sir Wilfrid's regime.

c. Solution of Problems -

i. Natural Resources -

Returned to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta;

fair and generous settlements.

ii. Maritime Rights -

Duncan Commission;

Recommendations implemented -

subsidies increased;

Maritime Freight Rates Act;

Department of Fisheries;

Aid to coking plants; etc. etc.

iii. B. C. Railway Lands and Peace River Block -

returned on generous basis.

iv. General -

new level of national unity and accord.

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3. Bennett Record:-

a. Economic Nationalism -

i. Extreme policies framed to benefit industrial centres have penalized other parts of country;

ii. re-emergence of Maritime Rights;

B. C. Claims

talks of secession.

b. Unemployment -

i. Vast spending programmes began by provinces and municipalities under federal exhortation in 1930, have crippled and bankrupted them;

ii. burden of relief thrown back on provinces after winning election by statement it was a national problem;

iii. failure of policies and lack of Commission results in trekkers, hunger marchers, disagreement with provinces as to responsibility for.

c. Interference with provinces -

i. Participation in provincial elections -

Quebec

Ontario

ii. Provincial Rights -

arbitrary assumption of jurisdiction; re Social legislation

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iii. Interference in preserving order -

Regina riots.

iv. Intimidation -

Farmers Creditors Arrangement Act

repealed re B. C.

Arbitrary powers of purse and legislation held

over heads of provinces.

B - Constitutional Reform

1. The Constitution -

a. B.N.A. Act -

Canada's written constitution;

jurisdiction divided between Dominion and Provinces -

each sovereign in own realm.

b. The Courts -

divisions of government, three fold -

legislative, executive, judicial;

function of court to determine disputes re jurisdiction

not for Parliament;

not for Government;

attempt to override or defy courts =

revolution, dictatorship;

use of force;

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c. Public Misunderstanding -

constitutional question not one of general interest or knowledge;

duty of statesmen, however, to be scrupulously honest re; not deceive people as to what possible;

indicate where jurisdiction does or does not exist;

indicate clearly what steps and how long necessary to effect change;

d. A Bulwark, not an Obstacle -

democratic constitution most powerful instrument by which freedom of a people secured;

constitution only reason we have a general election at all;

Bennett dictatorship result of undermining constitution -

-Peace, order and good government;

blank cheque.

Revision may be required, but not destruction;

Preservation of spirit as important as letter.

2. Revision -

a. Present day needs -

B.N.A. Act drafted to meet requirements of pioneer country industrial development, social change of intervening years make necessary new definitions and redistribution of legislative powers.

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must not go to extremeof centralization;-

bureaucracy;

inefficiency.

b. Social Services -

desirable enlarge federal powers particularly in this field.

National and international minima.

c. Methods -

jurisdiction can only be transferred by constitutional amendment;

At present, an act of Imperial Parliament necessary to amend B. N. A. Act;

Has been amended at least 7 times since 1867;

Alternatives -

Amendment in opposition to wishes of provinces -

doubtful if Imperial Parliament would pass;

= coercion of provinces;

amendment on basis of co-operation with provinces end to be derived as advancing Canadian unity.

3. Mr. Bennett's Attempts -

a. Revision by consultation with provinces -

(i) Dominion Provincial Conference -

issued invitations fall 1934;

provinces refused to attend.

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(ii) House of Commons Committee, Session 1935 -

provinces refused to make representations.

b. Revision by arbitrary assumption of jurisdiction -

Social reform programme, 1935;

based on new interpretation of constitution

= treaty making power confers jurisdiction

at variance with judicial decisions, views of

provincial and part federal governments and

previous views of Bennett and Guthrie.

refused to submit measures to Courts;

whole programme of doubtful validity -

unemployment insurance;

8 hour day;

day of weekly rest;

ignoring or defiance of constitution does not give

power, e.g. N.R.A.

validity should be tested and amendments secured

Government placed party considerations over

interests of legislation or national unity;

4. Liberal Position -

a. Has advocatedall along -

revision of subsidies and B.N.A. Act on Government's

schedule in 1930;

urged

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urged financial arrangements and powers of legislation be revised at Session 1931 and every session since; revision ought to have been attained by now - after 5 years of unprecedented aid from federal treasury, problem must be commenced from beginning; Great opportunity missed by Bennett - interest in amendment only on eve of election.

b. Nature of Revision to be sought -

i. Provide definite procedure for the amendment of the constitution -

at present requires act of Imperial Parliament; Canada should have power to amend own constitution; regular procedure to be set forth in statute.

ii. Bring provisions up to date -

Remove obsolete and archaic provisions; transfer responsibility for certain social services from the provinces to the Dominion

iii. Revision of financial relations -

taxation powers must be reconsidered, subsidies involved in consideration of social services.

iv. Guarantee of all minority rights -

c. Methods by which Revision to be sought -

i. Preliminary Conversations -

direct conversations between Dominion and provincial governments;

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ground to be thoroughly prepared.

ii. Dominion-Provincial Conference-

NB hastily summoned and arbitrarily conducted meeting;

to be held before Parliament meets -

so recommendations may be brought before Parliament and legislatures;

general principles to be determined.

iii. Subsidiary Conference -

details &ndb&echnical work to be thrashed out by experts;

similar procedure as Imperial Conference 1926, and Subsidiary Conference 1929.

d. Co-operation with Provinces -

i. Will seek co-operation and good-will of provinces so that result may be increase of national unity;

ii. Assurance of Co-Operation -

8 Liberal provincial governments from coast to coast.

iii. Third parties lack this assurance -

Liberal party best equipped to put through far reaching measures of constitutional reform.

e. Senate -

i. Measures to amend constitution must pass Senate;

ii. Tory majority = one third total membership -

Bennett hung on to office to increase;

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iii. Overwhelming Liberal majority House of Commons surest guarantee Senate will respect will of people. Only a Government which commands the confidence of the people can deal adequately with so great a problem.

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Re Saskatchewan Relief Expenditures

1930 -31 - advance $10,000,000;

subsequently = a gift; to Saskatchewan;

notes given back to farmers.

Since then -

Dominion has been financing relief of Saskatchewan in drought area;

advances = loans amounting over $30,000,000, for which province has given treasury bills.

Gardiner Government came in July 1934 -

told federal government this catastrophy beyond power of province to handle;

Bennett and Rhodes November 2, 1934, acknowledged this a national calamity and has to be treated by government of Canada as such; pending final solution, they would continue to make advances, but by way of loans.

This is a great problem -

Wonder why Gardiner Government not treated like Anderson government in its first year.

Calamities of past five years -

First drought;

This year rust destroys prospect of wonderful crop Southern Saskatchewan;

Frost, hail.

Policies of Bennett Government -

Hamper people in combatting calamities of nature.

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Mr. Bennett's Social Reform Programme - Session 1935

Not carried out

Minimum wage:

Of doubtful validity;

Not effective for one year;

Contains no definite provisions for National Minimum Wage Board.

Sweat Shop Conditions to be Abolished:

Still exist;

No specific legislation.

The Dole to be Abolished:

It still remains.

Old Age Pensions:

No legislation introduced.

Health, Accident and Sickness Insurance:

Not brought into being.

Protection of Investors and Abolition No Par Shares:

Government majority in Senate refused to provide for investigationn issues;

No par shares have not been abolished.

8 hour day:

Act to come into effect October 5th.

1 Day's Rest in Seven:

Became effective July 4th, but not as yet in operation.

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Social and Industrial Reconstruction

1. Attitude towards Bennett Reform Programme:

a. Co-operation in Session 1935 -

i. No opposition;

ii. Willingness to give priority over everything else.

b. Validity -

i. Expressed concern about proceeding without reference to Courts;

ii. Liberal party, if returned, will submit measures to Courts;

nothing to be gained by setting up expensive machinery to administer if not valid.

c. Programme only partly implemented -

ii. Radio Speeches - only partly carried out (see memo)

ii. Price Spreads - only partly carried out (see memo)

attack by Stevens re.

d. "Make Believe" -

i. Halloween -

false faces -

reform comes after five sessions of reaction;

to conceal previous legislation.

other people's clothes;

begging apples = votes.

ii. April Fool -

words not work;

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1 day's rest in 7; would like 1 day's work in 7;

8 hour day - would like 1 hour a day;

unemployment insurance - wait a year; no good to those out of work.

iii. Wolves in Sheep's Clothing -

Social Reform often excuse for dictatorship;

Danger of Regimentation.

2. Liberal Record re Labour and Social Reform -

a. Department of Labour created 1900 -

Labour Gazette;

Conciliation and Labour Act.

b. Fair Wages Policy -

On public works.

c. Anti-Sweating Regulations -

On Government contracts.

d. Technical Education -

Appointment of Commission.

e. Inquiries -

Cotton Operatives;

Telephone Operatives;

Coal Operatives;

Immigration of Printers;

Causes of industrial disputes in B.C.

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Causes of industrial disputes in N.S.

Employment of Aliens on Pere Marquette Rly Co.

Phosphorous Necrosis.

6. Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907 -

7. Combines Investigation Act, 1910; 1923.

8. Labour Represented in Government -

Murdock;

Heenan.

9. C. N. R.

Labour represented on Board - Tom Moore

10. Old Age Pensions - 1927 -

Rejected by Tory Senate 1926.

11. Fair Wages and Eight Hour Day Act, 1930 -

3. Recovery vs Reform:

a. Difference in view -

i. Mr. Bennett - reform first; recovery will follow.

ii. Liberal

recovery first; then reform;

house built from bottom up;

impossible erect social services on stationary or diminishing national income.

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b. Cost of Reform -

i. Machinery to administer means more taxation.

ii. Must all come from pockets of people -

effect on cost of living; on consumers;

"forgotten family" -

must buy food, clothing, shelter;

must pay taxes.

c. Position 1921 to 1930 -

i. Finance -

(a) Problem how to raise money necessary for social services without increasing debt or taxation.

(b) Overcame deficit $81,000,000. for fiscal year 1921-22 and reduced debt $276,000,000. by 1930;

(c) All expenditures paid for out of current revenue.

(d) Had to care as well for returned men -

Pensions 1921-1930 - $234,000,000.

Relief for veterans 1921-1930 - $4,000,000.

ii. Social Legislation -

(a) Recovery made reform possible;

(b) Old age pensions -

first rejected by Tory Senate;

Co-operation with provinces;

Only first step.

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(c) Unemployment Insurance -

constitutional difficulty;

Efforts to solve continued right up to end of term.

(d) Revision of Subsidies -

Intention of Liberal government to revise provincial subsidies and go into whole question of responsibility for social services.

Throughout this Parliament urged this course upon government.

4. Social Reform Dependent on Constitutional Revision:

a. A "national minimum" is end desired -
but not centralization or regimentation.

b. Need for redistribution of powers of taxation and legislation - revision of subsidies.

c. Revision must be reached as result of co-operation agreement - not by coercion.

d. Conference with Provinces to be held early as possible to consider -

i. Procedure for amending B.N.A. Act;

ii. Transfer of social services to Dominion;

iii. Revision of financial arrangements with provinces.

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e. Liberal governments in Provinces and at Ottawa -
best guarantee of success.

5. Social Insurance:

a. Unemployment Insurance -

i. Delay in introducing measure - eve of election.

ii. Relates to future -
another year before benefits can be paid.

iii. Doubtful validity -
not prepared with co-operation of provinces
will submit to courts;
if rejected, will co-operate with provinces to
get valid measure.

6. Social Insurance -

i. Present measure sets up scheme only of unemployment insurance.

ii. Liberal government will extend to embrace national health insurance and old age pensions.

6. Unemployment Commission:

a. Nature and Functions - (outlined in Radio Speech No. 3)

i. representative, co-operative national body;

ii. will seek -

(a) to afford relief in systematic manner;

(b) to afford work on needed enterprises of social and permanent value.

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b. Rural as well as Urban -

Activities will not be restricted to cities;
drought, rust, loss of markets, etc. have rendered
parts of rural population dependent on state;
relief in country much more difficult to administer.

c. Procedure and Relations to Parliament -

i. Government will ask Commission to study various schemes and recommend proposals for consideration of Parliament;

ii. Parliament will approve measures and provide funds.

iii. In interval before Parliament meets, government will make available funds appropriated for relief purposes, or use Governor-General's Warrants.

d. Youth -

i. Past five years of discouragement and difficulty for youth.

ii. Commission, as well as government itself, will have special regard for problems of youth.

7. Third Parties:

a. Stevens -

i. Record -

20 years in House of Commons a Tory;

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Minister of Trade & Commerce -

responsible for Bennett trade policies:

trade policies responsible for present ills.

ii. Reconstruction Party -

born of fued;

born in secrecy;

policies enunciated by leader - dictatorship not a national party;

no prospect of co-operation from provinces, essential for social reform.

b. Woodsworth -

i. C.C.F. Programme -

Not social reform, but social revolution;

Socialization of instruments of production and exchange = Socialist State = Dictatorship.

ii. Balance of Power aim of C.C.F. -

Hope to hold balance of power, not form government.

What chance would C.C.F. government have against Tory Senate?

c. Need for Overwhelming Liberal Majority -

i. need working majority in H. of C. - re 1921.

ii. Tory Senate -

Overwhelming mandate essential if measures are to pass Senate.

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iii. Liberal governments in provinces ready to co-operate with the Liberal government at Ottawa.

iv. People really anxious for reform will not throw votes away on third parties.

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Honourable H. H. Stevens - The Reconstruction Party

1. **Relations with Conservative Party:**

a. A Tory -

House of Commons 1911-1935. Guide lists as a Conservative;
Consistent supporter Tory principles for almost quarter century;
Has not foresworn allegiance to Tory principles - statement
House of Commons at end of session.
After elections will return to Tory fold.

b. Member of Government -

Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1930-34;
Co-author of Bennett policies -
cannot escape joint responsibility;
Even exceeded Bennett's zeal in some matters;
Seeking escape when public repudiation of policies and
retribution at hand.

c. Resignation from Cabinet -

refused to apologize to Sir Joseph Flavelle;
personal feud, not a difference of principle;
Ontario by-elections, Sept. 1934 -
defended government and party on all scores;
resigned after smashing defeat;
also Bennett willing have him remain for by-elections
purposes.

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d. Resignation from Party -

i. Because not invited to caucus;

ii. Because Bennett did not resign -

had been ready and anxious to take over leadership;

matter of health of Prime Minister, not of principle.

2. Reconstruction Party:

a. Circumstances of its birth -

i. born in secrecy -

no convention;

ii. born without name or policies -

secret meeting, Hamilton, July 5;

Stevens accepts leadership, July 7;

- name and platform to be announced later;

Stevens announces manifesto, July 12 -

- no party caucus or conference;

one-man platform;

iii. built like circus or grandstand;

iii. born out of party strife -

born of internal party strife, not of public need;

child of personal quarrel and misfortune;

born of ill-will, not good-will.

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iv. born out of suffering of the people -

"This movement was founded on the suffering of the people." Vancouver, Aug. 4.

not on principhes, but on unrest

suffering caused in largest part by policies of restriction and economic nationalism;

should have known four or five years ago -

was told what effect his policies would have.

b. Left Wing of Tory Party -

Conservative party under another name;

Support from Conservative members;

Support from Conservatives throughout country;

Effort to save section of party from disaster;

- policies of Reconstruction seen necessary after policies of Destruction of past five years.

Stevens - Bull Moose of Conservative party;

Teddy Roosevelt and Taft.

c. Another "Third Party" -

3rd parties natural result of Tory reaction;

Not a national party in true sense -

Maritimes and Quebec not interested;

Need for a government enjoying -

Adequate majority in House of Commons;

Support from all sections of country.

No prospect of policies obtaining co-operation of provinces; essential for social reform.

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d. "No Difference between Liberal and Conservative Parties."

i. Was he only pretending for past 26 years?

waging only sham battle in H. of C. and on hustings?

ii. No difference on tariffs; dictatorship, etc., etc.?

people of Canada know difference;

records and attitudes of two parties.

iii. Reliance on Big Interests -

(a) "If we get into power, it will be the first time a government will go into power without its hands being tied behind its back by the financial interests" -

Nanaimo, Aug. 3

re Tory party - no one should know better than he;

Let him speak for Tory party, but not for Liberal.

(b) Monopoly -

Monopoly source of power of privileged interests- tariffs, credit, etc;

Stevens has opposed anti-monopoly legislation - reductions in duties;

Combines Act;

voted against it 1923,

criticized at every opportunity.

Aim of Liberalism = freedom from monopoly;

Aim of Toryism = increase of monopoly;

My whole aim (writing, speaking, public life) - enlarged freedom in all fields of activity.

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3. Campaign of Promises:

a. Similarity to 1930 campaign -

Christmas Tree of

immediate benefits to all;

magical formulas;

sure-fire, cure-alls.

Out-Bennetting Bennett;

Like Bennett, doesn't show how promises to be fulfilled.

b. Appeals to all classes - Something for everybody.

Vegetable growers;

fruit growers;

cattle producers;

dairy farmers;

retailers;

white collar class;

youth;

women and children;

war veterans.

4. Dictatorship:

a. Acquiesced in Bennett dictatorship -

blank cheque; peace, order, good government; marketing;

supported all these measures;

has not as yet repudiated them.

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control over railways, Bank of Canada, taken away from H.of C.
- no protest

Speaking, Cranbrook, July 30 (re financial control): "There is a demand abroad for the restoration of control of Canada's affairs to the Canadian people."
- that is what we have been fighting for;
related not merely to finance, but to everything.

b. Plans require Dictatorship -

Speaks of preserving democratic government;
planning control, regimentation, all imply dictatorship.

c. Disregard of Parliamentary Methods -

i. Pamphlet violated rules of Parliament;
ii. Discussed affairs of Commission in by-elections;
iii. Released findiggs of Commission to press;
iv. Attitude re constitution -
do not let it stand in way;
proceed regardless of it.

d. Another One-Man Party -

Everything built around "Leader" - not around principles;
Stevens first; then name, headquarters and principles;
All the dictatorial tendencies - "I", "I".

5. Trade:

a. Record as Minister of Trade & Commerce -

i. Activities -
Bennett's special agent in carrying outpolicy of

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restriction;

Supported and advocated policies of extreme economic nationalism from special session on;

"Canada first" campaign;

"My Creed";

Propaganda through Bureau of Statistics and government publications;

ii. Results -

Canada's trade cut in ½ while Minister -

cannot escape joint responsibility for destruction of Canada's trade.

Economic Nationalism has failed -

to protect workingman,

to find markets for farmer,

best evidence of this - Price Spreads Report.

b. Attitude in Campaign -

i. Lower duties -

on textiles and agricultural implements;

why wait 5 years after people strangled?

who will trust after record?

has never recanted policies of economic nationalism.

ii. Wheat -

must sell wheat by trade agreements and extension of credit to countries willing to buy -

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why did he not accomplish when minister?

Answer - policy of restriction made it impossible.

iii. Real Attitude - Doesn't believe in trade -

"It is all very well to say increase trade, but with such prohibitions, it is impossible to shoot the stuff into Europe. The long and short of it is that the markets of the world have been tightened largely through fear of war." - Victoria, Aug. 3

pessimistic view re possibility of trade;

- attitude of defeat, despair.

War not only cause -

Canada's own policies;

Canada one of worst offenders.

lower duties and good-will - methods to regain markets;

"Shoot the Stuff" = "blast a way"; familiar tactics;

Tory methods.

iv. Solicitude for Farmers -

Says farmers exploited by "highly organized interests"

- should say by textile and implement interests;

Promises fair prices for products - possible only by

state subsidies;

or, by markets - which he helped to loss.

Talks of increasing their purchasing power -

again possible only by -

markets;

lower living and production costs.

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Advocates national board to protect farmers -
why not trade policies and a government which
will protect the farmer?

6. Social and Industrial Reform:

a. New found zeal -

"For two years I have been carrying on the fight for the forgotten man." - Fort William, July 26.

-began only when tide turned against government.

-why not for five years?

-I have carried it on all my life;

-It was Bennett administration with Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, which forgot the common man.

b. Attack on Old Parties -

Says no hope of reform from Conservative or Liberal parties

-typical of convert to doubt professions of everyone else

Agree no hope of reform from Tory party.

All real reform re Labour in Canada has come from Liberal party

Liberal party alone capable of bringing about effective and lasting reform.

c. Stevens Aims -

1. Uniformity of wages and working conditions; right to collective bargaining-will invite provinces to pass enabling legislation;

What assurance has he of provincial co-operation?

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ii. decent standard of living for workers -

-this dependent on trade recovery;

has nothing to offer for attaining this end.

iii. rigid administration social and labour laws -

did not enforce Weights & Measures Act.

d. Stevens Methods -

i. Regimentation -

Reform and recovery to be achieved by boards, plans, regulations, restrictions;

Lifting one self by the boot straps.

ii. Recovery necessary -

Liberation, not restriction required;

trade and industry wants markets and recovery - not regimentation.

policies of restriction and destruction of trade brought about ills Stevens seeks to cure -

Price Spreads investigation - not necessary before 1930.

7. Unemployment:

a. Promise -

Opportunity for all who would work on farm;

in mines;

in forests, etc.

Variant of "I promise to end unemployment."

- but admitted in H. of C. Bennett government had failed.

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b. Methods -

Public Works;

These cannot go on forever.

No commission to deal with emergent conditions -

same story of overlapping, duplication, waste as 1930-35.

Long range policies -

regulation of industry;

no effort at industrial revival by trade recovery.

8. Railways:

a. Claims Solution depends on -

i. Traffic -

proposes to restore traffic by increasing purchasing power;

Stevens & Bennett crippled railways by destroying trade.

ii. Debt revision C.N.R. -

capital structure must be rewritten;

Duff report recommended 1932 -

nothing done while Stevens in government;

Bennett refused to do so, 1935.

b. Too much Criticism C.N.R. -

claims too much talk of C.N. being white elephant;

never protested when Bennett & Manion sabotaged C.N.R.

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9. Currency, Credit & Banking:

a. Nationalization of Central Bank -

Advocates now;

did not protest when handed over to private corporation.

b. Lower interest rates; Freedom from Financial Interests -

Claims Canada's first requirement today;

yet permitted control over nation's credit be taken from Parliament and given to financial interests.

10. National Debt:

a. Promises to wipe out in 25 years by use of natural resources -

i. means inflation on basis of resources;

ii. or, means development and sale of natural resources to attain end = fantastic impossibility;

iii. or, means sheer deception.

b. Member of a government which increased debt almost $700,000,000. in five years.

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Stevens

1. A Tory:

Still a conservative - see speech H. of C;

Seeking escape for himself from consequences of Tory policies.

2. No difference vs. Old Parties:

No difference over past 25 years?

" " over tariff?

" " " combines act?

" " " monopoly in every field?

3. Promises:

outdoing Bennett;

something for everybody -

an appeal to classes and interests.

what guarantee he will fulfill?

4. Trade:

Record as Minister of Trade and Commerce -

trade cut in half;

Creed;

"Canada First"

Has not retracted high protection policies;

Lower duties implements and textiles -

increased while in office.

Pessimistic attitude re getting markets -

list of agreements by other countries.

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5. Price Spreads:

Liberals suggested investigation 1933 and 1934;

Report best proof protection does not protect;

Remedy of conditions lies in restoration of trade -

Stevens seeks it by regulation and increase of government control.

6. Money and Banking:

Advocates nationalization of Central Bank -

in government which made it a private bank;

Cries out against domination of financial interests -

permitted control over nation's credit to be taken from Parliament and given to financial interests.

7. National Debt:

Promises to wipe out in 25 years -

either ignorant of affairs, or hypocritical;

Member of government which increased debt over $600,000,000. in 5 years.

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Trade - Mr. Stevens

Like Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens hopes to make the people of Canada forget his past record in matters of trade by talking of a reduction in duties on agricultural implements. Indeed, Mr. Stevens goes a step farther, and now advocates that duties on textiles should also be reduced. But, it will take more than lip service on the part of Mr. Stevens, on the eve of an election, to cause the electorate to overlook the fact that for four years he was Minister of Trade and Commerce and, as such, was Mr. Bennett's special agent for the carrying out of policies of trade restrictions and prohibition, and that it was under his own administration that the tariff on textiles, agricultural implements, and hundreds of other articles, were raised to unparalleled heights; that, from the special session on, Mr. Stevens was perhaps the most fanatical advocate of those policies of extreme economic nationalism which have destroyed the trade of Canada; that, to this end, he organized the notorious "Canada First" campaign, published the celebrated "Creed", and turned the Bureau of Statistics and government publications into organs of political propaganda. Nor are the electorate likely to overlook the fact that during Mr. Stevens term as Minister

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of Trade and Commerce Canada's trade was cut in half. By no device of political campaigning can Mr. Stevens escape the joint responsibility which, along with Mr. Bennett, he shares for the destruction of Canada's trade. The people of Canada will do well to keep in mind that Mr. Stevens has never recanted his policies of economic nationalism, and has never repudiated the protectionist doctrines which he so zealously supported throughout the twenty-five years he has been a member of the House of Commons and of the Conservative party.

While Mr. Stevens denies the existence of any alliance between himself and the Conservative party, it is interesting to note that, up to the present time, Mr. Stevens is not opposed in East Kootenay by any representative of the Conservative party, nor is Mr. Bennett opposed in Calgary East by a candidate of the Reconstruction party. In the circumstances, the people of Canada are free to draw their own conclusions and to decide for themselves what measure of co-operation there may be between the members of the Conservative and Reconstruction parties once the smoke of battle is cleared away.

Mr. Aberhart, likewise, has declared his intention not to oppose Mr. Bennett in his own constituency. Between

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Mr. Stevens and Mr. Aberhart there have been negotiations looking towards an open alliance between them. While this has not been brought about, there is nothing in Mr. Stevens or Mr. Aberhart's utterances to date to dispel the view that here also there is something in the nature of a secret agreement.

Taken all in all, these circumstances lead one to believe that, while under different names and different banners, each of these parties is seeking the support of the electorate in the campaign, after its conclusion they may well consolidate their ranks to serve one and the same purpose.

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Mr. Stevens

Opposition to Dumping Duties

(Brampton, Ont. October 8, 1935;
"Toronto Globe" October 9, 1935)

"I stand behind the Ottawa agreements," he said, "but with this reservation; I think Mr. Bennett made a mistake in the winter of 1931 and the spring of 1932 when he unduly increased the dumping duty against British goods. I told him at the time it was a wrong thing to do and I never did think it was wise."

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Mr. Stevens

Protection and Wages

(Peterboro, September 27, 1935;
"Toronto Star", September 27, 1935)

"In this connection I must refer to the implement and basic textile industries. There are some great textile industires in this country which pay scandalously low wages and at the same time have been getting abnormal protection. Some implement concerns have not pas ed on to the farmers the fall in prices of agricultural implements. Instead, they have been greatly overcapitalized and have maintained the price of implements, expecting the farmers of Canad to pay for the folly of the promoters. There are practices which I will not countenance in the administration of the tariff if elected to power. "

Krypton Extra Strong

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Mr. Stevens

Opposition to Dumping Duties

(Brampton, Ont. October 8, 1935;
"Toronto Globe" October 9, 1935)

"I stand behind the Ottawa agreements," he said, "but with this reservation; I think Mr. Bennett made a mistake in the winter of 1931 and the spring of 1932 when he unduly increased the dumping duty against British goods. I told him at the time it was a wrong thing to do and I never did think it was wise."

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Tariffs

The Liberal party believes that a substantial and far-reaching reduction should be effected in the rate of customs duties. This reduction is needed, not to advance, as Mr. Bennett would suggest, the interests of other countries at the expense of our own, but to advance the interests of Canada itself. There is nothing in the record of previous Liberal administrations or in the statements of the Liberal party at the present time to justify the assertion that a Liberal government will ignore the legitimate interests of Canadian producers.

The prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, and upon the sale abroad of surplus quantities of our basic commodities which cannot be consumed at home. It is a first aim of Liberal policy to reduce duties on those articles which enter into the cost of production in our primary industries, More particularly on implements of production, and on machinery, as well as upon those articles which enter into the cost of living of those engaged in the basic industries themselves.

The Liberal party does not subscribe to the protectionist view that the citizen must be regarded only in his capacity as a

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producer and has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. The extreme protection of recent years has compelled the consumer to pay more for the things he buys and has added immeasurably to the cost of living. Indeed today the consumer might well be described as the forgotten man in the scheme of Canada's economy. The Liberal party proposes to effect substantial reductions in the duties on the necessities of life and thus afford a direct measure of relief to the consumer.

Business has suffered in recent years from the instability of our customs laws almost as much as it has from extravagant and unparalleled increases in duties. Unpredictable customs rulings and a ruthless and extreme use of special arbitrary valuations will impede if not render impossible recovery and expansion of Canada's trade. The Liberal party, if returned to office, will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports such as the exchange and dumping duties as they have been imposed and administered by the present administration. It will seek, above all else, stability and certainty in customs administration.

While the task of negotiating reciprocal trade agreements may be a long and arduous one, the Liberal party believes that much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. It believes that many of the nations are as

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heartily sick of economic nationalism as other people of Canada, and will equally welcome a genuine attempt to find means of increasing mutual trade on a fair and friendly basis.

How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than 21 trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated 26 agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated 7 and the Argentine 5. The United States, within a little over a year, has negotiated 6.

Certainly the harsh, aggressive, blasting method of negotiation, to which we have grown accustomed, will not open doors that are closed to us. And so long as this country resolutely refuses to accept the goods of other nations in exchange for our own, we cannot expect them to accept ours. But these are not the methods of policies of the Liberal party. Good-will and the determination to reach agreements as the result of lowering tariffs, not raising them, will produce results beneficial alike to the trade and the peace of the world.

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Manufacture of Textile Products

	No. Establishments	No. Employees	Salaries & Wages	Average Salary & Wage
1929 (last year Liberal policies in force throughout)	1891	115,620	$106,000,000.	$870.
1933 (last year figures available in Canada Year Book)	2151	106,235	$81,000,000.	$760.
difference	260 more	9,385 less	$25,000,000. loss	$110 or 15% less

(The Canada Year Book, 1934-35; pp. 447-8)

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Textile Production in Canada

	Gross value of Production of Textile Products in Canada
1921	$305,000,000
1929	$426,000,000
1930	$362,000,000
1931	$317,000,000
1932	$274,000,000
1933	$295,000,000

(The Canada Year Book, 1934-35;
pp. 446-8.)

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Manufacturing in Canada

All Industries

Calendar 20

	No. of Employees	Gross Value of Products
1921	456,000	$2,576,000,000.
1929	694,000	$4,029,000,000
~~1930~~	644,000	~~$3,429,000,000.~~
1933	494,000	$2,087,000,000.

(The Canada Year Book, 1934-35; page 443)

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Wages in Textile Industry

(Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads)

(pp. 117-118)

"A study of the separate auditors' reports discloses interesting and, at times, depressing labour conditions in those comparatively profitable branches of Canadian industry.

The cotton textile division has, it is true, maintained a greater stability both in employment and in wage rates, than have most industries, but even here, the average annual wage has fallen from $721 in 1930 to $685 in 1933."

"The situation in the cotton industry is not a bad one, but it must be related to the favourable conditions under which it operates, and to the profits it has shown."

"The silk industries should, at least, have relieved the picture of low wages that was presented to the Commission. Here, employment, production, profits and total wage bills had increased through the depression. Notwithstanding, there was a drop of more than 8 per cent in wage rates between 1929 and 1932, for which the natural silk industry was primarily responsible. In some natural silk mills, wage conditions were deplorable."

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"There are some firms paying wages (in the woollen division) that are fair neither to their workers nor to the more progressive members of their own industry."

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Trade Agreements

United Kingdom - Agreements since August 1932

Argentina

Brazil

Costa Rica

Denmark

Estonia

Finland

France

Germany

Iceland

Italy

Latvia

Lithuania

Netherlands

Norway

Poland

Roumania

Russia

Sweden

Turkey

Uruguay

Yemen

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Trade Agreements

France - Agreements since 1932

Finland

Germany

Italy

Portugal

Russia

Spain

United Kingdom

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Trade Agreements

Brazil - Agreements since 1931

Argentina
Austria
Colombia
Czechslovakia
Denmark
Esthonia
Finland
Germany
Greece
British India
Ireland
Italy
Latvia
Lithuania
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Poland
Portugal
Roumania
Sweden
Syria and Lebanon
South Africa
United Kingdom
Uruguay
Yugoslavia

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Trade Agreements

Argentina - Agreements since 1932

Brazil

Chile

Italy

Netherlands

Switzerland

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Trade Agreements

United States - Agreements since June 12, 1934

Cuba

Brazil

Belgium and Luxembourg

Haiti

Czechoslovakia

Sweden

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Canadian Trade Agreements and Arrangements since 1932

Austria (Exchange of Notes)

Germany (Exchange of Notes)

France and French Colonies

Belgium

Krypton Extra Strong

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TRADE

Mr. King

In his radio addresses, Mr. Bennett has made some important admissions, which it will be well for all of us to keep in mind. They will help to indicate in how far he and I, and the parties which respectively represent, are in agreement, and just wherein the difference lies between us and the extent of that difference.

The most important, perhaps, of all Mr. Bennett's admissions, is the fact that trade is necessary for the payment of Canada's debt; that, without trade, we cannot meet our obligations abroad, which would mean, of course, that, without trade, we could not meet our obligations at home. For, as Mr. Bennett rightly contends, unless we are able to meet our foreign obligations, the country's credit is gone, and once the country's credit is gone, all begin to suffer.

Another important admission is that, in the last analysis, all foreign debts must be paid in goods and services, and, as a corrolary to this, that no country "can eat its cake and have it". In other words, it cannot sell to other countries without also buying from them. Or, in other words, that trade cannot be all one way. Trade, whether on a large or a small scale, is in the nature of exchange.

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The next important admission is that Canada's trade with Great Britain, and Canada's trade with the United States, are far and away the most important,

Great Britain being

United States "

Perhaps the most significant of all the admissions made is that, in matters of trade, a reciprocal agreement with the United States is greatly to be desired and much in the interests of both countries. Everything said and done, this, as regards the Conservative party, is a very different attitude towards reciprocal agreement with the United States than that which has heretofore existed.

I do not propose to review what was said by the Conservative party in 1911 against reciprocity in trade with the United States more than to mention that the cry of "no truck or trade with the Yankees", and Canada's being at the parting of the ways, were loud enough in 1911 to be remembered for all their lives by those who had any participation in that campaign. No one fought the Taft-Fielding agreement of 1911 more strenuously than Mr. Bennett himself. The fact that the opposition to it was alleged to be on the score that the agreement was not for a term of years, but might, upon due notice, be altered or cancelled by either of the parties,

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should it not prove to be of mutual advantage, can scarcely serve as a pretext for the defeat of the agreement, and can hardly be taken seriously. Had the agreement been made binding on both countries for a period of years, the same persons would have argued that to bind Canada for a term of years to any agreement, especially an agreement with the United States, would be to fetter and shackle the freedom of Canada in the matter of its trade.

(Secure copy of the Act authorizing the United States President to negotiate treaties, and see what the Act contains about the length of time they can be made binding. My impression is the President is given power to make agreements only between certain dates, and agreements only to bind for period of his term of office. Should this be so, something should be said here somewhat as follows).

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The fact that Mr. Bennett has been, and says he is still prepared to conclude an agreement with the United States, which can only be made binding for the remainder of the President's term,(state number of months) is evidence that the argument that any agreement with the United States should be over a term of years was a mere political argument used at the time to defeat the agreement, and, therefore, never really believed in, or else that, with maturer judgment, Mr. Bennett has changed his mind and seen the importance of at least making a beginning in more in the way of trade between Canada and the United States, trusting to the future to lead to an expansion of the agreement because of the apparent advantages to both countries which will be disclosed meanwhile.

What Mr. Bennett says of the present situation is of great interest, and cannot be too closely examined. He would lead us to believe that negotiations between the two countries are still in progress, and that he hopes, may, possibly believes, that they will result in an agreement. That much, at least, is all to the good. It serves wholly to remove any difference between the Conservative and the Liberal party as to the desire of each to conclude a reciprocal agreement with the United States. In this election, at least, the

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issue cannot be between a party which has made an agreement and one which does not wish to see the agreement approved. The issue, if it may be called such, is as regards reciprocal agreement with the United States between a party which, when in office, was successful in obtaining an agreement, and a party which, when in office, under even more favourable conditions, failed to obtain an agreement, and as to which of those parties should be entrusted with the continuance of negotiations once the general elections are over.

I desire to repeat at once what I have already said in the course of this campaign, and in a previous radio broadcast, namely, that a reciprocal agreement with the United States is a party of Liberal policy; that, if the present Administration fails to secure an agreement before its term of office expires, and a Liberal Administration is returned to office on October the 14th, the Liberal party will immediately take up with Great Britain the revision of the Ottawa Agreements, with a view to increasing trade between Great Britain and Canada, and will immediately seek to effect a reciprocal agreement with the United States which will be of mutual advantage.

I can conceive of no greater service which Canada can render to the English speaking peoples of the world than to be

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the instrument, should that be possible, of bringing about an expansion of trade between Canada and England on the one hand, in accordance with the suggestion made by the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Baldwin, at the time of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa, when he expressed the hope that the channels of trade between Britain and Canada might be cleared by the lowering of tariffs between them, rather than by the raising of tariffs against other nations, and in accordance with a similar declaration by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, to the effect that the lowering of tariffs between our countries would be of advantage to both.

(Get exact phraseology)

It is to be remembered that both statesmen, speaking for Great Britain and the United States respectively, put forward the view that an example of the kind might do much to promote world peace. With conditions what they may become at any time in Europe, and, for that matter, also in the Orient, it would seem that the collective security of English speaking peoples, to say nothing of their material prosperity, could not be more effectively secured than by a course of action which, once again, would unite them in friendly rivalry in the arts of peace. An example to the world of determination, on the part

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of English speaking countries, to put an end to policies of economic nationalism, which all admit are wrong and provocative of international hate and strife, would, to the European nations themselves, prove the first sure step along the path of international peace.

In Parliament, and in addresses already delivered in the course of the present campaign, I have repeatedly said that I hope the present Government might succeed in effecting a satisfactory reciprocal agreement with the United States. The Liberal party's course in Parliament has been directed in no unmistakable way toward that end. Our policy was stated in the following resolution, which was debated in the House of Commons on Feb. 20th, 1935. We were informed, at the time, by Mr. Bennett, that he had already entered upon negotiations for a reciprocal agreement with the United States, and asked not to proceed with the resolution, less it might occasion embarrassment in the negotiations. We immediately acquiesced. When, a year later, no agreement had been forthcoming, we again (get date) brought forward the resolution of the previous year. At this time, the Prime Minister was absent in England. (Get facts). Again we were told that negotiations were being continued and that it would be prejudicial to have any discussion. The Minister of Finance, the Honourable Mr. Rhodes, used the following words in reference thereto.

(Get Rhodes statement "it might offend the U.S. if we were to ...

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Upon the Prime Minister's return from England, from the Jubilee ceremonies, until the last day of the session, I repeatedly questioned the ministry as to the progress of negotiations, and was informed that they were proceeding. In these circumstances, the Liberal party refrained from bringing in any resolution which would even criticize the Government for what appeared to be unnecessary protracted discussions. If, for any reason, the present Administration has failed, no word of criticism can possibly be levelled at the Liberal party therefor.

Mr. Bennett has told us, as recently as the night of September 9th, "we are doing all we can to increase our trade with the United States. The two governments are at present seriously engaged in negotiations designed to increase the trade between our countries. We have reason to expect, and do expect, that these negotiations will be successful".

I need scarcely say that I, too, hope for a successful outcome of negotiations, which have been in progress for the last two years. If not by the present Administration, then by whatever Administration may succeed it. I doubt very much, however, that there is longer a possibility of that being effected under Mr. Bennett or his Administration. I say that for the reason that, having some

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knowledge of procedure with respect to international negotiations, as well as some knowledge of proper procedure of British parliamentary institutions, I am unable to understand how it is, if negotiations between the two governments have not been terminated, that correspondence relating to the negotiations should have been published at a time when Parliament was not in session, and in the midst of an election campaign. I also find it difficult to understand why, in reference to the negotiations, if they are still proceeding, Mr. Bennett should have found it necessary to say, with regard to Canada meeting her obligations to the United States, that "if the Government of the United States does not see fit to make it possible to increase our exports, they will not influence our course of action". Just why this doubt and this course of action should be thus publicly expressed, at the time of a political campaign, it is difficult to imagine, unless it is intended to prejudice public feeling against the United States, rather than against the present Administration, in any disappointment there may be through negotiations coming to naught.

Mr. Bennett must know, and does know, that where diplomatic correspondence is to be made public, especially where negotiations are, as he says is the case between the United States and Canada, still pending, Parliament is the body before which all such correspondence should be laid in the first instance. This

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is not a rule which applies only at a time when Parliament is in session. Least of all, should correspondence of the kind be made public by a minister responsible to Parliament at a time when no Parliament is in existence. The reason of this is perfectly obvious. In international affairs it is desirable for international, as well as national reasons, that a minister's action in international negotiations should be a matter of question and answer, in order that explanations may be made which will avoid embarrassments between countries, and help to preserve, despite failure in negotiations, the friendliest of relations.

Unless the government of the United States is to become a party to a political controversy in Canada, in the midst of a general election campaign, it is difficult to see how the government of that country can, at this time, make any reply to the innuendo in Mr. Bennett's statement regarding its attitude towards Canada's exports to their country. Indeed, it is significant that the giving of the correspondence to the press is not accompanied by a statement that this is being done by the consent of the governments of both countries. Where international correspondence on important negotiations are being given to the public, invariably this act is accompanied by an assurance that the correspondence is being made public simultaneously in both countries and with the knowledge

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and consent of both governments. To adopt any other course is to create embarrassment and friction. I greatly fear that such must necessarily be the consequence of Mr. Bennett's disregard of all proper procedure in this matter. Not only has the conclusion of an agreement been rendered more difficult as a consequence, but the power of a subsequent Administration successfully to carry on negotiations may be materially prejudiced thereby. After all, Mr. Bennett's actions stand in the eyes of another country as those of the country of which, for the time being, he is the political head. If negotiations have failed, it is not difficult to see to what the failure is due. The correspondence, and Mr. Bennett's own radio speech, makes that pretty plain.

It will be noted that, in entering into negotiations with Canada, the Secretary of State for the United States proposed that there should be added to the outline of negotiations, suggested by Canada, "the question of methods of determining the value of merchandise for duty purposes in either country". "A matter, Mr. Cordell Hull said, "which I consider of importance in the proposed negotiations". That was aimed at the practice of arbitrary valuations, effected by order in council under the Customs Act, introduced by Mr. Bennett at the special session of Parliament in the fall of 1930. It will be recalled that strong

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exception to this very feature of Canada's method of administering the tariff has been taken by the British Government (?) and the British people to the manner in which the Ottawa trade agreements had been carried out. If negotiations have failed, it would seem that this practice of regulating tariffs by arbitrary valuations has been one of the reasons responsible.

Another possible reason for the failure, which is also apparent from the correspondence, is the difference of view with respect to trade balances held by Mr. Bennett and Mr. Cordell Hull. It would appear from the correspondence that Mr. Bennett was unwilling to negotiate any agreement with the United States save one which would have regard for balances of trade as a matter of concern merely to the two countries effected by the Agreement, whereas Mr. Cordell Hull has held the point of view that "international balances are settled on many fronts, and it would be a serious setback to world trade if countries undetook to achieve balances with individual countries".

It will be noticed that Mr. Bennett has adopted in his radio broadcast, which deals with the reciprocal trade agreement, the somewhat curious, though carefully designed, procedure of imbedding what he had to say about reciprocal trade with the United States in a part of his address which

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related to the question of debt. Instead of discussing the two subjects separately, he began, and concluded, with the discussion of our debt situation, weaving into a part of his statement the reference to the present position of reciprocal trade negotiations with the United States. It looks to me very much as if this were done to confuse the public mind in a proper understanding of both the question of debt and the question of trade, and further, to afford Mr. Bennett a chance to make the unmuendo he did against the Government of the United States.

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Trade

Mr. Bennett's radio addresses contain admission after admission that "in the economic sphere there is but little evidence of permanent improvement"; that conditions, after all, are not improving so very much, and that, in the matter of trade, about all we can hope for is to continue to keep goods from coming into the country.

In approaching the great question of trade, the Prime Minister still employs the language of warfare - the blasting tactics have been re-affirmed as Mr. Bennett's method. Trade remains, in his view, not exchange, but a fight and a battle. There is no talk of good-will towards customer or prospective customers, but only "the hard trading way, the Conservative way" of doing business. The policy still remains that of economic nationalism, of extreme protection.

Mr. Bennett warns that any departure from this policy will bring disaster. In his own words, it will mean "the wreck of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reductions in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our natural products".

It need hardly be pointed out that the policies of the Conservative party over the past five years have themselves brought about these very results which Mr. Bennett claims will

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follow the application of Liberal policies. That we have had, in recent years, a most complete and thorough-going experiment in trade restriction, Mr. Bennett himself will not deny. How completely extreme protection, as we have known it since he came into office, has failed to protect or to serve the interests of the Canadian people is known to us all. The record of almost every business in the country proclaims that fact, and the experience of almost every individual confirms it. No better proof of the failure of protection to protect the farmer and the worker can be found than is contained in the evidence given before the Price Spreads Commission. Its pages reveal that the economic nationalism of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens have all but wrecked industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastically reduced wages, and resulted in great shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our agricultural products.

After five years of policies which have reduced trade to negligible proportions, lowered wages and the national standard of life, destroyed state revenues, rendered intolerable the burden of public and private debt, crippled our railways, bankrupted municipalities, rendered several of the provinces dependent upon federal aid, and created nation-wide unrest and discontent, Mr. Bennett comes forward to offer nothing but a repetition of the same policies, and a repetition of the same tale of failure and despair.

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The Liberal party advocates policies which aim, not at the restriction, but at the expansion of trade, and, with it, the revival of industry generally. That there may be no doubt as to the position of the Liberal party on this all-important matter, I am going to read again the paragraph from the statement of Liberal policies, which, in the name of the party I made in the House of Commons in February, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:-

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It may be seen from what I have just read that there are two broad phases of Liberal trade policy which must be considered together.

The one relates to the effect of our tariffs upon the internal economy of our own country. The other relates to the effect of our tariffs upon markets abroad for Canadian products.

When the Liberal party declares ~~that~~ that duties should be lowered, it does so in the interests of Canada itself, and not in the interests of other countries. When, in the past, Liberal governments have reduced tariffs, they did so with advantage to producers and consumers in all parts of Canada, and to the enhancement of Canadian prosperity. There is nothing in the conduct of previous Liberal Administrations, or in the present statements of the Liberal party, to indicate that a Liberal government would ignore the legitimate interest of Canadian producers, and legislate for the well-being of foreign countries instead of its own people.

The Liberal party believes that the prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries, of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing. The surplus products of these industries cannot be consumed in Canada and must, therefore, be sold in the markets of the world. We cannot fix the price at which they are sold in the

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world market, as that is determined by world conditions, but we can help to lower the cost at which these commodities are produced, and thus enable our producers the better to compete in the markets of the world. It is thus a first aim of Liberal policy to reduce duties on those articles which enter into the cost of production in our basic industries, on implements and machinery, and the like, and also on those articles which enter into the cost of living of the persons engaged in the basic industries themselves. Such action is assuredly in the best interests of Canadian industry itself. Yet this is what Mr. Bennett denounces as my "doctrine of voluntary unilateral reduction of tariffs", and claims is helping "to sell our foreign competitors goods in Canada".

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In the scheme of economic nationalism, the consumer apparently has no place and receives no consideration. By those who believe in extreme protection, the citizen is regarded only in his capacity as a producer, and has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. The Liberal party does not subscribe to this view; on the contrary, it contents that, as all citizens are consumers, and as they benefit of all the interests of the consumers, they are of first importance to the state as a whole. Prohibitary sky-high tariffs compell the consumer to pay more for the things he buys, and thereby add to his cost of living. The Liberal party proposes to come to the relief of the consumer, who today, might be described as the "forgotten man", and to effect substantial reductions in the duties on the necessities of life.

Under Mr. Bennett's and Mr. Stevens' trade policies, the greatest single item of public revenue has been dried up at the source. Under Liberal administrations, the tariff was, above all, a tariff for revenue. Under the present administration, it has become a tariff for the prohibition of trade, with duties so high as to prevent goods coming in at all, much less is naturally collected, even though the rate is greater. In the last year the former government was in office, $200,000,000. was collected in customs duties. In the fiscal year 1935, only $85,000,000. was collected, or less than one-half the amount in 1930. The government has had, therefore, to

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turns elsewhere for the funds it requires, and so we have witnessed such imposts as the tax on sugar, increase in the sales, income and excise taxes, and the return of the nuisance taxes. The capacity of the taxpayer has been tried to the utmost. By returning to the old system of a tariff for revenue, the Liberal party hopes again, as in the past, to come to the relief of the taxpayer.

The railways of Canada today suffer, above all else, from a loss of traffic. It makes no difference whether the goods hauled are exports or imports, they add to the revenues of the company. Traffic from inland centers to the ports without return traffic from the ports to points within the country, is for our railways, an impossibility. They must have trade both ways. A trade policy which will serve to increase the traffic of the roads will aid in the solution of one of our greatest present day problems.

In the ways I have just intimated, a reduction of duties properly carried out, in the furtherance of our national interests, can be made to serve the ends of developing our great basic industries, of affording much needed relief to consumers and taxpayers, and of assisting in the solution of the railway problem.

The second phase of Liberal trade policies relates to the

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Krypton Extra Strong

securing of markets abroad for surplus Canadian profits. On this point, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens and Mr. Woodsworth are at one. They take a pessimistic view of the possibility of Canada regaining old and finding new markets. On this vital question, there is an attitude of defeat and despair.

If it is true that Canada cannot expand her trade, and if nations are unwilling, once again, to trade with Canada on a fair and reciprocal basis, then Canada must undergo a profound change in the status of her economic life, for it is apparent that we cannot continue forever on the present hand-to-mouth and emergency basis, on which our national life is at present subsisting. If such is the case, we will be compelled to change from an exporting to a virtually self-suficing basis. The process would involve restricting our basic industries to what we ourselves can consume. Vast areas of farm lands would have to be abandoned. Our railway, grain elevator, harbour and inland waterway facilities, which have been created to serve a world trade, would have seriously to be curtailed. The whole financial structure reared upon our present economy, would be violently disloquated. The change would entail a disastrous fall in the standard of living, and the trend of progress in Canada would be replaced by one of decline and decay.

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The dissolution of Confederation itself would probably follow, in the train of these events.

When the Liberal party speaks of negotiating reciprocal trade agreements with any country willing to trade with Canada on a fair and friendly basis, it speaks with a serious view of the consequence and failure to restore the external trade of the country. But, the attitude of the Liberal party is not a disheartened one. It believes that while the task may be long and arduous, much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. It believes that many of the nations are as heartily sick of economic nationalism as Canada, and will equally welcome a genuine attempt to find means of increasing mutual trade.

Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens seek to convey the impression that the nations of the world are unwilling to make trade agreements. How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than 21 trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated 26 agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated 7 and the Argentine 5. The United States, within a little over a year, has negotiated 6.

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~~Of course,~~ Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens are right when they suggest that Canada cannot make trade agreements of a far-reaching character, so long as the methods and the policies remain those which they have employed. (Certainly the harsh, aggressive, to which we have grown accustomed, blasting method of negotiation will not open doors that are closed to us. And so long as this country resolutely refuses to accept the goods of other nations in exchange for our own, we cannot expect them to accept ours. But these are not the methods of policies of the Liberal party. Good-will and the determination to reach agreements as the result of lowering tariffs, not raising them, will produce results beneficial alike to the trade and the peace of the world.)

(Follow here re United States Ottawa Agreements and Japan.)

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Canada's Position in International Trade

In 7 out of the 9 calendar years the previous Liberal government was in office, Canada was the 5th largest trading country in the world.

Contrary to what Mr. Bennett says about Canada having held her own with other countries, we have fallen from 5th to the 8th place among the trading nations of the world.

Mr. Bennett only refers to Canada's export trade. It is total trade that counts.

(These statements are derived from;
Bureau of Statistics
Condensed Preliminary Report
on the Trade of Canada, 1934,
page 80.
Also: Daily Bulletin, March 5, 1935)

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Trade with U.S.

Extract from Sir Wilfrid Laurier

Sometimes I realize that I have reached the allotted sa span, the three score years and ten. I may not live to see it, but the time will come, my friends, when my fellow-countrymen will wonder if after all, Fielding and Laurier were not right in seeking freer trade in natural products with our neighbors, while increasing our trade with England through British preference. Even my brilliant young friend from Calgary (Mr. Bennett) may concede it sometime. I cannot pierce the mists of the future, none of us can, but I am confident coming years will vindicate our course.

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Trade

1. Trade Revival Necessary to Recovery and Reform:

    1. Canada's position as exporting nation -

        Surpluses of wheat, fish, timber, minerals, etc.

    2. "Home Market"

        Fund of purchasing power obtained from sale of goods in markets of world.

    3. Railways and harbours dependent on movement of goods - export and import.

    4. Manufacturers dependent on customers in primary industries.

    5. Burden of debt can be carried only on large volume of trade and business.

    6. Solution of Unemployment dependent on revival of trade and business.

    7. Reduction in burden of taxation dependent on increased revenue largely from trade - tariff for revenue.

    8. Social Reform dependent on revenues.

2. Liberal Record 1921-1930:

    (1) Policies:

        a. Primary Industries:-

            Lower cost of instruments of production;
            Lower cost of articles of consumption.

        b. Volume of Trade:-

            1. Remove restrictions generally to increase total trade's imports as well as exports.

            2. Trade Agreements - France, West Indies, Australia, etc.

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(2) Results:

a.) Expansion of Trade - (See statement re.)

b.) Solution of other National Problems -

i. Unemployment
ii. Railways
iii. taxation; debt.
iv. Social reforms.

3. Bennett Record 1930-1935:

(1) Promises. -

(2) Policies. -

a.) Economic Nationalism; Economic Imperialism.

b.) Restriction by:-

i. treaty
ii. Administration.

(3) Results.- Canada's trade strangled.

a.) Total trade fiscal year 1934-35 only ½ what it was in fiscal year 1929-30.

b.) Unemployment, railway, debt problems, etc., brought into being or aggravated.

4. Special Session 1930:

(1) Called to end unemployment; used to further Economic Nationalism.

(2) Unparalleled increases against world generally;

(3) Increases made without investigation -
Tariff Board abolished on taking office;
Bennett Minister of Finance as well as Prime Minister.

(4) Executive given power to alter tariffs, impose dump duties and arbitrary valuations.

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5. Imperial Conference 1930:

(1) Attempt to establish Economic Imperialism.
(2) Proposals made without consulting people, Parliament or colleagues.

6. Session 1931:

(1) Further increases in tariff.

(2) Tariff Board -
a.) provision made for, after vast revision;
b.) appointed for specific term, not removeable by House of Commons.

7. Currency Dump Duties; Sept. 1931, etc.:

(1) Imposed against Great Britain when Gold Standard abandoned, Sept. 1931.

(2) Subsequently imposed against all countries whose currencies either appreciated or depreciated.

(3) Instability and uncertainty of tariff.

(4) Strangled trade as much, if not more, than prohibitive tariff rates.

8. Imperial Economic Conference 1932:

(1) Approach -

(a) Special excise duty imposed at session prior to conference.

(b) Baldwin re lowering tariff.

(2) Economic Imperialism:-

(a) Bennett view prevailed; higher tariffs.

(b) Preference by tariff increase;

(c) Intermediate tariff raised to height of general.

(d) Margins of preference guaranteed -
tariffs "pegged"
Parliament thus deprived of right to lower tariffs;

(e) Opportunity to give world great example thrown away.

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(3) Results:

(a) Effect on world Trade;

(b) Transfer of trade, but not increase.

(4) Revision:

Attitude of Liberal Party.

9. Marketing Legislation, Session 1934:

(1) Powers given to self-interested economic groups to regulate and restrict marketing, to establish monopolies, impose fines and penalties - without approval of Parliament.

(2) Control of large part of foreign trade given to executive;

(3) Restrictive Legislation -
(a) subs to limit output;
(b) subs to enhance prices.

10. Policy of Scarcity:

(1) Wheat Agreement:

(a) to limit export of wheat;
(b) entered into without discussion in Parliament; not submitted to Parliament.

(2) Policy of Scarcity:

Having restricted imports, Government now restricting exports and internal trade.

11. Trade with United States:

(1) Traditional policy of Liberal party.

(2) Traditional policy of Conservative party.
Traditional attitude of Mr. Bennett.

(3) U.S. Government willing to negotiate first time since reciprocity agreement defeated.

(4) Government delay in reaching agreement -

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(a). Opposition refused opportunity to discuss;
(b). No real desire to lower duties;
(c). Holding treaty as election bait.

12. Stevens:

(1) Today talks about lower duties on textiles, etc.

(2) Minister of Trade & Commerce 1930-34:
- (a) Bennett's Special agent in carrying out policy of trade restriction.
- (b) Supported higher tariffs, special session on.
- (c) "Canada First" campaign; "My Creed."
- (d) Cannot escape full joint responsibility for destruction of Canada's trade.
- (e) Destruction of trade fundamental course of ills he seeks to cure.

13. C. C. F.:

(1) Abandonned cause of freer trade; ridiculed Liberals for fighting on tariff issue.

(2) Alliance with Government in giving executive control of trade -
- (a) Bureaucratic state;
- (b) Planning.

14. Dictatorship and Trade:

(1) Tariffs by executive action -
- (a) Currency and dump duties; arbitrary valuations.
- (b) Marketing Act.

(2) Concentration of Power in hands of executive in all fields of Government.

15. Trade and International Relations:

(1) Economic Nationalism and Imperialism lead to war.

(2) Danger enhanced where tariff control in hands of executive.

(3) Barriers to trade - barriers to good-will.

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(4) Trade - exchange, not war.

(5) World an economic unit - peace as well as prosperity lies in direction of co-operation between nations.

16. Liberal Policy: (14 points)

(1) Liberation of External Trade.

(2) Development of Primary Industries.

17. Immediate Prospect:-

(1) Failure to apply policies of trade liberation -
  (a) Canada would be compelled to change basis of economic life. Revert from export to self-sustained basis.
  (b) This would involve giving up large part of primary industries and whole economic structure on which they are based, and permanent low standard of living.

(2) Application of policies of trade liberation -
  (a) Success of similar policies 1896 and 1921.
  (b) Would solve many of problems of today and make possible a further era of prosperity, progress and reform.

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C 115771

Trade with Japan

1929-30 - Japan 3rd largest importer of Canadian goods.

1930-31 - " " " " " " "

1934-35 - " 4th " " " " "

importations now largely at an end;

Japan took 4 times from us what we took from her.

August 5, 1935: Date on which there came into effect:

(1) Surtax of 50% imposed by Japan against ten leading Canadian exports including lumber, pulp, flour, starch, packing paper.

(2) Canadian surtax of 33 1/3% additional tariff on all Japanese imports.

August 13,1935: Mr. King's first reference to issue in campaign.

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Trade with Japan

August 5, 1935: Date on which these came into effect:

(1) Surtax of 50% imposed by Japan against ten leading Canadian exports including lumber, pulp, flour, starch, packing paper.

(2) Canadian surtax of 33 1/3% additional tariff on all Japanese imports

August 15,1935: Mr. King's first reference to issue in campaign. See quotations herewith.

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Mr. King

Re Trade with Japan

(Speech at Woodstock, Aug.13, 1935)
(London Advertiser, Aug.14, 1935)

Mr. King referred to the recent placing by Japan of import surtaxes on Canadian goods.

"Japan was buying from us four times as much as we buy from her. Yet we find the government prepared to fight rather than to deal in goodwill. Today our lumber industry in the west, our wheat and flour trades, suffer additional blows as a result of the cessation of trade with Japan. The Liberal party let me repeat, lays emphasis on trade as the basis of all its policies," he declared.

.....

(Speech at Woodstock, Aug. 13, 1935;
"Toronto Daily Star, Aug. 14, 1935)

The Bennett government, he held, had made trade a matter of economic warfare. The policy had not only not succeeded, but had measurably increased the volume of unemployment. Trade could not travel one way and he instanced the breach with Japan since parliament prorogued.

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Canada's Relative Position in World Trade

Re Conservative Assertion Canada Has Held Her own in Trade during Depression

(League of Nations "Review of World Trade, 1934" pp.26-29)

(on basis of Gold Dollar)

Canada's Percentage World Export Trade, 1929 - 3.71%

" " " " " 1934 - 3.99%

(above figures used by Mr. Bennett relate only to export trade)

Canada's Percentage World Total Trade, 1929 - 3.68%

" " " " " 1934 - 3.27%

(Note - It is total trade that matters)

World Total Trade in 1934 only 34.0% what it was 1929;

Canada's Total Trade in 1934 is only 30.5% what it was 1929.

Of 86 nations, no less than 46 had in 1934 a larger share of world total trade than in 1929. Canada is listed as one which had a smaller share. Among the British nations all but Australia and Canada increased their share. Australia's decrease was only nominal, from 1.89% to 1.87%. Canada's decrease was very large, from 3.68% to 3.27%, or a loss of one-ninth. In a

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C115775

list of all the nations showing their share of world trade in 1934 as compared with 1929, Canada is at the tail end of the British nations, and stands 60th among the 86.

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C 115775-A

Canada's Relative Position in World Trade

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Canada's Relative Position in World Trade

In his radio speech of September the 14th Mr. Bennett endeavoured to show that Canada had held her own during the depression, with the trading nations of the world, and that she had actually increased her share of the world's trade export business from 3.71 per cent to 3.99 per cent in 1934.

Mr. Bennett does not indicate the source of his figures. He limits his contention to export trade. If the figures are taken for total trade, which is the only fair method of comparison, it will be seen that Canada has a smaller share of world trade today than she had in 1929.

"The Review of World Trade, 1934" issued by the League of Nations in May 1935, shows that Canada's share in total world trade dropped from 3.68 per cent in 1929 to 3.27 per cent in 1934. These percentages are based on gold dollars. Comparisons expressed in figures of national currencies are inaccurate and the only fair way for which comparisons can honestly be made is in terms of gold currency.

A more graphic comparison will be found in a compilation prepared by the Canadian Bureau of Statistics. This table reveals that in 8 out of 10 calendar years, from 1921 to 1930, Canada stood 5th in total trade among the countries of the world. In 1931 and 1932

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she dropped to 7th, in 1933 to 9th, and 1934 was only 8th.

(Bureau of Statistics
Condensed Preliminary Report
on the Trade of Canada, 1934,
page 80.
Also: Daily Bulletin, March 5,
1935)

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Unemployment

1. Mr. Bennett's Promises:

"I Promise to end unemployment."

"I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work I said - not dole."

"Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages"

"Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments."

"There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a Government does its duty."

2. Growth of Unemployment:

a. Numbers unemployed -

i. Absence of figures -

Either Government never tried to obtain or deliberately withheld them;

"Conditions improving."

ii. Special Session 1930 -

Mr. Bennett's estimate - 117,000.

iii. Census, 1931 -

393,000 wage earners out of work.

iv. January 1934 -

Mr. King's estimate H. of C. - 500,000; never contradicted.

v. Summer 1935 -

Most conservative estimate based on Bureau of Statistics latest figures - 400,000.

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b. Numbers on Relief -

i. May 1932 - 597,000 (including partial and part time relief);

ii. May 1935 - 1,272,000 (" " " " " ").

3. Government Expenditures, etc.

August 7, 1930 to March 31, 1935:

a. Expenditures -

Federal Share - $160,000,000.

Also vast similar amounts by provinces and municipalities.

b. Loans -

to provinces and corporations - 82,000,000.

c. Guarantees - 66,000,000.

not including wheat

d. Total financial liability - 308,000,000.

more than complete expenditure of Dominion in any year up to third year of war.

4. Results at end of 5 years:

a. Unemployment quadrupled and relief on large a scale as ever;

b. wide-spread unrest and discontent;

i. Relief camp strikes - Regina Riots;

ii. Relief strikers; trekkers; hunger marchers.

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5. Liberal Policy:

a. Canada's most urgent National Problem -

given first place on statement of Party's position;

(see 14 points).

b. Long range Policies and Measures -

i. Trade Recovery -

Expenditures cannot go on forever;

remove restrictions; regain markets;

Recovery vs. Reform.

ii. Revival of Confidence -

Stability in Administration;

reduction cost of government;

co-operation and good-will.

iii. Unemployment Insurance -

delay in introducing - eve of election;

relates to future - another year before benefits can be paid;

relates to employed only;

doubtful validity -

will submit to courts;

if rejected will co-operate with provinces to secure sound measure.

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c. Emergency Measures;

A Representative National Commission:

i. Examples of Canadian Patriotic Fund;

Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment;

ii. Co-Operation -

Mobilize all agencies and departments;

co-operation with provinces;

Liberal governments in provinces guarantee of removal of constitutional difficulties.

iii. Rural Relief -

Distress on plains caused by -

drought, hail, rust, loss of markets, etc;

Relief in country more difficult to administer -

violation, lack of publicity, etc.

Commission will not restrict activities to cities.

iv. Functions -

(a) Administer relief -

avoid overlapping, abuses, etc.

(b) Provide work -

payment for services -

material difference in remuneration as against private work;

nature of work -

of service to state;

cause of pride to those engaged on;

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services and facilities of national importance;

social vs. private capital;

Undertakings to be canvassed by commission -

essential public works;

highways, level crossings;

airway facilities;

afforestation;

housing, slum clearance; repair programmes;

preservation of natural beauty;

development of parks;

preservation historic sites, monuments, residences.

Relief Camps -

Commission to consider early transfer from Dept. of National Defence.

Special facilities -

recreation;

education;

incorporation into normal life of country.

v. Youth -

(a) past 5 years of discouragement and difficulty for youth;

(b) Commission, as well as government itself, will have special regard for problems of youth.

vi. Procedure and Relations to Parliament -

(a) Government will ask commission to study schemes and recommend proposals for consideration of Parliament;

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(b) Parliament will approve measures and provide funds;

(c) Before Parliament meets, Government will make available funds appropriated for relief purposes or use Governor-General's Warrants.

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Notes Prepared
During 1935
G.E. Campaign

C 115785

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5. Liberal Policy:

a. Canada's most urgent National Problem -

given first place on statement of Party's position;

(see 14 points).

b. Long range Policies and Measures -

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Expenditures cannot go on forever;

remove restrictions; regain markets;

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c. Emergency Measures;

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Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment;

ii. Co-Operation -

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services and facilities of national importance;

social vs. private capital;

Undertakings to be canvassed by commission -

essential public works;

highways, level crossings;

airway facilities;

afforestation;

housing, slum clearance; repair programmes;

preservation of natural beauty;

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C 115791

Unemployment

+ Retirement at 60 etc

On the subject of unemployment, Mr. Bennett has also made important admissions. He admits that the problem has been a vastly greater one than the government has ever before conceded, and for the first time has made a statement as to the numbers out of work. At the low point in 1933, there were, he says, 783,000 unemployed, and there are today almost half a million. The estimates made by myself and others, have, after all, erred on the side of understating the seriousness of the problem.

In the face of this situation, Mr. Bennett is compelled to admit his failure to end unemployment. But, with unemployment four times greater than it was when he made his promise, he hopes to escape the consequence, simply by making the promise all over again. Speaking, however, in the city of Quebec in 1930, he said that unless his promises were kept, he wanted Quebec and other members of his party to vote him out of office. They have not done so, but I think the people of Canada will, for at the rate the government has proceeded, another five years would see the numbers of unemployed, not reduced, but again multiplied by four.

As in his treatment of trade, so with unemployment the note sounded by Mr. Bennett is one of discouragement and despair: prosperity is not forthcoming; we cannot look forward to recovery; and there is no immediate likelihood of general employment.

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How completely the Prime Minister admits defeat and the hopelessness of our situation, is revealed in his principal proposal for dealing with the unemployed. He now advocates, "as the only possible means by which the youth of the land can secure employment," a scheme of retirement of those already at work. In other words, the only way to provide work, is to take jobs from those who have them and give them to those who have not. It is not a measure to revive industry, but a proposal to redistribute what little employment there may be.

Mr. Bennett carefully refrained from giving the electorate any details of his plan. He does not say whether the scheme will be compulsory; whether it will apply to the farmer as well as the workingman, to the professional and white-collar classes, as well as the labourer. He does not indicate what retirement allowances will be provided, nor the cost of the scheme either to industry or to the State. In this way, it resembles his promises of 1930; the details are lacking, and the means by which the proposal will be carried into effect are not revealed.

Notwithstanding, there a few observations which must be made.

It is clear that the proposal will not solve the problem of unemployment. Mr. Bennett himself says it will provide jobs for only 120,000. What of the other 360,000, according to the

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Prime Minister's figures, who would still be without work? Apart from all other considerations, the scheme touches only the fringe of the problem. The plan is another of the restrictionist proposals which have characterized Mr. Bennett's administration. It is the logical development of the policy of economic nationalism and of the policy of scarcity. The first objective was to restrict or to prohibit trade. That successfully accomplished, the next objective was to restrict the production of commodities. Now, the objective is to restrict work itself, and the number of years during which a man may toil.

Like most of Mr. Bennett's proposals, the present one is not the result of discussion and agreement in the party caucus or at a party convention. In his own words, he says, "I have finally, in a sense reluctantly, but quite irrevocably determined on what we conceive to be the only practical solution." There is to be no opportunity for Parliament to discuss or decide the question. Industry itself is apparently to be given no chance to state its views. In a matter affecting the activity, the usefulness and the happiness of thousands of our people, the decision is made by "the leader" himself, with little or perhaps more correctly, no discussion even with his own colleagues. Once more it is the method of dictatorship, to which we have grown all too familiar in the past five years.

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The fact that a scheme of compulsory retirement could in all probability be enacted only by the provinces, does not prevent Mr. Bennett from bringing forward another proposal of doubtful validity, to add to the host of measures enacted at the past session, which eventually will have to be submitted to the courts.

Like much of the legislation introduced by Mr. Bennett, the effect of the retirement scheme would be to set one element in the community against another. Mr. Bennett takes it upon himself arbitrarily to say that a man's usefulness is over at sixty. This may, of course, be but a subtle way of eliminating certain of his political adversaries, including myself. One is also compelled to think Mr. Bennett has come to feel it would have been to the nation's good had his own services to the State been terminated five years ago. Apart from considerations of this kind, the proposal could not, however, be carried into effect without creating much bitterness and setting in our land, youth against years.

Upon youth, moreover, would descend the responsibilities now carried by those they would displace. The burden of caring in part for those who today, though somewhat advanced in years, are able to meet obligations for themselves and their families, would be placed upon youth itself.

A generous, comprehensive scheme of retiring allowances would involve vast expenditures. Any other kind of scheme would

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simply be the dole in another form and putting on relief those who today are actually employed. If anything but a mere pittance is to be paid, where will the funds be obtained. Mr. Bennett should realize the necessity of answering this question by now. In 1931, I advised the government not to proceed with a large grant to the provinces for technical education until it could see where the money was coming from. The government persisted, but within three months it had to notify the provinces it could not carry out its undertaking. The Liberal party believes that before far-reaching measures of social reform can be introduced, the country must be able to afford them. In other words, as I said in a previous broadcast, recovery must precede reform.

What Canada needs today is not a scheme to redistribute the work we have, but policies which will revive trade and industry and thus bring new employment into being; policies similar to those which carried Canada out of depression into prosperity under Liberal rule in the years immediately following 1897 and 1922; policies which aim at the freeing of trade, the development of our basic industries, the lowering of the cost of living and the cost of government, the revival of business through stability of government and cooperation with industry.

The Liberal party does not contend that the policies it advocates will, overnight, restore trade and revive industry. There

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is altogether too much of that reckless kind of assertion in our public life in recent years, and altogether too much of it in the present campaign. In the very nature of things, long-range policies require time to produce the desired results. This must, therefore, be supplemented by immediate measures to relieve present distress. As I have stated throughout the past five years, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to establish a representative national commission to coordinate all efforts at affording relief and providing employment. The objective, however, will be to provide new employment by means of useful works and services, not by parcelling out among the unemployed, jobs that are to be taken away from those who enjoy them at the present time.

Mr. Bennett apparently, has just made the discovery, that in modern industry, seasonal and technological unemployment are unavoidable. That of course, is nothing new. It is a condition which has existed in greater or less degree, ever since the Industrial Revolution, and to meet which, unemployment insurance has been devised. The unemployment insurance scheme enacted at the last session of Parliament, on the eve of the general election, instead of three or four years before, as the interests of the country and of labour demanded, is of doubtful validity, like most of the so-called social reform legislation.

The Liberal party, if returned to power, proposes to submit the measure to the Courts, to remove doubt on this score.

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If the Courts reject it, the necessary steps will be taken to ensure the enactment of a properly constituted measure. It will also seek to extend, as rapidly as the financial condition of the nation allows, the provisions of the measure to embrace a broad scheme of social insurance generally, including national old age pensions and health insurance. What progress can be made in this way towards relieving labour of the many haunting fears which beset it today, depends upon the extent and rapidity with which the trade and industry of the country are revived.

Recovery, in our view, is possible only through the application of policies of freedom and stability. It can never be obtained through reactionary policies of restriction and restraint.

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VETERANS

1. Hyndman Report:

   a. told government last session would support any move to implement report;

   b. Voted for supplementary estimates to implement as many features of report as possible at last session.

   c. Will implement remaining features (see attached memo).

2. Record of Parties re Veterans:

   a. Liberal record -

      i. pensions system founded by Liberals -

         proud of our record;

         system constantly revised and improved to meet changing needs;

         Liberal party friend of veterans.

      ii. Outstanding features -

         (a) Creation veterans bureau;

         (b) benefit of doubt clause;

         (c) Pensions machinery revised;

         (d) War Veterans Allowance Act.

   b. Conservative Record -

      i. All too well known to veterans -

         destroyed much of good work done by Liberals;

      ~~ii. Outstanding features~~ -

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ii. Outstanding features -

(a) Abolished much pensions machinery;

(b) tightened up on administration;

(c) taxed pensions under income tax law.

e. Stevens Record -

i. Promises recklessly made to them as to every class;

ii. As member of government was party to all done by Tories to impair pensions system.

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Wheat

1. World Wheat Agreement:;

Signed by Bennett at London, August 1933.

Canada undertook to limit export of wheat -

a. During crop year 1933-34, to 200,000,000 bushels;

b. During crop year 1934-35, to 15% less than average output on average acreage during 1931-33.

Policy involved = restriction of production = policy of scarcity.

Policy not discussed or approved by Parliament prior to agreement. Agreement never submitted to Parliament.

No effort to implement -

Left to three prairie provinces to carry out

In matter of agriculture, policy of great magnitude and importance

Six of Nine provinces not consulted

Reduction left to grasshoppers

Failure of Agreement -

Argentina exceeded quota for crop year ending July 31/34.

Refused to consider herself bound by agreement, on ground that her quota was drawn up before it was known she would have a bumper crop.

Whole agreement simply dissolved.

2. Policy of Scarcity:-

Government attempted to replace policy of production with

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policy of scarcity.

Restrictionist legislation, aimed at increasing price of commodity.

Not an increase of sale.

After restricting exchange, Tory government aims at restricting production.

Effort to isolate Canada -

Economic Nationalism.

~~Increase of~~ policy of scarcity = increase of prices - not in interest of Canadian agriculture.

Wheat

3. Canadian Wheat Board Act - 1935:

At Liberal insistence, this Bill practically rewritten by special committee to which it was referred by House of Commons. In almost all important particulars, the provisions were changed to diametrically opposite sense.

Important changes -

1. The compulsory features which would have made it necessary for the farmers to sell only to the Board and which would have involved closing the Grain Exchange, and the creation of a government monopoly of the whole trade, were made permissive, to come into force only when and if proclaimed.

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2. The provision whereby the farmer was to be given partial initial payment and under which he might have to wait for a matter of years for the balance, was withdrawn. Instead, the Board was empowered to fix a reasonable minimum price which the farmer would receive upon sale. If the Board makes a profit out of its operations the farmer is to share in them.
3. Instead of creating a government monopoly of the trade, the Bill was amended to prohibit the Board participating in exchange operations. It must buy direct from producers only.
4. As amended, the Bill contains a statutory direction to the Board to offer grain for sale continuously. In other words, a policy of selling is to supplant the policy of holding, which characterized the operations of Mr. McFarland.

E.K.

Aug. 1931.

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Wheat -

1. **Minimum Price** -

   result of Liberal insistence;

   2 bills.

2. **Sales policy** -

   absence of;

   had wheat been sold in past (with farmer guaranteed minimum price) price would be higher today;

   must accept goods from other nations if they are to accept our wheat.

3. **Bill Board Poster** -

   "Bennett" gave $150,000,000;

   On what basis is this figure reached?

   Who got the money?
   - millions for elevator charges.

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C 115804

Mr. Bennett

(Radio Speech, Sept.6, 1935)

Re Protection

But, mark you, Mr. King and his Party are against protection. You who have a stake in this country, you who are hoping for better days and better jobs, you who are suffering and in want -- do you realize what this means? It means the wreck of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reduction in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our agricultural products.

Re Trade with Japan

They will talk about the wisdom of lowering our tariffs to Japanese goods. They have talked about it. Listen to this: Mr. King at Woodstock on August 13th, 1935, was reported by the press as saying that by raising tariffs, the Bennett Government has restricted the exchange of goods and increased unemployment. It has led to the closing of foreign markets against Canada by such retaliatory action as Japan has just taken. If you elect Mr. King, then you will know what to expect when Japan demands. Again I quote from Mr. King's Woodstock speech, as reported by the press: "Japan was buying from us four times as much as we buy

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C 115805

from her, yet we find the Government prepared to fight rather than to deal in goodwill." If you elect Mr. King you will know what to expect from Japan when Mr. King bows to the will of that aggressive country.

Japan, believing - and certainly hoping - that the Bennett Government would be defeated, dared to flout it and attack your interests, knowing that with a change in Government it could safely continue to do so. Because then Mr. King would be out smashing down our protective walls so that the commercial invaders of this country might sweep in safely over the ruins of them.

(New Westminster, Sept.24, 1935
Canadian Press Report)

"If King wins, Japan wins," said the premier. "If King loses, Japan doesn't win." He had not brought the Japanese negotiations into politics. It was Mr. King, "a man who had been prime minister, who had dared to throw into politics an international question.

"Japan asked us to promise we would not raise duties against them forever. Men and women, the Parliament of Canada is not subject to external dictation from any country."

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C 115806

Re Mr. Bennett's Radio Speech

Saturday, September 14

Railways

Mr. Bennett simply proposes another investigation into the railways of Canada. This investigation, which should be noted, is to be made by the Economic Council which operates under the direction of the Prime Minister himself. Upon the basis of its findings, which presumably may reflect the Prime Minister's own views, proposals will be submitted to parliament. If the Council recommends any form of amalgamation of the railways, then and not until then will Mr. Bennett say where he stands. The people of Canada have today a right to know whether Mr. Bennett recanted his declaration of "amalgamation never". As for myself and the Liberal party, there is no room for doubt of our position on this all-important question. The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and publicly controlled service. It does not favour the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control.

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C 115807

for Mr. Bennett - Extracts.

Ottawa Agreements

(Toronto, October 9, 1935
"Mail and Empire", Oct. 10, 1935)

Mr. Bennett turned next to a review of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, stressing the representative nature of the gathering, with leading statesmen from all parts of the Empire present, and emphasizing the mutual nature of the preferences exchanged. In the course of Canada's history, many leaders had wishes and striven for such reciprocal preferences. "And, by an accident of circumstances, we got it," he noted solemnly.

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C 115808

Trade with Japan

Mr. Bennett

(New Westminster, Sept. 24, 1935
Canadian Press Report)

"If King wins, Japan wins," said the premier. "If King loses, Japan doesn't win." He had not brought the Japanese negotiations into politics. It was Mr. King, "a man who had been prime minister, who had dared to throw into politics an international question.

"Japan asked us to promise we would not raise duties against them forever. Men and women, the Parliament of Canada is not subject to external dictation from any country."

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C 115809

Mr. Bennett

Re Wheat Bill

(Brandon, September 27, 1935;
"Victoria Daily Colonist", Sept. 28, 1935)

Mr. Bennett told of creating of the wheat board, the early intention of making it compulsory, and the agreement to "give the grain trade another chance," but holding the compulsory clauses in abeyance. All members of the parliamentary committee had made suggestions for improving the measure, but it was "in no way essentially altered from its original form, as introduced by myself in the House of Commons."

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Bennett Expenditures Public Works

On Eve General Election

Full $31,000,000 allotted Public Works Department, has been contracted for;
This sum includes $26,000,000 from the forty million
fund;
The other $14,000,000 of that fund having also been practically
all spent by interior and other departments;
In addition there is public works own estimates
of $15,000,000;
The haste to spend all this money is obvious especially as
the forty millions is spent without the control of the
public works act
Should not public works have been given the $26,000,000 to spend
as it spent its estimates with public tenders and all
allowed to compete
The only answer - election patronage
~~Tariff board today took over new job as Dominion trades and~~
~~industry commission~~

~~Hist~~

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C 115811

Mr. Bennett's Promises re Unemployment

General Election 1930

"I promise to end unemployment";

"I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles";

"Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments";

"Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times, if the government is discharging its duties as it should";

"There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a government does its duty!.

Statements made at Regina, June 10, 1930:

They play with the lives of men and women. What for? Do they realize there are lives that they are playing with, food for wives and children, hunger? Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal. It did not take Judas that long.

"I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a change for employment."

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C 115812

Mr. Bennett

RE Ending Unemployment

(Niagara Falls, September 30, 1935
"Winnipeg Free Press", October 1, 1935)

I said I would end unemployment, and I feel bound by that although when that speech was made no person visualized the extent of this depression. We have ended unemployment as it existed in 1930, but that is not good enough, because each year 200,000 men and women are added to the employable lists in Canada.

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C 115813

Mr. Bennett

Re Relief Camps

(St. John, N.B., October 3, 1935
"St.John Telegraph-Journal", Oct. 4, 1935)

"Twenty cents a day over at the airport," called out a man in the front row.

"Food, clothing, shelter and 20 cents a day and light work to occupy them until they are able to get jobs," said Mr. Bennett. The food and clothing were better than many of the men in the single's men's relief camps had been used to and "more than most of them are entitled to."

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C 115814

Mr. Bennett

Re Trade with Japan

(Montreal, October 1, 1935
"Montreal Gazette", Oct.2, 1935)

The Premier touched on the Japanese trade action. Mr. King had taken the side of Japan. "I am for Canada", the speaker declared amid cheers, "I will leave it to Mr. King to fight the battles of Japan."

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C 115815

Mr. Bennett

Re Trade

(St. John, N.B., October 3, 1935
"St.John Telegraph-Journal", Oct.4, 1935)

"The same Mr. King stood at his place in Parliament and for days and nights opposed those agreements," said Mr. Bennett. Mr. King had voted against them. Mr. King's attitude toward trade agreements had been "don't bother asking them to take down their tariffs. Just take yours down and they will take their's down too."

"When he left office, Mr. King had lost more trade to the Dominion of Canada than was ever lost in any other nine years in history," Mr. Bennett declared.

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C 115816

Mr. Bennett

Re Debauching the People with their own Revenues

(H. of C. March 13, 1928)

"It has been said that no government is ever defeated because it is extravagant. That well may be. It well may be that the people may be debauched with their own revenues, and be taught that all you have to do is to spend their taxes freely among them and then you have succeeded, but what is the effect upon the life of a nation as a nation?"

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C 115817

Mr. Bennett

Re Trade with Japan

(Radio Speech, Sept. 6, 1935)

Japan imposed a prohibitive and discriminating supertax against our exports because, forsooth, this Government had taken action to ensure that the standard of living of our people should not be assailed or destroyed by any country with wages so low and with currency so depreciated that Canada could not fairly compete with its products in an unprotected market.

The supertax imposed by Japan was solely to force the removal of these corrective measures which the Government of Canada was, by the national interest, compelled to take. Japan, in other words, combats the efforts of this Government to protect the standard of living of our people. Therefore, on that point, this Government joins issue with the Government of Japan. And to maintain the principle for which we rightfully contend, this Government, after patiently attempting to persuade Japan by other means, has now notified that country that unless the unwarrantable and prohibitive duties against Canadian imports is removed, the Government of Canada will serve notice to terminate the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and will take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to protect the national interest. This is a principle, a great and just principle, for which we Canadians fight. We will not surrender in this fight.

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C 115818

Our Liberal friends will bewail this action of the Government, taken in the interest of Canadians and in the interest of no one else. They will talk about the wisdom of lowering our tariffs to Japanese goods. They have talked about it. Listen to this: Mr. King at Woodstock on August 13th, 1935, was reported by the press as saying that by raising tariffs, the Bennett Government has restricted the exchange of goods and increased unemployment. It has led to the closing of foreign markets against Canada by such retaliatory action as Japan has just taken. If you elect Mr. King, then you will know what to expect when Japan demands. Again I quote from Mr. King's Woodstock speedh, as reported by the press: "Japan was buying from us four times as much as we buy from her, yet we find the Government prepared to fight rather than to deal in goodwill." If you elect Mr. King you will know what to expect from Japan when Mr. King bows to the will of that aggressive country.

Now you are in possession of these statements, what is your comment upon them? Your comment doubtless is: "We can't believe he made them." But he did. Incredible as it seems, he definitely did. If you are in doubt, look up this speech for yourselves. It is vitally important that on this point you should be sure. For, my fellow citizens, even if Canadians were willing

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C 115819

to sell their birthright of independence, such a surrender would not sell your goods in Japan or anywhere else. But it would drive our workers to join the ranks of the unemployed.

Now here is another aspect of the matter, which I mention reluctantly and only because you are entitled to full knowledge of this critical situation. By what he has said, Mr. King has strengthened Japan's hand. He has aided and abetted Japan in her demand that we lower our protective measures. He has encouraged Japan to maintain her discriminatory duties against us. To serve a political purpose, he has failed in service to Canadian interests. Japan, believing - and certainly hoping - that the Bennett Government would be defeated, dared to flout it and attack your interests, knowing that with a change in Government it could safely continue to do so. Because then Mr. King would be out smashing down our protective walls so that the commercial invaders of this country might sweep in safely over the ruins of them.

.....

(Radio Speech, Sept. 14th, 1935)

He critizes me for declining the demand of Japan to open wide our gates and let in the products of that country, which ultimately, believe me, would smash our industrial structure, and drive our workmen to join the long lines of the unemployed.

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C115820

Mr. Bennett's Promises

If not kept, to be voted out of office

At Quebec, July 1930:
(The Ottawa Citizen, July 14)

There was no necessity for a conference on unemployment, he continued. The solution was too apparent. "What you want is work," he exclaimed, "not conferences, and you are going to get work". Unless his promises to the people of Canada were kept if elected to office, Mr. Bennett said he wanted Quebec and other members of his party to vote him out of office.

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C 115821

Mr. Bennett

Retirement at 60

(Niagara Falls, Sept.30, 1935
"Toronto Globe, October 1, 1935)

The Prime Minister alluded to his plan to retire a large number of industrial workers aged over 60 from the labor market, and said his proposal had been misunderstood. What he had in mind was that many private concerns had adopted the policy of retiring men at 60.

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C 115822

Trade with Japan

Mr. Bennett

(New Westminster, Sept. 23, 1935;
"Saskatoon Star-Phoenix", Sept. 24, 1935)

Suggesting that Mr. King recant his Woodstock references to the Government's trade dispute with Japan, the Prime Minister quoted figures to show that a female cotton spinner in that country received less than 20 cents a day, a male spinner about 45 cents, a blacksmith 60 to 75 cents, leather workers about 60 cents, and domestic servants up to $3.50 per month.

"They receive wages compared to which our unemployment camps where men receive food, clothing, shelter and 20 cents a day are generous in comparison. It is against that competition we are protecting Canadian workers. Does anyone within sound of my voice want to submit the workers of this country to competition of that kind?"

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C 115823

Mr. Bennett

Re Debauching the People with their own Revenues

(H. of C. March 13, 1928)

"It has been said that no government is ever defeated because it is extravagant. That well may be. It well may be that the people may be debauched with their own revenues, and be taught that all you have to do is to spend their taxes freely among them and then you have succeeded, but what is the effect upon the life of a nation as a nation?"

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C 115824

Mr. Bennett

Bribing the Electorate

Re Dairy Stabilization Scheme

(Sherbrooke, October 2, 1935
"Winnipeg Free Press", October 3, 1935)

In the last session $1,000,000 had been voted as a stabilization fund to maintain the price to producers of dairy products. "I regret to say that the first cheques will not be paid until October 15," Mr. Bennett continued, "and I hope that you farmers within the sound of my voice, when you get your cheques the day after the election, will not have qualms of conscience because you voted against the government that gave it to you."

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Measures and actions deferred by Bennett Government to last part of term to influence electorate through patronage and otherwise, and to retain control over its own following.

1934 Session:

Bank of Canada Act

Natural Products Marketing Act

Canadian Farm Loan Act

Farmers Creditors' Arrangement Act

Public Works Construction Act - $40,000,000. program of public works.

1935 Session:

Social Reform -

- Unemployment Insurance — coming in appointed July Aug. 1935. ~~not in effect here yet~~
- 8 hour day — effective Oct. 5.
- weekly rest — ~~effective July 4~~ effective July 4.
- minimum wages — effective in one year
- economic council — to be appointed in few days. ~~not in operation~~
- trade and industry commission — effective Oct. 1 Public Announcement.
- fair wages and hours of labour
- companies act

Supplementary Public Works Construction Act -

1. guarantee loans to railways for construction of equipment -

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C115826

(a) Canadian National - $8,000,000.

(b) Canadian Pacific - $7,000,000.

2. $18,000,000. in various public works, for which tenders need not be called, including -

(a) $1,000,000. for elimination of railway level crossings (to be administered by railway commission - Guthrie)

(b) $1,000,000. for tunnel under Toronto harbour almost all spent now,

Canadian Wheat Board Act -

provides among other things, for payment to farmers for their wheat

Canadian Farm Loan Act (Ammendment) -

to provide for further expansion of credit to farmers.

Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act -

re drought areas; why not in 1933 or 1934?

Income War Tax Act -

increases in rate

Canadian Fishermen's Loan Act -

to establish a system of long term mortgage credit for fishermen

Dominion Elections Act (alternative vote) -

withdrawn because of Liberal protest

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Since prorogation July 5th:

Appointments to -

Civil Service

Bench

Senate

Contracts - many without tender

Reciprocal Agreement with U.S.

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Mr. Bennett's Promises

If not kept, to be voted out of office

At Quebec, July 14, 1930:
(The Ottawa Citizen, July 14)

There was no necessity for a conference on unemployment, he continued. The solution was too apparent. "What you want is work," he exclained, "not conferences, and you are going to get work". Unless his promises to the people of Canada were kept if elected to office, Mr. Bennett said he wanted Quebec and other members of his party to vote him out of office.

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C115829

Mr. Bennett's Promises

His Third Attempt in the Light of his Past Performances

The Prime Minister is once more waging a campaign of promises. How faithfully they are likely to be carried out must be judged in the light of his past performances.

In 1930, Mr. Bennett promised to find work and markets for everyone. Five years later, he is compelled to admit his failure to redeem either pledge. He promised old age pensions, paid entirely out of the Dominion treasury, but that is another undertaking which has not been kept. He promised highways, railways, bridges, canals, ferries, free ports and public buildings all over the country, most of which have never been heard of since. He promised to revive grants to the provinces for technical education, agricultural instruction, and other purposes, none of which have been restored.

In the broadcasts of January, 1935, the Prime Minister declared that the economic system must be reformed. To this end, he made a further series of promises. There was to be a uniform minimum wage. Legislation was passed, but it is of doubtful validity and does not become effective for a year. It does not provide a national minimum wage law and contains no definite provisions for a national minimum wage board. Sweat shop conditions were to be abolished, but they still exist. The dole was again roundly abused, but it likewise remains. Old age pensions were once more promised, but no legislation was introduced.

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C 115830

Health, accident and sickness insurance were also promised, but likewise, they have not been brought into being. The Civil Service was to be reorganized, but that also has not been done. Investors were to be protected and no-par shares made illegal, but the government, through its majority in the Senate, refused to provide for the investigation of new security issues, and no-par shares have not been abolished.

In the same addresses, Mr. Bennett promised that Parliament would be asked to carry out the recommendations of the Price Spreads Commission. To mention but a few instances, recommendations made by the Commission for amending the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act; for expanding the services of the Department of Labour and of the Bureau of Statistics; for the establishment of a Fisheries Control Board; a Board of Livestock Commissioners; and a semi-autonomous Trade and Industry Commission, for the regulation of monopoly, have not been carried into effect.

With this vast legacy of unredeemed pledges, the Prime Minister comes forward and asks the electorate to accept another armful of promises. With two colossal sets of promises unfulfilled, he has the effrontery to ask the people to believe he will protect the home market against unfair competition, return agriculture and industry to prosperity, convert the national debt, relieve home-owners

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C 115831

of the burden of their mortgages, and compel the retirement of workers at the age of sixty. As the campaign proceeds, the promises will again multiply. But the peopleoff Canada, who were deceived in 1930, and disappointed again during the past session, will know how to deal with Mr. Bennett's third attempt at the same game.

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C 115832

Mr. Bennett's Radio Speech No. 2

Re: Federal Assistance for Training of Children for Employment

In the text of the second address, which was released to the press, Mr. Bennett stated that the Government had decided to ask from Parliament a sum of money to ensure the training of our boys and girls denied proper education because of conditions for which neither they nore their parents are in any way responsible. In speaking over the radio, he referred more specifically to a measure providing for technical education.

Whether Mr. Bennett has in mind a scheme of technical education, or something of a more comprehensive nature, this further undertaking recalls to mind the vocational education act passed by the House of Commons in 1931.

The Liberal Government, in 1929, indicated its intention to allow the technical education act to expire when the sums provided under it had been spent in the course of time. In the campaign of 1930, Mr. Bennett insisted that these grants in aid be restored, and at the session of 1931 provided for the payment of $750,000 annually for fifteen years, through grants in aid to the provinces for vocational education.

When the Bill was before the House of Commons, I took the position that, while there could be no exception to the purpose of the act, the whole question of grants in aid should be made the subject of a Dominion-Provincial conference, and that the finances of the country at the time did not warrant the expenditure of the sums involved.

(See Hansard May 26, 1931, pp. 2121-7-8).

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The Government paid no attention to these suggestions and went ahead with the Bill.

On September 15th of that year, the Government was compelled to advise the provinces that it could not carry out its undertaking under the act. The Deputy Minister of Labour informed the provincial governments: "It has been decided to postpone the operation of the act until such time as the economic conditions of the country warrant expenditures being made in connection with the work to be promoted under the terms of the act".

The Liberal party has contended all along that, before measures of social reform can be properly or permanently carried out, funds must be available for the purpose, and that recovery is the first necessary step to any programme of reform measures.

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C 115834

Liberal Objections to Ottawa Agreements

1. Increased Tariffs at a Time when greater freedom of trade needed above all else. Thereby made impossible securing of markets necessary to Canadian prosperity. Maintained and increased cost of living and cost of production in Canada at time when burden heaviest upon Canadian people.

2. Threw away great opportunity to set world example in direction of freer trade. Whole course of history might have been different.

3. Pegged Canada's tariff.

   Destroyed fiscal freedom.

4. Raised Intermediate tariff to height of general, thus destroying former for purposes of negotiating trade agreements with other countries. Directly responsible for difficulty in reaching agreement with U.S.

5. H. of C. compelled to accept agreements in entirety before examining tariff details. Different procedure from British H. of C.

6. Agreements aimed at furthering economic nationalism and economic imperialism, which have created, prolonged and intensified world depression.

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[1935]

C 115835

Liberal proposals re Tariff

1. **Substantial and far-reaching reductions in customs duties:**

   in interests of Canada - not in interests of other countries;

   Liberal government will not ignore legitimate interests

   Canadian producers;

2. **Prosperity depends on development of primary industries:**

   Immediate and material reduction on implements and machinery

   of production;

3. **Consumer and family:**

   protection increases cost of living;

   family - forgotten unit;

   immediate substantial reduction on duties on necessaries of life;

   Exemption from sales tax of articles of domestic consumption.

4. **Stability in fiscal laws:**

   Intervention;

   Discriminatory taxation;

   Instability;

   Will abolish unwarranted extra taxes;

   Will seek stability and certainty;

5. **Trade Agreements:**

   Believe markets can be found for exportable surpluses;

   List of agreements made by other countries.

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File

C 115836

:: VICTORIA ::

(A Cheer for the Victors)

(Composed by Mr. D. Edgar Shaw, K.C., and read by him at the Liberal Picnic on Monday)

To you of the Liberal mind and heart who have borne the heat of the day,
To you who have chosen that better part that shall not be taken away,
To you who won on the twenty-third in the grand old Liberal way,
We tender you all this meed of praise, this gala Victoria Day.

And when we say we have won, and how; and this is our day of sport,
With the Tories down on the long trail, the out trail, and never a ship at port,
It's hip-hip-hurrah for the Island's way, and we don't do things by half;
It's thirty to none, that's how we won; so we've killed the fatted calf.

Our Leader see, brave Walter Lea, the man of the day and hour,
Who led us on through the darksome days when the Tories were in power
"Come join our roundelay", says he, "We've beaten the record, - and more," -
"The like in political history was never known before."

"From Cape to Point, from shore to shore, dear Island of the Sea,
"From west to east, come join the feast of glorious Victory,
"Come swell the song both loud and long of better days to be,
"When with return of Liberal Rule, we hail propserity."

"Like knights of old at Table Round, so may we speak and move;
"More chivalrous in high emprise, well may our Sessions prove;
"United for the Common Weal, our backs to every wall,
"Full face to face, so shall we stand in Legislative Hall".

"No more the critic's flip conceit shall 'muse the vulgar throng,
"With waste of words and waste of wit, our Sessions to prolong;
"No croaking opposition voice shall drone the hours along,
"Our speeches shall be 'Yea' or'Nay' - not seven hours long."

"We're done with blundering financiers, that flunk from bad to worse,-
"Without warrant or authority our public funds disburse;
"By this same token ye shall see a lessening of debt,
"And with Liberal luck and management, a balanced budget yet."

No wastrel crew shall surfeit at the cost of those who toil,
New Markets shall be opened to the tillers of the soil;
The fisherman shall profit by the produce of the sea -
MacKenzie King at Ottawa, in league with Walter Lea.

Take courage brothers, courage, for the hour is near at hand
When Depression, Want, Privation shall be banished from our land,
When the ghost of unemployment shall be driven from your door,
Though the poor be always with us, there shall not be many poor.

So let's all get together, boys, and raise a mighty shout
For our thirty Island Stalwarts who knocked all the Tories out;
And Three Cheers and a Tiger for the Powers that soon shall be,
For Democratic Government, MacKenzie King and Walter Lea.

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C115837

NATIONAL LIBERAL PUBLICITY COMMITTEE
(OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA)

Room 1689
King Edward Hotel
Toronto, Ontario

Tuesday night Oct. 8. Broadcast.

These speeches are all available so far.

Hon. W.M. Lea, P.E.I.
Hon. a.a. Dysart, N.B.
Hon. L.A. Taschereau, Que
Hon. John Bracken, Man.
Hon. J.G. Gardiner, Sask.
Hon. J.D. Pattullo, B.C.

Those of Hon. Angus Macdonald
and Hon. Mitchell Hepburn are expected
today (Monday Oct. 7.)

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C 115838

Speech to be broadcast by Hon. T.D. Pattullo, Premier of BRITISH COLUMBIA, over a national network on Tuesday evening, October 8th.

MR. CHAIRMAN,
RIGHT HONOURABLE MACKENZIE KING,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am glad to join with the Right Honourable Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party, and with the Prime Ministers of other provinces of Canada in support of candidates running under the banner of Liberalism. I do so upon grounds which I believe to be practical and in the best interests of our country. I think it safe to say that the average citizen desires to see the affairs of our country conducted in orderly and sensible fashion for the benefit of the public generally.

I do not think that either the extremists of reaction or of radicalism can properly settle the problems of society. In the light of elections in various portions of Canada during the past two years, it is not drawing upon our imagination to suggest that the Liberal Party most nearly typifies the temper and feelings of the Canadian people at this time.

Every cause to succeed must have an organization to support it, and the Liberal Party exists as an organization not for the purpose of furthering the designs or the desires of a few individuals, but for the purpose of advising the public in respect of public policy and of putting this advice into practical effect.

It is generally admitted that we have arrived at one of the most crucial periods in our history. So far as British Columbia is concerned, we face the future with every confidence and well we may, for the Province has been blessed with a great variety of natural resources with consequent industrial potentialities. In addition to our wealth of natural resources, British Columbia is the only portion of the Empire facing the Pacific from the west, and is destined to play an increasingly important part in contact with the myriads of peoples bordering the Pacific Ocean.

In the Dominion, Provincial and municipal spheres there are matters of pressing importance which must be adjusted, and

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which can only be adjusted by consultation and conference. The welfare of every portion of Canada is of concern to all other portions. If we are to have a prosperous, a happy and a united Canada, truly all must be for each and each for all.

Shortly after a new Government takes office in Ottawa it will be necessary to hold a conference of the provinces and the Dominion. At that conference eight of the provinces will be represented by Liberal governments. I feel confident that best results can be obtained through conference with those having common cause and common viewpoint. The Liberal Party is solidly united in Canada, while all other forces are divided. It is of first importance that there should be a strong government in Ottawa capable of putting into effect measures necessary to meet present extraordinary conditions.

Without questioning the sincerity of purpose of any other party or organization, I suggest to every elector in the Dominion of Canada that the best interests of this great Dominion lie in the election of a Liberal administration on October fourteenth.

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Speech to br broadcast by Hon. J. G. Gardiner
Premier of Saskatchewan, over a national network
on Tuesday evening, October 8th :

Five years ago Mr. Bennett undertook to improve the conditions of Agriculture, industry and transportation with the result that unemployment would be brought to an end.

He undertook to do this by introducing protection as opposed to revenue tariffs; Conservatives previously had applied high revenue tariffs, Liberals had applied low revenue tariffs on, or free entry of, goods coming from outside countries combined with preferential tariffs, lower or giving free entry to British or Empire goods. Mr. Bennett,without re-convening a convention of his party and while the campaign was under way, reversed the Conservative policy and on his own responsibility yielded to the entreaties of certain interested parties to propose outright protection as the panacea for all the ills of the world.

He argued at the time that protection had brought prosperity to the United States and certain European countries such as France and Germany and that we in Canada were alone proceeding with our heads in the sand of low tariff leading to depression. The people gave him a mandate to proceed and to his credit it must be said he applied protection as promised.

Having undertaken the policy single-handed and having succeeded in sweeping the country upon the policy, he no doubt felt himself justified in taking over the Finance Department in person to assure its complete adoption. During the Special Session he also asked from Parliament, and in the flood of victory received, unprecedented powers to deal with tariffs without consulting Parliament. He has exercised every power

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(Hon.J.G.Gardiner)

given, and made use of every right which his remarkable victory made possible, to inflict protection until he is looked upon today by friend and foe alike as one who neither asks for nor accepts the advice or co-operation of others.

Representatives of Provincial Governments of both political parties have recognized this during interprovincial conferences. Mr. Baldwin has mildly protested against it in relation to imperial conferences. Mr. Thomas being more outspoken has referred to his Canada First blasting policies as "Humbug". His whole attitude was in keeping with a world sentiment of mistrust, fear and lack of confidence such as swept the world into war between 1911 and 1914 and for a second time applied between 1928 and 1935 is threatening to sweep the world into war again.

Even in a world of mistrust, narrow nationalism and fear, protection has miserably failed to do what Mr. Bennett claimed for it. Agriculture, industry and transportation have suffered under it as never before due to the fact that trade, which is essential to prosperity, cannot thrive in a world ruled by such sentiments while the very natural conditions existing in the world demand trade to satisfy individual needs.

When the world has been so afflicted in the past Liberalism has always been called to the rescue. It was so at the end of the last century. It was so the world over following the war. It is so again now. The spirit of the League of Nations, the spirit of democracy, led by Britain, is again holding up its head throughout the world. Just as in 1896 and 1921 so in 1935 Canada needs Liberalism under the

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(Hon.J.G.Gardiner)

Leadership of the Rt.Hon.William Lyon Mackenzie King to restore confidence, inspire progress and bring stability in government based upon the rights and powers of democratic institutions.

The Liberal Party believe in co-operation among the provinces as opposed to dictation from, and centralization of power in, Ottawa. Saskatchewan as one of the Liberal Provinces will co-operate. The Liberal Party believes in the development of trade within the Empire based upon mutual understanding and benefit as against selfish interest; the Liberal Party believes that a world of warm and cold zones spanned by systems of communication which stir wants and desires for exchange in every human breast can only enjoy peace and prosperity where trade is unobstructed and intercourse free.

Our Leader is not only moved by the wishes of his party but he is inspired by its sentiments and will carry them into interprovincial, intercommonwealth, and international negotiations of the future. Under his leadership the greatest of the commonwealths of the Empire will take its stand alongside of the Motherland for peace, progress and prosperity throughout the world which is the only permanent cure for unemployment and depression.

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SPEECH TO BE BROADCAST BY HON. JOHN BRACKEN, PREMIER OF MANITOBA OVER A NATIONAL NETWORK ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8th, 1935.

Fellow Citizens of Canada:

As Liberal Progressive Premier of Manitoba, I am happy to associate myself with the Liberal Premiers of the other Provinces in their nation-wide broadcast.

I am speaking to you tonight from the City of Winnipeg, a city located on the eastern edge of a great agricultural empire -- an empire that extends for nearly a thousand miles northwesterly to the foothills of the Rock Mountains.

Within the life-time of men now living this vast area has become dotted with the modest farmsteads of thousands of pioneers. Within the last half century, almost a third of a million farm homes have been established. Nearly a quarter of Canada's population now claims this region as its home.

In the last five years, in spite of crop failures, the struggling farmers of this area produced four times the requirements of all Canada for bread. At the same time these years have been years of unprecedented hardships for them all.

You ask the reason why. The answer is very clear. In those five years the gross agricultural revenue of the farmers of Western Canada was less by nineteen hundred million dollars than that of the five years preceding.

Nineteen hundred million dollars is a lot of money. We know what its loss has meant to us. I sometimes wonder if the Canadian people as a whole sufficiently comprehend what it has meant to the rest of Canada.

Because of that loss we necessarily paid less to our creditors, thus still further intensifying business stagnation and unemployment. Because of it we were forced to do without farm labor, with the result that thousands of men, formerly employed, were added to other thousands already on relief. Because of that loss we had no choice but to buy less goods. We consequently paid less to railways for incoming freight, thus further increasing the already heavy railway deficits, and giving further excuse for the laying off of railway workers.

What were the causes of this economic disaster? They were two in number. Low prices was the major cause; poor crops in some districts a minor one.

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HON. JOHN BRACKEN

From this brief review of the past five years two startling facts emerge. The first is that even in those bad years Western Canada produced four times the needs of all Canada for bread. The second is that the low prices received have resulted not only in staggering losses to Western farmers but in reducing to that extent our buying power for Canadian and other goods.

What is the solution of our problem? There is only one. What Western Canada needs today, and in the future, is markets. Give her markets, and she will solve all her own problems. Give her a place to sell her surplus products, and she will carry her own weight in Confederation and help the other Provinces to carry theirs. Give her markets and with her added shipments and purchasing power, the problem of railway deficits and its danger to Canadian economic life will disappear.

On the other hand, if we prevent the acquisition of new markets, we remove all justification for any further extension of agriculture in the West. If we continue to lessen the outside markets we once had, we but intensify the trying conditions of recent years. To the extent that we deny ourselves outside markets, to that extent will farmers, on a wholesale scale, be forced into bankruptcy, to that extent will unemployment increase, railway deficits multiply, and widespread default ensue and, whether we will it or not, the burden of such a major catastrophe would fall directly or indirectly on other parts of Canada.

Fellow Canadians, I am not a partisan in politics. I happen to be Premier of Manitoba, but I have spoken to you tonight as a Western Canadian farmer and a citizen of Canada. The views I have expressed are my convictions. I am supporting Mr. King at this time because I believe that our farm problems and our national problems can be more satisfactorily solved if we have a greater outlet for our surplus agricultural products. I am supporting him because I believe the policy of lower tariffs and greater international trade is a better way to achieve this end than a policy of high tariffs and restricted trade.

Holding these convictions as strongly as I do, and having the interests of Canadian agriculture at heart, I have no choice, if I am to be true to Western Canada, but to express them at this time. We lost an opportunity for wider markets in 1911. My hope is that we may be spared a second mistake of this kind.

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Speech to be broadcast by Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Premier of Quebec, over a national network, on Tuesday evening, October 8th.

People of Canada,

From distant Quebec, I am addressing this message to you through our great Sister Province of Ontario with which we are bound by so many ties of neighbourly intercourse, common problems, and, I am happy to say, triumphant liberalism.

Four minutes is a short time, it is long enough, however, to voice one's feelings towards toryism and Bennettism.

Expressing, I trust, the feelings of the immense majority of the men and women of Quebec, I say that I am against the tory régime of Ottawa, headed by the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett and by the remnants of those who have deserted and fled from the burning deck of the tory ship.

In a very few words I shall express my own opinion.

I am against the present federal Government for the following reasons:

1. An honest man, whatever may be the field of his activities, whether social, political, professional, or in the sanctuary of his home, is bound to keep his word and fulfil his promises. If he makes promises which he knows he cannot honour, he is doubly unworthy of the position held by him.

Mr. Bennett, in 1930, gave solemn pledges, promising to resign and inviting his supporters to oust him, should he fail to honour his word. Three of these pledges particularly interest us: unemployment, old age pensions and help to the farmers.

I ask the unemployed, the old people and the toilers of the soil if, after five years of Bennett rule, their condition has improved. I have no hesitation in saying that it is

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worse. Should we give this Government another lease of life of five years to accomplish what it has failed to carry out in the five years that have just rolled into a past which we should like to forget.

2. Provincial rights have been ignored, the late Minister of Justice, in the House, was honest enough to express his dissent from his own legislation which was a clear invasion of provincial rights.

3. All provincial Governments, with the exception of one, are overwhelmingly liberal. Sympathetic and cordial co-operation between federal and provincial Governments is essential to a united, happy and prosperous Canada and to find a solution of the difficult problems which we are facing today.

No such co-operation is possible with the Ottawa dictator. We had with him several interprovincial conferences. They led to nothing and the representatives of the provinces were sent home with a lecture and the blessing of the dictator, a blessing of a doubtful benefit to its recipients!

4. Mr. Bennett cannot be trusted, because after being considered a safe man at the beginning of his career, when he seemed inclined to maintain the best political and social traditions of Canada, and retain the elements which had made our country great and prosperous, hetore these leaves from the book of his political life and unfaithful to his past launched into a socialistic venture, bordering on communism, that will lead nowhere, unless to the downfall of our country.

People of Canada, please remember the disastrous speeches of the Prime Minister over the radio in January last. They took the breath away from his most intimate and admiring friends. Remember last session's legislation, remember a very recent speech after which Canada's bonds crashed and have not yet recovered and tell me if the destinies of Canada can safely be placed, for the coming five years, into the hands of this gentleman

Canada, under W. L. Mackenzie King, enjoyed five years of prosperity. If he is returned I am sure that better days will shine for us, but to carry out his program, Mr. King must have a large following, independent of party groups, crazy adventurers and untried utopists. Let us give him a strong majority. People of Canada, I thank you for the four minutes of patience you have given to a son of Old Quebec, the home and stronghold of Liberalism.

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Speech to be broadcast by Hon. A.A. Dysart, Premier of NEW BRUNSWICK, over a national network on Tuesday evening, October 8th.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is both a privilege and a pleasure to contribute my thought and opinion along with the seven other provincial Prime Ministers to assist you in rendering your decision at the polls on October Fourteenth.

I am naturally interested primarily in the welfare of my native Province, New Brunswick. But only to the extent that one's personal concern dominates his affection for other members of the family does that feeling for New Brunswick take precedence over the other Provinces which are our sisters in the Confederation. We all of us are confronted today with stupendous social and economic problems. There is no chart for their solution. We must tread the course warily but at the same time courageously. That task is futile unless the master of the ship has the confidence and co-operation of his crew and without goodwill and understanding among its members.

You have in Canada today the basic factors to insure a safe passage. Eight of the nine Provinces in Canada are governed by Liberal administrations. They have confidence and faith in the policies of the Federal Liberal Party and look with hope and anticipation to the day, not far distant, when they may co-operate with a new MacKenzie King administration at Ottawa to seek a solution for our common problems.

Let me admonish you my listeners young and old that our difficulties are too serious for you to dismiss lightly the responsibility that falls on your shoulders on October Fourteenth. The whole future of Canada, your destiny, will be shaped during the next five years. You are building on a solid foundation when you vote for interprovincial harmony and understanding. Without that consideration there is little hope for a quick and satisfactory

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adjustment of our troubles and worse than that the very bonds of union are threatened.

If you would speed national and Provincial readjustment give us the keystone of unity, a Liberal Administration at Ottawa.

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Speech to be broadcast by Hon. W. M. Lea, Premier of Prince Edward Island, over a national network on Tuesday evening, October 8th :

Five years of business depression; five years of hardship and distress; five years of disappointed waiting for the fulfillment of the Bennett pre-election promises, have taught our people, the primary producers of the Province of Prince Edward Island, our fishermen and farmers, to examine more carefully than heretofore the fiscal policies of the leaders of the several political parties now seeking the support of the electors of Canada.

The citizens of Prince Edward Island have always been injured by the high tariff policy of the Conservative Party. Having few manufacturing industries, we are compelled to import practically all our implements of production and necessities of life, prices of which commoditions are always raised in direct proportion to the increased tariff duties. Being Maritime people, greater freedom and expansion of foreign trade enables us to take advantage of cheaper water transportation that was enjoyed during the previous Liberal regime with Cuba, the West Indies, and other distant markets where our chief cash potato crop found profitable sale, a market that is lost to us as the direct result of the application of the Bennett arbitrary valuation policy granted the Minister of National Revenues, prohibiting the importation of Cuba's sugar, and other required goods.

Hand in hand with our loss of markets, came the increase in duties on implements of production of our dairymen already suffering from a 60% reduction in fat values, and cream separators, formerly free, were increased 25%, or $25.00 on the average priced machine. Most of the other necessary farm implements and extra parts for repairs were also raised by tariff increases, greatly aggravating in this Province the effect of the world economic depression. As the actual worth of prices received for farm products is

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valued in proportion to their purchasing power that is also influenced by tariff levies on the necessities of life.

Many varied and fantastic methods have been adopted by by the Bennett administration to tax indirectly the necessities of our people, the result of which has been that while the prices of farm products from 1930 to 1932 had decreased by an average of 42%, the necessities of life had only decreased 20%. The opinion of leading economists that the world depression was intensified to a considerable degree by the endeavour of many nations to force the sale of goods on markets from which they refused to buy, has justified the "extension of trade policy", carried on by the previous Liberal administration.

To bring into effect national trade policies, national agriculture and livestock policies, national forest and fisheries policies, which will promote the greatest measure of prosperity and the most good to the greatest number of people in Canada, to establish a more uniform rate of Municipal, Provincial and Federal bond interest, it is necessary to obtain the fullest measure of co-operation between Provincial and Federal Governments, which is now only possible by electing a strong Liberal Government at Ottawa, with a clear working majority, led by our experienced Parliamentarians and outstanding Statesman, the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King. This need transcends all other considerations now before the electorate.

The tidal wave of liberalism that has swept over Canada, culminating in the annihilation of the Conservative Party of this Province was in a large measure due to the disappointment of the electors over the non-fulfillment of the bombastic pledges of the Conservative Leader that were made in 1930, "to end unemployment, to improve markets for Canadian products, and to pay 100% of the old age pension", none of which have

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(Hon. W. M. Lea)

been carried out.

Faced with the failure of their high protection policies, the Leader of the Conservative Party, and his former chiefly responsible lieutenant, are now attempting to purchase the support of the electors with their own hard earnings, through offers of monetary assistance to meet every request. This policy is disguised by Mr. Bennett under the cloak of 'reform' and by Mr. Stevens under the ill-fitting garment of 'reconstruction'. The thrifty provident producers of this Province view with alarm such fantastic proposals, and it is my considered opinion and prediction that on October 14th, four Liberal candidates will be elected from the Province of Prince Edward Island with the largest majorities on record, and that every one of the Stevens' candidates will lose his deposit.

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Coll - Elections - Gen. Elections 1935 - issues.
Statement MacLean's Magazine re Liberal Party C 115852

"THE ELECTION ISSUES AS I SEE THEM"

By Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

I welcome the opportunity courteously extended to me by MacLean's Magazine to present on behalf of the Liberal Party a statement on the issues of the present campaign. Self-government demands a continuing interest of the electorate in the management of public affairs. It requires a willingness on the part of the citizens of the country to study carefully the policies advocated by those who seek their support. It demands finally a readiness to pronounce a verdict of condemnation or approval of those who are entrusted with political authority. There has never been a time when it was more important that these civic obligations of criticism and judgment should be exercised faithfully by the electors of this Dominion.

Foremost among the issues of every general election is the record of the administration which is seeking a renewal of the confidence of the electorate. By what standard shall that record be appraised? Must it not be on the basis, first, of the expectations deliberately created in the minds of the people when that administration succeeded to political power, and, secondly, on the basis of the opportunities presented to it to fulfill those expectations? It is common knowledge that the path to office of the Bennett administration was paved with more alluring and extravagant promises than had ever been known in the political history of the Dominion. Familiar and melancholy as these promises are in retrospect, it is well to recall them to mind at this time and to recall also the fervour and assurance with which they were made. The people of Canada gave Mr. Bennett their support on the strength of such statements as the following:

> "I promise to end unemployment."
>
> "I propose to provide work for Canadians: Work, I said, not doles."
>
> "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages."
>
> "I will make tariffs fight for you ..... I will use them to blast a way into the markets that have been closed to you."

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Is not the Liberal Party justified in asking the electorate to analyze the record of the Bennett administration in the light of these promises?

No one will deny that from the moment that he assumed office Mr. Bennett was afforded every latitude by way of putting his own policies and those of his party into force. He called a special session to deal with unemployment in the autumn of 1930. He did as he pleased at that session. He attended the Imperial Conference at London a little later in the same year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by anyone in Canada. At the sessions of 1931 and 1932 every government measure that was introduced passed both houses of Parliament with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief administration. To save the Prime Minister from possible embarassment and to permit him a free hand in negotiation, the Liberal Party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. It must also be remembered that during his entire term of office Mr. Bennett enjoyed a decisive majority in both houses of Parliament. He cannot contend that his policies were frustrated by a lack of effective control over the executive and legislative machinery of government.

Mr. Bennett has had five years of this undisputed power to fulfill his promises. He has failed. Measured by every standard of public responsibility, his record stands condemned before the Canadian electorate of 1935. It is no defense at this late date to say that these promises were incapable of fulfillment. If they could not be implemented they ought not to have been made by the responsible leader of a political party. The failure to fulfill these promises not only reflects upon his administration and his party, but has also tended to undermine that public confidence in political leaders which lies at the foundation of responsible government.

It is now apparent that Mr. Stevens and Mr. Woodsworth are contributing to a further subversion of responsible government. The Reconstruction Party has assumed the threadbare mantle which Mr. Bennett

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were in 1930 and now promises a 1935 edition of the economic millenium. Mr. Woodsworth, on the other hand, has openly declared that he is not prepared to assume office. He seeks minority control which can only mean the assumption of power without responsibility. He would exercise that power with a view to the substitution of Socialism for the present economic order. In examining these policies it is well to recall that both the Reconstruction Party and the C.C.F. were born during Mr. Bennett's regime. Like all third parties, they are bred of hard times or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression, or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part rather than with the whole of the country. The effect is to confuse the issues before the electorate. To the Liberal Party, however, these issues are clear-cut.

Apart from the record of the Bennett administration the competing policies which comprise the crucial issues now confronting the people of Canada must be considered, first, in the light of the political traditions of parliamentary government and civil liberty long established in this Dominion, and, secondly, in relation to the needs of the immediate situation. The question which I regard as all-important in this campaign can be expressed in a single word. That word is "whither". Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country and who value freedom and free institutions. It is a word which above all should appeal to the youth of our land who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain. We have witnessed the decline of freedom and self-government in Europe. We have seen the persistent trend towards dictatorial administration in Canada. We see that similar tendencies underlie and control the policies of the Reconstruction and C.C.F. Parties. It is well therefore to ask ourselves the question - whither have we been tending in the past five years and whither are we likely to tend if some of the doctrines being

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advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to the electorate today are given countenance in our land. For my part, as leader of the Liberal Party, I propose to stand or fall upholding in all things the parliamentary method of government. I ~~propose~~ intend to test all policies and ~~proposals~~ measures by the simple method of asking whither they tend. If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method and thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

The programmes of more than one of the parties have tended to obscure these larger considerations which I regard as of major importance in this campaign. We of the Liberal Party have felt it to be our duty to keep these basic principles to the fore in order to retain a clear national perspective towards the issues of the day. We recognize that the electorate is justified in expecting a statement of policies designed to meet our immediate problems. We believe that such a statement should represent something more than the whims of a party leader or the desire of a small group to gain political power. Holding this view, the Liberal Party is not presenting to the electorate of Canada a last-minute programme drafted to catch the passing breeze of a particular day or hour. It makes no appeal to prejudice and sectional interest; it does not seek to arouse class against class; it does not court popular favour by promising the achievement of the impossible. The authority which lies behind the statement of Liberal policy constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal Party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the Party's undertakings carried out. The policies are those which the Liberal Members of the House of Commons have been consistently advocating during the past five years. They have received not only the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party, but also the approval and endorsation of the party generally throughout the country.

UNEMPLOYMENT OF FIRST CONCERN

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through

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Pencil Insertion - page 5:

I would refer my readers to what I said in the third of my pre-campaign radio broadcasts for a more detailed statement of exactly how the Liberal party proposes to give effect to its policies respecting unemployment and to the policies themselves. Too much importance cannot be attached to what is therein set forth as the means by which the party hopes and expects steadily to diminish the numbers of unemployed and steadily to increase the numbers of the employed.

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A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

I would refer my readers to what I said in the third of my pre-campaign radio broadcasts for a more detailed statement of exactly how the Liberal party proposes to give effect to its policies respecting unemployment and to the policies themselves. Too much importance cannot be attached to what is therein set forth as the means by which the party hopes and expects steadily to diminish the numbers of unemployed and steadily to increase the numbers of employed.

LIBERATION OF EXTERNAL TRADE

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will ABOLISH the extravagant INCREASES IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the

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development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

LIBERATION OF INTERNAL TRADE

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, has been aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry, which more than a year later, were publicly disclosed, before the Mass Buying and Spreads Committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission1

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY INDUSTRIES.

The Liberal party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal party is opposed to state assistance, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor in Council, apart from Parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representative of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of Parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in Parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign

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trade away from the control of Parliament and into his own hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, and to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements, namely, that the Act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, and not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before Parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

CONTROL OF CREDIT

> The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal Party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading economists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in Parliament,

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in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of Parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has thus been lost, and to secure a "properly constituted" National Central Bank, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

CONTROL OF INVESTMENTS

The Liberal party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stock and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

How far short the legislation enacted by the present administration has fallen of what is here proposed, should be apparent toa all.

SAFEGUARDING OF NATIONAL RAILWAYS

The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as A PUBLICLY OWNED AND PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SERVICE.

This statement of policy will, I hope, serve to remove all doubt as to Liberal members of the House of Commons favouring the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control, or of their countenancing either at the present time or in the next Parliament of Canada, the formation of any national government which may have this end in view.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF INDUSTRY

The Liberal party believes that INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations, as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger

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share in the government of industry.

On the subject of industrial reconstruction, I shall have much to say throughout the campaign.

RESTORATION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of Parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of a FREE PARLIAMENT, and for the supremacy of Parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives Parliament of its control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditure of any kind.

What the government alleged to be emergency measures, to aid in the relief of the unemployed, have turned out to be a part of a deliberate policy, directed towards accustoming the public mind to the framework of the Fascist state. We cannot too soon once more subject the executive to the control of Parliament, if we are longer to have responsible government in Canada.

RE-ASSERTION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY

The Liberal party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitrary deportations.

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The Liberal Party will give no quarter to Communism in Canada. Those who advocate the overthrow, by force, of our existing institutions, are enemies of society, and should be so regarded. This is no reason, however, why every avenue of redress should not be open to those who have legitimate grievances. Arbitrary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

ELECTORAL REFORM

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

A BALANCED BUDGET

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST OF THE PUBLIC DEBT by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION and by INCREASED REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOOD-WILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

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MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEEDS, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of the COMMON GOOD.

This statement of policy represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. It is not as profuse in promises as are the programmes of other parties; it does not offer a panacea for all national ills; it does not pretend to cover every possible problem. There is no finality in the affairs of a nation. A Liberal government will be prepared to meet new problems as they arise. But, to give effect to its policies, particularly in the face of a Tory Senate, that government requires a clear mandate from the people. There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were, on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or withholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason. Such, however, is not the situation in Canada today. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the government which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years, will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has laboured for so long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms. I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

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EXTRACTS

from Speeches of

HAMNETT P. HILL, K.C.

Conservative Candidate in West Ottawa

YOUR VOTE AND INFLUENCE ARE REQUESTED FOR H

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MR. BENNETT

How often have we heard people express the wish that a business man should become Prime Minister of this country. Mr. Bennett before he took up politics seriously was one of Canada's outstanding business men and was one of her leading—if not, her leading lawyer. This is a combination of attributes which made him invaluable to our country when it was caught in the most severe economic whirlwind that is recorded in the history of the world. Do you know any other man in Canada more capable than he?

C115865

A Great Leader Whose Name Will Live

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Civil Service Promises

Mr. Bennett in the Election Campaign of 1930 speaking in the Auditorium promised to add to the Civil Service Commission a member chosen from the ranks. He has more than redeemed this promise having appointed Mr. C. H. Bland, Chairman, and Mr. A. Potvin, a member. There has not been a shadow of suspicion of the slightest political interference with the work of the Civil Service Commission during his term of office.

C115866

Keeps Promise to Civil Service

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Imperial Trade Agreements

For negotiating the Imperial Trade Agreements Mr. Bennett will rank in history with Sir John A. MacDonald's work in bringing about Confederation. It brought us a free market of forty million people to sell to and protected that market for us against all foreign nations. Could Canadians have asked for a greater achievement from any Prime Minister? Its immediate result was an increase of one hundred and ten million dollars in our exports to Great Britain and as the years pass this amount will grow greater and greater.

C 115867

Pulled Canada Out of Depression

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A Promise Redeemed

When, in 1932, the government was most reluctantly forced to reduce the cost of government, Mr. Bennett promised that as soon as finances would permit, the deduction would be cancelled. At the end of the fiscal year on March 31st, 1935, the revenue exceeded the expenditure by about $7,000,000.00— Mr. Bennett could have made himself popular all over Canada on the eve of the election by reducing the income tax on small incomes. This would have made headlines in the newspapers from coast to coast and brought his candidates many votes, but he remembered his promise to the Civil Servants of Ottawa and preferred to redeem that promise.

C 115868

Fulfilled His Promises

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Bank of Canada

Mr. King and Mr. Stevens have announced that the Bank of Canada should be a publicly owned bank and that if elected they will make it so. A publicly owned bank has a nice sound to it but if we reflect that it means a politically controlled bank one gets a shock. We have seen what an orgy of extravagance was indulged in with respect to the publicly owned railway. In 1928 and 1929 the pork barrel was rolled from Halifax to Vancouver stopping wherever the Liberal Party needed assistance. God forbid that our banks should similarly become the plaything of greedy politicians. Protect your bank accounts and our banking system by voting for H. P. Hill, the only candidate in West Ottawa who is opposed to a politically controlled bank.

C 115869

Keep Bank of Canada Out of Politics

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Social Legislation

Mr. Bennett when he took up politics seriously divested himself of all his professional briefs and since then has held but one brief, namely that for the people of Canada and he has given to that brief all the care, attention, study and thought which brought him success before the Courts. He has developed into the greatest social and capitalistic reformer that this country has ever had in public life. With none of the wiles and tub-thumping of the demagogue and with no thought of vote-catching, but with the earnest, sincere hope that he can better the condition of Canadians generally he has placed on the Statute book of this country more advanced and valuable social legislation than any Prime Minister in our history.

C 115870

Has Led Way in Social Reform

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The Tariff

Mr. Bennett made tariffs fight for Canada. Mr. King says he will deal with other countries in tariff matters on the principle of "doing unto others what we would have them do unto us." This pious platitude has no place in international trade agreements to be made with the hard-headed practical politicians of Europe or the United States. The only principle they understand is Mr. Bennett's of "doing to you, what you do to us." The best evidence of this is to compare the results of Mr. King's French Treaty of 1922 with its annual record of unfavourable trade balance with Mr. Bennett's French Treaty of 1933 and its annual record of favourable trade balances. Despite the difficulties of making trade agreements during the depression, Mr. Bennett negotiated six trade treaties (apart from the Imperial Trade Agreements) and these gave Canada a favourable trade balance of over twenty millions.

C 115871

Tariff Policy Saved Canada

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Veterans

From 1914 to 1918, fellow Canadians on the fields of Flanders went through a veritable hell for us who for various reasons were obliged to stay at home. We can never adequately show our appreciation of what they did, but we can all make it our duty to see that every ex-serviceman is properly maintained and looked after. For that reason the proposals of the Hyndman Commission find a ready and cordial support not only from one but from every Canadian with a heart.

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Will Give Veterans New Deal

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GENERAL ELECTION, 1930.

Popular vote by parties and Provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press.

	Con.	Lib.	Pro.	L.Pro.	Labour	Ind.	U.F.A.	Farmer	Communist.
Ont.	745,414	590,071	12,815	-	992	8,785	-	-	1,499
Que.	456,037	542,135	-	-	-	21,776	-	-	313
N.S.	140,513	127,189	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N.B.	109,839	75,221	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Man.	111,312	37,234	-	59,155	19,809	2,018	-	-	3,873
B.C.	119,074	98,933	-	-	15,732	7,894	-	-	-
P.E.I.	29,692	29,698	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sask.	129,420	153,673	18,178	-	-	6,155	-	22,766	-
Alta.	67,808	60,148	-	-	8,769	2,727	60,924	-	-
Yukon	846	558	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	1,909,955	1,714,860	30,993	59,155	45,302	49,355	60,924	22,766	5,685

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

Popular vote by parties and Provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press.

	Lib.	Cons.	Recon.	C.C.F.	Social Credit	Ind. Lib.	Comm.	Others	Rej. ballots	Total.
Ont.	675,858	562,498	181,994	129,453	-	14,459	8,945	21,089	13,972	1,608,268
Que.	623,442	323,153	103,855	7,326	-	70,489	3,385	14,693	16,236	1,162,579
N.S.	142,316	87,893	38,170	-	-	-	5,365	-	1,754	275,498
N.B.	100,537	56,145	18,408	-	-	672	-	-	1,723	177,485
P.E.I.	35,757	23,602	2,089	-	-	-	-	-	192	61,640
Man.	100,535	75,574	16,439	54,491	5,751	18,973	9,229	-	3,597	284,589
B.C.	91,707	71,008	19,208	96,980	1,796	-	1,555	6,446	3,624	292,324
Sask.	134,913	71,283	2,273	73,504	63,593	-	-	-	1,957	347,523
Alta.	50,529	40,236	1,785	29,066	111,626	-	2,672	2,588	2,589	241,091
Yukon	-	-	-	-		555	-	696	14	1,265
Totals	1,955,594	1,311,392	384,221	390,820	182,766	105,148	31,151	45,512	45,658	4,452,262

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GENERAL ELECTION, 1930.

Popular vote by parties and Provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press.

	Con.	Lib.	Pro.	L.Pro.	Labour	Ind.	U.F.A.	Farmer	Commun-ist.
Ont.	745,414	590,071	12,815	-	992	8,785	-	-	1,499
Que.	456,037	542,135	-	-	-	21,776	-	-	313
N.S.	140,513	127,189	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N.B.	109,839	75,221	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Man.	111,312	37,234	-	59,155	19,809	2,018	-	-	3,873
B.C.	119,074	98,933	-	-	15,732	7,894	-	-	-
P.E.I.	29,692	29,698	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sask.	129,420	153,673	18,178	-	-	6,155	-	22,766	-
Alta.	67,808	60,148	-	-	8,769	2,727	60,924	-	-
Yukon	846	558	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	1,909,955	1,714,860	30,993	59,155	45,302	49,355	60,924	22,766	5,685

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Ont.	675,858	562,498	181,994	129,453	-	14,459	8,945	21,089	13,972	1,608,268
Que.	623,442	323,153	103,855	7,326	-	70,489	3,385	14,693	16,236	1,162,579
N.S.	142,316	87,893	38,170	-	-	-	5,365	-	1,754	275,498
N.B.	100,537	56,145	18,408	-	-	672	-	-	1,723	177,485
P.E.I.	35,757	23,602	2,089	-	-	-	-	-	192	61,640
Man.	100,535	75,574	16,439	54,491	5,751	18,973	9,229	-	3,597	284,589
B.C.	91,707	71,008	19,208	96,980	1,796	-	1,555	6,446	3,624	292,324
Sask.	134,913	71,283	2,273	73,504	63,593	-	-	-	1,957	347,523
Alta.	50,529	40,236	1,785	29,066	111,626	-	2,672	2,588	2,589	241,091
Yukon	-	-	-	-		555	-	696	14	1,265
Totals	1,955,594	1,311,392	384,221	390,820	182,766	105,148	31,151	45,512	45,658	4,452,262

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C 115875

GENERAL ELECTION, 1930.

Popular vote by parties and Provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press.

	Con.	Lib.	Pro.	L.Pro.	Labour	Ind.	U.F.A.	Farmer	Commun-ist.
Ont.	745,414	590,071	12,815	-	992	8,785	-	-	1,499
Que.	456,037	542,135	-	-	-	21,776	-	-	313
N.S.	140,513	127,189	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N.B.	109,839	75,221	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Man.	111,312	37,234	-	59,155	19,809	2,018	-	-	3,873
B.C.	119,074	98,933	-	-	15,732	7,894	-	-	-
P.E.I.	29,692	29,698	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sask.	129,420	153,673	18,178	-	-	6,155	-	22,766	-
Alta.	67,808	60,148	-	-	8,769	2,727	60,924	-	-
Yukon	846	558	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	1,909,955	1,714,860	30,993	59,155	45,302	49,355	60,924	22,766	5,685

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

Popular vote by parties and Provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press.

	Lib.	Cons.	Recon.	C.C.F.	Social Credit	Ind. Lib.	Comm.	Others	Rej. ballots	Total.
Ont.	675,858	562,498	181,994	129,453	-	14,459	8,945	21,089	13,972	1,608,268
Que.	623,442	323,153	103,855	7,326	-	70,489	3,385	14,693	16,236	1,162,579
N.S.	142,316	87,893	38,170	-	-	-	5,365	-	1,754	275,498
N.B.	100,537	56,145	18,408	-	-	672	-	-	1,723	177,485
P.E.I.	35,757	23,602	2,089	-	-	-	-	-	192	61,640
Man.	100,535	75,574	16,439	54,491	5,751	18,973	9,229	-	3,597	284,589
B.C.	91,707	71,008	19,208	96,980	1,796	-	1,555	6,446	3,624	292,324
Sask.	134,913	71,283	2,273	73,504	63,593	-	-	-	1,957	347,523
Alta.	50,529	40,236	1,785	29,066	111,626	-	2,672	2,588	2,589	241,091
Yukon	-	-	-	-		555	-	696	14	1,265
Totals	1,955,594	1,311,392	384,221	390,820	182,766	105,148	31,151	45,512	45,658	4,452,262

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Coll - Gen Elect 1 C5 115876

Subjects for Vancouver

Unemployment -

Relief Camps

Labour & Industry -

C.C.F. - Section 98 - possibility of interruption re.

Credit & Banking -

Veterans -

Hyndman Report.

Local Matters -

Narrows Bridge

Sein Fishing.

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CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect. C 115877 issues

Issues Important in Vancouver

1. Trade Trade Trade

2. Public ownership and control of Bank of Canada.

3. The issue with Japan.

4. First Narrows Bridge

5. Abolition of Relief Camps.

Re for First Narrow Bridge

I am aware that the citizens of Vancouver have, by a large majority, endorsed by plebiscite the construction of a bridge over the First Narrows. Naturally, I should like to carry out the wishes of this great city and you may rest assured that I shall be most sympathetic and shall be guided by the very best engineering opinion available to the Government.

Krypton Extra Strong

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Dictatorship
Municipal

Coll. Gen. C115878
- issues

Expenditures - Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Fiscal Year	Total Expenditure	Increase over Previous Year
1929-30	$3,100,825.55	
1930-31	3,166,978.34	$ 66,152.79
1931-32	3,568,656.81	401,678.47
1932-33	5,820,386.36	2,251.729.55

Total increase since
Fiscal Year 1939-30 -

$2,719,560.81.

Note: Increases due to additional duties involved in policing Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Maritime provinces, as well as expansion of activities generally.

(Auditor General's Report, Volume I, for fiscal years, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933.)

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CANADA

Coll - Gen Election 1935

C 115879

Dictatorship - General

Government Control and Regulation

"In my mind, reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation."

Mr. Bennett, Radio Speech, Jan. 2, 1935

Mr. Bennett mistakes means for the end;

Intervention not an end, but means to an end - like laissez-faire;

End = liberty and freedom;

Reform in hands of Tories is bound to be bungled;

Tory definition of reform = government control and regulation;

Liberal "definition " = Parliamentary control and regulation.

Struggle to subject government to Parliament -

began with control over taxes;

blank cheque;

Control of public purse first condition of political liberty -

Neither writings nor words solemnly sworn will guarantee it;

people tax themselves, is not enough;

that they say how much, is not enough;

they must say what for.

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CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect 1935 issues.

C 115880

Honourable H. H. Stevens

Re Dictatorship

(Cranbrook, B.C., July 30th, 1935

Vancouver Daily Province, July 31st, 1935)

"There is a demand abroad for the restoration of control of Canada's affairs to the Canadian people. That is what I am fighting for."

Kryptok Extra Strong

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll. Gen. Elect of 1935 - issues

C115881 p. 43

Precis of

"THE LION'S LAIR." by Wm. Moore July 1935.

Canada being caught in currents that swept liberty out of greater part of Europe in our time.

This by adoption of social measures within life of this parliament that could not be handled by elected representatives.

This followed by cry for more of such measures, and for change in constitution, to shape government to their administration.

This means at the last, end of self government.

What is this Liberty?

word being used in sense of freedom to govern ourselves.

Salient features;

1. Right to vote

   a. Secret ballot

   b. Results in selection of representation where laws being made.

2. Delegation of power to elected representatives.

   a. for specified period

   b. by diffusion of power delegated: Provincial and Federal.

3. Government in presence of Opposition: public business in the open.

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CANADA

C 115882

3.(Continued)

a. This means parties.

. What is substitute?

A National Party?

This precisely the early cry of Nazis and Fascists- results in 'good men' uniting vs 'bad men' and finally in suppression- purge independence of opinion within ranks.

b. Party system carried into Parliament gives better results than any other system- British form of government yields best results.

Ought these old landmarks to be retained?

Some demand operation of industry by government.

Others demand planning of industry by government., but present political system cannot do these things well.

British parliaments not designed for business administration- not capable of it - but they are essential prerogative of free people

Canada has adopted measures of State Socialism and Fascism- has organizations to promote more.

Canada is caught in currents that inundate political liberties.

cal

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 115883

These issues we have to decide in this election- at a time when our minds worn down by depression, and more easily the prey of propaganda designed to change social order.

But conditions worse in countries that have gone further on with measures of socialism or fascism.

All part of a plot laid for our undoing.

Some actors in good faith

Others not so innocent

Under guise of class privilege.

We are told competitive service is unethical- Combines are good- price fixing a virtue- day of open market is gone- monopoly is called "compulsory Co-operation."

But the open market and political liberty came together- and they will go together.

History shows Economic monopoly and political autocracy are inseparable.

Frame work already laid in Canada for a Fascist State.

Electors faced with heavy responsibility on voting day:

Two lairs:

State Socialism (Russia)

Corporativism (Italy)

These systems of Government make war on Liberalism.

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CANADA

C 115884

When they destroy Liberalism they turn to rend each other.

They say Liberalism cause of depression

But what are causes of the depression:

1. Great War- bringing about derangement of channels of trade.

2. War brought about control and regulation of industry.

3. After war- managed currency, resulting in inflation and repudiation.

4. Creation of numerous small states- uneconomically founded.

5. Organization of pools in Canada etc. then Government Assistance

6. Encouragement of production of food in European States- quotas, duties, etc. etc.

Elections have choice of three roads.

Social democracy- has broken down wherever tried.

Fascism - dictatorship.

Liberalism - alone has been able to maintain Government by free periodical elections.

Most men prefer freedom

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CANADA

Moore - It is <u>the volume</u> that counts.

It is the flood that wipes out freedom and brings dictatorship.

Mr. Bennett has laid the frame work of a fascist state in Canada (the flood)

With another five years of such legislation, I venture to predict you will be looking back on the vote cast in this election as your final participation in the act of self-government.

The Lion's Lair

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CANADA

Coll - Gen. Election 1935
-issues.

C 115886

Bennett's Radio Speeches - Phraseology

Compare trial of myself over radio with Cabinet meeting -

prosecutor;

counsel for defence;

jury;

judge.

- make the charge; prosecute;

sentence.

See statement re judicial function more important than legislative. See Exhibit.

Before Parliament reassembles (after Crown calls Parliament together)

usurps prerogative of Sovereign "my government";

While in radio speeches, Bennett talks of "my government", "my Ministers", in speech from Throne, referred to by Gov. Gen. as "my government" "my Ministers".

- whose governemtn is it anyway?

Note use made of Gov. Gen. in last paragraph:

"May God give you strength to support, by your unremitting labours, this great movement towards happier days."

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Coll - Em Election of 1935 - issues (1935) &c.

THOS. ROBERTSON, President

J. W. SANDERSON, 1st Vice-President
J. M. CUELENAERE, 2nd Vice-President

GEO. L. DEMPSTER, Secretary-Treasurer

TELEPHONE 2029

C115887

The Federal Constituency of Prince Albert Liberal Association

PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.,

Following respectfully submitted for Mr King's Consideration and if thought necessary his opinions on monday evening:-

The Bennett housing scheme loan has not yet been felt in Prince Albert and no information can be had from any source, conservative or other on it.-

Something regarding the development of the 1000000 latent horse power north of the city, 300000 Hp of which according to expert engineering advice can be developed cheaper than any block of the same size in the Dominion of Canada - This would make Prince Albert the manufacturing centre of the province.

While railwaymen know Mr King's policy is entirely against anything which would interfere with the CNR the question has been asked what would be Mr Kings attitude in case the CPR came to the end of the trail and insisted they were unable to carry on & thereby threw the system on the Government.-

How would Mr King handle this?

The present pension scheme of the CNR is that each employee after having accumulated 10 years service can pay towards his pension up to 10% of his salary to which the Company will add up to 5%

The retiring age being 65 - It is thought if the Government would contribute 5% the same as the Company that the age of retirement could be reduced to 60 and in 5 years time to 55 thereby entirely eliminating any unemployment in railway circles - That portion of the monies now used for relief of railwaymen their wives & families would be applied to the 5% the government might contribute additional

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CANADA

Dictatorship
General

Coll - Gen Elect 1935 - issues

C 115888

Moore - It is the volume that counts.

It is the flood that wipes out freedom and brings dictatorship.

Mr. Bennett has laid the frame work of a fascist state in Canada (the flood)

With another five years of such legislation, I venture to predict you will be looking back on the vote cast in this election as your final participation in the act of self-government.

The Lion's Lair

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CANADA

Dictatorship - General

Coll - Gen. Election of 1935 - issues

C115889

The Question of Control

"In my mind, reform means government intervention. It means government control and regulation."

Mr. Bennett, Radio Speech, Jan. 2, 1935

-A-

Mr. Bennett's Record re

Control Wrested from House of Commons

1. General Powers of Parliament:

a. Expenditure and Taxation -

i - Special Session 1930 -

$20,000,000 vote for unemployment in lump sum -

no specific appropriations; no control by Parlt.

No auditing of grants -

"insult to provinces";

Auditor General servant of Parliament - not used.

ii - "Blank Cheque" -

Executive took power, at session 1931, to spend

unnamed and unlimited amounts for relief purposes;

no control by Parliament; no auditing;

vast expenditures 1930-35 - $160,000,000;

control over expenditures necessary to control over

taxation.

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CANADA

C115890

iii - Loans -

Under relief legislation, executive took powerto to make loans without approval of Parliament;

March 31, 1935, loans to provinces outstanding - $82,000,000;

- vast liability in assumption of which Parliament had no voice or control.

iv - Guarantees -

also took power to guarantee loans;

March 31, 1935, guarantees outstanding - $66,000,000 - another vast liability with which Parliament had nothing to do;

guarantees made re -

Newfoundland;

Beauharnois;

Steel Companies;

C. P. R. - $60,000,000;

Wheat - estimated liability May 31, 1935, $7,000,000; not included in above total.

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C 115891

b. Legislation -

i - Peace, Order and Good Government -

At session 1931, and each year since, government took power to legislate by order-in-council on any subject under this heading.

In 1932 session, took this power for period even while Parliament in session.

ii - Action taken under -

Prohibition of export of gold;

Revaluation of securities of insurance companies for balance sheet purposes;

These powers in poosession of Government even when Parliament dissolved;

No guarantee to what lengths government may not go.

2. Railways:

a. Board of Trustees -

Government took C.N.R. out of hands of Board of Directors appointed by government at pleasure;

Placed in hands of Board of Trustees appointed for fixed term;

- control not by H. of C., but by Tory appointees.

b. Removal of Trustees -

Can be removed only by vote of both Houses of Parliament;

Tory Senate -

ultimate control of railways in hands of Tory Senate.

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3. Currency and Credit:

a. Transfer to Bank of Canada -

i - National currency handed over to Bank by Department of Finance - $69,000,000 in gold actually transferred;

ii - Rediscounting function (i.e. control over volume of credit) and securities on deposit for this purpose - also transferred.

b. Control of Bank of Canada -

i - Board -

7 directors appointed by private shareholders;

Governor, and Deputy Governor appointed by government for fixed term;

Deputy Minister of Finance - no vote;

ii - Control -

in hands of private corporation;

in part, in hands of Tory appointees;

change in constitution of Bank, requires consent of Tory Senate.

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4. Trade.

(a) Tariffs by Executive Action -

Customs and Tariff amendments special session gave Executive power to change regulations; impose dump duties; exchange duties.

Instability and excess of these special arbitrary duties have strangled trade as much as high tariffs.

(b) Marketing Act -

(i) - Permits Executive to prohibit import of any regulated product;

(ii) - to prohibit export of any natural product.

i and ii = great part of foreign trade.

(c) Ottawa Agreements -

(i) - Margin of preference guaranteed; tariffs "pegged";

(ii) - Agreements run five years;

(iii) - Intermediate tariff raised to height of general - no negotiating;

(iv) - House of Commons cannot lower duties below those levels, without:

revision of agreements;

consent of Tory Senate.

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4. Trade.

(d) Wheat Agreement -

(i) - Not authorized, or ratified, or even presented to Parliament;

(ii) - Policy of scarcity inaugurated without consent of people's representatives.

5. Marketing Act.

(a) Gives Executive, not Parliament, power to approve of schemes for marketing natural products;

(b) Schemes enable local, self-interested, economic groups to:

(i) - limite sale;

(ii) - limit production - licences; (scarcity)

(iii) --create monopolies;

(iv) - create fines and penalties.

Negation of parliamentary system

" " British law.

(Magna Carta).

6. Titles.
Restored

(a) by Executive action;

(b) in defiance of resolution of House of Commons.

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- B -

Liberal Attitude

Restore Control to People's Representatives.

1. General Powers of Parliament -

(a) Expenditure and Taxation:

(i) - abolish blank cheque;

(after Parliament has opportunity to vote specific sums for relief purposes).

(ii) - restore practice of voting specific appropriations with fullest details;

(iii) - allow Auditor-General fullest scope;

(iv) - use Governor-General's warrants where extreme contingencies arise;

(v) - restore fullest measure of control to H. of C.

(b) Legislation:

(i) - abolish "Peace, Order and Good Government" clause;

(ii) - restore fullest measure of control to H. of C. -

Parliament, not Cabinet, legislative branch;

Liberalism = Trust of the people;

express of their will through representatives;

Parliament knows needs of people and remedies better than any other body.

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2. Railways.

(a) Place trustees under control of H. of C.

(b) No amalgamation under private ownership or control.

3. Credit and Currency.

(a) Liberalism believes this to be a first responsibility of Govt.

(b) Social or Community control required -

(i) - Board of Bank of Canada to be subjected to measure of state control to ensure furtherance of public, not private, aims;

(ii) - Does not necessarily mean Government to buy over all shares.

4. Trade.

(a) End making of tariffs by Executive action -

(i) abolish extra unwarranted special duties as imposed by Bennett Administration;

(ii) restore to Parliament full control over tariff and largest measure of control over regulations;

(iii) tariff stability necessary to trade recovery.

(b) Marketing Act -

abolish power to control foreign trade.

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4. Trade.

(c) Ottawa Agreements -

(i) revision necessary -

believe as much desired in Britain as here;

(ii) preference by percentage reductions;

(iii) restore fiscal freedom of Parliament -

no pegging;

provision for amendment;

(iv) restore intermediate tariff as basis of negotiating reciprocal agreements with other countries.

(d) Wheat Agreement -

(i) repudiation unnecessary -

still-born;

(ii) abandon policy of scarcity -

instead, policy of production and exchange.

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C 115898

5. Marketing Act.

(a) Restore control to Parliament by requiring approval of schemes by both Houses;

(b) Revision necessary to -

(i) restore making of criminal law by Parliament;

(ii) protect interests of consumers;

(iii) guard against monopolies.

(c) State assistance for marketing -

(i) Party not opposed to;

(ii) Advocated as early as 1935.

6. Titles.

Will ask House of Commons to abolish.

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Dictatorship General

Coll. Gen. Elect 1935

C 115899

Unemployment and Relief

Bennett Record re Expenditures etc.
(Sept. 1930 to Nov. 1, 1935.)

Expenditures	-	$192,000,000	(or more than the total expenditure of Canada in any fiscal year up to fiscal year 1914-15.)
		over 200,000,000	
Loans	-	95,000,000	
Guarantees (Excluding $97,000,000 re wheat.)	-	63,000,000	
		$350,000,000.	

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Sept/38 [illegible]
Re etatorship - General

Coll - Gen. Elect 1935
- issues

C 115900

Note re Abolishing Parliamentary Method.

Leave out:

Shall be paid (or defrayed) out of such appropriations as are provided by parliament.

Regulations shall be laid before Houses of Parliament within 15 days.

Minister shall lay within 15 days before Parliament an annual report.

(Left out of Relief Acts, etc.)

Issue of Stevens' pamphlet while parliament not in session -

Rights of Parliament violated;

rules definite and precise re comments on proceeding of parliamentary committee.

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Cell-Gen. Elect 1935 - issues.

Authorship General

C 115901

Public Works Construction Programme 1934.

Military and Police Expenditures

Appropriations contained in Schedule "A":

Barracks, Permanent Force, Calgary,	$1,200,000.
Barracks, R.C.M.P., Edmonton,	200,000.
Royal Military College, Kingston,	350,000.
Armoury, Montreal,	200,000.
R.C.M.P. Building, Ottawa,	1,200,000.
Armoury, Vancouver,	240,000.

Sept. 1934.

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Dictatorship General

Coll. Gen. Elect. 1935 issues

C 115902

Government Has Ignored or Suppressed Functions of Parliament:

Blank Cheque:

Appropriations in general, not specific terms;
Appropriations in unlimited amounts;
Have resulted in vast sums of money being spent without authority or supervision of House of Commons.

Blanket Authority:

Legislation by order in council re Peace, Order and Good Government;
See list re for actions taken under this authority without consulting Parliament.

Tariff:

Tariff rates altered and arbitrary valuations made by order in council.

Imperial Conference 1930:

House of Commons not taken into confidence of Prime Minister at Special Session 1930;
Policies enunciated at London never authorized in general election or by Parliament.

Imperial Conference 1932:

Agreements deprive Parliament of control of fiscal policies;
Agreements make it impossible for Parliament to reduce tariff for five years below certain levels;
Agreements approved before schedules of rates were examined.

Wheat Agreement:

No discussion in Parliament before Agreement entered into;
Not yet submitted for ratification.

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Titles:

Restored in defiance of resolution of House of Commons.

Estimates 1932:

Printed with 10% cut before cut authorized or discussed; Indemnities of Members and Senators reduced and this phrase attached, "These reductions will be authorized b legislation".

Gordon Committee:

Motion re made before Governor General thanked for address or public questions discussed.

Prime Minister & Judiciary:

Prime Minister has stated judiciary most important branch of government.

Acceptance of Painting of Vimy Ridge:

Accepted by Prime Minister himself, disregarding Order in Council re acceptance of works of art.

Canadian National Railways:

Placed under Board of Trustees removeable only by both Houses of Parliament.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Antalowship General

Coll - Gen. Elect 1935 - issues.

C 115,904

Measures and actions deferred by Bennett Government to last part of term to influence electorate through patronage and otherwise, and to retain control over its own following.

1934 Session:

Bank of Canada Act

Natural Products Marketing Act

Canadian Farm Loan Act

Farmers Creditors' Arrangement Act

Public Works Construction Act - $40,000,000. program of public works.

1935 Session:

Social Reform -

Unemployment Insurance

8 hour day

weekly rest

minimum wages

economic council

trade and industry commission

fair wages and hours of labour

companies act

Supplementary Public Works Construction Act -

1. guarantee loans to railways for construction of equipment -

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 115905

(a) Canadian National - $8,000,000.

(b) Canadian Pacific - $7,000,000.

2. $18,000,000. in various public works, for which tenders need not be called, including -

(a) $1,000,000. for elimination of railway level crossings (to be administered by railway commission - Guthrie)

(b) $1,000,000. for tunnel under Toronto habbour

Canadian Wheat Board Act -

provides among other things, for payment to farmers for their wheat

Canadian Farm Loan Act (Ammendment) -

to provide for further expansion of credit to farmers.

Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act -

re drought areas; why not in 1933 or 1934?

Income War Tax Act -

increases in rate

Canadian Fishermen's Loan Act -

to establish a system of long term mortgage credit for fishermen

Dominion Elections Act (alternative vote) -

withdrawn because of Liberal protest

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 115906

Since prorogation July 5th:

Appointments to -

Civil Service

Bench

Senate

Contracts - many without tender

Reciprocal Agreement with U.S.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 115907

Measures and actions deferred by Bennett Government to last part of term to influence electorate through patronage and otherwise, and to retain control over its own following.

1934 Session:

Bank of Canada Act

Natural Products Marketing Act

Canadian Farm Loan Act

Farmers Creditors' Arrangement Act

Public Works Construction Act - $40,000,000. program of public works.

1935 Session:

Social Reform -

Unemployment Insurance

8 hour day

weekly rest

minimum wages

economic council

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companies act

Supplementary Public Works Construction Act -

1. guarantee loans to railways for construction of equipment -

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 115908

(a) Canadian National - $8,000,000.

(b) Canadian Pacific - $7,000,000.

2. $18,000,000. in various public works, for which tenders need not be called, including -

(a) $1,000,000. for elimination of railway level crossings (to be administered by railway commission - Guthrie)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 115909

Since prorogation July 5th:

Appointments to -

Civil Service

Bench

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W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect 1935

C 115910

"Bribing the Electorate"

Dairy Products

Equalization Scheme, 1935

Reference re by Mr. Bennett,
Sherbrooke, Oct. 2nd, 1935
(Winnipeg Free Press, Oct. 3rd, 1935)

In the last session $1,000,000 had been voted as a stabilization fund to maintain the price to producers of dairy products. "I regret to say that the first cheques will not be paid until Oct. 15," Mr. Bennett continued, "and I hope that you farmers within the sound of my voice, when you get your cheques the day after the election, will not have qualms of conscience because you voted again the government that gave it to you."

1. Purpose of Scheme:

To encourage dairy farmers to produce cheese instead of butter.

2. Method:

Dairy farmer paid 1½¢ a pound for all cheese produced.

3. Payments:

Payments were made under Marketing Act.

Money for such payments was released by Orders in Council under dates

August 7th, P.C. 2022 ..... $500,000

September 26th, P.C. 2863.. $250,000

November 7th, P.C. 3493....$200,000

December 9th, P.C. 3796 ... $150,000

The total money paid from July 1st, 1935, to January 15th, 1936, was $1,055,497.97.

First cheques mailed Aug. 14, 1935.

(Election October 14th, 1935)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll - Gen. Elect 1935 - issue

C 115911

"Bribing the Electorate"

Text of Bill Board Posters used by the Conservative Party in Western Canada in the General Election of 1935.

STAND BY CANADA

McFARLAND SAVED THE WHEAT GROWER

BENNETT STANDS BY McFARLAND

BENNETT GAVE THE GRAIN GROWERS

$150,000,000 AND A WHEAT BOARD

STAND BY BENNETT'S GRAIN BOARD

FOR HIGHER WHEAT PRICES

VOTE

BENNETT

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Civil. Gen. Elect. 1935

C115912

File

"Bribing the Electorate"

Attempts to influence voters in General Election, 1935, by reference to expenditure of public money.

1. Conservative Bill Board Posters re Wheat:

   Text of Poster attached.

2. Dairy Products Equalization Scheme:

   Memo re attached.

3. Adjustment of Payments re 1930-31 Wheat Pool:

   Memo re attached.

4. Legislation and Public Works accumulated for purpose of influencing election:

   Memo re attached.

5. Social Credit:

   While Social Credit candidates in the Federal campaign did not actually offer $25.00 a month to the electors, there was the implication that such would be the result if Social Credit policies were put into operation in Canada as a whole.

6. Quotations from Sir Robert Borden re bribery.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect 1935 - issues

C 115913

"Bribing the Electorate"

Legislation and public works accumulated for purpose of influencing the outcome of the General Election of 1935.

1. Social Reform Legislation 1935 Session:

Certain Members of the Government themselves were doubtful as to the validity of the measures they sponsored.

2. Supplementary Public Works Construction Act:

1. guarantee loans to railways for construction of equipment

(a) Canadian National - $8,000,000

(b) Canadian Pacific - $7,000,000.

2. $18,000,000 in various public works, for which public tenders need not be called, including -

(a) $1,000,000 for elimination of railway level crossings (to be administered by railway commission - Guthrie)

(b) $1,000,000 for tunnel under Toronto Harbour.

3. Canadian Wheat Board Act:

provides among other things, for payment to farmers for their wheat.

4. Canadian Farm Loan Act (Amendment):

to provide for further expansion of credit to farmers.

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5. Canadian Fishermen's Loan Act:

to establish a system of long term mortgage credit for fishermen.

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Coll - Gen Election 1935

C. 115913

"Bribing the Electorate"

Sir Robert Borden, H. of C. January 20, 1909.

I say that the system of offering bribes to constituencies in this country is a vicious one, and that, so far as I am concerned, I lifted up my voice during the last parliament in favour of the prohibition by statute of such acts; and I hope some day to see this wrong righted in Canada by statute.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect 7 1935

C 115916

"Bribing the Electorate"

R. L. Borden

(Hansard, pp. 31-33, Jan. 22, 1909)

Bribery by wholesale is ten-fold more iniquitous and demoralizing and deserves tenfold more punishment at the hands of the law than ordinary bribery.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

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CANADA

Coll - Gen. Elect 1935.
C 115917

"Bribing the Electorate"

Adjustment of payments re 1930 Wheat Pool.

1. Order-in-Council:

On October 10th, 1935, P.C. 3199 was passed which authorized the Canadian Wheat Board to take over wheat and contracts from the Co-Operative Wheat Producers Limited and to pay the sum of $8,262,415.37. (Order-in-Council attached).

2. Purpose of Payments:

The purpose was to equalize the payments made to primary producers in connection with the 1930 Wheat Pool.

3. Press Announcements:

The Press of October 11th, 1935 (three days before the election) carried reports regarding the proposed payments and indicated the cheques would reach the farmers who were to benefit, on Monday, October 14th. (clipping attached).

4. The Action by Liberal Government:

The operation of the Order-in-Council was subject to the amount being "verified by auditors' certificates." The auditors' report has not yet been presented (January 21st, 1936) and no payments have been made.

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Dept. / Dictatorship - General

Coll - Gen Elect of 1935 - issues

C 115918

Re Authority of Parliament alienated

(1) purse

(2) legislation

(3) currency and credit

(4) railways

(5) trade -
valuation
wheat agreement
marketing

(6) marketing

(7) titles

(8) its own membership = representation:
vacancies
delay election
by-elections
provincial elections.

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CANADA

Form 7—8—34—70M.

C 115919

SHEET A: To be left at the elector's residence.

DOMINION FRANCHISE ACT

ENUMERATORS' NOTICE TO ELECTOR

Electoral District of Ottawa East

Urban Polling Division No. 73

NOTICE is hereby given that application having been made to the enumerators for the above polling division to include, in their preliminary list of electors therefor an entry as undernoted; such application has been disposed of as hereinafter mentioned. Also that if any entry made in such list is in any respect incorrect it may be corrected on application to the revising officer at the places and times of which public notice will hereafter be given by the Revising Officer for the above mentioned electoral district.

Name of Voter Right Hon W. L. Mackenzie King
(Family name first)

Occupation Leader of the Opposition

Address (335) Laurier House

THIS APPLICATION HAS BEEN {GRANTED / REFUSED}
(Strike out inapplicable word)

B. J. Gorman
Enumerator

A 699845 J. B. Hurgrois
Enumerator

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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Coll - Gen. Elect 1935.
C115920

ELECTORAL DATA

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

1. Party Standing in H. of C. after G. E., 1935.

Government:			
Liberal	170		
Ind. Lib.	6		
Lib.-Prog.	2	178	
Conservatives:		39	
Independents:			
Indep.-Cons.	1		
Reconstruction	1		
C.C.F.	7		
U.F.O.- Labour	1		
Social Credit	17		
Independent	1	28	245

2. Liberal Majority in New H. of C.

Majority of new Government over all opponents: 111;

(largest majority in Canadian history)

Previous largest majority, 1917, Unionist: 71;

Previous largest Liberal majority, 1904: 64;

Largest Conservative majority, (1878 / 1882) 68.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 115921

Popular Vote

Percentage of votes received by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
General Election 1930:	45.5%	48.9%	5.6%
" 1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

Minority Votes

Percentage of Members Elected by a Minority Vote, to Total No. of Members Elected by Each Party.

	Lib.	Cons.	Others	All Parties
1930:	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%
1935:	47.7%	87.5%	62.9%	55.9%

12. 87% of Lon. members in House today were elected by minority of votes,

while only

47% of Liberal members are elected by minority of votes.

(figures from Chief Electoral Officer.)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll - Gen. Elect 1935
137 to 39

C 115922

Chronologically Electoral Survey.

3. Nature of the Conservative Government's Defeat, 1935.

Conservative membership in H. of C. fell from 137, after G. E., 1930 to 39 (from second largest Conservative following since Confederation to the lowest in history, worse even than 1921, when only 50 Cons. elected).

No Conservatives returned for:

2 = 0

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia.

One Conservative returned for:

4 = 1

New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta.

Only one province in which more than 5 Cons. returned. (Ontario)

12 Cabinet Ministers defeated in G. E., 1935:

Ernst (Queens-Lunenburg)
Gobeil (Compton)
Hanson (~~Skeena~~) Jose & Sunbury N.B.
Gendron (Not in H. of C.)
Dupre (Quebec West)
Gagnon (Dorchester)
Murphy (Neepawa)
Geary (Toronto South)
Gordon (Timiskaming South)
Weir (Melfort)
Sutherland (Oxford North)
Manion (Fort William)

Also defeated:

Bowman, Speaker; Morand, Deputy Speaker.

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CANADA

C 115923

4. Evasion of Contest by Conservative Members.

6 Cabinet Ministers given appointments just prior to G. E. (1/3 of Cabinet Membership):

- Rhodes (Senate)
- Guthrie (Chairman, Railway Commission)
- Duranleau (Judge)
- Sauve (Senate)
- MacLaren (Lt. Gov. of N. B.)
- Macdonald (Senate)

22 Cons. M. P.'s given appointments between Feb. 1, 1935 and Oct. 14, 1935

16% of Conservative membership in H. of C. (133 at Jan. 1, 1935)

5. Defeat of C. C. F.

No. of Members at dissolution:--------9

No. of candidates in G. E., 1935:---118

No. of candidates elected----------7

Members returned only in 3 provinces.

6. Defeat of Reconstruction Party.

No. of candidates in G. E., 1935:--174

Mr. Stevens alone returned.

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CANADA

SAFETY FILM

Coll- Gen Elect 1935
C 115924

(Extract from the "Ottawa Citizen", Morning Edition,
December 19th, 1925.)

HOW VOTING WENT IN FEDERAL ELECTION

(Canadian Press Despatch)

Toronto, Dec. 18.- Results of the voting in the recent Dominion general elections have now been officially declared and figures are available for all constituencies with the exception of Quebec West, Horon North and the Yukon. The following is the official vote in the 242 seats available of the total of 245 in the House of Commons:

	Lib.	Cons.	Prog.	Lab.	Ind.	Decl'd Seats	Seats Total
P.E.I.....	25,681	23,799	..	...	....	4	4
N. B.....	61,161	90,405	..	...	84	11	11
N. S.....	92,525	124,545	..	3,617	..	14	14
Quebec.....	461,914	267,759	..	1,685	58,588	64	65
Ontario.....	392,039	686,195	102,711	9,552	19,104	81	82
Manitoba....	34,538	70,264	45,859	18,335	..	17	17
Sask.....	82,810	51,512	62,268	..	1,914	21	21
Alberta.....	44,291	51,114	50,592	8,572	6,040	16	16
B. C.....	63,506	90,032	15,829	11,463	1,888	14	14
Totals...	1,258,465	1,455,625	277,259	53,224	87,618	242	245

Yukon -- Not officially declared.

The above compilation shows that, without the independent ridings, the combined Liberal-Progressive vote is 80,099 in excess of the total Conservative vote. Most of the independents being Liberal, or opposed to higher protection, it is assumed that advocates of the low tariff are in a majority by well over 100,000 votes.

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Coll - Gen Elect 1935.

C 115925

ADMINISTRATIONS SINCE CONFEDERATION:

Total Conservative: 35 yrs. 6 months.
(plus 4 yrs. 3 months, Unionist.)

No. of General Elections won: 8 (plus 1917, Unionist.)

Total Liberal: 28 yrs., 8 months.

No. of General Elections won: 9 (1925)

Average Life of Liberal Administration: 3 yrs., 2 months.

Average Life of Conservative Administration: 4 yrs., 5 months.

No. of Conservative Prime Ministers: 8

No. of Liberal Prime Ministers: 3

No. of Conservative Ministries: 10 (plus 1917, Unionist)

No. of Liberal Ministries: 4

1935, largest majority in history; Liberal majority over all opponents: 111.

1917, second largest majority, Unionist: 71.

1878, 1882, largest Conservative majority in history; 68

1904, second largest Liberal majority: 64.

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Cee - General Election 1935

C 115926

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

Popular vote by parties and provinces

(as compiled by the Canadian Press)

	Lib.	Con.	CCF	Recons.	Social Credit	Ind. Lib.	Comm.	Lib. Prog.	Lab.	UFO & UFO Lab.	Others.
Ont.	675,851	562,498	129,453	181,995	-	14,459	8,945	-	7,288	7,210	6,591
Que.	623,342	323,153	7,326	103,855	-	70,489	3,385	-	6,919	-	7,774
N.S.	142,316	87,893	-	38,170	-	-	5,365	-	-	-	-
N.B.	100,537	56,145	-	18,408	-	672	-	-	-	-	-
Man.	100,535	75,574	54,491	16,439	5,751	758	9,229	18,215	-	-	-
B.C.	91,707 + 4493	71,008	96,980	19,208	1,796	4,497	1,555	-	999	-	950
PEI.	35,757	23,602	-	2,089	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sask.	134,913	71,283	73,504	2,273	63,593	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alta.	50,529	40,236	29,066	1,785	105,905	-	2,672	-	-	1,855	733
Yukon	-	-	-	-	-	555	-	-	-	-	696
	1,955,487	1,311,392	390,820	384,222	177,045	91,430	31,151	18,215	15,206	9,065	16,744

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CANADA

Gen-Gen Election 1935

C 115927

ELECTORAL DATA

Members elected by parties, General Election, 1935.

Liberals	178
Conservatives	40
Others	27

Members elected by minority votes, by parties.

Liberals	85
Conservatives	35
Others	17

Percentage of members elected by minority votes by parties.

Liberals	47.7%
Conservatives	87.5%
Others	62.9%

Total number of members elected 245.

Total number of members elected by minority votes 137

Percentage of total members elected by minority votes 55.9%

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Coll - Gen Elect 1935

Electoral Data

Re General Elections 1911, 1930 and 1935. C115928

(Based on figures supplied by the Chief Electoral Officer)

1. Total number of votes polled:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	625,103	667,594	12,831
1930:	1,774,015	1,909,955	215,025
1935:	2,080,742	1,312,088	1,033,774

2. Percentage of votes by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
~~1911:~~	~~47.8%~~	~~51.2%~~	
1930:	45.5%	48.9%	5.6%
1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

3. Number of Seats won by each Party:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	87	134	
1930:	91	137	17
1935:	178	40	27

4. Percentage of Seats won by each Party to Total No. of Seats:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	39.4%	60.6%	
1930:	37.4%	55.9%	6.7%
1935:	72.6%	16.3%	11.1%

5. Average No. of Votes required to Elect one Member:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	7,185	4,997	
1930:	19,494	13,985	9,523
1935:	11,577	32,802	37,134

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6. Re C.C.F. and Reconstruction Party, 1935:

	C.C.F.	Reconstruction
No. of votes polled:	530,820	384,221
Percentage of Total Votes:	8.8%	8.7%
No. of Seats won:	7	1
Percentage of Seats won to Total:	2.9%	.4%
Average No. of Votes required to elect one Member:	55,831	384,221

7. No. of Members Elected by a Minority Vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others	Total
1911:	3	4		7
1930:	6	15	3	24
1935:	885	35	17	137

8. Percentage of Members Elected by a Minority Vote to Total No. of Members Elected by Each Party.

	Lib.	Cons.	Others	All Parties
~~1930:~~	~~3.5%~~	~~5%~~		~~3.2%~~
1930:	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%
1935:	47.7%	87.5%	62.9%	55.9%

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CANADA

Coll- Gen Elect 1935.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

C 115930

MEMORANDUM

Total vote (approx) 4,000000

Liberal vote	— " — under	47% (under)
Cons "	— " —	30%
C.C.F. "	— " —	8.5%
Recons. "	— " —	9%
Social Credit		3.5%
Others	— " —	~~2%~~
		100%

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll. Gen Elect 2 1935.

C 115931

DETAILS of POPULAR VOTE in FEDERAL ELECTIONS of 1911, 1930 and 1935

PROVINCES	Liberal votes	Conserv? votes	3rd Party votes	Total Votes polled.	No.of Members elected			Percentage of votes polled.		
					Libs.,	Consv,	Others	Libs.	Cons.	Others
Ontario										
1911 (86 members)	207,078	269,930	3,564	480,572	13	72	1	43%	56%	1%
1930 (82 ")	590,071	745,414	24,091	1,359,576	22	59	1	43½%	55%	1½%
1935 82 ")	675,851	562,498	342,881	1,594,290	55	26	1	43%	36%	21%
Quebec										
1911 (65 members)	164,281	159,299	459	324,039	38	27	1	50%	49%+	.14%
1930 (65 ")	542,135	456,037	22,089	1,020,261	41	24	1	53½%	44½%	2%
1935 (65) ")	623,342	323,153	200,130	1,146,625	60	5	-	54%	29%	17%
Nova Scotia										
1911 (18 members)	57,462	55,209	351	113,022	9	9	-	51%	48.7%	.3%
1930 (14 ")	127,189	140,513	-	267,702	4	10	-	47%	53%	
1935 (12 ")	142,316	87,893	43,535	273,744	12	0	-	52%	32%	16%
New Brunswick										
1911 (13 members)	40,192	38,880	-	79,092	8	5	-	51%	49%	
1930 (11 ")	75,221	109,839	-	185,060	1	10	-	41%	59%	
1935 (10 ")	100,537	56,145	19,080	175,762	9	1	-	57%	32%	11%
Prince Edward Island										
1911 (4 members)	13,998	14,638	-	28,636	2	2	-	49%	51%	
1930 (4 ")	29,698	29,692	-	59,390	1	3	-	50%	50%	
1935 (4 ")	35,757	23,602	2,089	61,457	4	-	-	58½%	38½%	3½%

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C 115932

PROVINCES	Liberal votes	Conserv. votes	3rd Party votes	Total Votes polled.	No. of Members elected			Percentage of votes polled		
					Libs.,	Cons.,	Others	Libs.	Cons.	Others
Manitoba										
1911 (10 Members)	34,781	40,356	2,559	77,696	2	8	-	45%	52%	3%
1930 (17 ")	37,234	111,312	84,855	233,401	1	11	5	16%	48%	36%
1935 (16) ")	100,535	75,574	104,883	280,992	10	2	4	36%	27%	37%
Saskatchewan										
1911 (10 Members)	52,924	34,700	1,419	89,043	9	1	-	57%	42%	1%
1930 (21 ")	153,673	129,420	47,099	330,192	12	7	2	46%	40%	14%
1935 (21 ")	134,913	71,283	139,370	345,566	17	1	3	39%	21%	40%
Alberta										
1911 (7 Members)	37,208	26,675	2,892	67,775	6	1	-	54%	41%	5%
1930 (16 ")	60,148	67,808	72,420	200,376	3	4	9	30%	34%	36%
1935 17 ")	50,529	40,236	36,111 105,905 S.C.,	232,791	1	1	15	21%	17%	15% 49% S.C.,
British Columbia										
1911 (7 Members)	16,350	25,622	1,587	43,559	-	7	-	37%	59%	3%
1930 14 ")	98,933	119,074	23,626	241,633	5	7	2	40%	50%	10%
1935 (16 "	96,204	71,008	121,488	288,700	6	5	5	34%	25%	41%
Yukon										
1911 (1 Member)	809	1,285		2,114	-	1	-	39%	61%	
1930 (1 ")	558	846		1,404	-	1	-	39%	61%	
1935 (1 ")	555	696		1,251	-	1	-	44%	56%	

Q.Lo.
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	1911 General Election			Coll-Gen Elect 1935
Quebec				
Berthier	Cons	min	357	
Chicoutime-Saguenay	Cons	min	2245	
Pontiac	Cons	min	500	
Nova Scotia				
Cape Breton South	Lib	min	119	
Manitoba				
Selkirk	Cons	min	147	
Alberta				
MacLeod	Lib	min	83	
Victoria	Lib	min	196	

C 115933

Members Elected by minority votes

1911
General Election

Total	
Liberal	3
Cons.	4

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Corr. Gen C115984

Considerations Re Criticism that 47% of

Total Vote Elected 178 Liberals in G. E. 1935:

(Based on Accompanying Data Re G. E.'s 1911, 1930 and 1935.+)

1. While a minority of Total Votes elected a majority of Liberals in 1935, the same is true of the Conservative victory in 1930: Election of Bennett Government

2. In the G. E., 1935, a much smaller proportion of Liberals were elected by a minority of the votes of a constituency, than either Conservatives or the others considered as a group.

3. The number of members elected by a minority of the votes of a constituency has naturally increased with the number of parties engaging in the contest.

4. "The Liberal Party stands for electoral laws which will ensure a true parliamentary representation of the Canadian people" (14 Points). The Government is, at the present time, giving consideration to the whole question of electoral legislation.

5. The Liberal party has always maintained that elections based on the present electoral system fail to give representation in the House in proportion to the votes polled.

+ The years 1911 and 1930 are taken for comparison with 1935 since they were years of most recent Conservative Victories.

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CANADA

C115935

Note. The Liberal Party has, for years, advocated electoral reforms, which have been opposed by the Conservatives. During the years 1921 to 1930, Liberal leaders, among others Messrs. Mackenzie King, Fielding, and Lapointe, supported the Alternative Vote and/or Proportional Representation. On February 19, 1923 a proposal was carried to introduce the Alternative Vote, while a similar motion for the introduction of P. R. was defeated. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Meighen, strongly opposed the measure (H. of C. Debates 1923, p. 411), and in view of this, together with the fact that the Senate was predominantly Conservative, the measure was dropped.

In 1924, and again in 1925, Mr. Lapointe introduced a Bill for establishing the Alternative Vote, but on both occasions, the motion was not proceeded with, because of this known Conservative opposition. On all three of these occasions Mr. King expressed approval of these proposed reforms.

Again, in 1933 and 1934, Mr. King supported a movement to secure these changes in the electoral system, and, again, the measure had to be abandoned because of the lack of necessary Conservative support. (H. of C. Debates, 1933, p.5810; 1934, p. 4835).

Mr. Stevens opposed both the Alternative Vote and P. R., and, speaking of Members elected on a minority vote, he said of the existing system, "This is a pretty satisfactory situation; It is about as good as one can get." (H. of C. Debates, 1923, p. 417)

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CANADA

C 115936

Electoral Data

Re General Elections 1911, 1930 and 1935.

(Based on figures supplied by the Chief Electoral Officer)

1. Total number of votes polled:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	625,103	669,594	12,831
1930:	1,774,015	1,909,955	215,025
1935:	2,060,742	1,312,088	1,033,774

2. Percentage of votes by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	47.8%	51.2%	
1930:	45.5%	48.9%	5.6%
1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

3. Number of Seats won by each Party:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	87	134	
1930:	91	137	17
1935:	178	40	27

4. Percentage of Seats won by each Party to Total No. of Seats:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	39.4%	60.6%	
1930:	37.4%	55.9%	6.7%
1935:	72.6%	16.3%	11.1%

5. Average No. of Votes required to Elect one Member:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	7,185	4,997	
1930:	19,494	13,985	9,523
1935:	11,577	32,802	37,134

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C115937

6. Re C.C.F. and Reconstruction Party, 1935:

	C.C.F.	Reconstruction
No. of votes polled:	390,820	384,221
Percentage of Total Votes:	8.8%	8.7%
No. of Seats won:	7	1
Percentage of Seats won to Total:	2.8%	.4%
Average No. of Votes required to elect one Member:	55,831	384,221

7. No. of Members Elected by a Minority Vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others	Total
1911:	3	4		7
1930:	6	15	3	24
1935:	85	35	17	137

8. Percentage of Members Elected by a Minority Vote to Total No. of Members Elected by Each Party:

	Lib.	Cons.	Others	All Parties
1911:	3.5%	5%		3.2%
1930:	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%
1935:	47.7%	87.5%	62.9%	55.9%

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Year	Total Names on Voters List	Total Conservative Votes Cast	% of Cons. Votes cast to Total names on Voters List
1911 -	1,820,742	669,594	36.8
1930 -	5,153,971	1,909,955	37.

In 1911 - 36.8% of the total names on Voters List elected 134 Conservative Members, or 60.6% of total seats.

In 1930 - 37% of the total names on Voters List elected 137 Conservative Members, or 55.9% of total seats.

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CANADA

Con. & Elect. 1935
C115939

Considerations Re Criticism that 47% of Total Vote Elected 178 Liberals in G. E. 1935:

(Based on Accompanying Data Re G. E.'s 1911, 1930 and 1935.*)

1. While a minority of Total Votes elected a majority of Liberals in 1935, the same is true of the Conservative victory in 1930:
2. In the G. E., 1935, a much smaller proportion of Liberals were elected by a minority of the votes of a constituency, than either Conservatives or the others considered as a group.
3. The number of members elected by a minority of the votes of a constituency has naturally increased with the number of parties engaging in the contest.
4. The Liberal Party stands for electoral laws which will ensure a true parliamentary representation of the Canadian people (14 Points). The Government is, at the present time, giving consideration to the whole question of electoral legislation.
5. The Liberal party has always maintained that elections based on the present electoral system fail to give pepresentation in the House in proportion to the votes polled.

* The years 1911 and 1930 are taken for comparison with 1935 since they were years of most recent Conservative Victories.

RLF/KE

Copy sent to Mr. King Jan. 24, 1936

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C 115941

Popular Vote

Percentage of votes by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1930:	45.5%	48.9%	5.6%
1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

Minority Votes

Percentage of Members Elected by a Minority Vote to Total No. of Members Elected by Each Party.

	Lib.	Cons.	Others	All Parties
1930:	6.8%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%
1935:	47.7%	87.5%	82.9%	55.9%

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CANADA

Cell - Gen. Elect 1935 1935

C115942

NIAGARA FALLS

1. Constituencies represented:

Haldimand, Lincoln and Welland

2. Place of Meeting:

Arena

3. Time:

8.00 p.m.

4. Chairman:

Mr. Charles Anderson, Mayor of Niagara Falls

5. Radio:

9.00 to 11.00 p.m. To cover 3 constituencies.

6. Speakers:

See attached list

7. Candidates:

Haldimand - Frank Laidlaw

Lincoln - A. E. Coombs

Welland - A. B. Damude

8. Sitting Members:

Haldimand -M. C. Senn, Conservative

Lincoln - Hon. J. D. Chaplin, Conservative

Welland - G. H. Pettit, Conservative

9. Prominent Liberals:

See attached list

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10. Notes on Candidates:

A.B.Damude - Welland: Candidate federal election 1930. Insurance Agent. Ex-Warden Welland county.

A.E.Coombs - Lincoln: Born North York. Graduated Toronto University. High School Teacher. Principal and classical master of St.Catharines collegiate for past 26 years. Has held high executive office in the Masonic Order.

Frank Laidlaw - Haldimand: Born in township of Oneida in county Haldimand. First elected to municipal council of Walpole in 1917. Elected reeve Walpole 1930 to 1934. Warden Haldimand county 1933. A farmer. A presbyterian.

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CANADA

C 115944

RT. HONOURABLE MACKENZIE KING MEETING, October 9.

SPEAKERS AND ORDER OF SPEECHES:

1.	Chairman: Charles Anderson, Mayor Niagara Falls City	8:15
2.	R.S. Colter, K.C., to introduce Mr. Laidlaw 3 minutes	8:20
3.	Frank Laidlaw, Liberal Candidate Haldimand County	8:25
4.	Miss Helen Kinnear, K.C., First Vice Pres. Welland County Liberal Association, to introduce Mr. A.B. Damude 3 minutes	8:30
5.	Arthur B. Damude, Liberal Candidate Welland County	8:35
6.	Mrs. F.S. Greenwood, Past Pres. Ontario Women's Liberal Association, to introduce Mr. Coombs	8:40
7.	A.E. Coombs, Liberal Candidate Lincoln County	8:45
8.	D.Ben Coleman, Pres. Welland County Liberal Association, to introduce Rt.Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King.	9.00
(9)	The Right Honourable W L Mackenzie King	
	Cheers and God Save the King.	11:00

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C115945

Re: KING MEETING, October 9.

REPORT OF PLATFORM COMMITTEE.

At the request of Ottawa, it has been necessary to keep the number of persons on the platform down to a maximum not to exceed in the neighborhood of twenty.

The following persons are to be ~~set~~ seated on the platform:

Mayor Charles Anderson, Niagara Falls
Arthur B. Damude, Liberal Candidate Welland County
A.E. Coombs, Liberal Candidate Lincoln County
Frank Laidlaw, Liberal Candidate Haldimand County
Faye Head, Pres. Haldimand County Liberal Ass'n.
John Cavers, Pres. Lincoln County Liberal Ass'n.
D.Ben Coleman, Pres. Welland County Liberal Ass'n.
Mrs. Charles Taylor, Pres. Lincoln Co. Women's Liberal Association
Miss Helen Kinner,K.C., First Vice Pres. Welland County Liberal Ass'n.
Mrs. F.S. Greenwood, Past Pres.Ontario Women's Liberal Association
E.J. Anderson, M.L.A., East Riding, Welland.
W.L. Houck, M.L.A., West Riding, Welland.
F.H. Avery, M.L.A., Lincoln County.
R.S. Colter, K.C., M.L.A., Haldimand County.
Ray F Wilson, Pres. Welland County 20th.Century Club
J. Clifford, Pres. Lincoln County 20th.Century Club.
F.W. Griffiths, K.C., Niagara Falls,Ont.
Joseph Bench, St.Catharines,Ont. Campaign mgr Lincoln
R.B. Johnson, K.C., St.Catharines, Ont.
J.H. Gardner, Welland, Ont. Vice President Welland Liberal Ass'n
D. O'Donnell, Pres. City of Niagara Falls Liberal Assn.
Hugh J. Henderson, Campaign Mgr Welland
Don Sander, Secretary Lincoln Liberal Ass'n
Dougall McMurray Secretary Welland Liberal Ass'n

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CANADA

C 115946

Subjects to discuss

1. Montrose yard

Open under Mr. King
closed " " Bennett
Say same conditions to prevail as under his admn -

2. 8 hr day law in force today
Page Hersey employees on strike
800 employees
wages reduced from 10 hr day to 8 hr day - hence should production in 8 hrs same as 10 hrs
Co. made offer to lowest paid men to give them increased hourly rate so that total for 8 hrs would be as much as for 10 hrs.
This prevailed for 5 categories (out of 20)
Say - re law - no teeth in it no machinery to bring employer + employee together

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C115947

when he comes [illegible]
office - arrange to bring
employer & employees
together - & put teeth in act

3. Seasonal tariffs -
Covered by lr to Coombs
Shd be mentioned

~~4.~~

5. Torchlight procession

6. Oldest voter in 3 ridings 99 yrs

831 - Mr. Morang

Great grandchild of man who loaned W. L. Mackenzie
a horse for purpose of escaping
to Navy Island -

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CANADA

Coombs - E

Hgh School teacher
30 yrs in St. Catharines

C115948

Damude - A.E.

Candidate 1930
Insurance Agent
lives Smithville

Laidlaw -

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CANADA

C 115949

Mr. King – arrive entrance
No 2 at Arena
8 pm.

office at No 2 entrance
open for him & there
he will shake hands
with 20 people for 10 mins.
at 8.10. walk into office
with 2 bagpipers & proceed
to platform.
at 8.15 meeting opens

loud speakers in & out

Radio. local stations
Covering Niagara peninsula

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C 115946

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Say - re law - no teeth in it
no necessity to bring employer + employee together

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C115947

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Coombs - E

C115948

High School teacher
30 yrs in St. Catherines

Damude - A.E.
Candidate 1930
Insurance Agent
lives Fonthill

Laidlaw -

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C 115949

Mr. King – arrive entrance
No 2 at Arena
8 pm.

Office at No 2 entrance
open for him. & there
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Loudspeakers in & out

Radio. local station
Covering Niagara peninsula

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File

Coll - Gen Elect 1935

C115950

Nominations

G.E. 1935

	Conservatives	Liberals	C.C.F.	Stevens	Social Credit	Others
P. E. I.	4	4		3		
Nova Scotia	11	12		11		1
New Brunswick	10	10		10		1
Quebec	43	42		28		32
Ontario	80	80	50	78		22
Manitoba	16	17	14	12	6	7
Saskatchewan	19	21	20	2	21	1
Alberta	14	17	15	3	18	2
British Columbia	7	8	8	5	1	3
Yukon		1				2
Total	204	212	107	152	46	71

22
6
240

Note: This table covers 43 seats only in Quebec out of 65.
" " " 8 " " " B.C. " " 15.

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Minimum Wages

Relief - Youth

115951

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Con. Gen Elect 1935.

C115952.

ELECTION RETURNS

P Opinion Vote.

1921	Conservative	971,502	31.12 %
	Liberal	1,296,723	41.53 %
	Progressive	769,387	24.64 %
	Independent	84,232	2.71 %
		3,121,844	100 %
1925	Conservative	1,467,596	46.48 %
	Liberal	1,266,534	40.11 %
	Progressive	282,599)	
	Independent	87,618 (	13.41 %
	Labour	53,224)	
		3,157,571	100 %
1926	Conservative	1,446,124	46.94 %
	Liberal	1,334,200	43.36 %
	Progressive	101,850)	
	Liberal-Progressive	85,279 (	
	Labour	50,153)	9.70 %
	U. F. A.	45,177 (	
	Independent	17,790)	
		3,080,573	100 %

Comment by Hon. R. B. Bennett:

In the last election the Conservatives polled 111,924 more votes than the Liberals and 26,645 votes more than Liberals and Libera-Progressives combined. The King Government has held office for 7 years but has never been endorsed by the Canadian people.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect 1935.

Précis of "The Voice of the People". C 115953

Significance of Liberal Victory in G. E., 1935.

1. Failure of unscrupulous efforts in campaign:
   - i. To divert the electorate from real issues by bogies of Communism, of industrial competition from the Orient, etc.;
   - ii. To bribe or intimidate the electorate by "wheat cheques", public works, threat of closing factories, etc.;
   - iii. To capitalise on the existing hardship and discontent (Stevens);
   - iv. To mislead the electorate by the pretence of a "New Deal", that Members of Government knew to be ultra vires.

2. A decisive verdict against { dictatorship / experimentation.

3. An answer to surreptitious attempt to impose "National Government" on country.

4. An overwhelming endoraation of principles and policies set forth in Mr. King's speech, H. of C., Feb. 27, 1933 (14 Points).

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CANADA

C 115954

Interviews - Vancouver

11.55 a.m.	-	Tom Reid
12.00 noon	-	W. A. Rundle, Board of Trade
12.10 p.m.	-	R. O. Campney
12.15 p.m.	-	Charles MacDonald (formerly of Prince Albert)
12.20 p.m.	-	Mayor G. G. McGeer
12.30 p.m.	-	R. J. Cromie
12.45 p.m.	-	A. E. Munn
12.50 p.m.	-	Hon. A. M. Manson
12.55 p.m.	-	W. F. Hanbury
1.00 p.m.	-	Mrs. W. G. Stephen

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CANADA

C 115955

House of Commons
Canada

Is this Stationery public property?

OTTAWA ONT.

POSTAGE PAID

C 115956

file Conservative Campaign Literature 1935

OTTAWA ONT.

POSTAGE PAID

C 115957 undated

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CANADA

I am sorry that it is physically impossible for me to meet all my fellow Canadians before election day. I therefore take this opportunity to write you a personal note, asking that you support the Party I have the honour to lead.

C 115958

The record of our Government is a proud one. To have maintained, gilt-edged, Canada's reputation abroad; to have insured every bank depositor and every insurance beneficiary against loss; and to have substantially increased our percentage of world exports - when all countries were fighting for their lives - these are achievements of which we are proud. Latest figures show that unemployment has been cut nearly in half since its peak in 1933 and is now better than at any time since July 1931.

But it is not on the record of the Government alone that I appeal for support. Your Government has embarked on a programme of legislation of far-reaching importance. Is it not in the national interest that we be given an opportunity to complete the task?

Creation of a Central Bank, and reduction of interest rates, are steps toward a new era of economic security. We have aided the farmer by enabling him to reduce his debts, and by providing mortgage money at 5 per cent. The Marketing Act enables him, through co-operative effort, to obtain better prices. The second step of our programme gives the worker security against unemployment, maximum hours, minimum wages and security in his old age.

Now, it is our purpose to assist the mortgaged home owner; to recast the public debt and lighten interest charges; to improve our radio services and to develop a fuel policy. This is our programme. I urge you to give me the mandate to carry on.

Yours faithfully,

R. B. Bennett

Coll - Gen Elect 1935 - campaign

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CONSERVATIVE DOMINION HEADQUARTERS
128 QUEEN STREET
OTTAWA

TELEPHONE
QUEEN 3094

C 115959

Ottawa, Ont.
9th. 1935.

I am making this personal appeal to you. For the past five years the Conservative administration at Ottawa has successfully combatted a depression which has been world wide. Canada has weathered the storm more successfully than any other country. Despite the fact that the world markets were closed to Canada when the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett took office Canada has now a greater proportion of world trade than she had in 1929. Empire Trade Agreements were made which gave Canada a 63 per cent increase in our exports to Empire countries. These agreements are a tribute to the ability, resourcefulness and capacity of the Prime Minister.

The agricultural community has been assisted by the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act, the Natural Products Marketing Act, the Wheat Board Act, and the Farm Loan Act.

Legislation to give security to the urban and suburban workers in the form of Unemployment and Social Insurance, Weekly Day of Rest, Minimum Wages, Maximum Hours of Labour, Housing, and the Regulation of Trade and Industry has been passed.

The record speaks for itself. The votes of the intelligent members of the community are essential if the good work is to be carried on. For that reason I ask you in the name of good government and the Conservative Party to give your Conservative Candidate every assistance in his campaign.

The swing is with US. Everywhere and on every hand the people are talking Bennett and the policies of the Conservative Party. WE ARE GOING TO WIN provided that you STAND BY THE PARTY THAT STANDS BY CANADA.

I remain,

Yours for Victory,

J. Earl Lawson

Conservative Dominion Organizer.

Collateral
Gen Elect 1935
- campaign

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CANADA

Dear Mr King". 6 July 35

C115960

These letters have been distributed through mail "to mostly in every home"

In case you would not have seen any "I thought it might be wise to mail one" Yours truly

J E Letellier

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll. Gen. Elect. 1935 campaign
File re Tory propaganda

C 115961

LA PIRE MENACE

L'attitude de M. King et l'attitude de M. Bennett devant la montée du communisme

Jamais les races occidentales et les peuples chrétiens n'ont connu, dans toute l'histoire mondiale, de pire menace que celle du communisme.

Cette menace va grandissant tous les jours. Depuis 18 ans, elle s'est emparée du SIXIEME du monde entier (les Russies, Ukraine, Georgie, Arménie, provinces de Chine et du Turkestan, etc.) Et, chaque jour, cette horrible menace s'insinue, s'infiltre et se répand dans tous les autres pays. La formidable puissance conquise par le communisme ne sert qu'à une chose: répandre partout la propagande communiste, afin de soumettre tous les peuples au joug soviétique, qui est réellement le joug de l'Antéchrist.

Sous toutes sortes de prétextes trompeurs, le communisme ne travaille qu'à un but et ne poursuit qu'une seule oeuvre satanique: la destruction de la civilisation, des traditions et du christianisme. Comme le prouve l'exemple de la malheureuse Russie et d'autres pays tombés aux mains de cette maffia internationale, le communisme aboutit simplement aux résultats suivants:

> extermination des classes instruites; esclavage de toutes les classes sociales, sous la Terreur érigée en système légal; abolition du droit de propriété, confiscation des maisons et des terres; destruction de la famille; abolition de la religion chrétienne et extermination ou exil du clergé; destruction des églises et propagation de l'athéisme (en opposition avec la propagation de la Foi); retour des humains à la vie des bêtes sans âme.

En un mot, c'est le règne de l'Antéchrist que l'on veut étendre à toute la terre.

De ce désordre moral, spirituel et matériel jaillissent la désolation, la misère, la mort. On estime <u>officiellement</u> à VINGT MILLIONS le chiffre <u>minimum</u> des victimes mortes au cours des massacres et des famines qui ont eu lieu en Russie depuis la révolution communiste de 1917. Dans la seule province soviétique de l'Ukraine, HUIT MILLIONS de cultivateurs et membres de leurs familles, producteurs de blé, <u>sont morts de faim depuis 1933</u>, parce que tout leur blé avait été confisqué pour exportation à l'étranger, afin de se procurer des fonds pour la propagande mondiale.

- - - - -

Il n'y a pas un seul pays où le communisme soit arrivé au pouvoir <u>par des moyens légaux</u>. Partout où il règne, il a conquis le pouvoir en usurpateur, par la violence, l'émeute, la révolte armée.

Au Canada comme ailleurs, les communistes (de même que de nombreux chefs socialistes de la C.C.F.) prêchent la prise du pouvoir par la force et la violence.

Une seule loi nous protège contre cette propagande du système communiste. C'est l'article 98 du Code Criminel, qui déclare illégales toute propagande et toute organisation approuvant et recommandant l'usage de la violence.

Communistes, socialistes et libéraux radicaux ont fait plusieurs tentatives, aux Communes et dans des délégations auprès de M. Bennett, pour faire abolir cet article 98 qui ordonne le respect de l'ordre et de la légalité. L'hon. Ernest Lapointe a prononcé depuis 1930 des discours passionnés pour le rappel de cette loi.

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Au parlement comme devant les délégations, le premier ministre Bennett a toujours été catégorique et ferme dans son attitude. Chaque fois, il a répondu, en somme, ceci: "Que les communistes, les socialistes et les libéraux tempêtent autant qu'ils voudront, l'article 98 du Code Criminel restera en force aussi longtemps que mon gouvernement sera au pouvoir".

Et M. Bennett a agi en conséquence. Il a sévi contre les communistes qui veulent désorganiser notre civilisation chrétienne et canadienne, et répandre la désolation, la ruine et la mort dans notre pays. Et il s'est servi de l'article 98 pour mettre à la raison le Juif communiste Tim Buck et autres agitateurs de Moscou.

- - - - -

Devant le grave péril du communisme, l'hon. Mackenzie King a une toute autre attitude. Comme les communistes et les socialistes, il veut abolir cet article 98 qui forme notre seule protection légale contre l'oeuvre de Moscou. Au nom de la "liberté", il veut que les bolchevistes soient libres de poursuivre leur travail d'empoisonnement, et il réclame le renversement de la barrière qui les en empêche.

Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à cette attitude du chef libéral, car le libéralisme ne s'appuie que sur le mot "liberté", telle qu'elle est définie suivant la conception antichrétienne et matérialiste de la révolution de 1789. Liberté illimitée pour les immigrants étrangers de venir troubler notre vie nationale; liberté illimitée pour les spéculateurs étrangers de venir enlever nos marchés à nos producteurs; liberté illimitée pour les capitalistes, les spéculateurs et les profiteurs d'exploiter la nation; liberté illimitée pour les agitateurs de Moscou de venir saboter nos institutions! Du moment que ça s'appelle "liberté", même si c'est une liberté pour le mal, pour la désorganisation, pour le chaos, le libéralisme la soutient!

L'hon. M. Mackenzie King se dit contre le communisme. Mais, à cause du mot "liberté", il est en faveur de la propagande communiste.

En effet, le communisme est présentement proclamé par la loi comme une "association illégale", aux termes de l'article 98. Mais, aussitôt que l'article 98 serait abrogé, les communistes pourraient LEGALEMENT, ouvertement et publiquement opérer au même titre qu'un parti d'ordre, qu'une religion, qu'une société nationale; ils pourraient LEGALEMENT parader dans nos rues avec leur drapeau rouge et leur étendard de la faucille et du marteau; ils pourraient LEGALEMENT nous parler à la radio, tenir des assemblées dans nos parcs publics; ils pourraient LEGALEMENT inonder nos villes et nos campagnes de journaux, livres, tracts, affiches, etc. Bref, toutes les formes de propagande et d'organisation communistes seraient LEGALES.

- - - - -

Dans <u>toute leur propagande</u> clandestine et semi-publique, les communistes réclament à grands cris l'abrogation de l'article 98.

La C.C.F. socialiste, condamnée par l'archevêque de Montréal, publie dans son programme officiel, à l'article 12:

> "12.--LIBERTE POLITIQUE ET ECONOMIQUE.--Liberté de parole et d'association; révocation de la section 98 du Code Criminel; amendement à la Loi d'Immigration tendant à interdire dans l'avenir la politique inhumaine de déportation. Egalité devant la loi de tous les résidents du Canada, quelles que soient leur race, leur nationalité, leur religion ou <u>leurs idées politiques</u>".

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Débordé par l'élément radical de son Parti, influencé surtout par l'hon. Ernest Lapointe qui est un ennemi juré de l'article 98 du Code Criminel, l'hon. M. Mackenzie King, dans l'espoir de capter le vote radical d'extrême-gauche, demande solennellement à l'électorat canadien le pouvoir afin d'abolir cet article 98, la dernière protection civile qui nous reste contre la marée montante du communisme.

La "Fédération Libérale Nationale du Canada" (rue Wellington, Ottawa) a tout récemment publié un manifeste officiel du programme du Parti libéral. Les principes que M. King veut faire approuver par le peuple canadien y sont exposés en "Quatorze Points", dont le dixième se lit comme suit:

> "Le Parti libéral croit que, prenant prétexte de la présente crise, le gouvernement a violé les droits de l'individu. Or, c'est la tradition du Libéralisme de défendre le principe britannique de la liberté de parole et d'association. Et c'est pourquoi le Parti libéral fera abroger l'article 98 du Code Criminel et mettra fin au régime actuellement en vigueur des déportations arbitraires.--Extrait, en substance, du discours de M. King aux Communes le 27 février 1933".

Nous avons ici une autre preuve tangible et claire de la vérité des paroles du Pape dans "Quadragesimo Anno": "Le socialisme a le libéralisme pour père et le communisme pour héritier". Sur la question la plus grave, en ce qui concerne l'avenir de notre civilisation, le Parti Libéral, la C.C.F. socialiste et le Parti communiste s'entendent parfaitement, ont les mêmes conceptions et définitions, font entendre les mêmes réclamations.

Les textes officiels cités ne sauraient être plus clairs. La "liberté" libérale doit tout permettre: la propagande pour le mal, l'association pour le mal, et il ne faudra pas déporter les agitateurs révolutionnaires et Sans-Dieu que nous enverra Moscou!

Si M. King est vraiment contre le communisme, comment peut-il être en faveur de la propagande, de l'association et de l'organisation LEGALES de ce qui doit amener le communisme chez nous? Ou il est volontairement aveugle, ou il est de complicité avec les communistes, ou il trahit ses propres convictions pour des avantages de parti. Quelle différence avec la conduite de M. Bennett, qui se proclame contre le communisme, lui aussi, mais qui reste conséquent avec ses principes et prend les moyens voulus pour affirmer ses convictions!

Toutes sortes de questions politiques, sociales et économiques feront l'objet de la prochaine élection fédérale. Mais il n'y a pas une seule question qui soit plus importante et plus grave de conséquences que celle qui concerne l'abrogation ou la conservation de l'article 98.

Du triomphe ou de la défaite du communisme dépend le sort futur de l'humanité; et, en notre pays, de l'article 98 ou son abolition dépend l'illégalité ou la légalité du communisme. Permettra-t-on à l'athéisme révolutionnaire de lutter LIBREMENT contre le christianisme et nos institutions occidentales, chez nous? M. Bennett dit non. MM. King et Lapointe disent oui, avec les communistes et les socialistes.

Le Pape, le cardinal-primat, nos évêques et le haut clergé protestant ont mis les chrétiens en garde contre le communisme, qu'ils ont condamné sans réserve, demandant à tous les fidèles de se lever et d'organiser une Croisade pour le combattre. Ce n'est pas en légalisant la propagande communiste, comme le veut le Parti libéral, que l'on pourra aider à la Croisade. Au contraire, cette politique néfaste ne pourra que donner plus d'audace au communisme et hâter sa venue.

La Renaissance Canadienne

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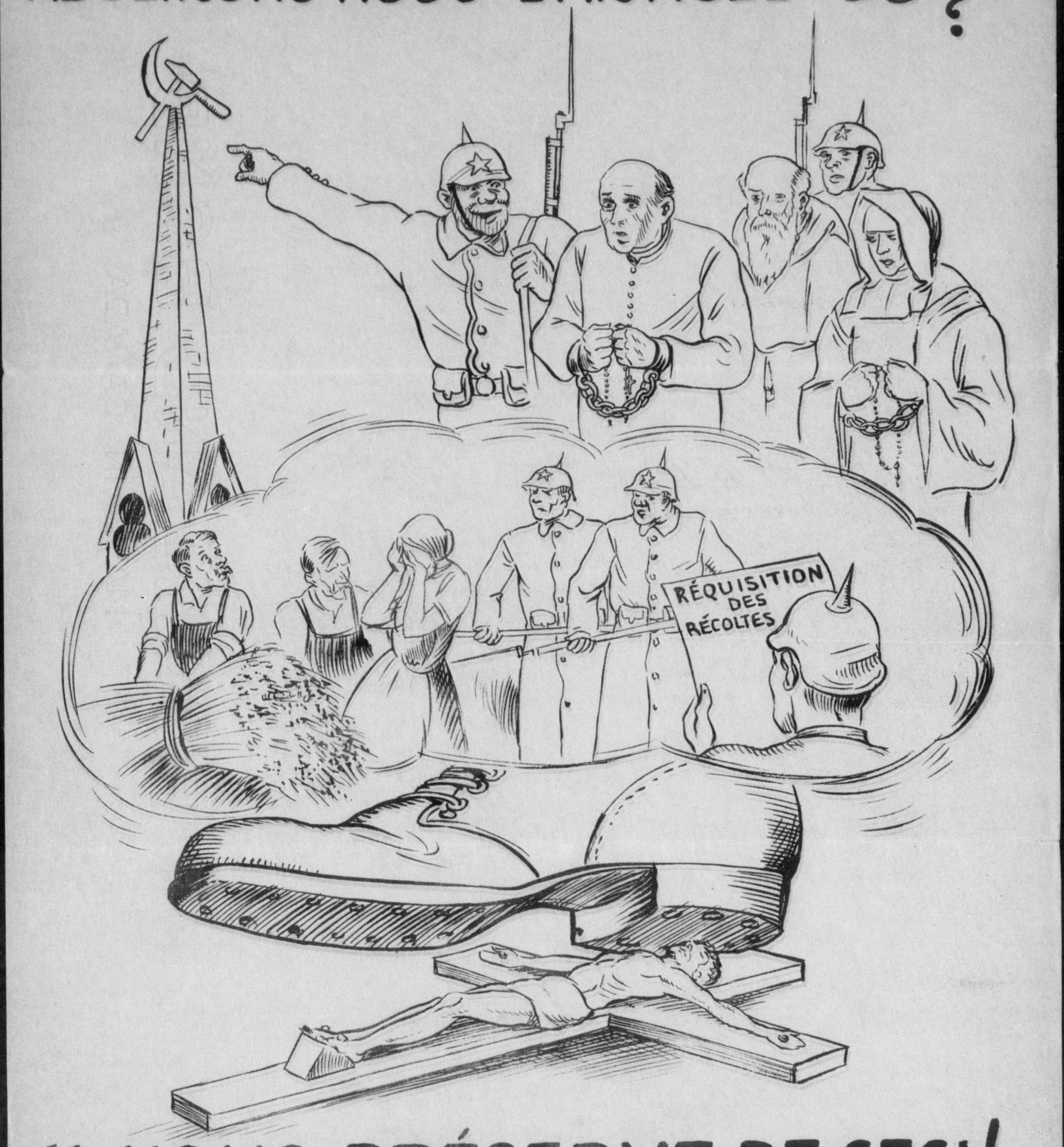
CANADA

C 115964

ABOLIRONS-NOUS L'ARTICLE 98 ?



IL NOUS PRÉSERVE DE CECI!

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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C115965

Avec les compliments de
S. Gobeil, M. P.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Coll. Gen Election 1935 - campaign

Campaign literature

C 115966

M. BENNETT ET LE

COMMERCE CANADIEN

Le relèvement industriel du Canada fait l'envie des autres pays. Pour la reprise des activités économiques, la Ligue des Nations place le Canada en tête de tous les pays

* * * * *

Le 22 mars 1935, dans son discours du budget, l'hon. Edgar N. Rhodes, ministre des Finances, faisait les déclarations suivantes que l'on peut lire à la page 2112 du "Hansard" de la même date:

"A cet égard (sous le rapport de la restauration industrielle) les résultats du Canada peuvent le disputer aisément à ceux des autres pays. La Société des Nations publie chaque mois un relevé des indices généraux de la production industrielle de presque tous les principaux pays. Si nous prenons l'un des 15 pays dont on a les chiffres pour l'un des trois derniers mois de 1934, et que nous comparons la progression de la production industrielle depuis janvier 1933, nous voyons que, de janvier 1933 à la fin de 1934, le Canada occupe facilement le premier rang. Pour ces deux années d'activité industrielle, la France accuse une diminution de 7 pour 100; la Hollande, de 5 pour 100. Voici les augmentations pour les autres pays: Belgique, 3%; Japon, 13.2%; Tchécoslovaquie, 14.7%; Chili, 19.8%; Royaume-Uni, 23.3%; Norvège, 23.3%; Autriche, 24.9%; Italie, 26.5%; Suède, 30.9%; Etats-Unis, 32.3%; Allemagne, 36.9%; Pologne, 43.1%; Canada, 46.2%. Le progrès du Canada reflète en partie le rétablissement mondial, basé sur le jeu automatique des forces économiques normales qui ont toujours mis fin aux crises économiques antérieures, mais il est évident que la rapidité et la régularité de notre progression doivent avoir réellement un rapport avec les politiques rationnelles que le ministère actuel a inaugurées pour conserver l'intégrité de notre structure économique et financière, pour rétablir l'équilibre de notre état économique et pour activer les forces qui poussent au rétablissement".

Les balances commerciales rapportées à la fin de chaque année fiscale sont partout reconnues comme un baromètre exact de la prospérité nationale. Sous cet aspect, notre situation financière est la meilleure que le Canada ait connue depuis 1926. Ceux qui n'étudient pas la statistique et s'en rapportent aux vantardises libérales, croient généralement que les années 1921 à 1930 furent des années prospères et que la prospérité nationale se continua même dans une certaine mesure jusqu'après le krach de 1929. C'est une grande illusion. Entre 1923 et 1930, il y eut de grandes variations dans la balance commerciale du pays. Après 1926, ce fut un déclin constant. De 1921 à 1930, nos années les plus prospères ne furent pas 1927, 1928 ou 1929; ce fut l'année 1926. La statistique officielle en fait foi.

De 1926 à 1929, la balance commerciale favorable du Canada croula de $401 millions à $123 millions. Le 30 mars 1930, à la fin de la dernière année fiscale du régime King, la balance commerciale nous était défavorable.

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Quand, le 7 août 1930, M. Bennett prit le pouvoir, il héritait d'une balance défavorable de $103 millions. A la fin de 1931, après des mesures énergiques et un travail de géant, M. Bennett réussissait à arrêter cette désastreuse glissade et, à la fin de 1934, le Canada avait récupéré en trois ans une balance commerciale favorable au total de $255 millions et avait reconquis la cinquième position parmi les grands peuples commerciaux. Présentement, il est plus près de la quatrième place que de la cinquième, ce qui constitue un record dans toute l'histoire du Canada.

La statistique officielle indique que, à partir de 1926, le chiffre de nos affaires a subi une baisse vertigineuse qui a atteint son plus bas niveau à la fin de 1932; donc, durant six ans, la situation ne cessa pas d'empirer. Et, chose remarquable, de 1932 à 1934, en moins de deux ans, les mesures énergiques du régime Bennett: protection tarifaire, traités impériaux de 1932, accords commerciaux avec les pays non-britanniques, préservation de notre structure financière et du crédit canadien, conversion des dettes, etc., etc., nous ont fait remonter en tête de tous les pays du monde pour la vigueur de notre renaissance économique, suivant les chiffres officiels de la Société des Nations.

Voici le tableau de nos balances commerciales durant les dernières années du régime King et les quatre premières années du régime Bennett, d'après l'Annuaire du Canada, édition 1935, page 128:

Année	Balance défavorable	Balance favorable
1926.....		$ 401,371,405
1927.....		$ 236,680,637
1928.....		$ 141,641,658
1929.....		$ 123,216,985
1930.....	$ 103,335,512	
1931.....	$ 89,584,647	
1932.....		$ 9,061,613
1933.....		$ 74,330,053
1934.....		$ 151,855,844

Il faut donc remonter à 1927 pour trouver une aussi bonne balance commerciale que celle de 1934. Et tout indique que celle de 1935 enregistrera un progrès encore plus considérable.

Alors que tant d'autres pays ont succombé sous le poids de la plus grande crise de tous les temps, c'est à l'honneur du Canada et de son courageux gouvernement d'avoir pu se relever aussi robustement. Il n'y a pas d'autres pays qui aient enregistré un aussi vigoureux relèvement.

Non seulement M. Bennett a su empêcher le pays de sombrer, au cours de cette épouvantable crise, mais encore il a, par un travail acharné, une vigilance de tout instant, un courage à toute épreuve, repris le terrain perdu depuis 1927 et donné au Canada une position préférable à celle qu'il avait lors du krach de 1929. Qu'aurait pu faire M. King, pendant cette crise, lui qui s'entêtait à chanter prospérité malgré les chiffres les plus probants, lui qui niait la crise et le chômage, lui qui laissait perdre nos marchés et laissait le marché canadien aux mains de la compétition étrangère, sans protection ni défense? Poser la question, c'est y répondre!

La Renaissance Canadienne

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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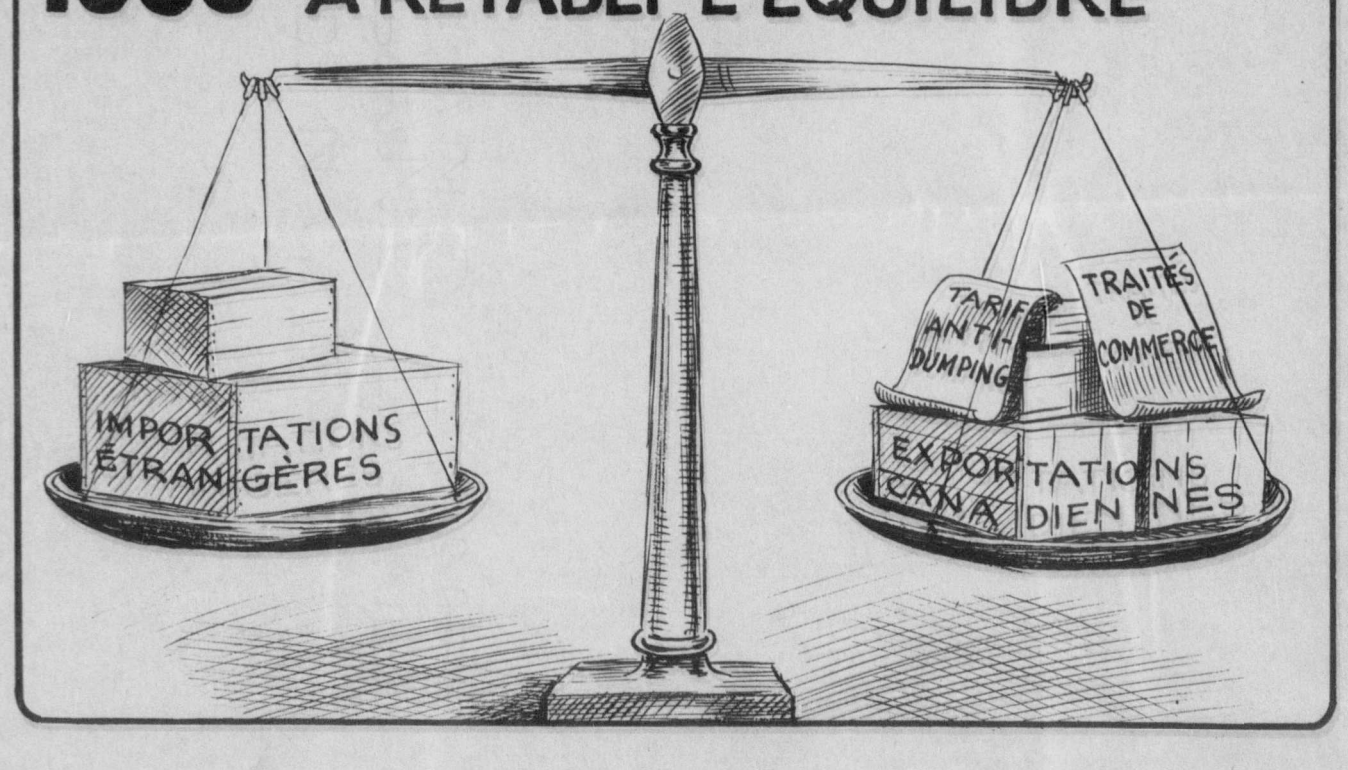
CANADA

C115968





W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

Coll - Gen Election 1935 campaign

C115969

Re Conservative Headquarters at Brandon, Man.

(Sign across front of building at top)

CAMPBELL

UNDERTAKING & FURNITURE

FERGUSON

(Placards on windows)

CONSERVATIVE HEADQUARTERS

(Card placed in door)

"Removed to new funeral home."

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

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CANADA

Collateral
Gen Election 7 1935
C 115970 (1935)

Bpl Liberal Record.

The Record of the Two Parties

Mr. Bennett has set forth the record of his Administration. I need hardly tell you what the Liberal record was during the all but nine years the late Liberal government was in office.

Those years constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, total trade reached the highest point in our history - over two and half billion dollars. In seven out of the nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Under Liberal policies, Canada gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade, obtained by the expansion, not the restriction of trade, the total of which reached the colossal figure of one and a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in ~~August~~ any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on persons of moderate income, and the exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished.

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CANADA

C 115971

There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production, and on articles of consumption.

In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. In spite of what Mr. Bennett says about Canada being as well off as other countries, we have fallen from fifth to eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent, and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Unemployment has increased from 117,000 in September, 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the Railways, have fallen by fifty per cent.

With trade strangled and industry paralized, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissention and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

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CANADA

C 115972

TELEPHONE QUEEN 5805

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
OF CANADA

114 WELLINGTON STREET

OTTAWA, Ont. January 7, 1935

Mr. King in Opposition 1930-35 ✓
Franchise legislation ✓
Elections - Dom. Elections Act ✓
Elections - Voters' lists ✓

Personal.

Memorandum regarding new Voters' Lists,
for Mr. Mackenzie King:

Confirming telephone conversation today, based upon information received from Col. Thompson, the printing of the new Voters' Lists has been speeded up so that they will be completed sometime between March 1st and March 15th. This is one month earlier than was estimated a week ago by Col. Thompson, as reflected in my memorandum of December 28th.

The opinion was also expressed by Col. Thompson that a general election would be called before May, and he went so far as to indicate that polling day would be on Monday, April 29th.

N.P.L.

N. P. LAMBERT

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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Elections - Gen Election 1935 Date of Election

C 115973

Ottawa, July 11, 1935

MR. KING:

Mr. Lambert telephoned at noon, and wishes you to know that Col. Thompson, the Franchise Commissioner, has advised him that in his estimation the elections will be called for August 26th or September 3rd. He is being pressed very hard for the completion of the lists, and has been given instructions to get at least twenty lists a day from the printers. Three, eight-hour shifts are being put on, Sundays included.

Out of the 245 lists, 80 have been sent to the printers; 95 he has, and 70 constituencies have to be heard from. It is expected that the printing will be completed and distribution accomplished by August 5th.

It is Col. Thompson's view that the announcement of the elections will be made about July 25th.

Z.

L. ZAVITSKY.

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CANADA

Elections - Gen. Elec. of 19[illegible] C-115974

August 1, 1935

Memorandum for Mr. Lambert:

Tentative Itinerary

Mr. King suggests the following as the basis of drawing up a tentative itinerary:

Tuesday, August 13:	Woodstock. Afternoon meeting. Return to Toronto for night, Royal York.
Wednesday, August 14:	Goderich, or other point to serve both Mr. Deachman, and Dr. Hall.
Thursday, August 15:	Windsor, night meeting. Leave Windsor that night.
Friday, August 16:	London, afternoon meeting. Leave Toronto that night for Ottawa.
Sunday, August 18:	Leave Ottawa.
Monday, August 19,	Port Arthur.
Wednesday, August 21:	Winnipeg.
Thursday, August 22:	Saskatoon.
Friday, August 23:	Prince Albert; meeting Friday night; go to Park for weekend.
Monday, August 26:	Edmonton.
Tuesday, August 28:	Vancouver.
Wednesday, August 29:	Victoria.

Perhaps another meeting in B. C.; weekend at Banff.

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Monday, Sept. 2:	Calgary.
Tuesday, Sept. 3:	Regina.
Wednesday, Sept. 4:	Brandon.
	Return to Ottawa for weekend.
Monday, Sept. 9:	Montreal.
Tuesday, Sept. 10:	St. John.
Wednesday, Sept. 11:	Halifax.
Thursday, Sept. 12:	Charlottetown.
Friday, Sept. 13:	Quebec.
	Return to Ottawa for weekend.
Monday, Sept. 16:	Toronto.
Tuesday, Sept. 17:	Peterborough, or other Ontario meetings; perhaps further Ontario meetings during week.
Saturday, Sept. 21:	Ottawa.

EAP

E. A. PICKERING

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

H.R.L. HENRY TO N.P. LAMBERT

SEPT. 12, 1935

115976

Elections - Gen Election of 1935 - ✓

ELECTION NIGHT - OCTOBER 14, 1935

Electoral data required for Mr. King that night.

1. Results pf elections by parties since general election 1867.

2. Majorities in Prince Albert constituency as far back as 1908, and Assiniboia (See under heading 'Saskatchewan' page 243 Parliamentary Guide) back to 1887.

By-elections to be included in the information required in 1 and 2.

Mr. Lambert:

Mr. King will be glad if you will have your staff prepare the information desired above.

H. R. L. Henry,
Private Secretary.

Sept 12

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 115977
Elections - Gen Elec. 1935 - Campaign

September 16, 1935

Memorandum for Mr. Lambert:

Mr. King has asked if your office could prepare extracts, by topics, from Mr. Bennett's recent radio speeches.

What Mr. King has in mind would contain key sentences collected under different headings, with an indication of the number of the speech and the page on which the sentence would be found. The following would be a partial suggested set of topics:

Trade

General
United States
Japan

Debt

Railways

Mortgage Relief

Unemployment

Retirement at Sixty

Liberalism and Laisses Faire

etc., etc....

What is desired is not long extracts, but the concise and most pertinent observations under each heading.

Mr. Henry will send to you a mimeographed copy of the speeches.

EAP.
E. A. PICKERING.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 115928

TELEPHONE QUEEN 597

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
OF CANADA

114 WELLINGTON STREET

Elections - Gen Elec 1935 - Campaign

OTTAWA, Ont;, October 5th, 1935.

Memorandum for Mr. Henry:

Re Electoral Data

Attached Memoranda show:

(1) Majorities in Assiniboia since 1887;
" " Prince Albert since 1908;

(2) Results of general elections by parties since 1867, with by-elections in intervening years, since 1896.

Regarding (2) the records of the Chief Electoral Officer dealing with by-elections down to 1896 were destroyed by fire and no authentic figures are available.

The figures for by-elections since 1896 are taken from the Parliamentary Guide, due to the failure of the Chief Electoral Officer's reports to show the results by parties. Hence the by-election figures are, in certain cases, open to question.

Moreover, members seeking re-election in by-elections on assuming Cabinet office are included in these results, since it was impossible to show these separately without much more investigation than time permitted.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA.
Per R. L. Fredenburgh

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Call - Gen Elect 1935

THE CANADIAN PRESS
J. F. B. Livesay, General Manager

C 115979

OFFICIAL NOMINATIONS

SEPT. 30 and OCT. 7, 1935

Supplement to

Dominion Elections Handbook

1935 Edition

(Copyright, 1935)

Attached official nominations are for use in connection with the election service of The Canadian Press, Oct. 14.

Following alphabetical list of constituencies, with provinces indicated by initial letters, is provided because progressive bulletins election night will not carry province designations, except in the case of Kent (N.B. and Ont.), Northumberland (N.B. and Ont.) and Victoria (Ont. and B.C.).

Acadia—A
Algoma East—O
Algoma West—O
Antigonish-Guys.—NS
Argenteuil—Q
Assiniboia—S
Athabaska—A

Battle River—A
Beauce—Q
Beauharnois-LaPrairie—Q
Bellechasse—Q
Berthier-Maskinonge—Q
Bonaventure—Q
Bow River—A
Brandon—M
Brant—O
Brantford City—O
Brome-Missisquoi—Q
Bruce—O

Calgary East—A
Calgary West—A
Camrose—A
Cape Breton North-Victoria—NS
Cape Breton S.—NS
Cariboo—BC
Carleton—O
Chambly-Rouville—Q
Champlain—Q
Chapleau—Q
Charlevoix-Sag.—Q
Charlotte—N.B.
Chateauguay-Huntingdon—Q
Chicoutimi—Q
Churchill—M
Cochrane—O
Colchester-Hants—NS
Comox-Alberni—BC
Compton—Q
Cumberland—NS

Dauphin—M
Digby-Annap.-Kings—NS
Dorchester—Q
Drummond-Arthabaska—Q
Dufferin-Simcoe—O
Durham—O

Edmonton East—A
Edmonton West—A
Elgin—O
Essex East—O
Essex South—O
Essex West—O

Fort William—O
Fraser Valley—BC
Frontenac-Addington—O

Gaspe—Q
Glengarry—O
Gloucester—NB
Grenville-Dundas—O
Grey-Bruce—O
Grey North—O

Haldimand—O
Halifax—NS
Halton—O
Hamilton East—O
Hamilton West—O
Hastings-Peterborough—O
Hastings South—O
Hull—Q
Humboldt—S
Huron North—O
Huron-Perth—O

Inverness-Richmond—NS

Jasper-Edson—A
Joliette-L'Assomption-Montcalm—Q

Kamloops—BC
Kamouraska—Q
Kenora-Rainy River—O
Kent—NB—O
Kindersley—S
Kings—PEI
Kingston City—O
Kootenay East—BC
Kootenay West—BC

Labelle—Q
Lake Centre —S
Lake St. John-Roberval—Q
Lambton-Kent—O
Lambton West—O
Lanark—O
Laval-Two Mountains—Q
Leeds—O
Lethbridge—A
Levis—Q
Lincoln—O
Lisgar—M
London —O
Lotbiniere—Q

Macdonald—M
Mackenzie—S
Macleod—A
Maple Creek—S
Marquette—M
Matapedia-Matane—Q
Medicine Hat—A
Megantic-Frontenac—Q
Melfort—S
Melville—S
Middlesex East—O
Middlesex West—O
Montmagny-L'Islet—Q
Montreal (16 Seats)—Q
Moose Jaw—S
Muskoka-Ontario—O

Nanaimo—BC
Neepawa—M
New Westminister—BC
Nicolet-Yamaska—Q
Nipissing—O
Norfolk—O
North Battleford—S
Northumberland—NB—O

Ontario—O
Ottawa East—O
Ottawa West—O
Oxford—O

Parry Sound—O
Peace River—A
Peel—O
Perth—O
Peterborough West—O
Pictou—NS
Pontiac—Q
Portage la P.—M
Port Arthur—O
Portneuf—Q
Prescott—O
Prince—PEI
Prince Albert—S
Prince Ed.-Lennox—O
Provencheward—M

Qu'Appelle—S
Quebec East—Q
Quebec South—Q
Quebec West and South—Q
Quebec-Montmorency—Q
Queens—PEI
Queens-Lunenburg—NS

Red Deer—A
Regina City—S
Renfrew North—O
Renfrew South—O
Restigouche-Madawaska—NB
Richelieu-Vercheres—Q
Richmond-Wolfe—Q
Rimouski—Q
Rosetown-Biggar—S
Rosthern—S
Royal—NB
Russell—O

St. Boniface—M
St. Hyacinthe-Bagot—Q
St. John-Albert—NB
St. Johns-Iber.-Napierville—Q
St. Maurice-Laf.—Q
Saskatoon City—S
Selkirk—M
Shefford—Q
Shelburne-Yarmouth-Clare—NS
Sherbrooke—Q
Simcoe East—O
Simcoe North—O
Skeena—BC
Souris—M
Springfield—M
Stanstead—Q
Stormont—O
Swift Current—S

Temiscouata—Q
Terrebonne—Q
The Battlefords—S
Three Rivers—Q
Timiskaming—O
Toronto (11 Seats)—O

Vancouver (5 Seats)—BC
Vaudreuil-Soulanges—Q
Vegreville—A
Victoria—BC—O
Victoria-Carleton—NB

Waterloo North—O
Waterloo South—O
Welland—O
Wellington North—O
Wellington South —O
Wentworth—O
Westmorland—NB
Wetaskiwin—A
Weyburn—S
Winnipeg (4 Seats)—M
Wood Mountain—S
Wright—Q

Yale—BC
York East—O
York North—O
York South—O
York West—O
York-Sunbury—NB
Yorkton—S
Yukon

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CANADA

C 115980

For use in connection with
The Canadian Press election service
Monday, Oct. 14.

(Copyright, 1935, by The Canadian Press)

Following are the results of voting in the Dominion general election as compiled by The Canadian Press:

*LEGEND: C—Conservative; L—Liberal; CCF—Co-operative Commonwealth Federation; R—Reconstruction; UFA—United Farmers of Alberta; UFO—United Farmers of Ontario; SC—Social Credit; Ind—Independent; P—Progressive; Lab—Labor; Comm—Communist; *—Member of last House. Figures bracketed after constituency name indicate party majority in previous election; where constituencies have been redistributed figures for corresponding territory are given.*

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

(Four Members)

KINGS (C—328)

Dr. A. A. MacDonald (C).....
Dr. T. V. Grant (L).....
George Leslie (R).....

PRINCE (L—1573)

J. F. Arnett (C).....
*A. E. MacLean (L).....

QUEENS (Two Members) (C—543 and C—696)

*W. C. S. McLure (C).....
*J. H. Myers (C).....
Peter Sinclair (L).....
J. J. Larabee (L).....
Earl Ings (R).....
Bernard Hughes (R).....

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C115981

NOVA SCOTIA

(Twelve Members)

ANTIGONISH-GUYSBOROUGH (L—559)

*William Duff (L)
J. Howard MacKichan (R)

CAPE BRETON NORTH-VICTORIA (C—1891)

*Dr. L. W. Johnstone (C)
D. A. Cameron (L)
Rev. Nelson MacDonald (R)

CAPE BRETON SOUTH (C—6618)

*Finlay MacDonald (C)
Dr. D. J. Hartigan (L)
D. W. Morrison (R)
J. B. McLachlan (Comm)

COLCHESTER-HANTS (L—397 and L—1112)

W. B. Armstrong (C)
Gordon T. Purdy (L)
W. C. Miller (R)

CUMBERLAND (C—1453)

Dr. D. M. Cochrane (C)
Kenneth J. Cochrane (L)
Alexander Leadbetter (R)

DIGBY-ANNAPOLIS-KINGS (C—75)

R. D. C. Stewart (C)
*J. L. Ilsley (L)
C. B. Wetmore (R)

HALIFAX (Two Members) (C—2172 and C—2095)

L. A. Gastonguay (C)
R. D. Guildford (C)
R. E. Finn (L)
Gordon B. Isnor (L)
Rev. John Furlong (R)
J. J. Power (R)

INVERNESS-RICHMOND (C—165 and C—672)

*I. D. Macdougall (C)
Donald McLennan (L)
Dr. B. A. LeBlanc (R)

PICTOU (C—498)

J. A. MacGregor (C)
H. B. McCulloch (L)
Rev. P. C. Lewis (R)

QUEENS-LUNENBURG (C—1126)

*Hon. W. G. Ernst (C)
J. J. Kinley (L)

SHELBURNE-YARMOUTH-CLARE (L—1373)

R. W. E. Landry (C)
Vincent J. Pottier (L)
J. Donald Burton (R)

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CANADA

C 115982

NEW BRUNSWICK

(Ten Members)

CHARLOTTE (C—1503)

C. R. Pollard (C)
Burton M. Hill (L)
W. W. Quartermain (R)

GLOUCESTER (L—256)

A. M. Robichaud (C)
*Hon. P. J. Veniot (L)
M. Hector Poirier (R)

KENT (C—380)

*Telesphore Arsenault (C)
L. P. A. Robichaud (L)
Alexander J. Doucet (R)

NORTHUMBERLAND (C—2458)

J. A. Creaghan (C)
John P. Barry (L)
Dr. Frances L. Fish (R)

RESTIGOUCHE-MADAWASKA (L—6460)

Henry Diotte (C)
*J. E. Michaud (L)

ROYAL (C—627)

A. J. Brooks (C)
Donald V. White (L)
James G. McCrea (R)

ST. JOHN-ALBERT (C—7859 and C—8024)

D. King Hazen (C)
William M. Ryan (L)
Paul B. Cross (R)
Howe Cowan (Ind-L)

VICTORIA-CARLETON (C—2852)

H. J. Flemming (C)
J. E. J. Patterson (L)
Dr. R. W. L. Earle (R)

WESTMORLAND (C—2468)

*Dr. O. B. Price (C)
H. R. Emmerson (L)
Rev. C. Younger Lewis (R)

YORK-SUNBURY (C—5614)

*Hon. R. B. Hanson (C)
W. G. Clark (L)
E. O. MacDonald (R)

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CANADA

C 115983

QUEBEC

(Sixty-five Members)

ARGENTEUIL (C—769)
- *Sir George Perley (C)
- L. L. Legault (L)
- P. A. Fortin (R)

BEAUCE (L—5526)
- *Edouard Lacroix (L)
- Paul H. Berube (R)

BEAUHARNOIS-LAPRAIRIE (L—4321 and L—353)
- Noel Beausoleil (C)
- *Maxime Raymond (L)

BELLECHASSE (L—1993)
- Fanning Gosselin (C)
- *O. L. Boulanger (L)

BERTHIER-MASKINONGE (C—356)
- *J. A. Barrette (C)
- Emile Ferron (L)
- J. C. Desjarlais (Ind-L)

BONAVENTURE (L—46)
- Jas. G. Jessop (C)
- *Hon. C. Marcil (L)

BROME-MISSISQUOI (C—1486)
- *Dr. F. H. Pickel (C)
- Louis Gosselin (L)

CHAMBLY-ROUVILLE (C—1197 and L—1157)
- Antoine Lamarre (C)
- *Vincent Dupuis (L)
- R. L. Calder (R)

CHAMPLAIN (C—792)
- *J. L. Baribeau (C)
- Herve Brunelle (L)

CHAPLEAU (Estab. 1933)
- J. A. Turgeon (C)
- T. A. Lalonde (L)
- J. P. Cote (R)
- Frank Blais (Ind-L)

CHARLEVOIX-SAGUENAY (L—2728)
- Henri D'Auteuil (C)
- *P. F. Casgrain (L)
- J. Murray Warren (R)

CHATEAUGUAY-HUNTINGDON (C—489)
- *Dr. J. C. Moore (C)
- D. E. Black (L)

CHICOUTIMI (L—897)
- J. A. Lavergne (C)
- *J. E. A. Dubuc (L)
- Donat Demers (R)
- G. A. Gagnon (Ind-L)

COMPTON (C—308)
- *Hon. Sam Gobeil (C)
- J. A. Blanchette (L)

DORCHESTER (C—338)
- *Hon. Onesime Gagnon (C)
- Leonard Tremblay (L)
- J. A. Guay (R)

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C 115984

QUEBEC—Continued

DRUMMOND-ARTHABASKA (L—3457)
Roland Provencher (C)
*Wilfrid Girouard (L)
Elie Lalumiere (R)

GASPE (L—3371)
Ernest Sirois (C)
*Maurice Brasset (L)
Dr. Donat Roy (R)

HULL (L—6632)
Rodolphe Moreau (C)
*Alphonse Fournier (L)
Aime Guertin (R)
Joseph E. Laflamme (Ind-L)

JOLIETTE-L'ASSOMPTION-MONTCALM
(L—925 and L—1918)
Mario Forest (C)
*C. E. Ferland (L)
Romulus Joly (R)

KAMOURASKA (L—425)
Dr. Chas. Richard (C)
*Georges Bouchard (L)
J. E. Rousseau (R)

LABELLE (Ind Acclamation)
Maurice Lalonde (L)
*Henri Bourassa (Ind-L)

LAKE ST. JOHN-ROBERVAL (C—176)
*Dr. Leo Duguay (C)
Armand Sylvestre (L)
J. L. Bolduc (R)
J. A. Hamel (Ind-L)

LAVAL-TWO MOUNTAINS (C—967)
Hon. Lucien Gendron (C)
Liguori Lacombe (L)

LEVIS (C—185)
Albert Dumontier (C)
Dr. J. E. Dussault (L)
Laval Fortier (R)
C. A. Boucher (L-Lab)

LOTBINIERE (L—1205)
Apollinaire Castonguay (C)
*J. A. Verville (L)

MATAPEDIA-MATANE (C—735)
*J. E. H. LaRue (C)
J. E. Dionne (L)
Arthur Lapointe (Ind-L)

MEGANTIC-FRONTENAC (L—1852)
J. E. O. Beliveau (C)
*E. Roberge (L)
J. T. Beaudoin (R)

MONTMAGNY-L'ISLET (C—222 and L—393)
Thos. Tremblay (C)
*J. F. Fafard (L)
Fernand Lizotte (R)

MONTREAL CARTIER (L—6303)
Herman Julien (C)
*S. W. Jacobs (L)
Salluste Lavery (R)
P. E. Goyette (Ind-L)
Fred Rose (Comm)

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C 115985

QUEBEC—Continued

MONTREAL HOCHELAGA (L—10,433)
- Armand Chevrette (C)
- *E. C. St. Pere (L)
- Herve Langevin (R)

MONTREAL JACQUES-CARTIER (C—2469)
- *G. P. Laurin (C)
- Vidal Mallette (L)
- Alfred Drolet (R)

MONTREAL LAURIER (Estab. 1933)
- Omer Langlois (C)
- Ernest Bertrand (L)
- Georges Mayrand (R)
- David Rochon (Ind-L)

MONTREAL MAISONNEUVE-ROSEMONT (Estab. 1933)
- Jean Fauteux (C)
- Sarto Fournier (L)
- J. O. Cordeau (R)
- F. X. Poirier (Lab)
- Arthur Landry (Lab-L)

MONTREAL MERCIER (L—1305)
- R. I. Green (C)
- *Jos. Jean (L)
- Evariste Forest (R)
- E. A. Bonhomme (Ind-R)

MONTREAL MOUNT ROYAL (C—13,449)
- W. A. Walsh (C)
- A. Kirk Cameron (L)
- L. B. Almond (CCF)
- C. H. Cheaseley (R)
- T. H. Carveth (Ind)
- W. B. Baikie (Ind-L)

MONTREAL OUTREMONT (L—7669)
- Jean Penverne (C)
- Thos. Vien (L)
- Herve Roch (R)

MONTREAL ST. ANN (C—367)
- Louis Curran (C)
- Hon. J. H. Dillon (L)
- John Wolfenden (R)
- W. J. Hushion (Ind-L)
- Frank Hogan (Ind-L)
- A. Y. Menary (Lab)
- C. St. Aubin (Lab-L)

MONTREAL ST. ANTOINE-WESTMOUNT (C—2007)
- *R. S. White (C)
- *Leslie G. Bell (C)
- Shirley Dixon (L)
- A. A. Chesterfield (R)

MONTREAL ST. DENIS (L—14,264)
- J. S. Leveille (C)
- Azellus Denis (L)
- J. C. Rancourt (R)
- J. C. Gauthier (Ind)
- C. A. Perry (Lab)

MONTREAL ST. HENRY (L—5603)
- Damaise St. Maurice (C)
- *Paul Mercier (L)
- Amadee Jasmin (R)

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QUEBEC—Continued

MONTREAL ST. JAMES (L—7091)
J. P. Lamarche (C)
*Hon. Fernand Rinfret (L)
Jean Perron (CCF)
Louis Francoeur (R)
Emma Gendron (Ind)

MONTREAL ST. LAWRENCE-ST. GEORGE (C—3013)
*Hon. C. H. Cahan (C)
Hon. A. K. Hugessen (L)
G. D. Laviolette (R)

MONTREAL ST. MARY (L—10,441)
*Dr. Hermas Deslauriers (L)
Hector Dupuis (R)
Zotique Paquin (Ind-R)

MONTREAL VERDUN (Estab. 1933)
Jules Wermenlinger (C)
G. S. Mooney (CCF)
Camille Dansereau (R)
W. Lessard (Lab)
Edouard Lamontagne (Ind-C)
J. A. Whitaker (Ind-C)
Thos. Guerin (Ind-L)
Casimir Allard (Ind-L)
H. J. Garrity (Lab-L)
Herve Ferland (Verdun Party)
A. R. Sprenger (Veterans)

NICOLET-YAMASKA (L—1201 and L—84)
Aime Chasse (C)
*Lucien Dubois (L)
J. K. L. Laflamme (R)

PONTIAC (C—1896)
J. A. Raymond (C)
J. E. Piche (L)
D. D. Lapointe (R)
W. R. McDonald (Ind-L)

PORTNEUF (L—551)
J. A. Jolicoeur (C)
Lucien Cannon (L)
Bona Dussault (Ind-L)
Lucien Plamondon (Ind-L)

QUEBEC EAST (L—2180)
Edgar Champoux (C)
*Hon. E. Lapointe (L)

QUEBEC SOUTH (L—1453)
Gordon Ross (C)
*C. G. Power (L)

QUEBEC WEST AND SOUTH (C—446)
*Hon. M. Dupre (C)
Charles Parent (L)

QUEBEC-MONTMORENCY (C—47)
*C. N. Dorion (C)
Wilfrid Lacroix (L)

RICHELIEU-VERCHERES (L—2408)
Ignace Archambault (C)
*Hon. P. J. A. Cardin (L)

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QUEBEC—Continued

RICHMOND-WOLFE (C—1155)
- *Dr. F. J. Lafleche (C)
- J. P. Mullins (L)
- Phydine Brodeur (R)
- Marcel Bedard (Ind-L)

RIMOUSKI (L—1535)
- Rene Asselin (C)
- *Sir Eugene Fiset (L)
- G. A. Morin (R)

ST. HYACINTHE-BAGOT (L—175)
- Jean B. Bousquet (C)
- *T. A. Fontaine (L)
- Hector Grenon (R)

ST. JOHNS-IBERVILLE-NAPIERVILLE (L—3940)
- Hector Remillard (C)
- *Martial Rheaume (L)

ST. MAURICE-LAFLECHE (Estab. 1933)
- Alphida Crete (L)
- Elzear Dallaire (Ind-L)
- Polydore Beaulac (Ind-L)

SHEFFORD (C—1586)
- Sylva Lebrun (C)
- J. H. Leclerc (L)

SHERBROOKE (L—498)
- Dr. W. W. Lynch (C)
- *C. B. Howard (L)

STANSTEAD (C—1904)
- *John T. Hackett (C)
- R. J. Davidson (L)
- J. B. Reed (R)

TEMISCOUATA (L—117)
- Dr. Luc Labelle (C)
- *J. F. Pouliot (L)
- Herbert Dickie (R)

TERREBONNE (L—1882)
- Leopold Nantel (C)
- *L. E. Parent (L)
- Eugene Leveille (R)

THREE RIVERS (C—81)
- Leon Methot (C)
- Philippe Bigue (L)
- L. D. Durand (R)
- Louis Normand (Ind-C)
- Wilfrid Gariepy (Ind-L)
- W. Poisson (Ind-L)

VAUDREUIL-SOULANGES (L—1881)
- Horace Gagne (C)
- *Dr. J. Thauvette (L)
- Albert Lacombe (R)

WRIGHT (L—1083)
- Noel Beauchamp (C)
- *F. W. Perras (L)
- J. W. Lavigne (R)
- Freeman T. Cross (Ind)

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ONTARIO

(Eighty-two Members)

ALGOMA EAST (C—297)
- W. J. Card (C)
- Thomas Farquhar (L)
- J. W. K. Bromley (CCF)
- I. Provencher (R)

ALGOMA WEST (C—1423)
- E. V. McMillan (C)
- H. S. Hamilton (L)
- A. R. Wood (L)
- Albert Headrick (CCF)
- Vincent H. Prewer (R)

BRANT (C—722)
- *Franklin Smoke (C)
- George E. Wood (L)
- W. J. Anderson (CCF)
- Cuthbert Burt (R)

BRANTFORD CITY (C—3082)
- *R. E. Ryerson (C)
- W. Ross Macdonald (L)
- W. J. Cowherd (CCF)
- Allen Kneale (R)

BRUCE (L—77 and L—901)
- Gideon Ruttle (C)
- W. R. Tomlinson (L)
- William G. Nicholson (R)

CARLETON (C—290)
- Dr. A. B. Hyndman (C)
- H. S. Arkell (L)
- Herman R. James (R)

COCHRANE (L—2564)
- *J. A. Bradette (L)
- Harry Beach (CCF)
- Dr. A. P. Murtagh (R)
- Tom Ewen (Comm)

DUFFERIN-SIMCOE (C—4981)
- *Hon. W. Earl Rowe (C)
- W. J. C. Boake (L)
- Rev. A. H. Ferry (R)

DURHAM (C—1606)
- *F. W. Bowen (C)
- Frank Rickard (L)
- Ralph S. Staples (CCF)
- R. C. Macknight (R)

ELGIN (L—2893)
- Dr. H. J. Davis (C)
- *W. H. Mills (L)
- John L. Stansell (R)

ESSEX EAST (C—2110)
- *Hon. R. D. Morand (C)
- Paul Martin (L)
- Ben Levert (CCF)
- J. G. McPharlin (R)

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ONTARIO—Continued

ESSEX SOUTH (C—1980)
- *Eccles J. Gott (C)
- Murray Clark (L)
- J. R. Morris (R)

ESSEX WEST (C—6460)
- *S. C. Robinson (C)
- N. A. McLarty (L)
- Olive J. Whyte (CCF)
- Garnet Edwards (R)

FORT WILLIAM (C—3674)
- *Hon. R. J. Manion (C)
- Rev. Dan McIvor (L)
- Garfield Anderson (CCF)
- C. E. Chapple (R)
- J. J. Spooner (Ind)

FRONTENAC-ADDINGTON (L—2571)
- J. A. Pringle (C)
- *C. A. Campbell (L)
- Harry Hellmuth (R)

GLENGARRY (C—1229)
- *Angus McGillis (C)
- J. D. McRae (L)
- J. A. Macdonnell (R)

GRENVILLE-DUNDAS (C—4420)
- *A. C. Casselman (C)
- Preston Elliott (L)
- Dr. Claude A. Patterson (R)

GREY-BRUCE (P—243)
- Dr. L. G. Campbell (C)
- Dr. W. A. Hall (L)
- *Agnes Macphail (UFO-Lab)

GREY NORTH (C—187)
- *V. C. Porteous (C)
- W. P. Telford (L)
- Hudson Stout (CCF)
- W. L. Taylor (R)

HALDIMAND (C—1307)
- *M. C. Senn (C)
- Frank Laidlaw (L)
- J. J. Parsons (R)

HALTON (C—1170)
- George Currie (C)
- E. Hughes Cleaver (L)
- M. M. Robinson (R)

HAMILTON EAST (Lab—3656)
- Albert A. Brown (C)
- John Mitchell (CCF)
- Donald A. Clarke (R)
- *Humphrey Mitchell (Lab)

HAMILTON WEST (C—4703)
- Herbert E. Wilton (C)
- William Ainslie (L)
- Kennedy Connor (L)
- W. H. Connor (CCF)
- Nora Frances Henderson (R)

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HASTINGS-PETERBOROUGH (C—3994)
*Dr. A. T. Embury (C)
Rork Ferguson (L)
Judson A. Gunter (R)

HASTINGS SOUTH (C—2197)
*W. E. Tummon (C)
C. A. Cameron (L)
Laurie Lewis (R)

HURON NORTH (C—233)
*G. H. Spotton (C)
R. J. Deachman (L)
W. J. Henderson (R)

HURON-PERTH (L—1986)
Frank Donnelly (C)
*W. H. Golding (L)
R. J. McMillan (R)

KENORA-RAINY RIVER (L—6165)
Frank J. McManus (C)
*Hugh McKinnon (L)
J. F. Callan (CCF)
George Geddes (R)

KENT (L—1414)
*Dr. J. W. Rutherford (L)
Fred A. Leverton (R)

KINGSTON CITY (C—1588)
*A. E. Ross (C)
N. McL. Rogers (L)
John Compton (CCF)

LAMBTON-KENT (C—13)
*J. T. Sproule (C)
Hugh MacKenzie (L)
B. W. Fansher (R)

LAMBTON WEST (L—555)
Dr. R. G. Woods (C)
*Ross W. Gray (L)
F. J. Miller (R)

LANARK (C—1365)
*T. A. Thompson (C)
Bert Soper (L)
George L. Comba (R)

LEEDS (C—3145)
*Hon. H. A. Stewart (C)
Donald E. Lewis (L)
Frank W. Logan (R)

LINCOLN (C—5948)
N. J. M. Lockhart (C)
A. E. Coombs (L)
George Pay (CCF)
H. L. Craise (R)

LONDON (C—4283)
F. C. Betts (C)
G. A. P. Brickenden (L)
E. O. Hall (CCF)
J. F. White (R)
Dr. H. A. Stevenson (Ind)
G. A. Wenige (Ind)
Dr. C. H. Reason (Ind-L)

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ONTARIO—Continued

MIDDLESEX EAST (C—1678)
- *Frank Boyes (C)
- Duncan Ross (L)
- W. J. Mahon (CCF)
- Orville Hughes (R)

MIDDLESEX WEST (L—1490)
- Dr. L. W. Freele (C)
- *Hon. J. C. Elliott (L)
- John E. Campbell (R)

MUSKOKA-ONTARIO (C—2948)
- *Dr. Peter McGibbon (C)
- Stephen Furniss (L)
- Arthur J. Shipman (CCF)
- Harmon E. Rice (R)

NIPISSING (L—2151)
- J. M. McNamara (C)
- *J. R. Hurtubise (L)
- Joseph Levert (CCF)
- Kelvin A. Stewart (R)
- A. T. Hill (Comm)

NORFOLK (L—5)
- D. E. W. Tisdale (C)
- *W. H. Taylor (L)
- A. C. Stewart (CCF)
- Dr. S. S. English (R)

NORTHUMBERLAND (L—941)
- J. F. B. Belford (C)
- *W. A. Fraser (L)
- William Thompson (CCF)
- Charles Davidson (R)

ONTARIO (L—470)
- Alex. C. Hall (C)
- *W. H. Moore (L)
- William E. Noble (CCF)
- Robert Holtby (R)

OTTAWA EAST (L—2555)
- Lionel Choquette (C)
- *E. R. E. Chevrier (L)
- Wilbert Spearman (R)
- James Sidey (Lab)
- Jean Tissot (Anti-Comm)

OTTAWA WEST (L—3053)
- H. P. Hill (C)
- *T. F. Ahearn (L)
- F. D. Burkholder (R)
- W. P. Press (Ind-L)

OXFORD (C—1037 and L—1493)
- *Hon. D. M. Sutherland (C)
- *A. S. Rennie (L)
- W. Andrew McLeod (CCF)
- R. H. Mayberry (R)

PARRY SOUND (C—1139)
- Dr. M. H. Limbert (C)
- A. G. Slaght (L)
- Dr. W. R. Mason (R)

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PEEL (C—265)
- Gordon Graydon (C)
- William J. Lowe (L)
- J. C. Maund (CCF)
- Bertram Dingwall (R)

PERTH (C—876 and L—717)
- Dr. G. H. Jose (C)
- *F. G. Sanderson (L)
- Rev. J. Connor (CCF)
- Harry Watson (R)

PETERBOROUGH WEST (C—1761)
- J. F. Strickland (C)
- J. J. Duffus (L)
- Dr. Lorna Cotton Thomas (CCF)
- C. H. Ackerman (R)

PORT ARTHUR (C—1956)
- George Wardrope (C)
- C. D. Howe (L)
- Alex. Gibson (CCF)
- P. A. Legrow (R)
- A. E. Smith (Comm)

PRESCOTT (L—4246)
- Joseph St. Denis (C)
- *E. O. Bertrand (L)
- Louis Auger (Ind-L)

PRINCE EDWARD-LENNOX (C—1476)
- George J. Tustin (C)
- James W. Clark (L)
- Garnet Taylor (R)

RENFREW NORTH (C—1228)
- *Dr. I. D. Cotnam (C)
- Dr. M. McKay (L)
- Walter V. Kidd (R)

RENFREW SOUTH (C—260)
- *Dr. M. J. Maloney (C)
- Dr. J. J. McCann (L)
- J. P. Morrison (R)

RUSSELL (L—1587)
- Matthias Landry (C)
- *Alfred Goulet (L)
- Marshall Rathwell (R)
- J. R. Booth (Ind-L)

SIMCOE EAST (C—345)
- J. Drinkwater (C)
- G. A. McLean (L)
- Frank Tissington (CCF)
- Wilbur M. Cramp (R)
- Donald Macnab (Ind)

SIMCOE NORTH (C—836)
- *John T. Simpson (C)
- D. F. McCuaig (L)
- S. C. Cooper (CCF)
- H. J. Crawford (R)

STORMONT (C—575)
- *Frank T. Shaver (C)
- Lionel Chevrier (L)
- Nathan Copland (R)

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TIMISKAMING (C—1524)
- *Hon. W. A. Gordon (C)
- Walter A. Little (L)
- W. J. Hill (CCF)
- J. P. Dransfield (R)

TORONTO BROADVIEW (C—2506)
- *T. L. Church (C)
- H. P. Snelgrove (L)
- Graham Spry (CCF)
- J. C. MacCorkindale (R)

TORONTO DANFORTH (C—10,966)
- *J. H. Harris (C)
- Norman Wilkes (L)
- Rev. Stanley Elliott (CCF)
- Thomas Learie (R)

TORONTO DAVENPORT (C—8830)
- *John R. MacNicol (C)
- John P. Travers (L)
- John W. Bruce (CCF)
- W. Harvey Brown (R)

TORONTO EGLINTON (C—6278)
- *R. L. Baker (C)
- Egerton Lovering (L)
- Ben H. Spence (CCF)
- A. C. Douglas (R)

TORONTO GREENWOOD (Estab. 1933)
- Denton Massey (C)
- Ernest Bray (L)
- Bert E. Leavens (CCF)
- George S. Hougham (R)

TORONTO HIGH PARK (C—6042)
- *A. J. Anderson (C)
- J. C. McRuer (L)
- D. M. LeBourdais (CCF)
- Dr. Minerva Reid (R)

TORONTO PARKDALE (C—5890)
- *David Spence (C)
- J. L. Prentice (L)
- Dr. Rose Henderson (CCF)
- C. A. Hurlbut (R)

TORONTO ROSEDALE (C—5488)
- Harry Clarke (C)
- George A. Urquhart (L)
- William Dennison (CCF)
- Burt Watts (R)
- Samuel Scarlett (Comm)

TORONTO ST. PAUL'S (Estab. 1933)
- Douglas G. Ross (C)
- Salter A. Hayden (L)
- E. B. Jolliffe (CCF)
- James Robertson (R)

TORONTO SPADINA (L—564)
- Nathan Phillips (C)
- *Samuel Factor (L)
- Dr. J. Romer (CCF)
- D. A. Balfour (R)
- J. B. Salzberg (Comm)

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ONTARIO—Continued

TORONTO TRINITY (C—2391)
- *Hon. G. R. Geary (C)
- Hugh Plaxton (L)
- Carlo Lamberti (CCF)
- William A. Gunn (R)
- Norman Freed (Comm)

VICTORIA (C—2730)
- *T. H. Stinson (C)
- Bruce McNevin (L)
- J. R. Falconer (R)

WATERLOO NORTH (L—3053)
- C. C. Hahn (C)
- *Hon. W. D. Euler (L)
- John Walter (CCF)

WATERLOO SOUTH (C—4049)
- *A. M. Edwards (C)
- D. S. Charlton (L)
- Felix Lazarus (CCF)
- H. O. Hawke (R)

WELLAND (C—2466)
- Fred M. Cairns (C)
- Arthur B. Damude (L)
- Thomas Daly (CCF)
- William H. Smith (R)

WELLINGTON NORTH (L—90)
- Duncan Sinclair (C)
- *Dr. J. K. Blair (L)
- R. H. Smith (R)

WELLINGTON SOUTH (C—994)
- Hugh C. Guthrie (C)
- R. W. Gladstone (L)
- C. E. Fulton (CCF)
- Frederick Neale (R)

WENTWORTH (C—3808)
- Frank E. Lennard, Jr. (C)
- Ellis Corman (L)
- Robert J. Hanna (CCF)
- W. J. Peace (R)

YORK EAST (C—6458)
- *R. H. McGregor (C)
- Goldwin Fleming (L)
- Arthur Williams (CCF)
- John Warren (R)
- Dennis McCarthy (Ind-L)

YORK NORTH (L—3687)
- H. A. Breuls (C)
- *W. P. Mulock (L)
- Kenneth Ross (CCF)
- Rev. C. M. Dix (R)

YORK SOUTH (Estab. 1933)
- *Hon. J. Earl Lawson (C)
- Elmore Philpott (L)
- Dr. Luke Teskey (CCF)
- Earl Hand (R)

YORK WEST (C—9475)
- Peter L. Brown (C)
- J. E. L. Streight (L)
- F. M. Fish (CCF)
- Harry W. Hallatt (R)

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MANITOBA

(Seventeen Members)

BRANDON (C—2055)
- *D. W. Beaubier (C)
- J. E. Matthews (L)
- J. H. Wood (CCF)
- Cecil E. Leech (R)

CHURCHILL (C—674)
- *B. M. Stitt (C)
- Hon. T. A. Crerar (L)
- Alex. Stewart (CCF)

DAUPHIN (C—684)
- *Hon. J. L. Bowman (C)
- W. J. Ward (L)
- R. A. McKellar (CCF)

LISGAR (L—172)
- W. C. Miller (C)
- Howard Winkler (L)
- Mrs. Eva Nelson (R)

MACDONALD (L-P—499)
- W. H. Spinks (C)
- A. M. Messner (L)
- John MacLean (CCF)
- L. J. Bennett (R)
- *W. G. Weir (L-P)

MARQUETTE (C—2684)
- Robt. Peden (C)
- J. A. Glen (L)
- John B. Brown (CCF)

NEEPAWA (C—477)
- *Hon. T. G. Murphy (C)
- F. D. MacKenzie (L)
- S. H. S. Beatty (CCF)
- Dr. J. R. Martin (R)

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE (C—142)
- *W. H. Burns (C)
- Harry Leader (L)
- Wilfred Metcalfe (R)

PROVENCHER (L-P—2288)
- Philippe Bourgeois (C)
- *A. L. Beaubien (L)

ST. BONIFACE (L—2415)
- J. P. Bertrand (C)
- *Dr. J. P. Howden (L)
- Edwin Hansford (CCF)
- Thos. B. Molloy (R)
- V. J. Gray (SC)

SELKIRK (C—483)
- G. S. Thorvaldson (C)
- Wm. Langton (CCF)
- W. E. Gordon (R)
- J. T. Thorson (L-P)
- E. R. Mills (SC)
- Wasyl Nawizowsky (Comm)

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MANITOBA—Continued

SOURIS (C—472)

*E. F. Willis (C)
George MacDonald (L)
A. H. Parkes (CCF)
W. H. Clandenning (R)

SPRINGFIELD (C—1829)

L. L. Taylor (C)
John M. Turner (L)
Herbert Sulkers (CCF)
Arthur M. Doyle (R)
Andrew Jaharchuk (Ind)
J. H. McMurray (Ind-L)
N. J. Stryck (L-P)

WINNIPEG NORTH (Lab—1896)

C. S. Booth (L)
*A. A. Heaps (CCF)
F. J. Wellwood (SC)
Tim Buck (Comm)

WINNIPEG NORTH CENTRE (Lab—6237)

R. P. Pattinson (C)
H. P. A. Hermanson (L)
*J. S. Woodsworth (CCF)
T. W. Kilshaw (R)
C. W. Huffman (SC)

WINNIPEG SOUTH (C—343)

W. G. Phipps Baker (C)
Leslie A. Mutch (L)
William Campbell (CCF)
R. H. Gillespie (R)
P. B. Haywood (SC)

WINNIPEG SOUTH CENTRE (C—3718)

*W. W. Kennedy (C)
Ralph Maybank (L)
Rev. Stanley H. Knowles (CCF)
Alfred J. Susans (R)
Arthur Brown (SC)

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C115997

SASKATCHEWAN

(Twenty-one Members)

ASSINIBOIA (L—760)
- W. W. Lynd (C)
- *Robt. McKenzie (L)
- Charles Broughton (CCF)

HUMBOLDT (L—3931)
- Thomas Bland (C)
- Dr. H. R. Fleming (L)
- Joseph Burton (CCF)
- J. F. McCaffery (SC)

KINDERSLEY (P—2180)
- Charles Henderson (L)
- Leslie Sherman (CCF)
- O. B. Elliott (SC)

LAKE CENTRE (C—194 and L—837)
- A. A. Peters (C)
- J. F. Johnston (L)
- W. R. Fansher (CCF)
- Russell Hartney (SC)

MACKENZIE (L—1614)
- J. Albert Padget (C)
- *J. A. MacMillan (L)
- Rev. A. M. Nicholson (CCF)
- B. Graham (SC)

MAPLE CREEK (C—557)
- *Dr. J. B. Swanston (C)
- C. R. Evans (L)
- Rev. A. D. Stade (CCF)
- C. Jensen (SC)

MELFORT (C—1322)
- *Hon. Robert Weir (C)
- Malcolm MacLean (L)
- Mrs. D. C. Pope (CCF)
- Arthur J. Lewis (SC)

MELVILLE (L—2924)
- G. N. Hart (C)
- *Hon. W. R. Motherwell (L)
- L. M. Switzer (CCF)
- Holger Munch (SC)

MOOSE JAW (C—939)
- *W. A. Beynon (C)
- J. G. Ross (L)
- Charles Stuart (CCF)
- R. M. Johnson (SC)

NORTH BATTLEFORD (L—1095)
- *C. R. McIntosh (L)
- Rev. H. Hamilton (CCF)
- H. Watson (SC)

PRINCE ALBERT (L—1192)
- F. T. Graves (C)
- *Rt. Hon. W. L. M. King (L)
- Thomas Johnson (CCF)
- A. R. Bedard (SC)

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SASKATCHEWAN—Continued

QU'APPELLE (C—983)
- *E. E. Perley (C)
- J. A. McCowan (L)
- J. F. Herman (CCF)
- Joseph Thauberger (SC)

REGINA CITY (C—3700)
- *F. W. Turnbull (C)
- D. A. McNiven (L)
- Dr. Hugh McLean (CCF)
- E. W. Hinkson (SC)

ROSETOWN-BIGGAR (C—1073)
- *W. J. Loucks (C)
- Wm. Richardson (L)
- M. J. Coldwell (CCF)
- Joseph Heartwell (SC)

ROSTHERN (Estab. 1933)
- H. W. Fisher (C)
- W. A. Tucker (L)
- H. J. Benson (CCF)
- H. H. Henschel (R)
- V. Gable (SC)

SASKATOON CITY (C—1864)
- Dr. J. T. M. Anderson (C)
- Dr. A. M. Young (L)
- John Evans (CCF)
- W. P. Wensley (R)
- H. W. Arnold (SC)

SWIFT CURRENT (L—926)
- J. O. Begg (C)
- *C. E. Bothwell (L)
- J. G. Laycock (CCF)
- O. Reid (SC)

THE BATTLEFORDS (L—615)
- A. W. Sallows (C)
- *John Vallance (L)
- Mrs. Louise Lucas (CCF)
- J. A. Needham (SC)

WEYBURN (L—1536)
- George Beischel (C)
- *E. J. Young (L)
- Rev. T. C. Douglas (CCF)
- M. A. Fletcher (SC)

WOOD MOUNTAIN (L—738)
- R. B. Hoath (C)
- *Dr. T. F. Donnelly (L)
- A. W. Craig (CCF)
- H. K. Warren (SC)

YORKTON (L—1481)
- John Hnatyshyn (C)
- *G. W. McPhee (L)
- Jacob Benson (CCF-SC)
- William Kelso (SC)

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ALBERTA

(Seventeen Members)

ACADIA (UFA Acclamation)
- C. A. Coughlin (C)
- Dr. A. M. Day (L)
- *Robt. Gardiner (CCF)
- Victor Quelch (SC)

ATHABASKA (C—324)
- Adeodat Boileau (C)
- James O. McNamee (L)
- P. J. Rowe (SC)
- J. M. Newman (Technocrat)

BATTLE RIVER (UFA—2947)
- J. W. G. Morrison (C)
- M. L. Forster (L)
- *H. E. Spencer (CCF)
- Robt. Fair (SC)

BOW RIVER (UFA—1172)
- Andrew Davison (C)
- C. R. Walrod (L)
- *E. J. Garland (CCF)
- Charles E. Johnston (SC)

CALGARY EAST (C—5342)
- *Dr. G. D. Stanley (C)
- J. T. Shaw (L)
- Edith Patterson (CCF)
- John Landeryou (SC)

CALGARY WEST (C—7996)
- *Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett (C)
- P. L. Hyde (L)
- Rev. H. M. Horricks (CCF)
- Dr. C. T. Galbraith (R)
- Robert Reid (SC)

CAMROSE (UFA—2030)
- G. P. Smith (L)
- *W. T. Lucas (CCF)
- J. A. Marshall (SC)

EDMONTON EAST (C—1741)
- P. E. Bowen (C)
- G. P. McLeod (L)
- Elmer Roper (CCF)
- Dr. W. S. Hall (SC)
- Dr. R. C. Ghostley (SC)
- O. C. Doolan (Comm)

EDMONTON WEST (L—263)
- James H. Ogilvie (C)
- J. A. Mackinnon (L)
- Mary Crawford (CCF)
- A. L. Burrows (R)
- J. A. Reid (SC)

JASPER-EDSON (Estab. 1933)
- *Hon. C. Stewart (L)
- G. Bevington (CCF)
- Walter Kuhl (SC)

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ALBERTA—Continued

LETHBRIDGE (C—983)

*Dr. J. S. Stewart (C)
L. Fairbairn (L)
J. A. Johansen (CCF)
A. G. Virtue (R)
J. H. Blackmore (SC)

MACLEOD (UFA—792)

F. W. Mathewson (C)
Frank McKenna (L)
*G. G. Coote (CCF)
Rev. E. G. Hansell (SC)

MEDICINE HAT (L—2934)

G. W. Blackstock (C)
*Dr. F. W. Gershaw (L)
A. H. Mitchell (SC)

PEACE RIVER (UFA—1814)

Ernest V. Bergin (C)
J. P. McIsaac (L)
*D. M. Kennedy (CCF)
R. A. Pelletier (SC)

RED DEER (UFA—1685)

Arthur Stewart (C)
George Clark (L)
*Alfred Speakman (CCF)
Eric Poole (SC)

VEGREVILLE (UFA—1010)

J. B. Holden (C)
Joseph McCalium (L)
*M. Luchkovich (CCF)
Wm. Hayhurst (SC)
M. Popovitch (Comm)

WETASKIWIN (UFA—424)

W. S. Campbell (L)
*Wm. Irvine (CCF)
N. Jacques (SC)

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BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Sixteen Members)

CARIBOO (C—328)

*J. A. Fraser (C)
J. G. Turgeon (L)
J. McInnis (CCF)
Frederick Clarke (R)

COMOX-ALBERNI (Ind—2381)

R. H. Hague (C)
Colin Cameron (CCF)
E. R. Tarling (R)
Malcolm MacKinnon (Lab)
*A. W. Neill (Ind)

FRASER VALLEY (C—572)

*H. J. Barber (C)
J. F. Semple (L)
J. M. Cameron (CCF)
G. F. Pratt (R)

KAMLOOPS (Estab. 1933)

A. J. Moffat (C)
T. J. O'Neill (L)
G. F. Stirling (CCF)
G. H. Ellis (R)

KOOTENAY EAST (C—106)

Hon. R. R. Bruce (L)
B. C. Iverson (CCF)
*Hon. H. H. Stevens (R)
Ernest W. Sjodin (SC)

KOOTENAY WEST (C—1761)

*W. K. Esling (C)
D. D. McLean (L)
H. W. Herridge (CCF)

NANAIMO (C—2231)

*C. H. Dickie (C)
Alan Chambers (L)
J. S. Taylor (CCF)
Aubrey M. Clark (R)

NEW WESTMINSTER (L—2791)

John H. Morgan (C)
*Tom Reid (L)
Rev. E. H. Baker (CCF)
C. F. Millar (R)

SKEENA (L—1024)

C. H. Orme (C)
*Olof Hanson (L)
J. E. Panter (CCF)

VANCOUVER-BURRARD (L—2734)

A. J. McDonell (C)
G. G. McGeer (L)
Arnold Webster (CCF)
Dr. H. L. W. Turnbull (R)
W. A. Tutte (SC)

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C 116002

BRITISH COLUMBIA—Continued

VANCOUVER-CENTRE (L—2041)

E. G. Sherwood (C)
*Hon. Ian Mackenzie (L)
W. W. Lefeaux (CCF)
Mrs. Edward Mahon (R)
J. J. Taylor (Socialist)

VANCOUVER EAST (Estab. 1933)

Thomas Todrick (C)
Dr. J. L. MacDougall (L)
*Angus MacInnis (CCF)
C. N. Borton (R)
Malcolm Bruce (Comm)

VANCOUVER NORTH (L—1042)

W. H. Woods (C)
*A. E. Munn (L)
C. Grant MacNeil (CCF)
Wm. Savage (R)

VANCOUVER SOUTH (Ind-Lab—882)

H. C. Green (C)
A. M. Manson (L)
Robert Skinner (CCF)
A. B. Carey (R)
P. McD. Kerr (Ind)

VICTORIA (C—2016)

*D. B. Plunkett (C)
C. J. McDowell (L)
Prof. King Gordon (CCF)
P. E. George (R)

YALE (C—3539)

*Hon. Grote Stirling (C)
C. E. Oliver (L)
Rev. E. W. Mackay (CCF)

YUKON

(One Member)

(C—288)

Mrs. George Black (Ind-C)
J. P. Smith (Ind-L)

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Province	Liberal Votes	Conservative Votes	3rd Party Votes	Total Votes Cast	No. of Members Elected Lib.	Cons.	3rd Parties	Electoral 1935 Votes Lib	Cons	3rds
								C 116003		
Ontario										
1911 (86 mem.)	207.078	269.930	3.564	480.572	13	72	1	43%	56%	1%
1930 (82 ")	590.071	745.414	24.091	1.359.576	22	59	1	43½%	55%	1½%
1935 (82 ")	675.851	562.498	342.881	1.594.290	55	26	1	43%	36%	21%
Quebec										
1911 (65 mem.)	164.281	159.299	459	324.089	38	27	1	50%+	49%+	.14%
1930 "	542.135	456.037	22.089	1.020.261	41	24	.	53½%	44½%	2%
1935 "	623.342	323.153	200.130	1.146.625	60	5	.	54%	29%	17%
Nova Scotia										
1911 (18 mem.)	57.462	55.209	351	113.022	9	9	.	51%	48.7%	.3%
1930 (14 ")	127.189	140.513	-	267.702	4	10	.	47%	53%	
1935 (18 ")	142.316	87.893	43.535	273.744	12	-		52%	32%	16%
New Brunswick										
1911 (13 mem.)	40.192	38.880	-	79.092	8	5		51%	49%	
1930 (11 ")	75.221	109.839	-	185.060	1	10		41%	59%	
1935 (10 ")	100.537	56.145	19.080	175.762	9	1		57%	32%	11%

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C 110004

Province	Liberal Votes	Conservative Votes.	3rd Party Votes.	Total Votes Cast.	Members Elected. Libs.	Cons.	3rd P.	% of Votes polled. Libs.	Cons.	
Pr. Ed. Island.										
1911 (4 mem.)	13.998	14.638	-	28.636.	2	2		49%	51%.	
1930 "	29.698	29.692	.	59.390	1	3		50%	50%	
1935 "	35.757	23.602	2.089	61.457	4.			58½%	38½%	3½%.
Manitoba.										
1911 (10 men)	34.781.	40.356	2.559	77.696	2	8		45%	52%	3%.
1930 (17 ")	87.284	111.812	84.855	283.401	1	11	5	16%	48%	36%.
1935 (16 ")	100.535	75.574	104.883	280.992.	10	2	4	36%	27%	37%.
Saskatchewan										
1911 (10 men)	52.934	34.700	1.419	89.043	9	1		57%	42%	1%.
1930 (21 ")	153.673	129.420	47.099	330.192	12	7	2	46%	40%	14%.
1935 (21 ")	134.913	71.288	139.370	345.566	17	1	3	39%	21%	40%.
Alberta.										
1911 (7 men.)	37.208	26.675	2.892	67.775	6	1	-	54%	41%	5%.
1930 (16 ")	60.148	67.808	72.420	200.376	3	4	9.	30%	34%	36%.
1935 (17 ")	50.529	40.236	36.111 S.C.-105.905	232.791	1	1	15	21%	17%	{49% SC; 15% others.

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Province.	Liberal Vote	Conservative Vote.	3rd Party Votes.	Total Votes Cast.	Elected Liberals	Elected Conserv:	Elected Others.	Percentage of Votes polled Liberals	Percentage of Votes polled Cons.	Percentage of Votes polled 3rd Party.
Brit. Columbia										
1911 (7 members)	16.350	25.622	1.587	43.559	-	7	-	37%	59%	3%.
1930 (14 ")	98.933	119.074	23.626	241.633	5	7	2	40%	50%	10%.
1935 (16 ")	96.204	71.008	121.488	288 700	6	5	5	34%	25%	41%.
Yukon.										
1911 (1 mem.)	509	1.285		2.114	-	1		~~39%~~ 24%	~~61%~~ 61%	~~5%~~ 15%.
1930 "	568	846		1.404		1		~~40%~~ 40%	~~60%~~ 60%	~~20%~~ 36%.
1935 "	555	696		1.251		1		44%	56%	

Coll - Gen Elect 1935
Oct 9/2 1935

OFFICE OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

MEMORANDUM

C 116006

Mr. King

Hon. Lucien Cannon has been nominated for Portneuf. Dr. Desrochers retired in his favour. A liberal has been nominated against Bourassa.

Ead

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ODAK SAFETY FILM

Collection
General Election of 1935

C 116007

Internal Affairs

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C116008

LIBERALISM versus TORYISM

A synopsis of the Story of Liberalism, down through the Ages, telling how It has destroyed Terrorism, Despotism, Feudalism, Absolutism, -- how It swept away the 'Old Order' with it's Divine Right of Kings, and System of 'Rotten Boroughs', -- how It triumphed and prevailed against all these instruments of Toryism, -- how it created a Great Empire and founded a Great Nation, and established a Democracy out of a narrow, selfish tyrannical Tory Aristocracy and gave us a Land of which all who love Freedom and Justice may well be proud.

Prepared June 1935
By Committee of Lib. Members
House of Commons

PREPARED JUNE 1935
BY COMMITTEE OF LIBERAL MEMBERS
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

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C 116009

A HISTORY OF LIBERALISM VS. TORYISM

With the dissolution of our Federal Parliament so near at hand, the stage has been cleared once more for another great struggle between those two age-old parties. A struggle that is fraught with such critical issues. The future destiny of our nation hangs in the balance. In whose care will it be entrusted for the next five years? Many things can happen in that time for the weal or woe of our country. The period between 1935 and 1940 will be one of the most significant in our history. With the proper guidance and Administration there are tremendous possibilities for development in store for us.

We, as Canadian citizens, are called upon to decide the issues - to render the verdict by the judicial exercise of that greatest of all peace time weapons, the ballot. To thus render judgment without giving due reflection to past as well as present records would be to commit a gross injustice to one's country as well as to his fellow-citizens.

If ever man should pause to consider, to weigh, to discriminate, and to reason with an open, unselfish, and unbiased mind, surely this is the occasion for doing so. Let us review the situation, therefore, and contemplate upon some of the very vital points of the issue.

In the heat of battle, politicians are prone to wax loquacious and talk for hours in terms of high-sounding technical phraseology which in some instances, I am sorry to say, has been manufactured for the express purpose of misleading the public. And so, I purpose to bring to your attention, in simple unpretentious style, the real fundamental principles which are, and always have been, the bone of contention between Liberal and Conservative parties. I ask you, in justice to yourself and in fairness to all concerned, to give close attention to the following lines, which will give you a fairly complete picture of Politics framed in the incontrovertible truths from the pages of History.

If one is to judge conscientiously either an individual, an institution, a party, or a government, one must know the facts, the record of achievement, the principles and policies of that government or party. As it is true that a man can rise no higher than his thoughts, so is it also true that no political party can hope to attain any higher goal of true public-spirited service than the degree to which it is confined by it's own narrowness of perspective. Therefore, I submit, that the only real criterion by which we can judge the merits of Liberalism or Toryism is a careful analysis of their respective records of achievement down through the ages. What is the Tory Party? Where, when, why, and how, did it originate??? And what is Liberalism? Which of these two parties is responsible for all the social, political, industrial, commercial and religious reforms which have been enacted in the past three centuries of progress? Let us not forget that while we are justly proud of our Democratic Institutions, Our far-famed British Justice, our franchise, our liberty and freedom and innumerable other things which are so indispensable to our physical, mental, moral and spiritual welfare, these have only been achieved after ages of bitter struggle in the parliamentary arena. Since practically all of our laws and our Constitution is patterned after that of the Mother Country, any political research will necessarily take us back into the English History of the Middle and Modern Ages. It would be impossible to set down, in this brief space, all the Acts of Parliament so I shall only attempt to give a few of the most important Reforms which have laid the foundation of the Great British Empire and The Dominion of Canada. Read and learn the Truth about Party Politics.

Until the execution of King Charles I, England was under the Rule of Absolute Monarchy. A parliament existed, it is true, but only as an instrument for carrying out the Will of the King. The Members were of the Royalist Party and sought the favour of the Sire rather than that of the people. Kings became more and more tyrannical and despotic until, after many years of long suffering, the masses began slowly to awaken to the dawn of a new light that struck deep down in their hearts and minds. A new generation was born which refused to accept the theory of the "Divine Rights" of kings. It was not long before the national was divided

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into two factions -- those who supported Royalty and upheld the Absolute power of the King against parliament -- and those who were opposed to this 'Old Order' of things and favoured Rule by Parliament. The former consisted mainly of Nobles and Royal Favourites - the latter of the common classes. And thus the Party System was begun. The Principles and Policies of the Tories were as follows:

(1) To uphold the 'Divine Right' of the King as Absolute Monarch, opposed to parliamentary rule.

(2) To maintain the Established Order of Things.

(3) To maintain the Exclusive Rights of the Church of England in all matters of Church and State.

(4) To prevent any extension of the Franchise.

(5) To fight all measures of Reform.

(6) Quotation from History: "The Tories were all for the fixity of class distinction, religious intolerance, and the old hard pressure upon the poor, working classes who were claiming that, they too, were God's creatures and had a right to live".

As opposed to these reactionary policies of the Tories we have the Principles of the Liberal Party, which were:

(1) To limit the power of the king.

(2) To make Parliament the supreme ruling power in the land.

(3) To extend the Franchise.

(4) To Reform the entire life of the country in all it's different phases.

(5) To allow Free Trade.

(6) To keep out of war.

For the first three centuries (16th, 17th and 18th) the Tories held power almost continuously. Having the support of the King, and control of all high offices, it was an easy matter for them to manipulate the elections so as to give them a majority. It is on record that, in some instances, the King, or his Ministers, actually bought up whole constituences. They established a system of what is known as 'Rotten Boroughs' by which deserted country villages would be represented in parliament, whilst those in large industrial cities like Manchester, did not have any representation. Bribery, intimation, coercion and many other such evils were practiced wholesale and openly to thwart the efforts of the Reformers. Only a few thousand people had a vote. So, for about three hundred years the Tories reigned supreme. Parliament was merely a sham. Sometimes it would not be called for years, and then only for the purpose of imposing some new form of taxation upon the people, at the command of the King. There was no Reform or progress, to speak of during this period. The following quotations from history will show why there was so little change in England up until 1820.

Quotations - (1) "In his struggle against parliamentary government George III, was helped by parliament itself. The old Royalist Party had now become the Tory Party and continued to uphold the power of the King and to reject parliamentary rule as it was practised by the Whigs".

(2) "Reform had no chance in England until 1820 and changes which would have been an unqualified blessing were delayed for generations. Even after the Napoleonic Wars the same unreasonable dread of any change continued, and the same attitude of stiff, implacable opposition to all reform. This unbending, undeviating hostility to all change was characteristic of this period of Tory

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Rule".

(3) "Until 1830 the Government was for the most part under Tory Rule and harsh measures were adopted to prevent any agitation for reform".

(4) "Corbett, a radical Liberal, persuaded the people that they must first get the right to vote before they could get social or economic reform. Let the people get political power; let them change parliament from the organ of a narrow class into a truly National Assembly and they could abolish the evils from which they suffered and put useful Statutes into force. He demanded universal suffrage. Other leaders sprang up and a considerable fermentation of ideas among the unpropertied and working classes prevailed during these years (1815-30); but against these demands the Tory Government hardened it's heart, and it made no attempt to study or remove these grievances, being resolved to go to any length to stamp out the troublesome spirit by force.

Going back to the first, I shall give you the important Acts of Parliament in the order of which they occurred.

1673 -- Tories passed Test Act, excluding anyone from public office unless he took communion in the Church of England.

1711 -- Tories passed Conformity Act, which imposed dismissal or fine on all office holders who attended other than the Established Church.

1714 -- Tories passed Schisms Act, which permitted only members of the Church to teach or keep any kind of school.

1719 -- Whigs passed PEERAGE BILL, which limited the power of House of Lords.

1764 -- FREEDOM OF PRESS, - John Wilkes, a radical Liberal, dared to criticize the King and parliament in his paper, the "North Briton" For this he was arrested by the Tories, - he escaped and was outlawed. His friends took up the case; Wilkes was brought back from France and elected to the Legislature. But the Government threw him out. A long fight ensued in which Wilkes was finally successful and the Government forced to acknowledge the Freedom of the Press.

1775 -- The Tory Government involved England in a most disastrous and humiliating war with her own colony in America, in which she was forced to acknowledge the independence of her richest overseas possession. All of which was a direct result of the autocratic, tyrannical policies of the Tory Ministry. If England had been fortunate enough to have had a Liberal Government at that critical time there is every good reason to believe that there would have been no American Revolutionary War, and that the British Flag would to-day, be flying clear from the Arctic Ocean on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south.

1828 -- REPEAL OF TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS - The Liberals now had a sufficient number in the Commons to force Reform Measures upon the Tory Government.

1829 -- CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION BILL - freed the Catholics from having to support the Church of England. Greater Religious Toleration allowed.

By 1930, the Liberal Party had a Majority in the House of Commons for the first time in many years, and we have ushered in with it, one of the greatest periods of Reform ever experienced in all the History of the world.

1[illegible] --

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1832,--FIRST REFORM BILL,-- Did away with the 'Rotten Boroughs' and extended the Franchise considerably to the working classes. The Tories fought this Measure as they would the plague, and the Prime Minister Earl Grey, had to threaten to create new Peers, before the Tory Lords would give their assent to the Bill.

1833,--Liberals ABOLISHED SLAVERY, throughout the British Empire.

--Liberals established FIRST SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION,-by granting $100,000 for the building of Free Schools.

1834,--FACTORY ACTS,- Liberals passed two very important Factory Acts which limited the age, and hours of labour, for children.

1835,--PRISON REFORMS, passed by Liberals, which provided for Gov't Inspection, segregation of sexes, sanitary buildings, etc.

1837,--NUMBER OF CAPITAL OFFENCES REDUCED FROM 100 to 7, by Liberals.

1838,--TITEES ACT, passed by Liberals. Henceforth the Land Titles must be paid by the rich Landlord instead of the poor tenant as formerly.

1839,--PENNY POSTAGE SYSTEM ESTABLISHED,- by the Liberals.

1842,--Liberals passed the MINES ACT,- previous to this little children five years old were made to work from 12 to 18 hours a day in mines full of water, filthy, and unventilated, in company with ruffians who mistreated them. Little girls were harnessed to small wagons and made to pull heavy loads through passages which were dark and too small for them to stand upright in. This law prohibited the employment of women and all children under 10 yrs. of age from working underground.

1846,--Liberals REPEAL THE CORN LAWS, and cleared the way for Free Trade Under the Corn Laws the importation of grain was forbidden by law and consequently the prices were exorbitantly high. The rich Landowners acquired fortunes while the masses of humanity paid for it in sweat and blood and the poor were miserable, hungry and wretched.

1848,--Liberals passed FACTORY ACT,- which limited the time of labour to 10 hours a day.

1849,--Liberals repeal NAVIGATION ACTS,- these Acts had placed severe restrictions on the Commerce and Trade of Canada and other Br. possessions, and practically prevented any economic development in our country.

1849,--The Radical Liberals drew up a Petition called the "People's Charter", which contained six most important principles of gov't, the four most important being,-(I) Every grown up man should have a vote (2) Voting to be done by ballot (3) Members of parliament to be paid so as to give the poor man a chance (4) Electoral divisions to be equally divided. All these requests were granted by later Liberal Governments.

In this same year the Liberals also established FREE TRADE, and this paved the way for England's phenomenal expansion and growth into a Mighty Empire.

1867,--Tories pass SECOND REFORM BILL,- the bill, however, was drafted and presented by the Liberals under the leadership of Wm.Ewart Gladstone. Much to the extreme disgust the Tories were forced to pass the bill amid the cheers and jibes of Liberal enthusiasts. This Bill extending the franchise to agricultural labourers and those paying small rentals.

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1869,--Liberals DISESTABLISHED THE NATIONAL CHURCH OF IRELAND,and allowed greater religious freedom to Roman Catholics.

1870,--Civil Service Reform,- the Liberals introduced a new system of competitive examinations for those wishing to enter the service.

IRISH LAND ACT, by which Irish tenants were to be allowed credit for any improvements they made on the land and they could no longer be driven off the land by the mere whim of the landlord.

1871,--Liberals passed UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL,- a most important law, by which the schools and Universities were freed of all connection with the Church of England and were to be henceforth open to all.

1872,--Liberals passed the BALLOT ACT, by which voting was to be in secret.

1873,--Liberals establish a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, for the protection of the Rights and Liberties of all citizens, high or low.

1878,--Liberals passed FACTORY ACT, by which hours of labour, sanitary conditions, safety of workers, and regulations for meals were provided for. A very sweeping Reform measure.

(1871)-Liberals abolished the PURCHASE SYSTEM,- whereby commissions had formerly been purchased by a cash payment.

1880,--Liberals pass law making, EMPLOYERS RESPONSIBLE FOR ACCIDENTS TO EMPLOYEES WHILE WORKING IN SHOP.

1881,--Liberals pass II IRISH LAND ACT, assisting tenants to buy own land.

1882,--MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT, by Liberals. This Act remedied the gross injustice whereby all property of a Married Woman formerly belonged to her husband. Women were now placed on equal terms with men in respect to Property Rights.

1884,--III REFORM BILL,- passed by Gladstone, which extended the Franchise to Counties and Townships as well as Boroughs.

1901,--FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT,- passed by Liberals under Union Gov't.

1902,--EDUCATION ACT,-introduced by Liberals and forced through in spite of Tory Opposition. A National System of Education to embrace all departments from the Primary Grade to University.

1906,--WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT,- passed by Liberal Gov't.

1907,--MEDICAL INSPECTION ACT,- passed by Liberals, giving free Medical Inspection to all school children.

1908,--OLD AGE PENSION ACT,-passed by Liberal gov't.

--CHILDREN'S ACT,-passed by Liberals which provided for Special Laws in the treatment of Juvenile Criminal Cases.

--COAL MINE ACT,-passed by Liberals which limited the Time of Labour in mines to Eight Hours a day.

1909,--SWEATED INDUSTRIES ACT,-passed by Liberals; which fixed a MINIMUM WAGE for the protection of 'Sweated Labourers'.

--LABOUR EXCHANGES SET UP,- by the Liberal gov't for the purpose of assisting workmen to find jobs.

--HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING ACT,- passed by Liberals, whereby power was given to Municipalities to tear down 'Slums' and erect sanitary

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1910,--FACTORY LAW,- passed by Liberal gov't., fixing the hours and conditions of work in factories.

1911,--HOUSE OF COMMONS BILL,- passed by Liberals. A Statute providing that if a Bill passes the Commons three times in one session it automatically becomes law without the consent of the House of Lords. This made the H. of Commons the Supreme Ruling Power.

--PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,- passed by Liberal gov't so as to give the poor man an equal opportunity to become M.P. ($2000 yr.)

1917,--FRANCHISE ACT,- giving vote to all men over 21 and women over 30.

When the Liberals began their Reform Campaign in 1832 there were only about 250,000 voters in England. By 1918 there were approximately 16,000,000 on the voter's list.

This is, in brief, the story of England's long and hectic struggle for Democracy against the Reactionary forces of Toryism which sought on every occasion to prevent any Measure of Reform, first, in the House of Commons, then, if they were not successful there, in the House of Lords.

Perhaps no greater tribute can be paid to Liberalism than by a reference to the life of Gladstone, that great pillar of Liberal spirit. In his early life Gladstone was a Conservative, but he soon found that his Reform Policies and his Principles of Purity in Politics were so inconsistent with Toryism, that he renounced his former party and became an ardent supporter and later the leader of the Liberals. Speaking in the House of Commons he is reported to have said, that, "Liberalism enjoys the trust and confidence of the people; Toryism both fears and mistrusts the people."

In order to prove to you that Liberalism is NOT JUST A POLITICAL PARTY, but is, rather, AN EXPRESSION AND EMBODIMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT SPIRIT OF ALL FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE, wherever they may live,-wherever Freedom lifts it's head against the crushing heel of Oppression,-to prove this I submit a number of quotations from the history of other European Nations.

Quotations,-- (I) Switzerland, "The violent contests between the Conservatives and Radical Liberals led finally to civil war. The two parties were about equal in numbers, but the Conservatives, in order to maintain their hold on power, had 'Gerrymandered' the electoral districts in such a way as to make sure a majority of representatives. They refused to submit to the people the question of Changing the Constitution. The Liberals rose in insurrection and ousted the Conservatives from office.

(2) Spain,-"The Conservatives wished to maintain the system established by the Restoration of the Monarchy and accepted only Financial and Military Reforms of the Liberals. They were supported by the clergy and the Aristocracy. The Liberals demanded return to civil marriages, Liberty of the Press, Trial by Jury, and extension of the Franchise until Universal Suffrage was reached".

In the other European countries such as France, Germany, Belgium, Holland Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Austria, and Italy the Liberals rose in revolt against the 'Old Order' with it's Feudal Systems and Absolute Monarchies, and set up Constitutional Monarchies, Republics, and Democracies.

CANADIAN POLITICS

We shall now turn our attention to the political history of Party gov't in our own country. Canada was, at this time, divided into five separate provinces,-Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Since the struggles for reform were so nearly alike in all five provinces we shall deal only with those nearest to home, i.e. Ontario, and Quebec.

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According to the Constitutional Act of 1791 Canada (Upper) and Canada (Lower) were to be governed by (i) A Governor-General (ii) A Lieutenant-Governor in each province (iii) An Executive and Legislative Council, both of which was to be appointed by the Crown, for life, and were independent of the Assembly. (iv) A Legislative Assembly, appointed by the people. By this system practically all the authority and power of Administration was vested in the two Upper Councils of each Province.

For a time all went well under this arrangement and we were fortunate, indeed, to be governed at this time by men of incorruptible character who placed their honor and sense of duty to their country above everything else. But as time went on, by the beginning of the 19th century, the opportunity for graft and spoils proved too great a temptation, with the result that a narrow, unscrupulous group of Tories who went by the name of "The Family Compact" gained political control of the whole province. They completely dominated the two Upper Councils and by means of bribery and other such nefarious schemes they controlled the Legislative Assembly so as to thwart and subvert the Will of the people. This group of political 'Opportunists' were cast in the same mould as the old Tory party of the Early English days. To quote from the High School History of Canada, page 185-86, "The chief motives of this set were 'Snobbery, and Jobbery'". The longer they were in power the worse they became and so for many years they continued to govern like despots in defiance and disregard of the common rights of the people. Following are some of the grievances against this first Tory Administration.

(I) Granting of Crown Lands,-- by 1837, 15,000,000 acres had been given away to themselves and their friends.

(2) Clergy Reserves,-- one lot in every seven was set aside for the use of the Anglican Clergymen. Other religious denominations were not recognized. By 1837, 2,300,000 acres had been granted to the Church. These reserves were an intolerable nuisance. They were not looked after and no improvements were made on the property. Roads could not be built because of them, and if built, were not kept in repair. They became a source of terrible religious bitterness and ill-feeling which culminated in rebellion.

(3) Legislative and Executive Councils appointed by the crown and not responsible to the people. The Reformers claimed that these two bodies should be made responsible to the electorate which is the basic principle of Responsible Government.

(4) Reformers claimed that the Judges and Church Officials should be excluded from the gov't on the grounds that there should be no connection between the gov't and either the Church or the Courts, and that all clergymen should be authorized to solemnize marriage and not just the Anglican Clergy.

In view of the circumstances, then, it is not surprising that the spirit of the people revolted against such tyranny and abuse. The hardy old pioneer whom the Tories scoffed as being ignorant, uncouth, and unfit to govern himself, may not have known much about politics, but at least he was sincere and honest and he knew what was a 'Square Deal' and what wasn't. Consequently the 'Reformers' were mostly farmers and the workers in the city shops and factories. The Tories were confined almost entirely to the urban centres. They constituted the 'Upper Crust' of society.

The first young Reformer, or Liberal, to voice his protest against those abuses was Robert Gourlay, a young Scotchman. He was immediately arrested by the Tories and thrown into prison and was refused a writ of Habeas Corpus which was a serious travesty of British Justice. He was left to languish in prison and before long lost his sanity as a result of his cruel treatment.

The next Liberal to take up the challenge was a young Newspaperman, named Collins who dared to criticise the Family Compact in his paper. The result was that he was arrested and thrown into prison, too. His friends petitioned

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the Governor for his release but all to no avail.

But the Cause of Liberalism was not destined to perish for want of martyrs. A real champion now arose who knew no fear and who would accept nor give no quarter to his foes. This man was none other than Wm. Lyon MacKenzie who began his career as editor of the "Colonial Advocate". Through his paper he attacked the Tories, unmercifully, for the graft and corruption that was ruining our country. The young Tory 'bloods' raided his printing press and threw it into the Harbour. This but served to make MacKenzie all the more popular. He was elected to the Assembly to represent York and was also made First Mayor of the newly incorporated city of Toronto. But he was thrown out of the Legislature and declared incapable of sitting. Five times in all he was elected to the Assembly only to be ejected. At last the Lieutenant-Governor, himself, took the field against MacKenzie with the result, that, in the elections of 1834 the Reformers were defeated. In order to show how unreasonable, spiteful, and vindictive the Tories were in their prosecution of the Liberals I shall give you a quotation from history. When the Compact was discussing what to do with MacKenzie, and someone protested that he had really done nothing unlawful, Bishop Strachan, the leader of the party is reported to have said,- "Never mind the laa (law) toorn him oot", in his broadest Scotch accents.

In Lower Canada the grievances were much the same as in Upper Canada, except that there was more animosity on account of racial differences. A Quotation from History illustrates the situation,- "The affairs of the Colony were guided, or misguided, by a few reparious, overbearing, irresponsible officials, without stake or other connection in the country than their own selfish interests". When it was discovered that the Receiver-General (Minister of Finance) was 96,000 pounds short in his reports the other members of the Council tried to cover it up and prevent him from being punished. This group was known as the "Chateau Clique", and were identically the same as the Family Compact. The leader of the Reformers was Louis Joseph Papineau who had been an ardent admirer of British Constitutions and a very patriotic citizen who had fought for Canada in the war of 1912-14. But all these fine, loyal sentiments were turned to bitterness and hatred by the treatment which he and his people received at the hands of that Tory Clique who openly insulted the French and sneered at their ancient customs, and treated them with disdain. For such a ridiculously small minority to attempt to govern according to 18th century Tory policies was altogether preposterous,--Rebellion, under such conditions, was inevitable.

The result of these two uprisings was not manifested until several years later. But public opinion was aroused in Great Britain and investigations were made; Lord Durham, a Radical Liberal, was sent out to Canada as Governor-General to look into the trouble and report on it. A whole train of events was thus set in motion which ended in a complete Triumph for Liberalism and Democracy. I shall give you only a few of the high-lights of this great political evolution.

(1) Lord Durham's famous "Report on the Affairs of British North America".

(2) Lord Sydenham, another great Liberal, and Governor-General after Lord Durham, attempts to carry out Durham's recommendations. Upper and Lower Canada united in 1841, and a system of Municipal Gov't introduced by which municipalities were to be governed by a Warden and Council.

(3) Baldwin and LaFontaine, two famous Liberal Statesmen, become Cabinet ministers. The Executive and Legislative Councils are made responsible to the people and elected by them.

The grievances had been nearly all removed,--Church lands were secularized; Religious freedom established with acknowledgment for all clergymen irrespective of denomination; the Councils were now responsible to the electorate and the Foundation for Democracy firmly built,--the old

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order had been swept away and Liberalism was supreme throughout the Land. There remained but one thing more to make the picture complete and to effectively establish Responsible Government,-and that one thing had to come from the Governor-General, himself. He was still in a position to exercise autocratic power and annul the work of parliament by vetoing or refusing to sign the Bills. Would he consent to surrender his Royal prerogative and permit himself to be guided by the advice of his ministers who were the people's elected representatives???

Just at this crucial time an event transpired which was to forever decide the question of Responsible Gov't. It was a fortunate coincidence that Lord Elgin, another Liberaland Son-in-Law of Lord Durham, was Governor-General of Canada. The Reform Gov't had passed the Rebellion Losses Bill and it remained for the signature of Elgin to become law. The Tories, seeing an opportunity for defeating the cause for which the Liberals were striving, gathered in mobs; they petitioned the Governor-General not to sign the Bill, they threatened, held meetings, and did everything imaginable to prevent the signing of the Document. But Lord Elgin was determined to put an end to minority rule and so he signed the Bill, and thus established for all time to come the precedent that Governor-Generals must henceforth work in harmony with the gov't whatever party it may be. And to the everlasting shame of the Tories they mobbed the Governor, nearly killing him; then to wreak further vengeance on the gov't they set fire to the parliament buildings which were at that time in Montreal, and burned them to the ground. Only a few books were saved and many invaluable records were lost forever. Not satisfied with that, they even went to the extreme of plotting to annex Canada to the United States.

And so Canada at last became the "Land of the Brave", and the "Home of the Free". The Family Compact and Chateau Clique were gone,- Democracy was established and Justice and Right prevailed everywhere.

Liberalism may have it's faults. It would not be human were it perfect and acceptable to everyone. But in spite of all it's failings we cannot deny the fact that it has given us everything that is worth while in the world to-day. And even though it had accomplished nothing more than this one great master piece of achievement, namely,- "<u>That all men, irrespective of their race, religious opinions, or political views</u>,have <u>equal rights and privileges before the law</u>", - I repeat, that, for this one thing alone, we owe to Liberalism a debt of gratitude that neither we of today, nor all the future generations to the end of time, will ever be able to repay.

<u>Canadian Politics after Confederation</u>

We shall now follow up the story of the political struggle from the time of Confederation down to the present day.

With the birth of Responsible Gov't the Old Tory Party automatically died out, at least, apparently so. But Toryism is notoriously famous for one thing, and that is, the art of camouflage and masquerade. Think you that they were going to relinquish the spoils of office and the country to peace and prosperity free from the devastating execrations of Toryism!! No, indeed. Under John A. MacDonald the old party was re-organized, given a generous coating of white-wash, and introduced into the political arena under the fictitious name of Liberal-Conservatives. Young Liberals were given a very cordial invitation to join the party, and such an outward show of friendliness was exhibited to the public. that in a short time they had purloined thousands of our young men and women into their camp. And thus that party which had been a <u>CURSE TO HUMANITY</u>, for over 300 years, and which was thought to have been given it's quietus forever was reincarnated and, as later facts will prove, became once more the worse crew of '<u>Political Buccaneers</u>'that ever plagued a country.

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Those who refused to be contaminated by contact with this "Political Hybrid" masquerading under the name of Liberal-Conservative, and who remained true to the old Liberal Principles and Policies were called "Grits" as a nickname. The leader of these clear Grits was George Brown.

Right now I must take a moment to correct a false impression which most people seem to have as to who the real Father of Confederation was. It seems to be the popular notion that Sir John A. MacDonald was the sponsor and originator of the idea. The truth is that Sir John A. was no more the Father of Confederation than you or I. It is true that he and his Tory gov't got all the credit for it,--that has always been the way with Toryism,- but the man who really championed the cause of Confederation was the Hon. George Brown, Leader of the Liberals. It was Sir John A. and his party who opposed the motion for Confederation. On the 14th day of April, 1864, his vote is recorded to the effect that no constitutional changes were necessary. I give you a quotation from 'Canadian Politics' by J. Robert Long,- "Sir John dissented from the views held by a majority of the committee to whom the question of Confederation had been referred. The next day his gov't was defeated. It was then that the Hon. George Brown said, 'Gentlemen, you may keep your places in the gov't, if you like; we have a majority in parliament; we have defeated you,- but we are willing to let you remain in your places if only you will give us the constitutional changes that you said yesterday were unnecessary". (end of quot.)

Sir John and his friends saw the necessity for giving way, not for the principle of the thing, but as a matter of political expediency. The idea was adopted at once as though it were their own, and no end of capital was made out of it.

The first gov't after Confederation was a Coalition of Liberals and Conservatives. Most of the work for the first term was directed toward building up the newly created Dominion. Preparations were begun for the building of the C.P.R. Railway. In the elections of 1872 the Conservatives won. The work was carried on. Then, suddenly, a bombshell was exploded right in the midst of a session of parliament in 1873. A Liberal member, Mr. L. S. Huntington arose and hurled a charge across the floor of the House right into the very face of the gov't that Sir John and his Ministry has sold the contracts for the building of the Railway to Sir Hugh Allan in return for huge sums of money totalling about $350,000 which was donated to Sir John and other Ministers of the Cabinet for the purpose of corrupting the elections of 1872. Telegrams and letters were produced to corroborate the evidence. The charges were proven beyond a doubt. To make matters worse the money came from the United States. The result of it all was that the gov't was forced to resign. If the disgraceful incident served any good purpose it was to thoroughly disallusion those who had thought that Toryism had changed. The veil was drawn aside and the "Rotten Core" revealed to the whole country in the front pages of the Press. The depredations of the Family Compact were insignificant compared to this mongrel progeny.

In the elections which took place, 1873, the Conservatives were wiped out and the First Liberal Administration, under Alexander McKenzie, came into power and held office till 1878. Here are some of the important Laws passed during that time

(1) VOTE BY BALLOT,- and elections to be completed in one day instead of extending over several weeks as formerly.

(2) TEMPERANCE ACT,--permitting municipalities to have local option.

(3) SUPREME COURT ESTABLISHED.

(4) ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE ESTABLISHED, at Kingston

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It was a gov't against which not even it's enemies could cast one word of disrepute. What a contrast to that of it's predecessor.

In the meantime the Tories who had remained in hiding until the effluvium of the Pacific Scandal had cleared away, were back at their old tactics again. They had figured out a plan by which they hoped to get back into office again. A world wide depression and a series of bad crops had eclipsed scandal of 1873 and provided excellent material for political capital which Sir John A. was only too quick to seize upon. They went up and down the country preaching the Doctrine of their ' National Policy' which, they claimed, was a veritable panacea for all the industrial, financial, commercial, social, and economic ailments that existed. To quote from history,-" Dazzling pictures were drawn of how tall chimneys of factories would rise like throughout the country, and depression would pass away as if at an enchanter's wand". Here are a few of the things which they promised that their National Policy would do.

(1) The Exodus into the States was to be stopped.
(2) 1,000,000 people were to be settled in the West by 1891.
(3) Markets were to be created for the farmers.
(4) Employment and High Wages for all.
(5) Business Depression to be abolished.
(6) Balance of Trade to be turned in our favour.
(7) Mineral wealth to be developed.
(8) National Debt to be reduced to $100,000,000 by 1890.
(9) Reciprocity with United States.

MacKenzie, who was too honest a man to stoop to such unprincipled tactics of trying to bribe voters by promises made on the eve of an election, was no match for his opponents, and so the elections of 1878 saw the Tories back in power again. They held the reins of gov't until 1896,--18 years. They had every opportunity in the world for implementing their pre-election promises. Let us see what the result was. Did they improve conditions any? Was their Administration a success or a failure? Here are the facts and figures as taken in 1896. Read and learn the truth.

(1) Instead of decreasing the debt from $140,362,069 in 1878 to $100,000,000 in 1890, the debt was INCREASED to $258,497,432, an increase of $118,000,000.

(2) The Exodus was made infinitely worse.
(3) Balance of Trade was turned AGAINST US TO THE TUNE OF $200,000,000.
(4) Mines were NOT DEVELOPED.
(5) Less than 250,000 settlers were placed in the West.
(6) Prices of Farm Products sank to an all time low level.
(7) Unemployment and Business Depression aggravated and increased ten-fold.
(8) Reciprocity with United States not carried out. In fact it was learned that the Tories never intended to even try to get reciprocity.

The following excerpts from the Press at this time will give you an idea of the situation in 1896. The Toronto News, A Tory Organ, writes,-"The problem of finding work for the unemployed of this city is beyond solution by the municipality, and if anything is to be done to relieve the distress of the thousands of worthy and honest people who do not know which way to turn for the commonest necessities of life, the gov't of the Province must lend it's aid. In the past few years the city council has appropriated the sums of ten and twenty thousand dollars for relief, but this is only a drop in the bucket".
(2) Quotation from the Monetary Times, Quarterly Supplement, March, 1896, "125 merchants owing $7,000 each and III grocers owing in all $350,000 have made assignments. 57 Dry-goods dealers, 45 hardware dealers, and 44 shoe merchants owing between them $1,500,000 have come to grief. Total failures aggregated 738, owing $5,475,000".

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Had the gov't failed only in carrying out it's pledges, which would have been bad enough, still, some excuse might have been found for them, but that was not the worst by any means. I submit in substantiation a brief account of the Administration during those 18 years of Tory Rule. Were it not for the actual figures and facts it would be almost impossible to believe it all.

(1) TIMBER LANDS WERE LOOTED,-- from 1878 to 1896 they had granted no less than 18,766,080 acres, of which 15,351,680 acres had been given away without one cent of money going into the treasury. The remainder had been given away at $4.13 c a square mile. Think of it! Selling good timber for $4.13 a mile. In one instance a limit sold to Charles Rykert, Conservative, for $250, was shortly afterwards turned over by him and sold for $150,000. In one year alone, 1883, 212 limits were given away, making an area of timber 3 miles wide and reaching all the way from Halifax to Vancouver.

The Conservative Gov't for 18 years regarded the public domain, lands and timber, as a perquisite to be divided amongst Conservative Senators, Members of the gov't, defeated candidates, party workers, and prominent supporters of the party. 2,843 acres a day, for 300 working days a year, for 18 years were GIVEN AWAY ABSOLUTELY FREE. The Hon. George H. Perley received a grant of 30 miles. (I have the names of some 50 others)

(2) CROWN LANDS GIVEN AWAY,--66,000,000 acres of land, valued at $90,000,000, were granted as subsidies to some 20 or more different Railway Companies. Besides this $62,000,000 in money was given to the C.P.R. and other large grants to several other companies.

The area of land given away to those Railways would have provided Homesteads to 411,000 farmers, or a population of 200,000 people. These lands were locked up from sale until later years, when land values were high, then they were sold out in lots at exorbitant prices, making small fortunes for the share holders of these companies, at the expense of the poor homesteader. This is just another instance of how Toryism has looted and plundered the country.

(3) The INFAMOUS GERRYMANDER ACT of 1882,-- by means of which the Tories were able to 'hive in' the Grits, as Sir John A. put it.

(4) OPEN SALE OF PUBLIC OFFICES,--as in the Cochrane case.

(5) MEMBERS BOUGHT UP,-- as in the Turcotte case.

(6) The pages of Canada's History from 1878 to 1896, when the Conservatives were in power, are sullied by the most flagrant acts of corruption, wholesale bribery, personation, ballot stealing, switching and spoiling, juggling of Returns, and open purchasing of constituencies, municipalities, and voters, that one could imagine. A long record of these Criminal Acts is contained in the Speakers Handbook, and in the Sessional Papers and Debates of the House of Commons of that period. There is no doubt that the Liberals won a majority of seats in the Dominion Elections of 1891, but, that enough seats were stolen from them by the Tories to give an apparent majority on their side. Circulars of Instruction were sent out by the Conservative Organizers in Toronto to all their party workers and Returning Officers, Scrutineers, and other officials, giving in

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giving in detail FOUR METHODS FOR "DOING UP THE GRITS",--they are as follows:

(i) SLIPPING,- calling the name of a Tory Candidate when the ballot is really marked for a Liberal.

(ii) SWITCHING,- stealing ballots marked for Liberal Candidate and putting them into the box marked for a Tory.

(iii) STUFFING,-- polling votes of dead and absent men with the connivance of Scruitineers.

(iv) SPOILING,-- Making a mark on the Liberal Ballots with a piece of lead fastened under the finger-nail.

In order to make sure that these tricks were properly carried out, men were brought in from the States, who were highly recommended for that kind of work (Tricksters and Sleight 'O Hand Artists). These men were paid to go out into Constituencies that were strongly Liberal and take charge of affairs.

The following quotations taken from the British Press will serve to sum up the wholé disgraceful affair. Following the election of 1891, the London Times writes as follows:- "Here in the Mother Country there can be only one feeling, that of deep regret, for the wrong done the fair name of the eldest of Her Daughters". The London Graphic wrote,- "It is no longer possible to doubt that corruption in it's worst form is rampant in a large portion of the Canadian Civil Service". The Graphic Despatch wrote,- "EVEN TAMMANY HALL SMELLS SWEET AND CLEAN IN COMPARISON WITH THE HUGE STINK POT OF THE CONSERVATIVE GOV'T".

And this, Ladies and Gentlemen.. is another sample of what Toryism has done for our country. And think you that the Toryism of 1935 is any different or any better than that of 1891, or 1873, or 1834, or 1673??? Toryism is like the law of the Medes and Persians, it never changes. And if the people will not learn they must suffer. Toryism in 1935 has become a Science all in itself. It is a thousand times more subtle and beguiling today than in any previous generation. The little fellow doesn't matter so much,- he is quite harmless, and at heart, probably means well,-but it's the Big Fellows higher up who pull the strings and run the show; these men are educated in all the arts of political strategy. To them politics has become a highly technical profession monopolized by lawyers. They can make black appear white,- deficits can be made to appear as surpluses, and the whole perspective of the political landscape is so camouflaged that the real issues are always hidden.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the elections of 1896, the Tory gov't was wiped out of existence and the Liberals were called upon, again to step in and redeem the nation from the very brink of catastrophe. Under the leadership of Sir Wilfred Laurier this SECOND LIBERAL GOV'T remained in office for the next 15 years, which proved to be an era of unprecedented progress for Canada. Let us now compare the progress made during the 18 years of Tory Rule with that of the Liberals over a corresponding period.

PERCENTAGE OF TAXATION,--Last year of Tory gov't 1896,--- $18.28
Under Liberals, 1907,---------- $15.66

NATIONAL DEBT,-- 1896,---------- $258,497,432
1878,---------- $140,362,069

INCREASE IN 18 YRS CONSERVATIVE,--$118,135,363

1908,---------- $277,960,859
1896,---------- $258,497,432

INCREASE IN 12 YRS LIBERAL,------ $ 19,463,427

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Under the Conservatives the debt increased at the rate of about 6½ million annually,- under the Liberals it increased at about 1½ millions annually.

TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE,--

1878,----------$172,405,454.
1896,----------$239,025,360

INCREASE IN 18 YRS CONSERV.,--$ 66,619,911

1896,----------$239,025,360
1908,----------$650,738,200

INCREASE IN 12 YRS LIBERALS,--$411,712,840

UNDER CONSERVATIVES TRADE INCREASED AT RATE OF $3,701,105 per year. Under LIBERALS THE TRADE INCREASED AT THE RATE OF $34,309,403 per annum.

BANK DISCOUNTS,--

1896,----------$224,507,301
1884,----------$164,648,286

INCREASE IN 12 YRS CONSERV.,-$ 59,859,015

1908,----------$584,732,914
1896,----------$224,507,301

INCREASE IN 12 YRS LIBERAL,--$360,225,613.

BANK DEPOSITS,

1896,---------- $245,029,143
1884,---------- $135,522,443

INCREASE IN 12 YRS CONSERVATIVE GOV'T,----------$109,506,700.

1908,---------- $650,126,232
1896,---------- $245,029,143

INCREASE IN 12 YRS LIBERAL GOVERNMENT,----------$405,097,089.

TONNAGE CARRIED BY RAILWAYS

1896,---------- 24,266,825 tons
1878,---------- 7,883,472 tons

Increase in 18 yrs Conservative Gov't,---------- 16,383,353 tons.

1907,---------- 63,866,183 tons
1896,---------- 24,266,825 tons

Increase in 11 years Liberal Gov't.,---------- 39,599,358 tons.

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST.

Seven years Conservative, from 1896 to 1896,----- 271,216
Seven years Liberal, from 1897 to 1903,---------- 366,946
Increase of Immigration in Liberal Rule over Tory 95,730

Exports of Canadian Manufactures.

1896,---------- $9,365,384
1878,---------- $4,127,755
Increase in 18 years Conservative Government,----- $5,237,629

1903,----------$20,624,967
1896,----------$ 9,365,384
Increase in SEVEN YEARS LIBERAL Government,-------$11,259,583.

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TOTAL EXPORTS OF CANADA.

Last seven years Conservative, from 1890 to 1896,----- $779,871,776
First seven years Liberal, from 1897 to 1903,---------$1,286,872,206

Increase in Trade during Liberal Government,----------$ 507,000,430

HOMESTEAD ENTRIES

Last 7 years Conservative from 1890 to 1896,---------- 23,029
First seven years Liberal, from 1897 to 1903,---------- 73,185

LAND SALES

Last four years Conservative from 1893 to 1896,--------$ 1,144,530
four years Liberal from 1899 to 1903,-------------$26,632,130

These comparisons speak most eloquently for themselves. In addition to this I submit a few of the many Acts of Parliament during this period.
(1) Imperial Preference Tariff Policy originated and put into operation.
(2) Trade Agreements made with West Indies for manufacturing of their raw sugar in Canadian Refineries.
(3) Canadian Army and Navy Established.
(4) Canada obtained Right to make Her own Trade Agreements with other nations of the world,-1908
(5) Immigration Act passed which gave Canada right to control her own immigration even to the exclusion of undesirable Britishers.
(6) Imperial Penny Postage Established with Rural Mail Delivery.
(7) Infamous Tory Gerrymander Act abolished.
(8) Reform of Civil Service,-competitive exams to be basis of promotion to the service.
(9) Use of Opium prohibited.
(10) Canadian Mint established.
(11) Prohibitive tax of $500 placed on Chinese labour.
(12) Establishment of a Dept. of Labour.
(13) Annuities for Old Age.
(14) Construction of Transcontinental Railway.
(15) Railway Act,--Railway Law Amended and Railway Commission appointed.
(16) Canal and Tonnage Dues Abolished.

In 1911 the Laurier Gov't was defeated on the question of Reciprocity with United States, and the Tories were back in power again. Robert L. Borden became Prime Minister and remained in power until 1920 when he resigned in favour of Arthur Meighen. The period from 1911 to 1921 was one of reaction. Very little was accomplished in the way of reform or development. The Great War, no doubt, had a dampening effect on the gov't as on all other phases of public life.

By 1921 conditions in Canada became very bad. The inefficienty and extravagance of the Tory Administration was beginning to make itself felt with a vengeance. The gov't had continued to borrow and borrow more and more money until the National Debt, which stood at $280,000,000 in 1911, had now risen to the staggering figure of $2,676,635,725 in 1922. No effort had been made to pay off the debt or reduce expenditures while taxation was increased to the limit. During the Meighen regime of 18 months no less than 130,000 Canadians emigrated into the States. Angus McDonald, M.P. for Temiskaming, speaking in the House of Commons at this time is reported in Hansard, 1921 page 1377 as saying,-"We have in this country to-day the sorry spectacle of some 500,000 people who are idle, and together with their dependents number probably 1½ millions out of a population of 10,000,000. There are 500,000 men idle in Canada and we have bread lines in every centre of population". And what did Mr.Meighen's gov't reply to this challenge? What steps did they take to remedy the situation? Positively nothing. They disclaimed all responsibility. It seems to be the policy of Tory Gov'ts to take an unholy delight in bedevilling politics and bringing down ruin and misfortune upon the

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heads of the people. I shall give you an excerpt from the speech made by H. C. Hocken, Conservative Member, in reply to the challenge of Angus McDonald,--Hansard, page 1379 of 1921,-- "And I have it from other sources, Sir, and quite reliable sources, that in some of the Trades, the men, during the last year, refused to give their employers the efficiency of which they were capable. That has to be corrected, and I think the only way it can be corrected, is by such a period of depression as we are going through at the present time".

What a cowardly way for a gov't to try to excuse it's utter incapability for handling the situation. By their fruits ye shall know them. What did Mr. Bennett say when faced with the same situation some 10 years later? Did he not express the same sentiments? Did he not say that depression and hard times is good for us,-develops the best that is in us.

In the elections of 1922 the Meighen gov't was defeated and the Liberals under the capable leadership of Wm. Lyon MacKenzie King came into power, which marked the beginning of a new milestone in Canadian Politics. Mr. King had received his education in public stewardship under the care of that master statesman, Sir Wilfred Laurier, and an apt pupil he proved to be,--so much so, that when the Great Chieftain died in 1919, he was chosen to carry on the work of Liberalism to still greater and more successful conclusions.

Let us now study the record of this THIRD LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION since Confederation and see how it shouldered the grave reponsibilities thrust upon it, and how it succeeded in effecting such a change in economic conditions, that, by 1929 Canada reached an unparalleled high peak of prosperity.

I.##<u>REDUCTION OF NATIONAL DEBT.</u>

Increase in public debt under Conservatives,	1918,--------	$312,697,764.
	1919,--------	$382,646,969.
	1920,--------	$674,337,591.
	1921,--------	$ 92,010,359.
	1922,--------	$ 81,256,818.
Total Increase in Debt last 5 years..		$1,542,949,501.
Decrease in debt under Liberals,	1924,--------	$35,993,594.
	1925,--------	$ 345,589.
	1926,--------	$27,706,587.
Reduction of Debt under Liberals, (to date)	1927,--------	$41,896,729.
	1928,--------	$71,345,528.
	1929,--------	$50,984,137.
	1930,estimated	$44,507,000.
Total Reduction in Debt.....		$272,779,164.

2.- <u>REDUCTION IN TAXES</u>

1926,----------$25,000,000.
1927,----------$27,000,000.
1928,----------$19,000,000.
1929,----------$25,000,000.
1930,------ estimated $22,000,000.

Total Reduction in Taxes,-------$118,000,000.

In addition to these reductions Tariff duties were reduced on nearly all articles, many of which were admitted free. On tea alone, there was a saving of 10 cents a pound which would amount to several millions dollars.

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3.-- TRADE TREATIES NEGOTIATED.-- Since 1922 Treaties were made with,-

France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, Finland, British West Indies, Bermuda, Br. Guina, Br. Honduras, Australia, New Zealand, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Esthonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal, Roumania, Jugoslavia, South Africa, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, China, Japan, Luxenbourg, Dutch East Indies, Dutch Guina, Dutch West Indies and Russia.

4.-- FOREIGN TRADE.

Total Trade in 1922,----------$1,501,731,341
Total Trade in 1929,----------$2,629,389,663

Increase of trade under Liberals,---$1,117,658,322.

The following is from an address given by Sir Charles Gordon, President of the Bank of Montreal at the annual meeting in Dec. 1929,--"In reviewing the commercial situation of Canada it should be kept in mind that there have been five years of almost uninterrupted expansion. In that brief period Canada has achieved a degree of development quite unprecedented. Not in one or two directions, but practically in all, remarkable progress has been made. In conclusion may I say, that, there never was a time in the history of Canada when business as a whole has been at a higher peak than during the year under review, or when the development of our sources of wealth were more wide and varied than they are to-day".

And here is the testimony of Mr. F. W. Fields, British Trade Commissioner in Montreal,-Nov.21st, 1929. "In no previous period has there been such a rapid increase in manufacturing as in the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1929."

And yet, would you believe it, the Hon. R. B. Bennett, speaking in Toronto on Nov. 21st, 1929, made this amazing statement,-- "We must make the boys and girls of Canada realize that they will never get jobs in Canada as long as the King gov't is in power".

We are also proud to say that, in the legislative field, Canada stood abreast of all the nations of the world, during this same period. Here are just a few of the many great progressive features.

(I) WAR VETERAN'S ALLOWANCE ACT,--which gave veterans the right to apply for pensions even though they might be on relief.

(2) WAR VETERAN'S PENSION ACT,--which gave pension to widow in event of a married veteran's death.

(3) TIME LIMIT ABOLISHED,--the statutory limit of time within which pensions must be applied for was abolished.

(4) OLD AGE PENSIONS,-- Sponsored by the Hon. Peter Heenan, Minister of Labour in the King Cabinet. This Act was most bitterly attacked by the Tories; they ridiculed the idea. Founded on a wrong principle, they said.

(5) LABOUR GIVEN REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS.

(6) CHILD LABOUR IN CANADA ELIMINATED.

(7) CHINESE & JAPANESE IMMIGRATION DRASTICALLY RESTRICTED.

(8) ANTI-COMBINE LAW PASSED AND ENFORCED TO PROTECT THE CONSUMER.

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(9) FARM LOAN BOARD SET UP 1929.

(10) 'NUISANCE TAX' on cheques, money-orders, postal notes, etc. abolished

(II) STAMP TAX REDUCED TO TWO (2 ¢) CENTS

(II) TARIFF BOARD CREATED,--Diplomatic negotiations of the King Gov't resulted in the lifting of the English Embargo on Canadian Cattle which has meant millions of dollars to Canadian ranchers.

(12) SHIPPING RATES,--

Previous to 1925 Canada's Trade was seriously handicapped and obstructed by the Shipping Combine which controlled all our foreign trade. Such exorbitant rates were charged by this 'Privileged Corporation' that Canadian producers were often unable to compete in the world's markets. For instance, the cost of shipping pure-bred cattle from Glasgow to Quebec was $75 per head. Ocean rates were nearly 3 times as high as Railroad rates. The Conservatives had refused to take any action against this Combine when they were in power. The King gov't disrupted the Corporation by contracting with another shipping concern, whereby the Gov't was given the right to fix all rates and the Company was to carry all the trade in return for annual subsidies from the gov't. In the debate which ensued in the House, the Conservatives endeavoured to prevent the passing of this Act which would lower our shipping rates and bring wealth and prosperity to our people.

(13) INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT,--A Statute which has made possible the peaceful settlement of Strikes and Lock-outs. It is interesting to compare the Policy of the Liberal gov't in dealing with Industrial Disputes with that of the present Tory gov't under Mr. Bennett. Between 1926 and 1930 some 160 or more Strikes were amicably settled by the diplomacy of the Minister of Labour, the Hon. Peter Heenan, who has thereby earned the title of "The Peace Maker" for his great work along that line. What a contrast to the methods employed by the present gov't! Imagine the government of a free democratic people sending out the militia, armed to the teeth with guns, rifles, machine-guns, tanks, and what not, to make war on a poor suffering mob of humanity, many of whom were women and young girls who had the courage to stand up and fight for their rights. I say, shame on such a heartless, ruthless Administration. For this one thing, alone, the Bennett gov't should stand forever condemned as the enemy of labour. But, of course this is nothing new or surprising in the annals of Toryism. It is merely history repeating itself from former days.

(14) POST OFFICE REFORM,--When the Liberals came into power in 1922 this department was in a sorry plight. There were annual deficits of $1,567,000. Under the King gov't this deficit was changed to an annual surplus of $250,000, while at the same time expenditures were reduced by about $450,000.

(15) THE OPIUM AND NARCOTIC DRUG ACT,--gave Canada the best legislation of any country in the world for fighting the illegal drug menace.

In the elections of 1930 the Liberal Party appealed to the country on the strength of it's splendid record of which it was justly proud. But Toryism was busy getting in it's foul blows with deadly effect. The Liberals were defeated by one of the most insidious and treacherous election tactics that were ever practiced in the history of politics. The whole conservative campaign was a colossal fabrication designed by political strategists, chief among whom was our present premier, for the express purpose of deceiving the public. It lacked even the cloak of common decency and fair play that one would expect to find in those who aspire to the honorable office of Prime Minister. We shall not embarass our Tory friends by reminding them of all the extravagant promises they made, nor of the miserable mess they have made of things,--all that is merely another incident

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in the long list of failures, scandals, disgraces, maladministrations, and gross injustices that are chalked up against the records of Toryism on the pages of history,-one more, or less, doesn't make much difference. The Old Tories of 1878 with their programme of a National Policy were mere pikers compared to these modern demagogues. Once more the tall chimneys of factories would appear on the horizon and unemployment would vanish away as if at the wave of a magic wand.

However, if we have suffered severely, in consequence of our mistake in thinking that we saw a rabbit where no rabbit existed at all,-yet we have learned one good lesson that will not be forgotten; so let the magician beware. As the old proverb says, "Once bitten twice shy, twice bitten, forever shy". This is not the first nor the second time what we have been left 'holding the bag' by those who have an axe to sharpen on the political grindstone and who would degrade politics to the level of a 'stepping-stone' for the attainment of selfish, personal ambitions.

The Conservatives came into power, accordingly, in 1930 with a large majority which gave them every opportunity for fulfilling their pledges. The public waited patiently, in anticipation of great developments,- for days, weeks, and nothing happened. Weeks grew into months and months ran into years, and still nothing happened. While all the time conditions became worse and worse,-business and industry fell into ruin and stagnation. Unemployment increased out of all proportion to our population. Farmers were crippled and ruined by the thousands,-agriculture, our basic industry, was damaged to such an extent, that it will require many generations of prosperity to restore it to anything like what it was in 1929 and 30. Business men and manufacturers went bankrupt or simply closed up shop and quit. Artisans, tradesmen, and professionals, together with thousands of unskilled labourers, stood side by side in the bread line. Our two and one half billion dollar trade, a legacy of the Liberals, was completely wrecked by stupid, blundering tariff 'Manipulation'. Wages sank to an all time low level, while in directcontraversion to all economic principles, the cost of living remained much the same as it was in 1929, at the peak of prosperity, so that, only the rich were able to maintain the proper standards of living; even the barest necessities were often denied the poor. And then, when discontent became rampant throughout the nation, and the cries of a starving multitude who were the hapless victims of circumstances over which they had no control,--when their cries penetrated even the innermost recesses of the premier's chamber on parliament hill, Ottawa and aroused the gov't from it's lethargy,-what did tbey do? Instead of getting out among the people and finding out the basic causes of the depression and then remedying the defects by immediate legislation,- instead of doing that, they withdrew themselves like rats leaving a sinking ship, and to use their own expression they 'hardened their hearts", and they might also have added that they folded their arms, stopped up their ears, and closed their eyes. And were we not consoled by the sympathetic remarks of our premier, himself, when he said, that the discontent of the masses must be ground down under the iron heel of ruthlessness. But mark you! They were not so unmindful of their own comfort and security,- the National Guard were on hand to look after that.

And then, right in the midst of the depression, when so many thousands were finding it so hard to make ends meet and keep body and soul together, as though we had not enough troubles already, what does the gov't do but put a 2¢ tax on sugar. And who, think you, paid the lion's share of that tax? Was it the rich man with the small family, or the poor man? Would not a sur-tax on unearned increment over $10,000 a year have been a more humane and logical way of raising this tax without amyone ever feeling it? I wonder how many new millionnaires were made among those 'Industrial Parasites' who so unscrupulously took advantage of advance information that 'leaked out' concerning the proposed tax, to fleece the public out of millions of dollars?

And have you forgotten almost the first thing Mr. Bennett did on taking

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office? Did he not revise the income tax so as to benefit the 'Big Fellow' and place more of the burden of taxation on the man with the small income! and had it not created such a furore against the gov't that it was deemed expedient to rescind the motion, it would have been in force to-day.

I suppose that the Restoration of Titles and other Ranks of Honor is a part of Mr. Bennett's proposed New Deal. I wonder whether he had in mind the 'Old Order', or the New, when he railroaded the Act through Parliament during the 1934 session! At a time when so many had not even the wherewithal to buy bread, the gov't chooses to spend a lot of valuable time,at the country's expense, debating an issue which is of no consequence in the first place, and contrary to the Will of the Nation, in the second. The Canadian people are most decidedly not in favour of the Restoration of Titles, and the creation of 'Special Privileged Classes'. I ask you, did Mr. Bennett show any regard or respect for your wishes and for the opinion of the majority, in this matter? Did he not violate one of the fundamental principles of our Democracy and Constitution by his dictatorial attitude? Indeed, there were few even in his own party who held common cause with their leader on the question,- but the Dictator had spoken, and with the snap of the big whip every Conservative in the House was forced to fall into line like so many spokes in a wheel, to become mere automatoms guided by that old Tory Motto of, "Your Leader is Your Policy". Is it any wonder that Toryism has not changed one whit,- the same yesterday, to-day, and forevermore, until some near future generations shall have sung it's last obsequies. Toryism lacks those essential ingredients in it's constitution that make for change, the two most important of which are, (i) Principle must ever come before Party. (ii) The Right of every Man to be allowed a free expression of his Convictions, while at the same time loyal to his party. The Conservative says,- "We want everyone to feel free to speak his mind, but God help the man who speaks first".

And does Mr. Bennett think that the farmers and labourers will forget the way they were treated when they went to Ottawa in that monstrous delegation of July 1932. Had they been a mob of vagrants they could not have been treated with greater contempt and high-handed arrogance by the gov't Did it matter any to Mr. Bennett, then, that Agriculture was in a most deplorable condition, and that farmers were making their last stand,- fighting with their backs to the wall and losing out, one by one, in the grim struggle against overwhelming odds? Did it matter to him that homes were threatened on a wholesale scale, that peace, happiness, and security were gone and in their place, the Sheriff, the Receiver, Bankruptcy, poverty, and destitution? Was he concerned about the Nation's welfare, then, I ask you? Was he not more concerned about the part he was going to play as the 'Big Toad' in the Puddle' at the Ottawa Conference? I had an opportunity of speaking to some of the delegates and I can assure you that they all came back 'Sadder, but wiser men'. And now, this same man who was so callously indifferent to us in the hour of our greatest need, has the colossal effrontery to broadcast throughout the country that he has given 'his heart's blood' in our service. What could be more preposterous or inconsistent than that?

And now, before making any further comments, I shall give you some facts as obtained from the publications by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. We shall contrast the figures of 1932, 33, and 34, with those of 1929 and 30 to determine by way of comparison, whether the present gov't,after five years of 'Blasting their way into world markets', and the giving of their precious hearts blood in our service, have made conditions better or worse than in 1930 when they took office. I shall deal only with such aspects of our economic life as are considered by experts to be the best indications of a nation's progress.

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(I) FOREIGN TRADE

	Exports	Imports
1929,	$1,389,000,000	$1,266,000,000.
1930,	$1,145,000,000	$1,248,000,000.
1931,	$ 817,000,000	$ 907,000,000.
1932,	$ 588,000,000	$ 579,000,000.
1933,	$ 481,000,000	$ 406,000,000.
1934,	$ 586,000,000	$ 434,000,000.

Ratio of 1934 Trade to 1930,-approxim: 17/40.

(II) NATIONAL DEBT.

1929,----------$2,226,000,000.
1930,----------$2,178,000,000.
1931,----------$2,261,000,000.
1932,----------$2,376,000,000.
1933,----------$2,596,000,000.
1934,----------$2,730,000,000.

INCREASE IN DEBT since 1930,--$552,000,000.

(III) WHOLESALE PRICES.-- as an equitable basis for comparison index nos. are used based on 1913 prices as par (100).

1930,---------- 135.3
1933,---------- 104.8
1934,---------- (figures not given)

(IV) GROSS VALUE OF MANUFACTURES.

1930,---------- $3,216,746,735.
1932,---------- $2,104,908,301.

1933 & 34 figures not available yet.

(V) BANK DEPOSITS.

1930,----------$2,051,000,000.
1934,----------$1,866,000,000.

Amount of Decrease,---- $185,000,000.

(VI) RAILWAY REVENUES.

1930,----------$454,000,000.
1931,----------$359,000,000.
1932,----------$293,000,000.
1933,----------$270,000,000.
1934,----------$ (not yet available)

Decrease in Revenue to 1933,--$184,000,000.

(VII) CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS AWARDED.

1930,----------$457,000,000.
1933,----------$ 97,000,000.
1934,----------$ (not yet compiled)

Decrease to end of 1933,---$360,000,000.

(VIII) WHEAT PRODUCTION.

1930,---------$420,672,000 bus.
1934,---------$277,304,000 bus.

Decrease in Wheat Production,-143,368,000 bus.

(IX) VALUE OF FIELD CROPS.

1930,--------$662,000,000.
1933,--------$422,000,000.
1934,--------$ (figures not yet compiled)
Amount of Decrease,------$242,000,000.

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(X) NO. OF LIVE STOCK ON FARMS

1930 --------- 687,000,000 head
1933 --------- 403,000,000 head
Decrease in No. of Head -------284,000,000

(XI) DAIRY FACTORY PRODUCTION

1930 ---------$126,624,000
1933 ---------$ 86,656,000
Amount of Decrease ----------$39,968,000

(XII)FISHERIES' PRODUCTION

1930 ---------$ 47,804,000
1933 ---------$ 27,550,000
Amount of Decrease ----------$20,254,000

(XIII)STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

	No. Employees effected	Working days lost
1930 ------	14,000	92,000
1933 ------	27,000	318,000
Increase ---	13,000	226,000

(XIV) RATE OF WAGES PAID Using index numbers based on 1913 (100)

1930 ------ 194.4
1933 ------ 172.6

(XV) GROSS AGRICULTURAL REVENUE

1930 ------ 1,262,047,000
1933 ------ 762,302,000
Amount of Decrease -------- $499,745,000

(XVI) MINERAL PRODUCTION

1930 ------ $ 280,000,000
1933 ------ 221,000,000
Amount of Decrease -------- $ 59,000,000

(XVII) CANADA'S BANK IN WORLD TRADE

1930 ------ Canada stood in 5th place.
1933 - 4 -- Canada stood 11th place.

CANADA'S DECLINE IN TRADE FROM 1929-30 AS COMPARED TO THAT OF OTHER NATIONS

Mr. Bennett has been going about the country making a great 'bally-hoo' about the 'Ottawa Agreements' and how they have worked such wonders with our trade and commerce. Indeed, one would think, to hear him that, had it not been for the Trade Agreements that he negotiated, Canada would have been faced with a most appalling economic catastrophe. He has repeatedly stated that Canada has stood the depression better than any other country in the world. If he is really speaking in an abstract sense here, and means that the Canadian people are second to none when it comes to fortitude, endurance and dogged persistence, then, we can accept the statement on its face value, in unanimous accord, -- but when he infers, as evidently he does, that it is our trade, I take the liberty to challenge the statement, and I herewith, submit the facts and figures to substantiate my contradiction. Knowing full well that 99% of the people never take the trouble to actually investigate the matter, Mr. Bennett has taken advantage of the knowledge to circumvent the embarrassing truth of the situation by resorting to that old time-worn Tory trick of subterfuge. The trouble with the Conservatives is that they have an elastic yard-stick which will expand or contract according as they wish to measure with it. When it comes to measuring the volume of trade, they are accustomed to thinking and figuring in terms of millions only, whereas, the Liberals think in terms of billions, and hundreds of millions. In another five years' time there is a grave danger, if Mr. Bennett stays in power, that he will have so lowered our standards that people will think that an $800,000,000 or $900,000,000 trade is nothing short of colossal. In order to show just

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where we stand in the matter, I have prepared a chart of the 21 leading nations of the world and have set down the gross trade of each country in 1929-30, which was the all-time high, and the trade in 1933-34, which was the lowest level reached and also the turning point toward an incline. If what Mr. Bennett would have you believe is true, then the figures should show in 1933-34 that Canada had maintained Her place and had not suffered more than that of the average of other countries; especially, since the Ottawa Agreements had been in force for over a year, and the gov't had had over 3 years to work on.

WORLD TRADE.

Country	Total Trade 1929-30	Total Trade 1933-34	Rank, 1929 & 1933	% of Decrease
United States,	$9,475,700,000	$3,514,397,000	1 - 2	62.7
United Kingdom,	8,961,500,000	4,740,345,000	2 - 1	47.1
Germany,	6,406,100,000	3,194,048,000	3 - 3	50.1
France,	4,269,200,000	2,717,796,000	4 - 4	36.3
Canada,	$2,455,500,000	$ 887,000,000	5 - 11	63.9
India,	$2,126,900,000	$1,198,303,000	6 - 6	43.6
Japan,	1,987,000,000	1,069,701,000	7 - 8	46.2
Netherlands	1,918,900,000	1,154,598,000	8 - 7	39.8
Italy,	1,903,600,000	1,044,605,000	9 - 9	45.2
Belgium	1,895,100,000	1,713,611,000	10 - 5	9.6
Argentine,	1,752,200,000	813,250,000	11 - 12	53.6
China,	1,460,139,000	898,755,000	12 - 10	38.4
Australia,	1,276,300,000	695,174,000	13 - 14	45.5
Russia,	1,066,571,000	570,707,000	14 - 16	46.5
Sweden,	965,800,000	533,464,000	15 - 17	44.7
Switzerland,	949,300,000	699,911,000	16 - 13	26.3
Denmark,	888,700,000	519,233,000	17 - 18	41.8
Brazil,	881,300,000	304,780,000	18 - 19	65.4
South Africa,	836,000,000	698,390,000	19 - 15	17.5
New Zealand,	498,700,000	253,991,000	20 - 21	49.0
Norway,	483,800,000	293,544,000	21 - 20	39.3
Gross Trade of All,	$52,456,310,000	$27,504,611,000	Average Dec.	43.4%

Percentage of Canada's Trade in 1929-30 to Gross Trade, ---------- 4.67%

Percentage of Canada's Trade in 1933-34 to Gross Trade, ---------- 3.2%

PRICES OF FARM PRODUCE IN 1935 AS COMPARED TO PRICES IN 1930.

The prices are taken from the quotations of the Toronto Stock Yards, and Toronto Wholesale Houses.--Feb. 13th, 1930, and Feb. 7th, 1935.

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Product	1930	1935
Wheat,	$1.20	.92
Oats,	.50	.35
Potatoes,	1.85 per bag	.35 per bag
Butter,	.36	.25
Cream,	.41 lb. B.F.	.25 lb. B.F.
Eggs,	.39 - .46	.15 - .22
Cheese,	.28	.11
Wool,	.10 - .13	.05 - .10
Heavy Steers,	$10.00 - $10.25	$5.35 - $6.00 per Cwt.
Average Steers,	8.35 - 10.25	4.00 - 5.35 " "
Cows,	7.50 - 8.00	2.00 - 3.50 " "
Bulls,	7.00 - 8.25	2.50 - 3.50 " "
Calves,	14.50 - 15.00	4.50 - 6.50 " "
Lambs,	12.00 - 18.00	5.00 - 7.35 " "
Sheep,	7.00 - 8.00	1.50 - 3.50 " "
Hogs,	13,00 - 14.25	8.25
Baby Beeves,	9.00 - 12.50	not quoted

RAILWAY TONNAGE, - - - - - 1930, - - - - - - - - 4,040,000,000 lbs.
For Year ending 1934, June - - - - 2,894,000,000 lbs.

NUMBER EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRY,

1930, - - - - - - -	1,048,933
1934, - - - - - - -	933,486
Difference ----	115,447

NO OF APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT.

1930, - - - - - - -	33,008
1934, - - - - - - -	94,474

What more scathing denunciation of Tory Administration could one imagine than that which is contained in the figures above! Is there any doubt in your mind, now, that Toryism has wrecked our Foreign Trade. There is no gainsaying the figures,- they represent the plain truth. We are all quite willing to admit that there was a world depression and that our Trade would, naturally, be adversely affected by it. But who of you will sit back and say that Canada should have dropped down from FIFTH to EIEVENTH place in a short space of Three Years? And who of you will believe that our Trade should have suffered more than that of any other nation, except Brazil? Why should our Commerce have decreased 20.5% more than the average decrease for the whole 21 leading countries? And why should we have lost, in this same brief space of time, 1.47% of our share in the gross amount of Trade? And why should Canada have been by far the heaviest loser of any country in the British Empire?

These are some of the things which cannot be charged up to the 'Profit and Loss Account' of 'Old Man Depression'. No alibis or excuses will serve. The gov't has had all the chance in the world to make good, and to redeem themselves, in no small measure, for the dishonorable and disgraceful records of the past. But again, Toryism, or Conservatism, if you like, has been weighed in the balance of 'Promise and Performance' and has been found woefully wanting.

With all due consideration, than, it is surely not too much to expect, that any gov't which has enjoyed absolute power for five whole years, should at least, leave the country in as good a condition as they found it. But, then, it has always been the same story whenever a Conservative gov't held office,- High Taxation, Extravagant Expenditure, and Hard Times. And now, Mr. Bennett would glorify himself and his party on the way they claim to have piloted the Ship of State out of the Troubled waters of Depression into the haven of prosperity. How like the old Tory Principle to make political capital out of a nation's adversities. Far be it from the Liberals to withhold honour from whom honour is due,-but, in order that

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the credit may not be misplaced, let us pay tribute to the real heroes of the long struggle we have just gone through. There is the hardy, resolute pioneer of our frontiers,- the prospector and miner who have battled with the forces of nature to tap new veins of untold wealth for their country,- the brave farmers who have hung on by their very teeth, with the tenacity and endurance of the early settler,- There are the Western Grain Growers and Ranchers who have endured every imaginable kind of misfortune with such infinite patience. There are the Horticulturists and Fishermen of our far Eastern and Western Domains who have 'carried on' in the face of a succession of discouragements. There are our Dairymen who have supplied us with milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and other such indispensable commodities at prices which meant tremendous sacrifice to them. There are the Manufacturers and other employers in small business who have continued production, in many cases at a loss, in order to give employment. There are the Factory Workers who managed somehow to hold out on half-time, half-pay, and supported a wife and family, God knows how, on a miserable pittance of $10 or $12 a week. These, are the men who have given their 'heart's blood' in service to their country; a service for which their was no remuneration, no glory, honour, or even recognition. Their virility, their strong, courageous manhood and womanhood, their hope, faith in their country, and patriotic spirit have weathered the storm and proven a veritable anchor for our ship of state.

When we compare the policies of our own premier to those of that great Democratic Statesman to the South of us, how insignificant and puerile they seem! Can you imagine what would have happened to them if Mr. Roosevelt had been of the same mind as Mr. Bennett, and had said, "This is no time for Reform, I must wait until the depression is over"? But no,- they launched forth immediately on a gigantic programme for Recovery and while they were marching forward triumphantly, with a definite goal in view, we were left in the lurch, in despair, to suffer, and to wait; Ah, that waiting! I wonder how many strong hearts were broken, how many lives were crushed, how many homes were shattered, and how many minds were wrecked of their sanity, while we waited through that long night of horror for the dawn of better times.

And now that election time has come round again, and the day of reckoning is at hand, what a transformation we have witnessed! Suddenly, without warning,-like a bolt from the blue, the premier strikes,- a master stroke; five startling radio broadcasts, one after another, of the most revolutionary nature. People left gasping and wondering at it all,- can it be possible? Whispers of dissention here, and expressions of confidence there, mingled with feelings of doubt and caution. Public opinion more or less hypnotized by the magic of sophistry. In a most voluptuous style of platitudinous expression, everything has been explained. What a comforting, soothing opiate it must have been to the old-time Tory die-hards whose consciences have been troubling them of late, to learn that Toryism had been exonerated of all culpability in the matter of the depression; it was all the fault of the Liberals for not having any policy. And what pangs of remorse must have been suffered by those ungrateful young Tory dissenters who have been surreptitiously straying from the fold, of late, when they learned how, through all these long years of stress and strain, their leader has been so unselfishly giving his 'heart's blood' in service to his country! Oh, it was good, alright, to the last drop; a master-piece of rhetoric. To the unintiated and inexperienced it would prove a most irresistible 'Lure' at which they would bite like hungry sharks, but to those of us who have been brought up and educated in the old school of tried and tested philosophy, the whole thing was recognized at once for what it really was,- a monstrous hoax.

Faced with the prospect of certain defeat at the polls, not daring to face the electorate on the strength of their record,-without a platform on which to stand,-with the Opposition forces clamouring at their doors,- broken into internal factions by distrust, treachery and jealousness,- and overtaken at last by the Nemesis of inevitable retribution, the Tory Party knew they were in dire straits. There seemed no way of escape.

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But, Mr. Bennett was not concerned with the fortunes or misfortunes of the party just now. That he has been largely responsible for the predicament they are in does not trouble him one whit. His is a personal matter which rises above all other considerations. The Party must exist for the benefit of the leader and not the leader for the Party. The power and glory that is coincident with being a Premier of a nation like Canada, and at the same time a multi-millionnaire is not something to be easily surrendered. No more big conferences for Yours Truly to practice his diplomacy and finesse in conversation with the representatives of world powers. No more delightful trips to Europe to basque in the congeniality of European Society Cliques! No more hob-nobbing with Governor-Generals, Viceroys, Ambassadors, Kings, Dukes, Lords, Earls and Counts! No more to be the Dictator, and to ride all 'bridled and saddled, botted and spurred' as the 'King-bee' of the Big Fellows? Why it was unthinkable. It must not be. Besides, certain objectives had not been reached yet (rumour has it that Bennett is fishing for a title), and to have his plans 'gan aglee' now that they were beginning to materialize would never do. Election must be won at all costs, on the principle, that all is fair in War,-and politics. But how? There must be a radical departure from the Old Tory Standards, and, although it was galling and most repulsive, indeed, to have to condescent to earth and make concessions to the 'Common Class' and Proletariats, still, needs must go when the Devil drives. But what to do for a platform? The other parties have the monopoly on Reform,-Oh well, that could be easily overcome by stealthilly 'borrowing' a few planks from each of the others.

And then, the presentation! It must be made attractive; it must be clothed in the finest cloak of plausibility and sophistry of which the mind could conceive, and embellished with touches of the 'dramatic art' here, and there, so as to enveigle even the most sceptical of critics.

To accomplish this "Coup d etate" skilled stratogists were employed, we are told,- There are many who doubt, seriously, the originality of the 'Plot! Some of the more eloquent phrases sound very familiar to those who have heard the Doctrines of the New Deal expounded by the Roosevelt Administration. It is regrettable even to think that such might be true. It would be like having insult added to injury to learn, that, after all those wonderful orations were only 'echoes' lacking both in sincerity and originality.

And so this piece of treacherous and tricky election propaganda was manufactured and offered for sale to the public by a novel method of 'Auctioneering'. In the first place Mr. Bennett committed an unpardonable breach of the principles of common ethics, and violated all the established rules and customs of parliamentary procedure, when he presented his programme, and laid down the laws relating thereto, without having first discussed the matter with his own colleagues. It makes one stop and wonder just who and what the gov't is, anyway,- Is it the Ministers of the Crown working together in harmony and conjunction with the majority of the Members of Parliament, or, is it Bennett, the DICTATOR, who rules the country? That sort of business may work all right in Germany or Italy, but it won't do here in Canada. There are certain things that just, 'aren't done', so to speak, even in the realm of politics. One must be honest with himself before he can be sincere in his own views and his dealings with others. If Mr. Bennett intended to retain his leadership of the Conservative Party, as of course, he evidently does, there was only one course for him to follow under the circumstances. He should have formulated his programme at least a year ago with the full knowledge and support of his colleagues,- then, assuming that the Cabinet accepted and adopted the policy of Reform which is contrary to their constitution, the whole matter should have been brought before the Party Convention or Caucus for it's endorsation. Assuming, again, that the Party accepted the proposed measures after due consideration, the honourable thing for the premier to do then was to dissolve parliament, at once, and place his Reform Programme before the electorate, with the full sanction and authority of the party behind it. If, on the other hand, either the Cabinet or the Convention disagreed on the programme and refused to endorse it,

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as it is their privilege to do, then the Leader, if he is really sincere and determined to carry it through, must resign and either run as an Independent Candidate or support one of the other parties which would assist him. And therein lies the secret of true statesmanship and the test of the real man. Is it the principles of the thing that count most to him, or is it just selfishness, and a question of how to hold on to the job at all costs?

And what did Mr. Bennett do, I ask you? Did he not wait until the 11th hour, and then, present his platform to the people as though it were with the full knowledge and authority of the party of which he is the leader,- when we know full well that not even his own Cabinet Ministers who are nearest to him, knew anything about it. By so doing, did he not betray his own and commit them to a policy that was both foreign and repulsive to them, but which they dared not reject. They just had to 'grin' and bear it. Well, did Mr. Bennett know, that with parliament about to begin and with elections to follow, the party was safely muzzled and dared not voice their protest. When a man will so wilfully double-cross his own friends what may the public expect of him?

In one of his Radio speeches, the Hon. Gentleman, thinking to play upon our sympathy, told us that he had 'hardened his heart' to the greatest sorrow that he had ever known in his life. Well, I think you will agree with me that the sentiment is quite unanimous, as far as hardening his heart is concerned, but as for all the sorrow and suffering, that is just a lot of 'apple sauce'. Does he look like a man who has lost much sleep worrying of nights over the unhappy lot of his people. Does he look like an unhappy shepherd who spent the whole night wandering in the hills, in search of his 'lost sheep'? I think it is pretty well agreed by all, that, whoever may have suffered, it was not he. A measurement of his waist line and hat band, to say nothing of the avoirdupois, will show a very substantial increase since 1930. Has he not enjoyed the best of everytning in the land? Has he not dined in the best hotels and feasted on the most sumptuous dinners that an epicure could wish for? Has he not lived in the most luxurious suites, and slept in the softest of beds? Has he not travelled in De Lux Style on Special Trains and 16 cylinder Cadillacs? And while we were wallowing in the slough of despond was he not visiting with the Canadian 'High Comedian' in London or paying his respects to the Elite in the Royal Courts of Europe?

In another of his radio addresses Mr. Bennett works himself into a fever, and assumed an attitude of righteous indignation over the many injustices of the Capitalistic System,-which always reminds me of one of Aesop's old Fables about the 'Quarrel between the Pot and the Kettle". The Hon. gentlemen knows quite well what is trump, and is playing his hand accordingly. But, does it not seem the logical thing to you, that if he really intends to reform the capitalistic System, he should begin at home first? Let the 'High-Priest of Capitalism' confess whether or not he has been the biggest sinner of them all,- let him tell whether he has not considered it a smart piece of business for a man to make $100,000 or more in a day or two by dealing in the "Watered Stocks" of which he speaks? Let him make a clean breast of everything and tell how many millions he has added to his own bankroll in the past five years. If he is sincere, and is motivated by honest conviction, then let him come down off his ' high horse' take off his high silk hat, renounce all the 'special privileges' that he has enjoyed, the earmarks of Capitalism,- and let him live the simple life of a common man. There must be no compromising or half-way measures. Let him tell whether his hoarded millions represents the honest savings of his own hard labour and honest toil, or whether they are not the product and the fruits of the hard-earned savings of the small investor and the 'sweated Labourer'.

So cleverly has Mr. Bennett planned his Coup d'etat that already the C.C.F. party have been 'scooped' by it. And now, if only a few weak-kneed Liberals would accept the invitation to 'step into the parlour' all might yet go well for him.

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They say that people like being fooled, when it is cleverly done, by political Houdinis; and that they are more desirous of being entertained by orations than in getting at the truth. But I do not agree with this. I have found that the great masses of Canadian citizens are anxious to know the facts and will render fair judgment accordingly. The verdict given on that eventful day of June 19th, 1934, here in Ontario, is proof of the fact that Honesty and Truth, Justice and Right will always prevail in the end, and 'Opportunists' who seek to gain political power and prestige by taking advantage of a nation's adversity and misfortunes, will not escape just condemnation.

It has been said that Mr. Bennett is a courageous man. If that is true, then, I do not want to be considered courageous. I prefer to keep a measure ofself-respect, as well as a decent regard for the rights and opinions of others. If he is a man of courage, why then, did he not come out into the open and face the electorate when he was challenged to do so? Why did he cringe like a coward and seek refuge in the Constitution which gave him another year? His actions, under the circumstances, were anything but brave, unless an outrageous flouting of all the established principles of Democracy can be called courageous. I cannot conceive of any greater injustice being done to us, nor of anything more cowardly or despicable than a Gov't which continues to hold on to office long after it has lost the confidence and support of the people. Whole constituencies have been disenfranchised because Mr. Bennett did not have the courage to issue writs for Bye-Elections and our nation has been set back 100 years in it's constitutional progress. History tells us that the Tories refused to issue a writ for election in York Riding for three years, from 1834 to 1837, in order to keep Wm. Lyon MacKenzie out of the Legislature. And now in 1934, after four provincial general elections, and nine Federal By-elections have rendered an overwhelming 'Lack of Confidence' vote against the gov't, our courageous premier chooses to completely ignore the dictum.of the electors that his days of Grace were up and that it was time for a show-down. How any man could be such a brazen impostor as to continue to consider himself the Bona Fide Representative of our nation, at home and abroad, under such false pretenses, is beyond my comprehension. And for a man who has betrayed his own party and insulted the honor of his country to even imagine that he is entitled to any further consideration, is the very height of folly ahd presumption. In another address the premier makes use of high-sounding platitudes, in a vain attempt to 'draw a herring across the trail' when he said, "Your country's future is at stake, this is no time to indulge your personal prejudices or fancies". Even the most illiterate man on the street knows the significance of that statement. We are quite well aware that our country's future is at stake and we shall be not unmindful of it when the times come to strike,- but as for indulging our personal predjudices and fancies, well, that is our own private affair. We're saving all that for a later date. Mr. Bennett will learn that it takes more than a boquet of flowery phraseology and sophistry to make some people forget the 'prejudices and fancies' that have been born of fivelong years of patient endurance and forbearance of his insufferable egotism.

Again, while seeking to divert public opinion from contemplating the miserable failure that he has been, Mr. Bennett seeks to cast discredit upon the Liberal Party by making statements that are absolutely false. He says that Liberalism does not change or progress,-that it's policy is one of reaction and opposition to reform. In reply to this I would say that the Hon. Gentleman had better go back to school and study his history. Practically <u>every</u> liberty that we enjoy to-day, and every measure of Reform that has been a blessing in uplifting humanity has been a gift of Liberalism. <u>Universal Franchise</u>, <u>Democratic Constitutions</u>, <u>Equal Rights before the Law</u>, <u>Our Educational System</u>, <u>Religious Liberty</u>, <u>Freedom of Speech</u> and many others. All these great Reforms have been given to us by the champions of Liberty, the Liberals. Let me ask the Hon. Gentleman,- "Where would England be to-day if Liberalism had not prevailed against the reactionary forces of Toryism, whose aim was to maintain Absolute Monarchy and the Divine Right of Kings against parliamentary rule? Had it

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not been for the Liberal Party, I say, without fear of contradiction, that there would have been no Great British Empire, as we know it to-day England would in all probability be still under the Rule of the Old Order, with Absolute Monarchy and system of 'Rotten Boroughs'--there would be no universal suffrage, no Religious Toleration, I'ts schools and Colleges would be open only to members of the Church of England. Parliament would be a mere sham, subject to the every whim of the Ruling Power. Slavery would never have been abolished, at least, not till long after it was. Can you imagine living under such conditions! and yet they did exist in England for hundreds of years, and up until the first quarter of the 19th century when the Liberals got a majority in parliament and passed the Reforms which swept away all that and made it a Land of Free People where all men are considered equal before the law, from the Highest to the Lowest.

Let me ask the Hon. Gentleman, again,- "What would our Own Country be like to-day, if it had not been for the Liberal Party in Canada? Read History and learn the truth, Who are the Tories, or Conservatives if you like of to-day? From whence did they come? What have they done for our country? Are they not the Offspring of the Family Compact and the Chateau Clique. Are they not the ones who LOOTED our Timber Reserves, and plundered the Crown Lands even as late as 1934, as witness the last Administration of Queen's Park. Are they not the same party that has sunk our country under a burden of debt that will be a Mill-stone about the necks of our boys and girls for generations to come? Are they not the same party who but a few years ago threw good honest citizens into prison, to languish their lives away merely because their spirits cried out against the gross abuses and injustices of Toryism? And again, I say, are they not the same party who but a few years ago dishonored and disgraced the fair name of Our Country in the eyes of the whole world? Were it not for the Liberal Party, there would be,- NO DOMINION OF CANADA, NO UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, NO SYSTEM OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, NO DEMOCRACY, NO SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FEE FROM CHURCH CONTROL, NO FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH, and NO EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW. Why, Mr. Bennett would have been arrested and thrown into prison, or banished from the country, for daring to speak of Reform as he has spoken. He would have been thrown out of parliament by the same old Tory Party that he is seeking to justify and eulogize to-day. It would have been just another case of, "Never mind the laa, toorn him oot".

I would also remind the Hon. Gentleman, that, hereafter, when he has occasion to refer to Liberalism, it will behoove him to be more respectful lest he desecrate that which is consecrated in the hearts of Canadian people. For Liberalism is not just a name that is sympolic of a Party like Toryism,- Liberalism, I repeat, is the SPIRIT of all freedom loving people who tread the common paths of life, and who desire only peace and happiness, but who are prepared to fight to the last man to maintain the true Principles of Democracy which have been handed down to us by our long and illustrious line of great ancestors, such as,- Lord John Russell, Palmerston, Gladstone, Lloyd George, George Brown, Wm.Lyon MacKenzie, Egerton Ryerson, Lord Durham and Lord Elgin, and Sir Wilfred Laurier, who devoted their lives to unselfish service in the cause of Justice and Right, that we of to-day might be free to work out our own destiny.

Liberalism is the Magna Charta of our Constitution, the embodiment of all the progress and Reform that has been achieved since the days of Feudalism. Liberalism means government by the people for the people with equal rights to all and special privileges to none. Toryism means Oligarchy, that is, government by a Minority of 'Privileged Classes' for the especial benefit of themselves. Toryism believes that the State should contribute to the fortunes and well-being of the party,-while Liberalism believes that the Party should contribute to the welfare of the State.

We are living in the 20th Century, an age of enlightenment, with possibilities for wonderful developments. Toryism is a thing of the past,- a broken down antiquated political machine that has been dondemned as

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unsafe and unfit for Democracy by generations and ages long past. 97½% of our people are Liberals by right of birth, and by virtue of being born free citizens of this great Democratic country. But, alas! to the great misfortune many of us have sold that Priceless Birthright for a miserable mess of pottage. A 'Contemptible Minority' of Soothsayers and tricksters, and high-pressure salesmen (political) have been privileged to hold high carnival in our nation's capital by reason of their 'Bargain Counter' methods of selling their worthless wares to the public. They always get the best of the bargain, and still the people will allow themselves to be 'jyped' by them. Already the Gov't is at it's old trick. They are offering a wide variety of inducements designed to catch votes on a wholesale scale. Some 43000 Civil Service Employees, who, with their friends, relatives, and families, will number over 100,000 are being given an increase in salary to sweeten them up for election day. For the artisans and professional tradesmen there is to be gigantic constructions running into the millions,- that ought to be good for some 500,000 or more votes. For the factory workers there is the Minimum Wage and 8 hour day, which should buy some 300,000 endorsations at the polls. And so on right down the line. As for the farmers, well, they surely can't kick; hasn't the Minister of Finance and of Trade and Commerce just told them that some $60,000,000 has been put into their pockets already, with the promise of millions more, due to the Ottawa Agreements? What more do they want than that? What I can't understand is,- why don't the Conservatives use a little more originality? That trick of bribing the electorate is getting stale by now. It was practised in the days of the 'Rotten Boroughs' of England. The Family Compact made it their tool,- Sir John A. used it for 18 years,- Meighan use it,- George S. Henry and his whole Cabinet, and the worst sinner of them all, R.B.Bennett. So let the public beware. If you deal at this Bargain Counter and find out later that the 'goods' are not as advertised you will have to be satisfied. There is no exchange or redress once your vote is cast.

If you elect a Liberal Gov't to power you are assured of the same good, sound, honest Administration as they have always given in the past. We do not know, nor can we foretell, what the future holds in store for us,- but this we do know, that Liberalism must go forward, there can be no going back nor marking time,- it must ever go onward to better and bigger things.

For Books of Reference that have been consulted in compiling this work, please see next page.

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In composing this Manuscript every effort has been made to ensure accuracy and reliability for all figures and facts given. Only books that are officially recognized have been quoted or used in any way. In all, nearly 100 different authorities have been consulted before printing this pamphlet. Below are listed a few of the more important ones.

1. -- The British Nation (Wrong)
2. -- England in the Nineteenth Century (C. A. Oman)
3. -- History of England (Thompson) Authorized.
4. -- Ont. H. S. History of England (Authorized)
5. -- The Student's History of England
6. -- Modern European History (Hazen)
7. -- Political History of Contemporary Europe (C. Seignobes)
8. -- High School History of England & Canada (Authorized)
9. -- General History for Colleges and High Schools (Myers)
10. -- The Canadian People (Duncan)
11. -- Ont. High School History of Canada (Grant - Authorized)
12. -- History of Dominion of Canada (Clement - Authorized)
13. -- Ont. Public School History of Canada (Authorized)
14. -- Public Men and Public Life in Canada (Young)
15. -- Canadian Politics (J. Robert Long)
16. -- Canada Statistical Year Book, 1930, 31, 32 and 33.
17. -- The Canadian Almanac, 1930-35.
18. -- Canadian Annual Review, - 1933.
19. -- Heaton's Commercial Handbook of Canada, 1934.
20. -- The World Almanac, 1930 - 34.
21. -- Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, - by the League of Nations.

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Countries Which Have not Had General Election for Lower Chamber since July 28th, 1930.

(Particulars obtained from "Political Handbook of the World, 1934")

Canada.

China - No general election held, although a plenary session of the Nationalist Party in December 1932 decided to create a National Peoples Assembly in 1933, and a Constituent Assembly by popular vote in 1935.

Czechoslovakia - Lower Chamber elected Oct. 27, 1929 for 6 year term.

Italy - No general election in ordinary sense is held, but voters simply approve or disapprove of nominees of Fascist Grand Council.

Lithuania - Last election, May, 1926; Parliament dissolved, April, 1927.

Portugal - General Election Nov. 7, 1925; Parliament since dissolved

Russia - No general election in ordinary sense is held, but final authority is nominally vested in the All Union Congress of Soviets, which elects the Union Central Executive Committee as supreme executive and legislative power. The 6th Congress was held in March, 1931.

Venezuela - Last election February 1927.

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(Germany - g.e. November 12, 1933;
Austria - g.e. November 9, 1930;
Yugoslavia - g.e. November 8, 1931, but only one list presented to voters, that of the National Party.)

Sept. 1934.

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Collateral - Gen Elect 1935 file

Nov. 30, 1934

MR. KING:

C 116041

The attached is a list of Liberal Nominations to date, which has been sent by Miss O'Malley.

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CANDIDATES NOMINATED

Nov.30,1934

O N T A R I O

Algoma East		
Algoma West		
Brant		George Wood, R. R. 1, Cainsville, Ont.
Brantford City		W. Ross Macdonald, K.C., Brantford, Ont.
Bruce		
Carleton		H. S. Arkell, Britannia Heights, Ont.
Cochrane		J. A. Bradette, M.P., Cochrane, Ont.
Dufferin-Simcoe	-	W.J.C. Boake,Esq., Thornton, Ont.
Durham	-	Frank Rickard,Esq., Newcastle,Ont.
Elgin	-	W.H. Mills, Esq.,M.P., Sparta, Ont.
Essex East		
Essex South		Murray Clark, Arner, Ont.
Essex West		
Fort William		Rev. Dan McIvor, 211 East Brock Street, Fort William, Ont.
Frontenac-Add.	-	Colin Campbell,Esq.,M.P., ? Northbrook, Ont.
Glengarry		
Grenville-Dundas		
Grey-Bruce		Dr. W. A. Hall, M.P., Walkerton, Ont.
Grey North	-	W.P. Telford,Barr., Owen Sound, Ont.

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ONTARIO (continued)

Haldimand	-	Frank Laidlaw,Esq., Jarvis, Ont.
Halton		E. Hughes Cleaver, Burlington, Ont.
Hamilton East		
Hamilton West		
Hastings-Peterboro	-	Rork Ferguson,Esq., Norwood, Ont.
Hastings South		C. A. Cameron, Belleville, Ont.
Huron North		R. J. Deachman, C/o D. D. Sanderson, Wroxeter, Ont.
Huron-Perth	-	William H. Golding,Esq.,M.P., Seaforth,Ont.
Kenora-Rainy River	-	H.B. McKinnon, Esq., ? Kenora (Lib.Lab)
Kent		
Kingston City		Norman McL. Rogers, 148 University Ave., Kingston, Ont.
Lambton-Kent	-	Hugh MacKenzie,Esq. Watford, Ont.
Lambton-West		Ross W. Gray, M.P., Sarnia, Ont.
Lanark		
Leeds	-	Donald E. Lewis,Esq., Brockville.(Mayor)
Lincoln		A. E. Coombs, 197 Church Street, St. Catharines, Ont.
London		G.A.P.Brickenden, 305 Richmond Bldg., London, Ont.
Middlesex East	-	Colonel Duncan Ross,M.C., Lucan, Ont.
Middlesex West	-	Hon. J. C. Elliott, M.P., London, Ont.
Muskoka-Ontario	-	Stephen Furniss, R.R., Brechin, Ont.
Nipissing	-	Dr. J.R. Hurtubise,M.P. Sudbury, Ont.
Norfolk		Wm. H. Taylor, M.P., Scotland, Ont.

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Ontario (continued)

Northumberland	-	W.A. Fraser, Esq., M.P. Trenton, Ont.
Ontario	-	W. H. Moore, Esq.,M.P., Pickering, Ont.
Ottawa East		E. R. E. Chevrier, M.P. Ottawa.
Ottawa West		
Oxford		A. S. Rennie, M.P., Tillsonburg, Ont.
Parry Sound		
Peel		W. J. Lowe, Brampton, Ont.
Perth	-	Major F. G. Sanderson,M.P. St. Mary's,Ont.
Peterborough West		J. J. Duffus, Peterborough Ont.
Port Arthur		C. D. Howe, 7th Floor, Whalen Bldg., Port Arthur, Ont.
Prescott		Elie O. Bertrand, M.P., L'Orignal, Ont.
Prince Edw.-Lennox		James W. Clark, Napanee, Ont.
Renfrew North		
Renfrew South		
Russell		
Simcoe East		
Simcoe North	-	D. F. McCuaig,Esq., Barrie, Ont. (Mayor)
Stormont		
Timiskaming	-	~~J.A. Bradette, Esq., M.P.,~~ ~~Cochrane, Ont.~~ Col. Malcolm Lang, Haileybury, Ont.
Victoria	-	Bruce McNevin,Esq., Omemee, Ont.
Waterloo North		Hon. W. D. Euler, Kitchener, Ont.
Waterloo South		

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Ontario (continued)

Welland		Arthur B. Damude, Fonthill, Ont.
Wellington North	-	Dr. J.K. Blair, M.P. Arthur, Ont.
Wellington South		
Wentworth		
York East		Goldwyn Fleming, 616 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont.
York North	-	W. P. Mulock, Esq., M.P. ? 711 Dominion Bank Bldg., Toronto, Ont.
York South		Elmore Philpott, 1 Traymore Crescent, Toronto, Ont.
York West	-	Colonel J.E.L. Streight, Islington, Ont.

CITY OF TORONTO

Broadview		Major H. P. Snelgrove, 59 Eastbourne Avenue, Toronto, Ont.
Danforth		Norman Wilks, 135 College Avenue, Toronto, Ont.
Davenport	-	John P. Travers, Esq., 411 Lansdowne Avenue Toronto, Ont.
Eglinton		Egerton Lovering, 320 Bay Street, Toronto, Ont.
Greenwood		
High Park		J. C. McRuer, K.C., 372 Bay St., Toronto, Ont.
Parkdale		J. L. Prentice, 330 Bay Street, Toronto, Ont.
Rosedale		G. A. Urquhart, 17 Queen St. East, Toronto, Ont.
St. Paul's	-	Salter A. Hayden, Esq., 22, Canada Life Bldg., Toronto, Ont.
Spadina	-	Samuel Factor, Esq., M.P., 298 Rushton Road, Toronto, Ont.
Trinity		

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N O V A - S C O T I A

Antigonish-Guysborough	-	William Duff, Esq., M.P., Lunenburg, N.S.
Cape Breton N.-Victoria-		
Cape Breton South	-	
Colchester-Hants	-	
Cumberland	-	
Digby-Annapolis-King	-	
Halifax	-	
Inverness-Richmond	-	
Pictou	-	
Queens-Lunenburg	-	J. J, Kinley, Lunenburg, N.S.
Shelburne-Yarmouth-Clare	-	

N E W - B R U N S W I C K

Charlotte	-	
Gloucester	-	
Kent	-	L.P.A. Robichaud,Esq., Richibuctou, N.B.
Restigouche-Madawaska	-	
Royal	-	
St-John - Albert	-	
Victoria-Carleton	-	
Westmorland	-	
York-Sunbury	-	
Northumberland	-	

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PRINCE-EDWARD-ISLAND

Kings	-	Dr. Thos. V. Grant Montague, P.E.I.
Prince	-	A. E. MacLean, Esq., M.P., Summerside, P.E.I.
Queens	-	

M A N I T O B A

Brandon	J. E. Matthews, C Brandon, Man.
Churchill	Hon. T. A. Crerar, Clandeboye, Man.
Dauphin	Ward.
Lisgar	Winkler
Macdonald	W. G. Weir, M.P., Carman, Man.
Marquette	Glen
Neepawa	Neepawa
Portage la Prairie	Harry Leader, Portage la Prairie, Man.
Provencher -	Arthur L.Beaubien,Esq., M.P., St. Jean Baptiste, Man.
St. Boniface -	Dr. J.P. Howden, M.P., St. Boniface, Man.
Selkirk -	J. T. Thorson, Esq., K.C., 801 Great West Permanent Bldg., Winnipeg, Man.
Souris	George McDonald, Boissevain, Man.
Springfield	Turner (Lib)
Winnipeg North	Labour
Winnipeg North Centre	Woodsworth C.C.F.

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Manitoba (continued)

Winnipeg South		
Winnipeg South Centre		

S A S K A T C H E W A N

Assiniboia	-	R. McKenzie,Esq., M.P., Stoughton, Sask.
Humboldt	-	Dr. H.R. Fleming, Humboldt, Sask.
Kindersley	-	C.A. Henderson, Esq., Dodsland, Sask.
Lake Centre	-	J. F. Johnston, Esq., Bladworth, Sask.
Mackenzie	-	J.A. MacMillan, Esq., M.P., Wadena, Sask.
Maple Creek	-	
Melfort	-	Malcolm McLean, Eldersley, Sask.
Melville	-	Hon. W.R. Motherwell,M.P. Abernethy, Sask.
Moose Jaw	-	J. Gordon Ross, Esq., Barr., Moose Jaw, Sask.
North Battleford	-	C.R. McIntosh, Esq., M.P., North Battleford, Sask.
Prince Albert	-	
Qu'Appelle	-	J.A. McGowan, Esq., Summerberry, Sask.
Regina City		
Rosetown-Biggar	-	William Richardson,Esq., Rosetown, Sask.
Rosthern	-	W.A. Tucker, Esq., Rosthern, Sask.
Saskatoon City	-	Dr. A. MacG. Young, 307 Birks Building, Saskatoon, Sask.
Swift Current	-	C.E. Bothwell, Esq., M.P., Swift Current, Sask.
The Battlefords	-	John Vallance, Esq.,M.P., Onward, Sask.
Weyburn	-	

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Saskatchewan (continued)

Wood Mountain	-	Dr. T.F. Donnelly,M.P., Kincaid, Sask.
Yorkton	-	Geo. W. McPhee, Esq.,K.C.,M.P., Yorkton, Sask.

A L B E R T A

Acadia	-	
Athabaska	-	Mr. McNamee, Bonnyville, Alta.
Battle River	-	M. L. Forster, Esq., Wainwright, Alta.
Bow River	-	C. R. Walrod, Esq., Rockyford, Sask.
Calgary East	-	Jos. T. Shaw, K.C., Calgary, Alta.
Calgary West	-	P. L. Hyde, 608 MacLean Block, Calgary, Alta.
Camrose	-	George P. Smith, Esq., Camrose, Alta.
Edmonton East	-	Lt.-Col. Geo. B. McLeod, 9858 - 112th Street, Edmonton, Alta.
Edmonton West	-	James A. MacKinnon, Box 38, Edmonton, Alberta.
Jasper-Edson	-	Hon. Charles Stewart, M.P., 200 Clemow Ave.,Ottawa.
Lethbridge	-	L. E. Fairbairn, Royal Bank Building, Lethbridge, Alta.
Macleod	-	F.O. McKenna, Esq., Barr., Pincher Creek, Alta.
Medicine Hat	-	
Peace River	-	
Red Deer	-	
Vegreville	-	J. S. McCallum, 10108 Jasper Ave., Edmonton, Alta.
Wetaskiwin	-	Walter S. Campbell, Esq., 108 Commercial Chambers Edmonton, Alta.

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BRITISH - COLUMBIA

Cariboo	-	J. G. Turgeon,Esq., 744 West Hastings Vancouver, B.C.
Comox-Alberni	-	
Fraser Valley	-	Jas. Frederick Semple, Esq., Chilliwack, B.C.
Kamloops	-	
Kootenay East	-	
Kootenay West	-	D.D. McLean, Esq., P.O. Box 168, Nelson, B.C.
Nanaimo	-	Alam Chambers, Esq., Nanaimo, B.C.
New Westminster	-	Thomas Reid, Esq., M.P. Newton, B.C.
Skeena	-	Olof Hanson, Esq., M.P., Prince Rupert, B.C.
Vancouver-Burrard	-	G. G. McGeer, Esq., K.C., 744 Hastings St.West., Vancouver, B.C.
Vancouver Centre	-	Hon. Ian Mackenzie, M.P., 620 Rogers Building, Vancouver, B.C.
Vancouver East	-	
Vancouver North	-	
Vancouver South	-	
Victoria	-	
Yale	-	

YUKON TERRITORY

Yukon	-	R. D. Macaulay, R. D., 920 Bidwell Street, Vancouver, B.C.

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QUEBEC

Argenteuil

Beauce

Beauharnois-Laprairie

Bellechasse

Berthier-Maskinonge

Bonaventure

Brome-Missisquoi

Chambly-Rouville

Champlain

Chapleau

Charlevoix-Saguenay

Chateauguay-Huntingdon

Chicoutimi

Compton

Dorchester

Drummond-Arthabaska

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Gaspé

Hull

Joliette-L'Assomption-Montcalm

Kamouraska

Labelle

Lake St. John-Roberval

Laval-Two Mountains

Levis

Dr. J. E. Dussault,
Levis, Que.

Lotbinière

Matapedia-Matane

Megantic-Frontenac

Montmagny-L'Islet

Nicolet-Yamaska

Pontiac

Portneuf

Quebec East

Quebec South

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Quebec West and South

Quebec-Montmorency

Richelieu-Vercheres

Richmond-Wolfe

Rimouski

St. Hyacinthe-Bagot

St. Johns-Iberville-Napierville

St. Maurice-Lafleche

Shefford

Sherbrooke

Stanstead

Temiscouata

Terrebonne

Three Rivers

Vaudreuil-Soulanges

Wright

C. B. Howard, M.P.,
Sherbrooke, Quebec.

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ISLAND OF MONTREAL

Cartier

Hochelaga

Jacques Cartier

Laurier

Maisonneuve-Rosemont

Mercier

Mount Royal

Outremont

St. Ann

St. Antoine-Westmount

St. Denis

St. Henry

St. James

St. Lawrence-St. George

St. Mary

Verdun

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CANDIDATES NOMINATED

ONTARIO

Algoma East	
Algoma West	
Brant	Mr. George Wood R.R.1 Cainsville, Ont.
Brantford City	W. Ross Macdonald, Esq. K.C. Brantford, Ont.
Bruce	
Carleton	H. S. Arkell, Esq. Britannia Heights Ont.
Cochrane	Colonel Malcolm Lang, Haileybury, Ont.
Dufferin-Simcoe	W. J. C. Boake, Esq., Thornton, Ont.
Durham	Frank Rickard, Esq. Newcastle, Ont.
Elgin	W. H. Mills Sparta
Essex East	
Essex South	
Essex West	
Fort William	
Frontenac-Addington	

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Glengarry	
Grenville-Dundas	
Grey-Bruce	Dr. W. A. Hall, M.P. Walkerton, Ont.
Grey-North	W. P. Telgord, Esq. Barrister, Owen Sound, Ont.
Haldimand	Frank Laidlaw, Esq., Jarvis, Ont.
Halton	
Hamilton East	
Hamilton West	
Hastings-Peterborough	Rork Ferguson, Esq., Norwood, Ont.
Hastings South	C. A. Cameron, Esq., Belleville, Ont.
Huron North	
Huron-Perth	William H. Golding, M.P. Seaforth, Ont.
Kenora-Rainy River	
Kent	
Kingston City	Norman McL. Rogers, Esq. Kingston, Ont.
Lambton-Kent	Hugh Mackenzie, Esq., Watford, Ont.
Lambton-West	

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Edmonton West	James A. MacKinnon, Esq Box 38, Edmonton
Jasper-Edson	Hon. Charles Stewart 200 Clemow Ave. Ottawa
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Peace River	
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YUKON TERRITORY

Yukon	McAuley, Esq.

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Argenteuil

Beauce

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Bellechasse

Berthier-Maskinonge

Bonaventure

Brome-Missisquoi

Chambly-Rouville

Champlain

Chapleau

Charlevoix-Saguenay

Chateauguay-Huntingdon

Chicoutimi

Compton

Dorchester

Drummond-Arthabaska

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Gaspé

Hull

Joliette-L'Assomption-Montcalm

Kamouraska

Labelle

Lake St. John-Roberval

Laval-Two Mountains

Levis

Dr. J. E. Dussault,
Levis, Que.

Lotbinière

Matapedia-Matane

Megantic-Frontenac

Montmagny-L'Islet

Nicolet-Yamaska

Pontiac

Portneuf

Quebec East

Quebec South

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Quebec West and South

Quebec-Montmorency

Richelieu-Vercheres

Richmond-Wolfe

Rimouski

St. Hyacinthe-Bagot

St. Johns-Iberville-Napierville

St. Maurice-Lafleche

Shefford

Sherbrooke — C. B. Howard, M.P., Sherbrooke, Quebec.

Stanstead

Temiscouata

Terrebonne

Three Rivers

Vaudreuil-Soulanges

Wright

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C 116071

ISLAND OF MONTREAL

Cartier

Hochelaga

Jacques Cartier

Laurier

Maisonneuve-Rosemont

Mercier

Mount Royal

Outremont

St. Ann

St. Antoine-Westmount

St. Denis

St. Henry

St. James

St. Lawrence-St. George

St. Mary

Verdun

(last page of item in "coll - Gen Election 1935"
a memo of E.M.P. to King covering list of Liberal nominations
up to Nov 30/34)

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Elections - Gen. Election of 1935 - Date of Election

C 116072

April 5, 1935

Mr. King:

Dates re Nomination, Polling, &c.

1. Length of time between dissolution and day of polling:

There is no definite period provided by the statute. The shortest time, to meet all requirements of the law, would be, Mr. Castonguay thinks, 30 or 31 days. He bases this on the assumption that everything be in readiness on the day of the proclamation, so that the whole machinery of the elections can be set in motion by telegraph as soon as the writs are issued.

2. Length of time between nominations and polling:

In some 50 districts, large northern ones, certain ~~western~~ rural ones, the day of nomination is two weeks before the day of polling. In all others, it is one week before.

3. Nomination or polling on a holiday:

Mr. Castonguay says the provision is that, where either the day of nomination or the day of polling falls on a holiday, it ~~may~~ must be held the day following. The act specifies a Monday - if, therefore, the Monday is a holiday, Tuesday ~~may~~ must be used. (Neither nomination or polling can be held on the Monday if it is a holiday.)

From the point of view of the provisions of the statute, the following would be possible, legally:

Day of ~~Polling~~ nomination in large districts	Mon. Aug. 19;	Mon. Aug. 26;	Tus.Sep.3
Day of Nomination in other districts	Mon. Aug. 26;	Tus. Sept. 3;	Mon.Sep.9
Day of Polling	Tus. Sep. 3;	Mon. Sept. 9;	Mon.Sep.16

4. Completion of printing of Revised Lists:

While not within his competence, Mr. Castonguay says he does not think it will be possible to have this work finished until well on into September.

E. A. P.
E.A. PICKERING

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(WLMK)

(APRIL 15, 1935)

C116073

Re: Easter Adjournment
H. of C. - April 15/35

Re Deferring Election 1935

Parliament - Sessions of
Elections - Gen. Elec 1935 - Date of Election

Protest against

at the length of the adjournment

as occasioning further delay in the time within which the people given the right to express views at a general election.

The character of our political institutions gradually being changed.

Government by consent of governed

no longer theory.

Now - Government against the will of the governed.

By-elections and provincial elections.

Government's policies have failed.

Should have had elections last year -

certainly after by-elections in September;

vacancies in House - 6 constitutioncies unrepresented.

One pretext after another for prolonging tenure of office

of Administration.

W.L. Mackenzie

At opening of session -

Lists not ready until April 15th - (today).

Now will be told revision not completed until July or August.

Government is responsible for legislation that thus deprives electorate of these rights.

List should always be in readiness.

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Objection:

Public Interest Suffering - election delayed:

if put off to fall.

Incoming Ministry deprived of opportunity to give effect to policies to relieve unemployment:

(1) by providing work;

(2) by finding markets.

Meanwhile, addition burdens being placed on Treasury and Taxpayers.

New government should be given opportunity to negotiate business of country suffering.

No relief until after a general election.

Need for new policies:-

Agreements:

e.g. Revision of agreement with Great Britain;

Reciprocity with United States;

Trade agreements with European countries;

Marketing crops.

If left until September

New Ministry October before it can function.

Meanwhile, other countries securing foothold -

Canada losing markets for good.

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C116075

Public interest not considered.-

Interest of Members of Parliament not considered.

Only interest - the convenience of the Ministry:

to remain in office as long as possible;

to see what may develop, and reorganize accordingly.

Plenty to go on with.

Opposition - not opposing;

have sought to shorten session.

Radio broadcasts urged - necessity immediate action.

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C116076

Memorandum re The Liberal Programme
and
Unemployment

by Mr. Rogers ??

June, 1935.

At the outset of a general election campaign it has been the practice of political parties to place before the electorate a considered statement of policy and an explanation of their approach and attitude towards outstanding national problems. A general election is designed to afford the country an opportunity to determine by what policies and by which leaders it shall be guided during the ensuing term of parliament. You who form the electorate of Canada will mark your ballot papers for a candidate who has been nominated by a political party in the constituency in which you live. In the ultimate result, however, you will make a selection of political programmes and of national leadership. I need not urge upon you that this decision is of the utmost importance to yourselves and to the country at large. It involves the exercise of your sovereign authority. It is in very truth the highest duty of citizenship in a democratic state.

It is natural that you should expect at this time a statement of Liberal policy in relation to the important problems which now confront us. I am fully aware that during the past year it has been stated on frequent occasions that the Liberal party had not placed its programme before the Canadian people. The desire for such a statement has been influenced to a considerable extent by the annual declarations which have been made on behalf of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and by the assurances contained in the radio addresses delivered by the Prime Minister at the beginning of the present year. The assertion that the

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C 116077

Liberal party has not expressed its views on the questions of the day is far from the truth. We have not failed to take a position in parliament in relation to the various proposals brought forward by the government in the form of legislation. Some of these we have approved. Others we have condemned. But we have not been content with thus stating out position on the proposals of the present administration. On ^ I presented, as leader of the Liberal party, a summary statement of Liberal policy which was intended to inform the electorate of the attitude which a Liberal government would take in relation to current, economic and social problems. I did not suggest that this was a final statement. In the very nature of things it could not be so. I mention it now merely to emphasize the fact that the Liberal party has not been indifferent to its duty of informing the electorate of the policies in which it believes. That statement, however, has been criticised on the ground that it was indefinite and inadequate. We do not object to that criticism. It simply confirms the view which I strongly hold that no statement of policy can be final or complete in the period of rapid change and great uncertainty in which we now live.

As leader of a political party I would be false to my trust if I sought to attract your support and purchase your votes by offering you a programme of promises and undertakings which might be found impossible of realization within a few months or a year. The true basis of democracy is mutual confidence between government and electorate. This foundation of confidence can only be built upon honesty, frankness, and good-will. Even when this foundation has been built laboriously over a long period of years it may be under-mined and dissolved in the twinkling of an eye

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C 116078

by organized deception or by the failure of those who govern to realize the limitations within which their policies operate. Those who demand a definite and concrete programme from the Liberal party at this juncture may well reflect upon the honesty of the definite and concrete programmes which have been offered by political leaders in our own and other countries within the past year. A radio in every home and an automobile and $5,000 for every head of the family would seem to be as definite a programme as any one could desire. In our own country a political leader has gone so far as to offer to the electorate of a Canadian province a social dividend of $25 a month for every citizen. Mr. Bennett as leader of the Conservative party in 1930 went even further than his recent disciples in the solemnity and positiveness of his assurances when he promised to end unemployment and to provide work for all who desired it. Political programmes of this character invariably destroy themselves and those who are responsible for them. This is as it should be if democracy is to survive. But there is a greater risk than this in the formulation of such programmes. There is a grave danger that the distrust of political leaders which follows the failure to implement such programmes may bring down with it the entire structure of self-government. May I say at once that the Liberal party of Canada will not compete with Mr. Eberhardt or Mr. Bennett in producing political programmes of the character I have described. The Liberal party has played an historic part in the development of responsible government in this country. I would rather accept defeat in the coming election than to win office by a device which would involve, in due course, the repudiation of principles for which we have stood throughout the years.

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I have said that we are living in a period of rapid change and great uncertainty. It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon this fact but I should like to emphasize it at this time in order to place the programme of the Liberal Party in its proper setting. A government in these days may be likened to a vessel moving along a strange and uncharted river. Its navigators may know the destination they desire to reach. They may announce it before their departure. But the rate of progress toward the objective is determined only in part by those who man the vessel. It is affected also by the currents of the stream and by the unseen hazards ahead. There may be periods of rapid progress when the current is favorable. There may also be periods when headway is lost through adverse currents or barriers in the stream of which the navigators are unaware when they begin their journey. Ultimately those who are in charge of the vessel's course expect to reach their destination regardless of the obstacles that lie in their path. If they are men of courage and fortitude they will do so. But it is impossible to chart the course beforehand or to take account of unexpected delays and dangers which may occur during the voyage. This simple figure of speech reveals the position in which a government finds itself at the present time. We are moving in a stream of world events. We can announce our objectives. We must do our utmost to reach them. But we cannot honestly tell the passengers the hazards of the journey nor announce with any definiteness the time of arrival at our destination. Canada, for example, may take its own measures toward economic recovery. It would be idle, however, to assume that these measures can be effective regardless of what takes place in the world about us. This lesson, at least, we have learned during the past five years. We have not been alone in learning it. The great

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country to the south of us under the leadership of President Roosevelt has sought by every conceivable means to assist recovery by its own efforts. It has become apparent, however, that even a country of tremendous resources like the United States is unable to ignore the fact that its progress is limited to a great degree by currents which are beyond its control. It is compelled to recognize that it is moving in a stream of world events.

In addition to the limitations upon political policies which are imposed by our dependence upon the world about us, there are internal limitations which are the result of the constitution under which we live. Here too, there is a temptation to disregard unpleasant facts by closing our eyes to them. There are some in our own and other countries who would tell the people that the constitution can be ignored as soon as it becomes embarrassing or whenever it presents obstacles to the realization of a course of action which they desire. The danger of such an attitude is self-evident. It is dishonest to create an impression that the constitution can be ignored with success or impunity. Moreover, to persist in such an attitude is to place the constitution in derision and ultimately to weaken the guarantees of civil liberty which the constitution alone makes possible. We all know that a united Canada was made possible through the adoption of a federal constitution. We sometimes forget that the unity of Canada can only be maintained by a respect for the guarantees which have been written into this constitution. A federal form of government involves a distribution of legislative powers between the national parliament and the legislatures of the provinces. Wherever there is any

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doubt concerning jurisdiction or conflict of authority the dispute must be settled by recourse to the courts or by a constitutional amendment. This means inevitably that the powers of the national parliament in a federal state are less ample than those of a similar body inaa unitary state. There can be no doubt that this division of authority is embarrassing at times. It means that the national parliament is unable to do things which many of us would like to have done with a minimum of delay. This embarrassment, however, cannot be swept away by ridicule or retoric. It is a handicap which is inherent in our system of government. It is the price we pay and are paying for a united Dominion.

It would not be difficult for the leader of a political party to take advantage of the impatient temper of the people in a time of crisis and to undertake to carry out policies which were opposed to the letter or spirit of the constitution. But such a leader would be unworthy of your confidence. He would be offering you an object you thought to be bread knowing all the while that it was a stone. The legal description of such an action is fraudulent misrepresentation. A political leader could not be brought before the courts for deception of this kind but the moral character of his offense would be precisely the same. The Liberal party has taken the ground that the constitution must be respected and that there shall be no arbitrary assumption of authority by the national parliament in order to serve the ends of political expediency. In taking this position we have been exposed to the criticism that we are putting constitutional obstacles in the path of social reform and economic recovery. Such a charge is dishonest and baseless. The Liberal party

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places no obstacles in the path of reform and recovery but it refuses to close its eyes to obstacles which already exist. It prefers to proceed along the path with its eyes open and to take a course which will avoid these obstacles in order to sooner reach the objective in view. Surely this course is the one which is recommended by wisdom born of experience. If it needed further confirmation the events of the past few weeks in the United States have supplied it abundantly. In that country the government of the day chose to ignore constitutional obstacles and in so doing imposed upon industry and commerce a complicated structure of state regulation which has now been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that country. The result has been confusion and retardation of the forces of recovery. Now after a lapse of two years the government has been obliged to retrace its steps and to secure the same purpose by the slower but more certain method of constitutional amendment. It is obvious, therefore, that a political party in presenting its programme to the electorate is compelled in honesty to respect and acknowledge the restrictions upon its powers which are imposed by the constitution.

If a political programme is to have reality it must be related to the problems that immediately confront us. Let me place these problems before you and consider the position which the Liberal party will adopt in relation to each of them. I am sure you will agree with me that widespread unemployment presents the most urgent and pressing problem with which the government must deal in the immediate future. According to the latest figures available the number of men, women and children on the

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relief rolls has reached the staggering total of 1,300,000. It is estimated that more than 500,000 adult workers are now unemployed. Many of these have been unemployed for a considerable part of the last five years. Even this stark discription of the situation does not fully reveal the alarming features of the unemployment problem. All through the period of depression there have been families who have lived, so to speak, on the margin of relief. Year after year an increasing number of these families have passed across the margin and have been added to the relief rolls of our towns and cities. That process is still continuing. The savings of many families have been wiped out. In the case of many other families they are being steadily depleted. The burden of taxation has been mounting steadily. With each succeeding year thousands of young men and women have come to working age and have found to their dismay that there was no work for them to do. I have no desire to paint the picture of unemployment in more sombre colors than are justified by the grim realities of the situation. There is scarcely a town or hamlet in the Dominion which has not felt the impact of unemployment in greater or less degree. Through the intervention of governmental agencies an effort has been made to afford shelter, food and clothing to the victims of the depression who have been unable to provide these necessities for themselves. Government relief, however, is subject to defects which cannot easily be counteracted. Relief officers sometimes tend to become callous and autocratic, and perhaps inevitably the care of the unemployed is lacking in that warmth of human sympathy which was extended without stint to those who were casualties of the Great War. Governments and relief agencies have done little more than meet the elementary and material necessities of those who have suffered from prolonged unemployment. There has been a fearful

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and incalcuable pressure upon human morale. Mental anxiety has had its effect upon the health of many of the unemployed and has impaired their ability to resume once more their former occupations. It is obvious that the unemployment problem must be considered in several aspects if we are to approach it courageously and sympathetically as a national emergency. (1) We must organize relief on an efficient and economical basis. We must (2) reduce the pressure of unemployment by a long-range programme of public (3) works. We must seek a steady enlargement of private employment by a restoration of industrial activity throughout the Dominion.

The problem of unemployment relief compels immediate attention. It is evident that no system of public works can provide employment for more than a limited number of those who are now idle. It is equally clear - and it is well to state it frankly - that government policies designed to stimulate private enterprise and restore industrial activity will require some time before they can become effective. This means that unemployment relief is likely to continue for an indefinite period. I do not suggest that it will continue in its present magnitude. It will be the first duty of your government to see to it that it is reduced as quickly as possible. Nevertheless it is time that we faced facts squarely instead of seeking to escape from their unpleasant implications. The present economic crisis is not of the same order as other depressions which have overtaken us in previous years. How long the period of readjustment will continue and where it will bring us, no one can say with certainty. We must take the situation as we find it and deal with it according to the light that is given us. It has become evident to

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every thoughtful person that the problem of unemployment relief will be with us for some years to come. That being the case, we should lay our plans accordingly and set up an organization for relief which will be based upon the recognition of the true character of the problem. Up until now this has not been done. The duty of affording relief to the unemployed has been accepted by governments as a disagreeable but unavoidable necessity. As we look back over the record of the Bennett administration during the past five years it would seem that Mr. Bennett and his government acted on the assumption that the problem of relief was a temporary embarrassment which would disappear as suddenly as it arrived. Only upon such an assumption is it possible to explain the stubborn refusal of Mr. Bennett to establish in 1930 or in each succeeding year a national co-operative organization which would be charged with a general supervision of the problem in all its various aspects throughout the entire country. This proposal was made by the Liberal party in 1930. It has been repeated in each succeeding year. On every occasion it has been rejected. One some occasions it was ridiculed. Yet today we find that the problem of relief has reached proportions which would have been thought fantastic five years ago. On this broad question of dealing with unemployment relief through a national cooperative organization, the Liberal party has not changed its mind. I believe we were right when we proposed a National Employment Commission in 1930. I believe also - and think you will agree with me - that each passing year has confirmed the wisdom of that proposal. The first item in the Liberal programme will be the establishment without delay of a National Employment Commission. It will be charged with the duty of viewing unemployment as a national problem, of securing effective cooperation between the Dominion and the

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provinces and municipalities in the administration of relief, and of bringing to the aid of the government the voluntary assistance of such national organizations as will pledge their efforts to the solution of a crisis of peace no less vital to the national existence than the crisis of war which we met by united effort a few short years ago.

The second aspect of the unemployment problem is the provision of work and wages through government assistance in order to lessen the burden of relief and - what is even more important - to maintain the morale of the unemployed until such time as the normal forces of economic recovery have made greater progress and policies instituted by the government have had time to operate. For this purpose it is of the utmost importance that those who are now unemployed should be classified according to age, occupation and period of unemployment. No doubt we shall be compelled to recognize as other countries have recognized, that a considerable number of those who are now on relief rolls are no longer employable in the strict sense of the word. It will be necessary to consider just and generous measures of dealing with these unfortunate casualties of the depression. Another distinct class of the unemployed consists of those who have come to working age during the past five years and who have lacked the means of learning a trade or of fitting themselves for particular tasks. At the present time many of these are found in the unemployment camps which have been established by the Department of National Defense in the various provinces of the Dominion. They present a problem of profound social and economic significance. Prolonged

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idleness at an age when ambition and physical vigor are at their peak can not fail to have a serious and possibly permanent effect upon their physical and mental development. I am not seeking to establish priorities of preference in relation to these various classes of the unemployed. But I do wish to point out that young men and women in their twenties who have never had an opportunity to work have a special claim to consideration in any long range view of national interest. We cannot put them in unemployment camps and forget them. Their strength and enterprise are vital to the future welfare of the country. We must give them some foundation for faith and courage. If possible, we must direct their energies into peace-time projects of development and give them a realization that they are making a definite contribution to the welfare of the country. They must be put at work so far as possible on national projects until such time as they can be absorbed into the industrial life of the Dominion. It should also be possible to give them instruction in trades and occupations, if they so desire, through the extension facilities of our universities and through the wide spread organization of our technical and vocational schools. They must realize that there is a place for them in the economic organization of the country. In the meantime, they must be made to feel that they are engaged in a service of national importance while they are preparing themselves for private employment when conditions improve.

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The remaining unemployed consist of those who have once enjoyed employment but who have been casualties of the depression. Some of these are single. Others are married and are the heads of families. It will be desirable to afford temporary employment to as many as possible of the single unemployed on the projects which have just been described. Those who are married and haads of families will prefer, for the most part, to remain at home in the hope of recovering their former employment with the normal resumption of business activity. The unemployed of this group will comprise the largest number of those who remain on the relief rolls until they have been reemployed in their former occupations.

The Liberal party believes that a programme of public works can be arranged in cooperation with the provinces and municipalities which will assist materially in meeting the needs of special groups of the unemployed who have strong claims to immediate assistance. I do not propose to set out in detail the public works which properly might be brought within such a scheme. I would merely emphasize that these public works should be conceived with vision and faith in the future of our country and that they should assume the form of developments which would benefit the people regardless of the direction of future events or of what form the state may ultimately assume. I am unalterably opposed to a public works project which includes prominently in its programme the building of armories, post offices, customs offices, etc.

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I have in mind, rather, slum clearance, housing schemes, highway construction, air-ports, reforestation, reclamation of drought areas, and recreational developments. Whatever the projects may be, they should be worked out in cooperation with the provinces and municipalities and should be adjusted so far as possible to the peculiar needs of particular sections of the Dominion. The preliminary study of this question will be one of the first duties of the National Employment Commission.

I have indicated that public works in the form of long-range schemes of national development must play a part in our campaign against unemployment. It must be recognized, however, that provision of employment by this means is limited and does not of itself provide a solution of the problem. It may be described as a restorative which is intended to tide the patient over an immediate crisis while the curative processes intended for permanent recovery are permitted to operate. The one effective cure for unemployment is the resumption of industrial activity and a steady increase in the income derived from the production of goods and service. This, in turn, depends upon the revival of trade.

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Canada is an exporting country. Its economic welfare depends upon its ability to dispose of its exportable goods with a margin of profit in foreign countries. It is sheer delusion to imagine that prosperity can return to an exporting country through the cultivation of the home-market behind a high protective tariff. When a country is a heavy exporter of primary products it is meaningless to speak of a home-market in terms of the population of a given geographical area. The prosperity of the factories of central Canada depends in the last resort upon the ability and willingness of the Canadian people to purchase the goods produced by these factories. If the wheat-growers on the prairies are unable to sell their wheat abroad they can contribute nothing to the purchasing power of a home-market. Is it not self-evident that in an exporting country the capacity of the home-market is determined by the conditions of international trade? Suppose, for example, that Canada found itself unable for several successive years to sell its wheat crop in foreign markets. Of what value would the protected home market be to the secondary industries of this country? In any practical sense the home-market consists of a store of purchasing power created by production and exchange and supported by confidence in future ability to produce and dispose of goods and services. The most direct and immediate means of attacking unemployment in Canada is to secure and extend the market for Canadian wheat and other agricultural and primary products in the countries of the world. Until this is done, it is idle to expect that our secondary industries or our great transportation services can re-employ labor on any considerable scale. The Liberal party has never been deluded by the home-market argument of the high protectionists. We

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have held consistently to the view that it was the manifest duty of a Canadian government to secure and maintain continuous outlets for the products of our farms, our mines, our forests and our fisheries. Upon the health of these industries our whole industrial structure depends. Seeing this problem in a clear light we pledge ourselves to restore, the prosperity of our primary industries by every means within our power. This is the veritable foundation of Canadian economic welfare. Our manufacturing industries form a super-structure erected upon this foundation. It is of little value to repair the super-structure if the foundations are crumbling away.

In its campaign against unemployment the Liberal party is prepared to revise the tariff to the extent necessary to obtain access to foreign markets and to maintain the bargaining position of our producers in these markets. We shall sacrifice no legitimate interest while we are carrying on this process of fiscal reconstruction. We shall proceed upon the basis of a careful investigation of the inter-relation between tariffs and foreign trade. But we are convinced that this path is the one sure way to economic recovery in Canada and we are convinced also that it offers the only adequate means of attacking unemployment along its entire front. I am not going to suggest to you that this process of fiscal reconstruction can be accomplished swiftly. It will take time to make the necessary investigations and it will take additional time to negotiate commercial treaties upon the basis of these investigations. But there is one

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factor in the problem which must be dealt with immediately. The policies of the Bennett administration have created an alarming situation in relation to the sale of Canadian wheat in British and European markets. This situation demands and will receive our immediate consideration when we are returned to office. The Ottawa Agreements have been largely responsible for the loss of Canadian wheat markets on the European continent and have failed at the same time to bring about a compensating enlargement of the market for our wheat in Great Britain. This situation must be rectified. It can only be rectified by lowering the cost of production of the Canadian wheat grower and by overcoming the antagonism to Canadian wheat among the milling interests of the British Isles which has been created by the wheat policy of the present administration in conjunction with the Ottawa Agreements.

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Parl. Duration 1.

✓ Elections - Procedure
✓ Gen Election - Date of Election
✓ Parliament - Dissolution

C-116093

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KING:

Re: Latest date for issuing Writs for next General Election.

As per attached memo, the present House of Commons expires on August 18, 1935. By that date the Writs for the General Election must be issued.

Mr. Castonguay informs me that there is no definite period of time following this date at the end of which polling must take place. The interval between the issuing of the Writs and polling day is a flexible one, which, to his knowledge, is not determined by Statute, but which rests in the discretion of the Government. While the insistence of public opinion, the necessity for getting Supply for the next fiscal year, etc., ordinarily would compel a Government to bring on the General Election within a reasonable period after the date on which the House of Commons expires, there is nothing in the way of any maximum period set forth in the Statutes.

The longest interval between the issuing of the Writ and polling day, since 1920, occurred in the by-election in Elgin East in 1920. The Writ was issued on August 16, - polling day was November 22. This involved three months and six days. The next longest interval was in the case of the by-election in South Oxford, where the Writ was issued on January 17, 1934, and polling took place on April 16, - three months less a day.

EAP.
E. A. PICKERING.

July 30, 1934

See E. A. PICKERING TO KING, March 26, 1935
Jules Castonguay to King, March 14, 1935

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Collateral - Gen. Elec. C115094

COPY

E-180
1939
(Longo)

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 14th August, 1935.

P-663
1939

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration the expediency of dissolving the House of Commons, and of summoning a new Parliament.

The Committee, therefore, recommends that the present Parliament be dissolved, as of the 15th day of August, 1935, and that a new Parliament be called together, and that a Proclamation, bearing date the 15th day of August, 1935, be issued dissolving the present Parliament.

The Committee submit the foregoing for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. LEMAIRE

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Chief Electoral Officer.

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Coll - Gen Elect 1935 - [illegible]

(Keep the two copies of this attached together because they are not identical) JC

C116095

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

Re: Foreign Trade

Extracts from campaign speeches of 1935.

Woodstock, Aug. ~~14th.~~ 13

"Why has Canada not had a reciprocal agreement with the United States? Argentine has been able to make an agreement for her cattle. If we were able to get in now we would find that other countries have had two years start.

"Mr. Bennett went over to London. He put forward impossible claims there. The whole thing became a farce and we lost a chance to get a place in the British market. Other countries went ahead and gained that place -- a place that Canada should have had."

x x x

"A country can't trade all one way", he warned. "You have got to have the possibility of exchange. But the minute trade is hampered, employment begins to fall off. Trade restrictions are most injurious to the growth of a country. Less trade means less shipping by water and rail and has a like effect upon allied industries.

"It is all nonsense to say these markets, are closed because of the action of other countries. We have, since the last session of parliament lost our trade with Japan. We have brought about a war in trade and we have lost our trade for lumber."

x x x x

"And I say to you that our aim here in Canada should be to clear out the channels of trade among ourselves."

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Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, cont'd.

Woodstock, August 14th,
cont'd.

"If a Liberal government is returned to office we will seek trade in all the markets of the world." (Toronto Daily Star Aug 14.

Halifax, N.S.
September 4th.

"When the Reciprocity plan had been defeated in 1911, he said, Sir Wilfrid Laurier had remarked that another chance for such a measure might not come for many years.

" And it did not come for many years," said the Liberal leader, "It did not come again until only a few years ago, when President Roosevelt came into office in the United States. At that time Roosevelt expressed his readiness to negotiate trade treaties on a reciprocal basis with all those countries who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity. But how is it that Canada, in the face of this willingness to negotiate on the part of Washington, failed to make any agreement?"

"The answer rested primarily, thought Mr. King, in the manner in which Mr. Bennett had tied his own hands by the Empire agreements made at the Ottawa Conference in 1932. He had agreed that against countries outside the empire he would not reduce tariffs below a certain point: he had pegged the tariff. In this way he had "bound and shackled his country. The 1932 agreements have stood in the way of any reciprocal agreement with the United States."

"The Liberal party, he said, was pledged if elected to form a government, to enter into immediate negotiations with Washington to the end that a treaty advantageous to the people of both nations might be effected as early as possible.

(Halifax Chronicle Sept 5)

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Halifax, N.S.
Sept. 4th:

"The Liberal policy was to abolish all excessive and unwarranted increases in the tariff and the fixing of tariffs and values for duty by order-in-council. There were dumping duties before the Bennett Government came on the scene and a Liberal government would not expose Canadian producers to dumping from all quarters. Dumping duties would be retained.

But the arbitrary method of fixing values for duty by executive action made for uncertainty and hampered business. This uncertainty would be done away with and excessive and prohibitory tariffs would be abolished."

(Ottawa Citizen) Sept 5.

Charlottetown,
Sept. 5th:

"In matters of trade you have to take the attitude that if you are going to trade with us you will have to come across yourself and you will have to negotiate along the line of free relationship. What happened? Take some of the countries that did not say they were going to blast their way into the markets of the world. Take Belgium, an agreement has been made between the United States and that country; also with the United States and Sweden. Brazil is another country very similar to our own and Brazil has made an agreement with the United States. Cuba has made an agreement. They have got into the market and they are there today and are getting a foothold and it is going to be difficult for another country to get in. With our theories of economic warfare we have been losing markets.

Britain, the Argentine and other countries have been finding it possible to make arrangements with other markets, not by blasting their way, but by saying "we are here to trade if necessary or barter." They have been getting a foothold in different markets and that is what is going to make it very serious for any government in Canada."

(Charlottetown Patriot)
Sept 9th

Ottawa, (Radio Address)
Sept. 17th:

"Five years ago, Mr. Bennett announced his intention to blast a way for Canadian trade into the markets of the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast

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Ottawa,
September 17th:
(Continued)

Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example is the case of Japan. For many years, Canada's trade with Japan has been a growing and exceptionally profitable one, of first importance to the industries of British Columbia and to Canada's shipping interests on the Pacific. In the last fiscal year, the Japanese market was the fourth most important to Canada. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of this situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for."

(Windsor Daily Star)
Sept 18

Prince Albert,
Saskatchewan,
September 24:

"One of the first things the Liberal party will do if returned to power will be to negotiate trade treaties with foreign countries."

(Prince Albert Daily Herald)
Sept 24.

Edmonton,
Alberta,
September 25th:

"Turning to Liberal policies in general, he declared that in his opinion, liberation of external trade was the most important feature of the economic situation".

(Edmonton Bulletin)
Sept 26.

Victoria, B.C.
September 27:

"But it is not trade with one country that Canada requires, it is trade with all countries.

"I refuse to subscribe to the theory that there is no hope," said Mr. King. "I say there is hope."

"Other countries have been able to do it, why not Canada?"

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Victoria, B.C.
September 24:
(Continued)

Great Britain has negotiated 20 odd trade agreements with foreign countries since the Ottawa conference.

The United States has negotiated six or seven.

France has negotiated six, Argentine has negotiated five, Brazil, a country of vast spaces and great natural resources like Canada, has negotiated 25 trade treaties since 1931. The speaker enumerated all these agreements.

"Why cannot we do as well?" he asked. "Since when has Brazil become a more important country in the realm of international trade than Canada?"

Mr. King dealt with the Canadian-Japanese trade war.

The result of Mr. Bennett's methods has been to close to Canada the markets of the fourth largest importer of Canadian products."

(The Vancouver Sun)
Sept. 28

Vancouver,
B.C.
September 28:

"If the Liberals win this election," he said, "I can assure the people of British Columbia "that the first day we are in office we will take up these negotiations and will restore trade with Japan and it will not be at the risk of any Canadian business."

(Calgary Albertan)
Sept. 28

Calgary,
Alberta,
September 30:

"We were trading with all the countries of the world when the last Liberal administration ended," he said.

Pointing out that U.S. would be willing to make agreements with Canada, Mr. King told of trade agreements made by U.S. with several other

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Calgary,
Alberta,
Sept. 30th:
(Continued)

countries this summer. By one of these, a treaty with Cuba, the U.S. had captured part of Canada's direct market, he said.

Japan, said Mr. King, had been for years one of Canada's best customers. The Conservative administration had strangled this trade by adding "super-taxes" to compensate for depreciated Japanese currency.

This had resulted in 5,000 British Columbia lumbermen being thrown out of work in past few weeks, and a capturing of this lumber trade by the U.S. industry."

(Calgary Albertan)
Oct. 1st)

Regina,
Saskatchewan,
October 1st:

"I would not lose one hour in seeking to get into touch with the British government to see if we can revise our agreements to make for greater trade between us.

"I would not lose one hour in getting in touch with the government of the U.S.A. and urging the closing of an agreement with that country.

"I would not lose one hour in getting in touch with our minister in Japan and asking him to inform the Japanese government that Canada now has a government that wants to trade with Japan.

"And I would announce to the world that as a Liberal administration we had taken office to see what we could do to improve trade between the countries of the world believing that through improvement which must come because of that, lies greater prosperity and peace."

(Regina Leader Post)
Oct 1st

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Winnipeg,
Manitoba,
October 2nd:

"The Liberals, if returned to power, would immediately endeavour to regain the markets which had been lost, and in view of the tariff policies which would be adopted in Canada, aimed at expanding external trade while safeguarding Canadian industries, he was emphatic in stating that this could be done, with results that would be excellent for the Dominion."

(Winnipeg Free Press)
Oct. 2nd

Port Arthur,
Ontario,
October 3rd:

"And when we stop buying from other countries they stop buying from us. Ships cease coming to Canada with goods when confronted with insurmountable tariff walls. Is not every single community suffering from want of trade? Absence of trade and depression are the same thing. Get that into your minds. Everything that restricts trade aggravates depression. In Vancouver I saw vessels lying idle in the harbour which should have been carrying Canadian lumber to Japan. They have been tied up by Mr. Bennett's trade war with that country. Trade in Canada has been strangled from the moment Mr. Bennett came into office until the present time."

"The Liberal Party will seek wider markets, not by blasting, but by cultivating the good-will of other nations," he declared. "There are three particular customers that are worth paying attention to at the present time: Britain, the United States and Japan. Japan was our fourth best customer, buying from us four times as much as we bought from her, until Mr. Bennett's restrictions ruined the trade."

(Toronto Globe)

Windsor, Ont.
October 7:

"We believe that industry will only be revived when we have more in the way of trade," he asserted. "In the great manufacturing centres the success of the manufacturing industries depends on the success of the basic industries."

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Windsor, Ont.
October 7:
(Con't.)

The Liberal Party proposes, Mr. King said, to lower the costs of production and to find markets for the goods produced. It is only in this way, he asserted, that the basic industries can prosper."

"You can't find markets elsewhere unless you are prepared to let countries elsewhere come and trade with your country."

(Windsor Daily Star)
Oct. 8

Toronto, Ont.
October 8th:

"When the Liberal party was in power the manufacturers were sending out of this country more manufactured goods per capita than any other country in the world. No one can deny that."

The speaker argued that since Canada produced such products as wheat and minerals, only a small proportion of which would be consumed locally, world markets were essential to national prosperity.

"All these industries produce more than they can sell at home. If they are not sold abroad they are not sold at all. If they are not sold at all, no money comes to the pockets of the producers to swell the country's purchasing power. The development of our basic industries is essential. We must find markets for them, and as we do purchasing power is put into the people's hands enabling them to buy the goods produced by the manufacturing sections of the country."

(Toronto Daily Star)
Oct. 9

Ottawa,
October 12:

"Mr. Bennett had taken advantage of the Act relating to the marketing of products to impose high tariffs and thus blocked the channels of trade between Canada and other countries .....

"What I want to point out is the fact that the Liberal party is the one party that is stressing the encoureging of trade as a means of solving our problems."

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Ottawa,
October 12th:
(Continued)

"The Liberal government will bend every effort to develop trade."

(Ottawa Citizen)

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Coll - Gen elect 1935 - issues.
(Keep the two copies of this attached together because they are not identical pr)

C 116104

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

Re: Foreign Trade

Extracts from campaign speeches of 1935.

Woodstock, Aug. 14th.

"Why has Canada not had a reciprocal agreement with the United States? Argentine has been able to make an agreement for her cattle. If we were able to get in now we would find that other countries have had two years start.

"Mr. Bennett went over to London. He put forward impossible claims there. The whole thing became a farce and we lost a chance to get a place in the British market. Other countries went ahead and gained that place -- a place that Canada should have had."

"A country can't trade all one way", he warned. "You have got to have the possibility of exchange. But the minute trade is hampered, employment begins to fall off. Trade restrictions are most injurious to the growth of a country. Less trade means less shipping by water and rail and has a like effect upon allied industries.

"It is all nonsense to say these markets, are closed because of the action of other countries. We have, since the last session of parliament lost our trade with Japan. We have brought about a war in trade and we have lost our trade for lumber."

"And I say to you that our aim here in Canada should be to clear out the channels of trade among ourselves."

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Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, cont'd.

Woodstock, August 14th,
cont'd.

"If a Liberal government is returned to office we will seek trade in all the markets of the world."

(Toronto Daily Star)

Halifax, N.S.
September 4th.

"When the Reciprocity plan had been defeated in 1911, he said, Sir Wilfrid Laurier had remarked that another chance for such a measure might not come for many years.

" And it did not come for many years," said the Liberal leader, "It did not come again until only a few years ago, when President Roosevelt came into office in the United States. At that time Roosevelt expressed his readiness to negotiate trade treaties on a reciprocal basis with all those countries who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity. But how is it that Canada, in the face of this willingness to negotiate on the part of Washington, failed to make any agreement?"

"The answer rested primarily, thought Mr. King, in the manner in which Mr. Bennett had tied his own hands by the Empire agreements made at the Ottawa Conference in 1932. He had agreed that against countries outside the empire he would not reduce tariffs below a certain point: he had pegged the tariff. In this way he had "bound and shackled his country. The 1932 agreements have stood in the way of any reciprocal agreement with the United States."

"The Liberal party, he said, was pledged if elected to form a government, to enter into immediate negotiations with Washington to the end that a treaty advantageous to the people of both nations might be effected as early as possible.

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C 116106

Halifax, N.S.
Sept. 4th:

"The Liberal policy was to abolish all excessive and unwarranted increases in the tariff and the fixing of tariffs and values for duty by order-in-council. There were dumping duties before the Bennett Government came on the scene and a Liberal government would not expose Canadian producers to dumping from all quarters. Dumping duties would be retained.

But the arbitrary method of fixing values for duty by executive action made for uncertainty and hampered business. This uncertainty would be done away with and excessive and prohibitory tariffs would be abolished."

(Ottawa Citizen)

Charlottetown,
Sept. 5th:

"In matters of trade you have to take the attitude that if you are going to trade with us you will have to come across yourself and you will have to negotiate along the line of free relationship. What happened? Take some of the countries that did not say they were going to blast their way into the markets of the world. Take Belgium, an agreement has been made between the United States and that country; also with the United States and Sweden. Brazil is another country very similar to our own and Brazil has made an agreement with the United States. Cuba has made an agreement. They have got into the market and they are there today and are getting a foothold and it is going to be difficult for another country to get in. With our theories of economic warfare we have been losing markets.

Britain, the Argentine and other countries have been finding it possible to make arrangements with other markets, not by blasting their way, but by saying "we are here to trade if necessary or barter." They have been getting a foothold in different markets and that is what is going to make it very serious for any government in Canada."

(Charlottetown Patriot)

Ottawa,
Sept. 17th:

"Five years ago, Mr. Bennett announced his intention to blast a way for Canadian trade into the markets of the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast

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Ottawa,
September 17th:
(Continued)

Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example is the case of Japan. For many years, Canada's trade with Japan has been a growing and exceptionally profitable one, of first importance to the industries of British Columbia and to Canada's shipping interests on the Pacific. In the last fiscal year, the Japanese market was the fourth most important to Canada. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of this situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for."

(Windsor Daily Star)

Prince Albert,
Saskatchewan,
September 24:

"One of the first things the Liberal party will do if returned to power will be to negotiate trade treaties with foreign countries."

(Prince Albert Daily Herald)

Edmonton,
Alberta,
September 25th:

"Turning to Liberal policies in general, he declared that in his opinion, liberation of external trade was the most important feature of the economic situation".

(Edmonton Bulletin)

Victoria,B.C.
September 27:

"But it is not trade with one country that Canada requires, it is trade with all countries.

"I refuse to subscribe to the theory that there is no hope," said Mr. King. "I say there is hope."

"Other countries have been able to do it, why not Canada?"

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Victoria, B.C.
September 24:
(Continued)

Great Britain has negotiated 20 odd trade agreements with foreign countries since the Ottawa conference.

The United States has negotiated six or seven.

France has negotiated six, Argentine has negotiated five, Brazil, a country of vast spaces and great natural resources like Canada, has negotiated 25 trade treaties since 1931. The speaker enumerated all these agreements.

"Why cannot we do as well?" he asked. "Since when has Brazil become a more important country in the realm of international trade than Canada?"

Mr. King dealt with the Canadian-Japanese trade war.

The result of Mr. Bennett's methods has been to close to Canada the markets of the fourth largest importer of Canadian products."

(The Vancouver Sun)

Vancouver,
B.C.
September 28:

"If the Liberals win this election," he said, "I can assure the people of British Columbia "that the first day we are in office we will take up these negotiations and will restore trade with Japan and it will not be at the risk of any Canadian business."

(Calgary Albertan)

Calgary,
Alberta,
September 30:

"We were trading with all the countries of the world when the last Liberal administration ended," he said.

Pointing out that U.S. would be willing to make agreements with Canada, Mr. King told of trade agreements made by U.S. with several other

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Calgary,
Alberta,
Sept. 30th:
(Continued)

countries this summer. By one of these, a treaty with Cuba, the U.S. had captured part of Canada's direct market, he said.

Japan, said Mr. King, had been for years one of Canada's best customers. The Conservative administration had strangled this trade by adding "super-taxes" to compensate for depreciated Japanese currency.

This had resulted in 5,000 British Columbia lumbermen being thrown out of work in past few weeks, and a capturing of this lumber trade by the U.S. industry."

(Calgary Albertan)

Regina,
Saskatchewan,
October 1st:

"I would not lose one hour in seeking to get into touch with the British government to see if we can revise our agreements to make for greater trade between us.

"I would not lose one hour in getting in touch with the government of the U.S.A. and urging the closing of an agreement with that country.

"I would not lose one hour in getting in touch with our minister in Japan and asking him to inform the Japanese government that Canada now has a government that wants to trade with Japan.

"And I would announce to the world that as a Liberal administration we had taken office to see what we could do to improve trade between the countries of the world believing that through improvement which must come because of that, lies greater prosperity and peace."

(Regina Leader Post)

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C 116111

Winnipeg,
Manitoba,
October 2nd:

"The Liberals, if returned to power, would immediately endeavour to regain the markets which had been lost, and in view of the tariff policies which would be adopted in Canada, aimed at expanding external trade while safe-guarding Canadian industries, he was emphatic in stating that this could be done, with results that would be excellent for the Dominion."

(Winnipeg Free Press)

Port Arthur,
Ontario,
October 3rd:

"And when we stop buying from other countries they stop buying from us. Ships cease coming to Canada with goods when confronted with insurmountable tariff walls. Is not every single community suffering from want of trade? Absence of trade and depression are the same thing. Get that into your minds. Everything that restricts trade aggravates depression. In Vancouver I saw vessels lying idle in the harbour which should have been carrying Canadian lumber to Japan. They have been tied up by Mr. Bennett's trade war with that country. Trade in Canada has been strangled from the moment Mr. Bennett came into office until the present time."

"The Liberal Party will seek wider markets, not by blasting, but by cultivating the good-will of other nations," he declared. "There are three particular customers that are worth paying attention to at the present time: Britain, the United States and Japan. Japan was our fourth best customer, buying from us four times as much as we bought from her, until Mr. Bennett's restrictions ruined the trade."

(Toronto Globe)

Windsor, Ont.
October 7:

"We believe that industry will only be revived when we have more in the way of trade," he asserted. "In the great manufacturing centres the success of the manufacturing industries depends on the success of the basic industries."

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C 116112

Windsor, Ont.
October 7:
(Con't.)

The Liberal Party proposes, Mr. King said, to lower the costs of production and to find markets for the goods produced. It is only in this way, he asserted, that the basic industries can prosper."

"You can't find markets elsewhere unless you are prepared to let countries elsewhere come and trade with your country."

(Windsor Daily Star)

Toronto, Ont.
October 8th:

"When the Liberal party was in power the manufacturers were sending out of this country more manufactured goods per capita than any other country in the world. No one can deny that."

The speaker argued that since Canada produced such products as wheat and minerals, only a small proportion of which would be consumed locally, world markets were essential to national prosperity.

"All these industries produce more than they can sell at home. If they are not sold abroad they are not sold at all. If they are not sold at all, no money comes to the pockets of the producers to swell the country's purchasing power. The development of our basic industries is essential. We must find markets for them, and as we do purchasing power is put into the people's hands enabling them to buy the goods produced by the manufacturing sections of the country."

(Toronto Daily Star)

Ottawa,
October 12:

"Mr. Bennett had taken advantage of the Act relating to the marketing of products to impose high tariffs and thus blocked the channels of trade between Canada and other countries .....

"What I want to point out is the fact that the Liberal party is the one party that is stressing the encouraging of trade as a means of solving our problems."

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Ottawa,
October 12th:
(Continued)

"The Liberal government will bend every effort to develop trade."

(Ottawa Citizen)

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COPY

PRIVY COUNCIL

CANADA

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 14th August, 1935.

E 180 (Empl) 1939

Received Oct. 1939

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report from the Right Honourable Richard Bedford Bennett, the Prime Minister, submitting that it is expedient that a new Parliament be summoned, and recommending that a Proclamation do issue bearing date the 15th day of August, 1935, calling such new Parliament together and directing the issue of writs of election for a general election of persons to serve as members in the House of Commons; such writs of election to be dated the 15th day of August, 1935, fixing the 14th day of October, 1935, as polling day at the said election; said writs to be returnable on the 9th day of November, 1935.

The Prime Minister further recommends that a further Proclamation do issue, dated the 15th day of August, 1935, summoning Parliament to meet on Thursday the 14th day of November, 1935, at the City of Ottawa.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. LEMAIRE

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Chief Electoral Officer.

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C 116115

TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES

Statements by Right Honourable R. B. Bennett during Election Campaign of 1935.

September 6th, Ottawa, Radio Broadcast:

"It has been said by my opponents, and particularly by my opponents in the West, that the Bennett Government did not desire to trade with the United States, that the Bennett Government had no realization of the need of securing for our primary producers greater markets in that great country and that, therefore, we are making no effort to obtain them.

"It was said that we had a brief for the industrialists and didn't care a hang about our agriculturists. And that consequently we were just going through the motions of trading with our good friends to the south.

"Well, that does not happen to be the case. Ever since this government has been in office it has done everything possible to increase our trade with the United States. We have consistently expressed our willingness to give concessions for concessions granted. Before June, 1934, by the then only practicable means available, we did all that was possible to secure greater entry for our natural products into that great market. When, in June, 1934, Congress gave to the president of the United States powers to conclude trade agreements, this government was eager to take advantage of what it regarded as this new and better opportunity to increase its exports. It acted accordingly.

"Note this fact carefully. What specifically this government did, and the nature of its proposals, will be made known to you through the publication of a certain document. This publication will be made on Monday next.

"This document will be my answer to the unfair-minded people who, knowing better, still maintain that this government has never seriously attempted to do business with the United States. Set up the statement of my political foes against the written statement which you will read; and learn in time how little dependability can be put upon the words of the leaders of Liberalism.

So much for that tonight. But carefully examine this document.

On this question of foreign trade, all this government asks of the people of Canada is an understanding of the truth. The Liberal Party, the alleged free trade party, was in office from

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September 6th, Ottawa, Radio Broadcast:

(Continued)

1921 to 1930. What agreements did it make? What was the business you got from them? None, but you lost the United States market. And, remember, that was in the days when freer trade was easily possible. The Conservative Party, the protectionist party, in these days of economic nationalism, when every nation has raised its barriers against imports, has succeeded in making trade agreements of incalculable value, and has thereby increased our trade to the point where such increase probably meant our salvation from bankruptcy".

(Windsor Daily Star)

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September 9th, Ottawa, Radio Broadcast:

"The simple situation in respect to Canada is this: That, with our increase in debts, the practical certainty is that our favourable balance of trade with all other countries will not be enough to enable us indefinitely to meet our obligations in the United States, unless our trade with that country can be increased.

"It is, therefore, clear that we must do all we can to increase our business with the United States. And it seems to be equally clear that it would be advantageous to the United States to do all it can to help us increase our business. It is, after all, a simple proposition. The United States cannot eat its Canadian cake and have it.

"We cannot keep on buying United States products and meeting United States debts unless the United States buys more of our products than it does at present."

.....

"I have told you that we are doing all we can to increase our trade with the United States, so that our obligations, payable in that country, can be paid in goods and services.

"I believe we will succeed in achieving this highly desirable adjustment in our international trade. The two governments are at present seriously engaged in negotiations designed to increase the trade between their countries. We have reason to expect, and do expect, that these negotiations will be successful".

(Windsor Daily Star)

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C 116118

September 14th, Toronto, Radio Broadcast:

"I spoke to you also about our trading situation with the United States. I hope you have read the communication of this government to the government of the United States, which was published in the press on Monday last. That will show you what we are prepared to do to increase our exports to the United States, to recapture the markets lost in that country by the Liberal Government."

.....

"Elect Mr. King, and under his policy I tell you that our foreign markets will fall away, that our domestic markets will become less and less, that our financial structure will become still more gravely imperiled, that unemployment will engulf the people. For the national business will break down".

(Windsor Daily Star)

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C 116119

September 16th, Regina:

An offer had been made to the United States of not only the Canadian intermediate tariff but of most favoured nation treatment which would give that country the same trading concessions as those accorded France, providing suitable return concessions were made with respect to certain Canadian exports. The Prime Minister urged that a fresh mandate be given his government so that this work might be completed.

(Ottawa Journal)

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C 116120

September 17th, Lethbridge:

Canada had made the best trading offer to the United States ever offered by one country to another as a basis for trade negotiations. "There is no record that Mr. King ever made an offer of any shape or form. He said: 'Don't provoke them.'" It was hard to carry on trade negotiations during the course of a general election campaign but discussions with the United States were going forward.

"I would ask you to give us the necessary power to go forward and complete the negotiations," he urged.

It would be difficult for a government to carry on successfully negotiations in a state of mind that says "Don't provoke them."

"The measure of respect shown to a country is the measure of respect it has for itself," said Mr. Bennett.

(London Free Press)

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C 116121

September 24th, Kamloops, B.C:

When he travelled through British Columbia five years ago, Mr. Bennett said he had seen fruit unharvested in the orchards and United States fruits travelling through enroute to the United Kingdom. "I said then," Mr. Bennett continued, "that if I attained office that they would cease." Seasonal tariffs on fruits and vegetables had been imposed to secure the home markets for Canadian producers.

.....

Negotiations with the United States were proceeding to such an extent, he was hopeful an agreement might be achieved before the general election in Canada, Mr. Bennett said. But with so many ministers engaged in the campaign, it might not be possible to make such progress. In that event, return of the Conservative Government would ensure that the negotiations would go forward without a break.

He wished to correct an impression that he understood had gone abroad, that the agreement would not be reached until after the election in the United States.

(Calgary Albertan)

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C 116122

September 28th, Winnipeg:

Referring to his negotiations with the United States for a favored nation treatment for Canadian cattle, dairy and other primary products, the Prime Minister said he had been criticized by Mr. King for delay. He could not hurry the congress of the United States, which had only recently passed the legislation which opened the way for negotiations, he explained.

Other criticism was that the proposed trade agreement with the United States was "only piffle", but if it became effective, it would lessen duties by $5,000,000 on 700 items, he contended.

(Winnipeg Free Press)

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October 2nd, Montreal:

"We are endeavouring to make an agreement with the United States, but any bargain reached will not be at the expense of any Canadian. Nor is there any need. There are many commodities we can exchange to mutual advantage."

(Winnipeg Free Press)

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C 116124

October 4th, St. John, N.B:

"Mr. King had said at Calgary that a Liberal Government within the present year would bring about a trade treaty with the United States, but Mr. King had had nine years to do this from 1921 to 1930. Such a treaty was now being negotiated by the Conservative Government".

(St. John Telegraph-Journal)

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C116125

October 9th, Toronto:

Over a lengthy period of time, said Mr. Bennett, negotiations had been proceeding with the United States for extended trade agreements. Great care had been exercised by both the States and Canada in these negotiations. Mr. King, only recently, had said (said he): "Put me in power and we'll do this before the snow flies."

"Well," said Mr. Bennett, "Mr. King must live in a pretty hot country, because he tried it for nine years and all we got out of it was his plea, "Don't provoke them."

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Mr. Bennett reminded his listeners that in the days of the Liberal administration which preceded his, the "highest tariffs in history were raised against us by other countries." The Fordney-McCumber tariff of the United States was cited as an example.

"And how did my friend Mr. King meet this situation?" Mr. Bennett inquired. "In 1930, he stood in the House of Commons and he said: "Don't talk about raising our tariffs against these other countries. You might provoke them and they would do something worse. And dont talk of British Preferential tariffs. That might provoke them too.'

(Toronto Mail and Empire)

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C 116126

October 10th, London:

"I have been asked why we have not hurried about the agreement with the United States. Why not ask Mr. King why he did not hurry about it during the nine years he was in office? President Roosevelt made an offer in writing. We said that we would give entry to some 700 items if he would give us entry of our dairy products, fish and other things of that kind. We are still negotiating.

"I have said this before and I will repeat it. So far as this country is concerned we will enter into no agreements within or without the Empire which gives a preference against Canadians in our own country".

(Windsor Star)

Dealing with the Washington trade agreement, Mr. Bennett said that over a period of time negotiations had been proceeding with the United States. Mr. King had said recently, "put me in power and we'll do this before the snow flies."

"Mr. King will have to move to a warmer country so that the snow will not come until a later period. He tried it for nine years and all we got out of it was his plea," said the premier.

(London Free Press)

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C 116127

October 12th, Smith's Falls:

"In his negotiations with United States, still pending, the Prime Minister said the guiding principle was to secure markets for Canadian goods there in return for similar concessions granted United States commodities in Canada.

"I could make an agreement overnight," Mr. Bennett said, "but I will do nothing that will place the Canadian producer in an inferior position to producers in other countries."

(Ottawa Evening Citizen)

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Mr. Bennett's Radio Speeches

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ENGAGEMENTS

Sunday
September 8, 1935

MORNING

12.30 a.m. DAYLIGHT Lv. Quebec

6.30 a.m. Standard
7.30 a.m. DAYLIGHT Ar. Montreal

7.40 a.m. Standard
8.40 a.m. DAYLIGHT Lv. Montreal

10.55 a.m. Standard
11.55 a.m. DAYLIGHT Ar. Ottawa

AFTERNOON

EVENING

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CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

Lv. Ottawa	CPR #7	9.25 PM	Tuesday Sept. 17th		
Ar. Brandon,	" "	12.40 PM	Thursday	"	~~18th~~ 19th
MEETING BRANDON					
Lv. Brandon,	CNR #5	1.45 AM	Friday	"	20th
Ar. Saskatoon,	" "	4.45 PM	"	"	"
MEETING SASKATOON.					
Lv. Saskatoon,	CNR #7	9.15 AM	Saturday	"	21st
Ar. Prince Alb	" "	12.15 Nn	"	"	"
MEETING PR. ALBERT (21st)					
Motor to Shelbrook for Meeting, Mon.				"	~~21st~~ 23rd
Lv. Prince Alb.	CNR #60	~~10.50 AM~~ 5.30 PM	Tuesday	"	24th
Ar. Saskatoon	" "	9.30 ~~1.45~~ PM	"	"	"
Lv. Saskatoon	" #1	9.35 PM	"	"	"
Ar. Edmonton,	" "	6.20 AM	Wednsdaay	"	25th
MEETING EDMONTON					
Lv. Edmonton,	CNR #1	7.00 AM	Thursday	"	26th
Ar. Vancouver	" "	9.00 AM	Friday	"	27th
Lv. Vancouver	CPSS	10.30 AM	"	"	"
Ar. Victoria	"	3.15 PM	"	"	"
MEETING VICTORIA					
Lv. Victoria	CPSS	12.00 Mdnt	"	"	"
Ar. Vancouver	"	7.00 AM	Saturday	"	28th
MEETING VANCOUVER					
Mr. King to motor to Harrison Hot Springs Sun. 29th					
Lv. Vancouver,	CPR #4	7.15 PM	Sunday,	Sept. 29th	
Ar. Aggasiz	" "	9.29 PM	"	"	"
(Pick up Mr. King)					
Ar. Calgary,	CPR #4	8.20 PM	Monday,	"	30th
MEETING CALGARY					
Lv. Calgary,	CPR #2	3.00 AM	Tuesday,	October 1st	
Ar. Regina,	" "	8.00 PM	"	"	"
MEETING REGINA					
Lv. Regina,	CPR #4	9.35 AM	Wednesday	"	2nd
Ar. Winnipeg,	" "	7.15 PM	"	"	"
MEETING WINNIPEG.					

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Lv. Ottawa	CPR	#504	3.10 PM	Monday,	September	2nd
Ar. Montreal	"	"	6.25 PM	"	"	"
Lv. Montreal	"	# 42	7.05 PM	"	"	"
Ar. St.John	"	"	12.05 Noon	Tuesday	"	3rd
		MEETING - St. John				
Lv. St.John	CNR	# 44	7.00 AM	Wednesday,	"	4th
Ar. Halifax	"	# 2	7.20 PM	"	"	"
		MEETING - Halifax				
Lv. Halifax	CNR	# 3	7.45 AM	Thursday	"	5th
Ar.Charlottetown		# 42	6.20 PM	"	"	"
		MEETING - Charlottetown				
Lv.Charlottetown		# 39	7.30 AM	Friday	"	6th
Ar.Quebec		# 3	3.10 AM	Saturday	"	7th (Levis-Shunt Car to Quebec first train in A.M.)
		MEETING - Quebec				
Lv.Quebec	POOL	#357	11.30 PM	Saturday,	"	7th
Ar.Montreal	"	"	6.30 AM	Sunday,	"	8th
Lv.Montreal	CPR	#503	7.40 AM	"	"	"
Ar.Ottawa	"	"	10.55 AM	"	"	"

all times Standard

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CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

Lv. Ottawa	Pool	No.	33	10.45 p.m.	Monday,	August	12th
Ar. Toronto	"	"	"	7.00 a.m.	Tuesday,	"	13th
Lv. Toronto	CNR	"	17	8.30 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Woodstock	"	"	"	11.04 a.m.	"	"	"

Afternoon Meeting Woodstock

Lv. Woodstock	CNR	No.	16	7.51 p.m.	Tuesday,	August	13th
Ar. Toronto	"	"	"	10.15 p.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	29	7.35 a.m.	Wednesday,	"	14th
Ar. Guelph	"	"	"	9.15 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	181	9.39 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Palmerston	"	"	"	11.00 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	331	11.15 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Wingham	"	"	"	1.15 p.m.	"	"	"

Meeting Wingham

Lv. Wingham	CNR	No.	194	6.30 a.m.	Thursday,	August	15th
Ar. Palmerston	"	"	"	7.55 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. Palmerston	"	"	169	8.20 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Stratford	"	"	"	9.35 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	29	10.42 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. London	"	"	"	11.41 a.m.	"	"	"

Meeting London (Evening)

(Sleep on Car)

Lv. London	CNR	No.	14	5.40 a.m.	Friday,	August	16th
Ar. Toronto	"	"	"	8.40 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	"	9.15 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Ottawa	"	"	"	5.15 p.m.	"	"	"

ALL TIMES STANDARD

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To be released for publication in newspapers appearing on the streets not earlier than Saturday, September 7th.

Radio address delivered by ~~R.B.Bennett,~~
Sept. 6, 9-9.30 p.m., E.S.T.

Tonight I begin a series of four radio speeches, in which I aim to present the national issues upon which the national welfare requires that you pass a careful and independent judgment. At no time in our history have the Canadian people been called upon to deal with issues so momentous and so pressing. For the future of our country, I believe, is involved in the decision which must be made by you in the next few weeks.

My friends, the hard, hard times through which I have tried my best to serve you, have been as full of trial and anxiety for me as for any one of you. I have not known privation, as have so many. Hardship has passed me by. But all the time there has been constant by me side the knowledge that, though we worked with all our might, suffering continued; unemployment lessened, but did not end; business improved, but remained uncertain; agriculture failed to find those prosperous days to which its fortitude had entitled it. And this knowledge has been a sorrow more biting that hunger.

It is a defence, but not a consolation, a tribute to our efficiency, but not an ease of mind, to say that this depression was a world depression, and that compared to other countries, Canada has fared well. That is so, and if you are disposed, you may give your Government some credit for it. But I do not beg for it. We have given our heart's blood to serve you. But that was our duty and our privilege. We are told that no Government in the world has done better than we. But then no other Government has had a better chance. For no other Government has had a greater people to work for, or a fairer country; a more vital, vigorous, fighting people, a richer, younger, mightier country. In the campaign of 1930,

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I said that many of the evils which then beset the world had no place in Canada. I said that, then, in criticism of Mr. Mackenzie King and the Liberal Government. I say it now again, though it be in criticism of myself.

So there you are! Don't worry about giving us credit, or giving us blame. Down deep in your hearts you know that we have done our best and that we have done well. And history will write that fact upon pages which some day you may be proud to read.

Let it go at that. Worry now about yourselves and about your country. And think, I beg you, think hard of what you can do about it. And realize again, you, my contemporaries, and you in middle life, and you boys and girls casting your vote for the first time, realize that October 14th may be the beginning of a new and more glorious epoch in our history, or it may be the end of those hopes, those promises, held high, solemnly made, by that great band of men whom we have come to know as the Fathers of Confederation.

I am 65 years of age. When one reaches my time of life, ambitions dim, the love of power dies, the plaudits of the multitude can scarce be heard, its condemnation is just as meaningless. Therefore, I speak without much thought to my place in the national scene after polling day. I ask you to believe that, because I want you, in these days of national danger, to think without like or dislike of me, of what I tell you. I will speak only as I believe your interests require me to speak. I will put the basic issues before you fairly, fully, for your decision. Examine them patiently. Deal with them as if each one of you were the sole arbiter of your country's destiny. Vote, therefore, not for party, but for yourselves,

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your children, your welfare, your country. Vote as your duty to these compels you to vote. Otherwise you will assuredly vote wrong.

When I speak of my deep desire to serve you, I do not intend upon that basis to suggest any difference between Mr. King and myself. He also wishes your welfare. He has been long in public life. He might fairly claim a release from it. Assuredly he has earned your commendation and your kindly farewell. But he comes before you once again as the leader of Liberalism, asking for your support. That is a tribute to his patriotism. And yet you must deny him. For he comes as the leader of a party once great, whose greatness was nurtured by an economic state of things to which we long since have bid goodbye. He comes as the rapt student of an economic philosophy which today's fierce struggle has rent and tossed aside. He comes as the leader of a cause for which the bells have tolled. He comes as the will-o'-the wisp who quite unwittingly will lure you on and on into the morass which waits for those who have eyes and see not.

It is a long time since I have addressed my fellow Canadians. Since last I spoke to you, the world has kept on moving, but not, alas, in the right direction. Difficulties and dangers have increased and intensified. The means to put an end to them have not yet revealed themselves. But the means at least to safeguard this country from them are at hand, for you to pass upon. You will do so only, I beg you, after profound consideration of their merit. For a mistake in judgment will be a thrust straight at the heart of our Confederation.

Before we embark upon the consideration of these grave matters, I would ask your leave to make a personal reference. Since I last talked to you, there has been the incident of my illness, wholly unimportant in itself, except in so far as it

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was the cause of confusion and delay in the development of the Government's reform programme. Because of that, it happens to matter. About this, I will have more to say at another time.

Meanwhile, I would like to tell you once more how profoundly grateful I am for the kindness and friendship which were shown me during my illness, by people in all walks of life, in all sections of the country, political friend and political foe alike.

And I wish especially to acknowledge, in this way and at this time, the kindness and consideration of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Mackenzie King. In my frank and full examination of our national situation, of my proposals and of Mr. King's proposals, to better that situation, I shall have to say many things which are critical of the Liberal party and of its leader, Mr. King. But whatever I say, however vehemently I may condemn his whole economic and political philosophy, however much I may deride what I regard as the wholly ineffectual plans he submits for your betterment, I shall not forget his kindliness, and I shall not cease to be grateful for it.

In these days of dreadful anxiety and of national danger, we must remember that political partisanship, the presentation of competing economic views, the violent, if you like, differences of opinion as to what should be done, are no barriers to the more permanent forms of association, and never can create a harmful division among Canadians.

There was little politics in the trenches. There should be no more politics heretoday. There should be no place for bitter prejudice. There should be common agreement that in matters fundamental to our welfare, sharp divergence of view is lawful, but unreasoning hostility is a crime. We want, each

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one of us, to do our best for the country. In that, we are alike, without regard to party. And we want Canadians to be happy and to know the peace of mind which comes with security. We want youth to have its inspirations, and maturity its successes, and old age its contentment and peace. We want the Canadian people, with proud and thankful hearts, to praise God.

Now let us look fairly and fully at the situation in which we find ourselves today. Let us take, first, the world picture.

In the economic sphere, there is but little evidence of permanent improvement. There is, of course, within the major disturbance, a sort of rise and fall; ripples in the ground swell. But they are without far-reaching significance.

For, throughout the world, the essential problems still remain unsolved. To meet them, one remedy is tried here, another there. One country embarks upon one project, another upon another. There is no uniformity among them. There is uniformity only in this: that governments throughout the world have recognized the fact that this depression will

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never cure itself, and that the salvation of their peoples requires that government intervene and, by the power of the State, strive to find a way out of this universal chaos.

So governments have intervened. And I believe that if governments had stood aside, the depression would have grown into an uncontrollable fury which might well have brought to its knees our very civilization.

And no fair-minded person will say that governments have not done much, simply because much that governments have done has been ill-considered and ineffective. There never yet was action which was faultless. There never yet was conflict without casualties. Those who in the last five years have not been called upon to bear the heat and burden of the day would do well to moderate their censure and abridge their indictments, and in the time thus saved to give some little thought to what they might have done had they themselves been in the firing line.

For, in the last five years, this has been a battle, believe me, between the depression and the governments of every self-respecting and courageous country in the world. Fair play to those governments, fair play to your own government, my friends. We do not ask sympathy or thanks. We claim no right to either; just fair play. And to be fair, Canadians first of all must reach an understanding of what has happened throughout the world in these last five years.

In the economic sphere, comparatively speaking, Canada is well off. For if we have not returned this country to the great prosperity it deserves, we have assuredly saved it from the terrible adversity which threatened, and, through the first steps of a permanent reform programme, we have laid the foundation for greater social and economic security. And, with all modesty, I say that

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IN PRESS RELEASE FOR SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 7th, A RADIO ADDRESS BY R.B. BENNETT TO BE DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 6th 9 to 9.30 p.m. E.S.T., SUBSTITUTE FOR PAGES 7,8,9 & 18 THE FOLLOWING:

no government in the world has done more than that. It would have been impossible to do more, with the world dragging us back and dragging us down.

So much for the economic situation at home and in the world. Now, for the political.

My friends, in these hazardous days, it is the duty of those charged with the conduct of government to allay alarm, to compose disturbance, to do everything possible to maintain the spirit of equanimity and tolerance as the best assurance against strife. Yet, we are conscious of a dangerous international situation.

Now, in world politics, Canada should be secure. For she has no ambitions which peace cannot gratify. If trouble comes, it will be somebody else's fault, not ours. And I conceive it to be the solemn duty of government, by all just and honourable means, to see that Canada is kept out of trouble. We have bought and paid for security and for peace, and we mean to have them.

Mr. King has told you that, should the question of Canada's participation in a European war arise, that question would be determined only by Parliament.

But, as Mr. King must know, under the law that question can only be determined by Parliament. So that his statement adds nothing new to the discussion.

In peace, the Conservative Party stands for Canadian rights, and stands against the economic aggression of any foreign country. So also in war. We will not be embroiled in any foreign quarrel where the rights of Canadians are not involved.

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Now, my friends, in these national and world conditions which I have touched upon, is it not reasonable to stop and carefully consider what more should now be done to safeguard our people, our agriculture, our industry, and to support the plan which promises steady progress towards better days? If world conditions improve, then conditions in Canada, you may be sure, will improve also. But if world conditions do not improve, what can we in Canada do to further improve our domestic state?

Are not these sensible questions for sensible people to ask themselves? Are not these present practical questions which we must find the answer to? Or should we spend our time and energies in debating matters utterly unrelated to our immediate problems? Should we spend our time in talking free trade in a world where national tariffs mount ever higher, where quotas become more restrictive, where economic nationalism loudly commands, surely controls? Should we abolish protection? I say No, because that would wreck our domestic business and would get us not a single dollar more in foreign business. On the contrary, it would forever ruin our chances of improving our foreign markets. You must agree to that. But, mark you, Mr.King and his Party are against protection. You who have a stake in this country, you who are hoping for better days and better jobs, you who are suffering and in want -- do you realize what this means? It means the wreck of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reduction in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our agricultural products. It means a dreadful reduction in our Canadian standard of living.

When we speak of a fair standard of living, what do we mean? We mean that measure of social and material well-being which provides not only the bare necessities but the reasonable comforts.

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of life, which makes possible the upbringing and education of our boys and girls, which ensures freedom from anxiety in our old age, which gives time from our labours for the pleasures of life, which means a land in which happiness is triumphant.

Let us now examine the ways in which we can safeguard our high standard of living and give it universal application. These are perhaps the most important of them:

(1) By returning agriculture and industry to prosperity.

(2) By decreasing our burden of debt.

(3) By restoring the labour market to a sound condition.

(4) By removing unnatural and unjust inequalities.

(5) By better utilization of our natural resources.

(6) By better distribution of the products of agriculture and of industry.

(7) By strengthening the Confederation, and so increasing our power to work together to achieve these purposes.

I will first begin with the question of how we can return agriculture and industry to prosperity.

That can be done by protecting the home market against unfair competition; which means, essentially, by protecting the standard of living of the workman against attack by countries where wages are infinitely below ours and where currencies are operating on a lower level than ours. I give you the case of Japan. It is a practical illustration, and a present one.

Japan imposed a prohibitive and discriminating supertax against our exports because, forsooth, this Government had taken action to ensure that the standard of living of our people should not be assailed or destroyed by any country with wages so low and with currency so depreciated that Canada could not fairly compete with its products in an unprotected market.

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The supertax imposed by Japan was solely to force the removal of these corrective measures which the Government of Canada was, by the national interest, compelled to take. Japan, in other words, combats the efforts of this Government to protect the standard of living of our people. Therefore, on that point, this Government joins issue with the Government of Japan. And to maintain the principle for which we rightfully contend, this Government, after patiently attempting to persuade Japan by other means, has now notified that country that unless the unwarrantable and prohibitive duties against Canadian imports is removed, the Government of Canada will serve notice to terminate the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and will take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to protect the national interest. This is a principle, a great and just principle, for which we Canadians fight. We will not surrender in this fight.

Our Liberal friends will bewail this action of the Government, taken in the interest of Canadians and in the interest of no one else. They will talk about the wisdom of lowering our tariffs to Japanese goods. They have talked about it. Listen to this: Mr. King at Woodstock on August 13th, 1935, was reported by the press as saying that by raising tariffs, the Bennett Government has restricted the exchange of goods and increased unemployment. It has led to the closing of foreign markets against Canada by such retaliatory action as Japan has just taken. If you elect Mr. King, then you

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will know what to expect when Japan demands. Again I quote from Mr. King's Woodstock speech, as reported by the press: "Japan was buying from us four times as much as we buy from her, yet we find the Government prepared to fight rather than to deal in goodwill." If you elect Mr. King, you will know what to expect from Japan when Mr. King bows to the will of that aggressive country.

Now you are in possession of these statements, what is your comment upon them? Your comment doubtless is: "We can't believe he made them." But he did. Incredible as it seems, he definitely did. If you are in doubt, look up this speech for yourselves. It is vitally important that on this point you should be sure. For, my fellow citizens, even if Canadians were willing to sell their birthright of independence, such a surrender would not sell your goods in Japan or anywhere else. But it would drive our workers to join the ranks of the unemployed.

Now here is another aspect of the matter, which I mention reluctantly and only because you are entitled to full

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knowledge of this critical situation. By what he has said, Mr. King has strengthened Japan's hand. He has aided and abetted Japan in her demand that we lower our protective measures. He has encouraged Japan to maintain her discriminatory duties against us. To serve a political purpose, he has failed in service to Canadian interests. Japan, believing - and certainly hoping - that the Bennett Government would be defeated, dared to flout it and attack your interests, knowing that with a change in Government it could safely continue to do so. Because then Mr. King would be out smashing down our protective walls so that the commercial invaders of this country might sweep in safely over the ruins of them.

This is a grave charge that I have made. Therefore, I repeat it. If Mr. King's friends excuse him and say he did not mean it in that way, is not his condemnation complete?

This is one of the great issues before you for decision. I have stated my position. I will not change it.

I will say nothing more about Japan tonight. Now I wish to say a word about foreign trade.

Our foreign markets, at least theoretically, can be broadened by trade agreements. You know what this Government has already done through trade agreements, to increase our export trade. Take the Ottawa Agreements. It is superfluous to enumerate the benefits which have followed upon their execution. Even the Liberal party, remote as it is from a consciousness of current conditions, realizes what these Agreements have done for you, and has dropped its open opposition to them.

What can yet be done by trade agreements ? Theoretically at least, as I say, much. Actually, I earnestly hope, much. But

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let me tell you that our success now or in the future, in obtaining worthwhile trade agreements, does not primarily depend upon the willingness of the Canadian Government to reduce its tariffs, but upon the willingness of other Governments to reduce theirs. This is a statement which you must carefully examine, because the truth of it confounds the whole mediaeval theory upon which Liberalism proposes to operate. And why? Simply because the nations of the world are each of them out for themselves along lines of national self-sufficiency. They all still talk freer trade, but they practise economic nationalism with increasing zeal. This has resulted in higher tariffs and quotas, and these have broken down old-fashioned international trade to an extent without parallel in these or other times.

It does not matter so very much whether this is right or wrong. It is the fact. And no one in this country who has given the most elementary thought to conditions in the world today will deny it. Take the countries of Europe. Look at what each one of them is doing. Look at their tariffs. Look at their quotas. Take Japan. Does any practical person mean seriously to suggest that our previous, voluntary reduction of tariffs will force these countries to a voluntary reduction of theirs? Of course you don't. Because that is contrary to the facts of the situation, that is in opposition to the fundamental philosophy governing the actions of all governments in all countries in the world today.

Be wise, in time, my friends. Resist the blandishments of Mr. King. Decline to be led by him like lambs to the slaughter. When he talks about giving a lead to this unregenerate world by lowering Canadian tariffs, tell him that you decline to immolate your country on the altar of a new economic internationalsim, to

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gratify the fanatical devotees of the noble doctrine of free trade. Remind him that this hard-pressed country must look after itself first, in this world where nations have re-proclaimed the ancient rule: "Each for himself, and the devil take the hindmost".

And finally, tell him that even the most elementary knowledge of world conditions must persuade anyone not blind and deaf to facts that the only way to get more business is by the hard trading way, the Conservative way, the way that puts your present material interests before any ancient theory, however beautiful and beneficent that theory may once have been.

Tell Mr. King you will cooperate gladly, fairly, with any country willing to improve our mutual trade relations, but that you will not act first and take a chance on what may happen afterwards; for, as sensible people with some knowledge of affairs, you know that nothing will happen afterwards. Remind Mr. King that, after all, our first job is to sell our goods abroad and not to sell our foreign competitors' goods in Canada. Tell him that you have decided to be just to yourselves before you are foolishly generous to anyone else.

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You say: "But you have not mentioned the trading situation with the United States". I have not, but I now will. It has been said by my opponents, and particularly by my opponents in the West, that the Bennett Government did not desire to trade with the United States, that the Bennett Government had no realization of the need of securing for our primary producers greater markets in that great country, and that therefore we were making no effort to obtain them.

It was said that we had a brief for the industrialists and didn't care a hang about our agriculturalists. And that consequently we were just going through the motions of trading with our good friends to the South.

Well, that does not happen to be the case. Ever since this Government has been in office, it has done everything possible to increase our trade with the United States. We have consistently expressed our willingness to give concessions for concessions granted. Before June 1934, by the then only practicable means available, we did all that was possible to secure greater entry for our natural products in that great market. When, in June 1934, Congress gave to the President of the United States powers to conclude trade agreements, this Government was eager to take advantage of what it regarded as this new and better opportunity to increase its exports. It acted accordingly. Note this fact carefully. What specifically this Government did, and the nature of its proposals, will be made known to you through the publication of a certain document. This publication will be made on Monday next.

This document will be my answer to the unfair-minded people who, knowing better, still maintain that this Government has never

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seriously attempted to do business with the United States. Set up the statements of my political foes against the written statement which you will read; and learn in time how little dependability can be put upon the words of the leaders of Liberalism.

So much for that, tonight. But carefully examine this document.

On this question of foreign trade, all this Government asks of the people of Canada is an understanding of the truth. The Liberal Party, the alleged free trade party, was in office from 1921 to 1930. What agreements did it make? What was the business you got from them? None, but you lost the United States market. And, remember, that was in the days when freer trade was easily possible. The Conservative Party, the protectionist party, in these days of economic nationalism, when every nation has raised its barriers against imports, has succeeded in making trade agreements of incalculable value, and has thereby increased our trade to the point where such increase probably meant our salvation from bankruptcy.

Now Mr. King must take his choice. He can claim that his doctrine of voluntary unilateral reduction of tariffs is only a parlour doctrine, and is not intended to really work. Or he can maintain that if he gets a chance, he means to put this doctrine into practice. In either case, it is a bad lookout for Mr. King, and certainly not a good lookout for you. Avert this danger while there is yet time, you Canadians, and see that this hard-pressed country is not victimized by the application of some antiquated theory which will make us the laughing stock of all the nations.

I had intended to speak about the basic question of minimum prices for farm products, but it must wait for another evening, for my time is up. I wish now, however, to make an announcement of the very greatest importance. Tonight the Governor General in Council

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approved and made effective for the current crop year the minimum price of wheat at 87½ cents per bushel, Fort William basis.

I am asked by the Chairman of the Canadian Wheat Board to add that the Board hopes to have their organization ready to function in the matter of accepting and paying for delivery in about ten days. In the meantime, farmers desirous of delivering wheat to the Board should protect themselves by taking storage tickets from Elevator Companies, which can later be exchanged for cash tickets on the basis of the fixed minimum price, and participation certificates.

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At the close of my talk last Friday night, I was discussing the ways in which agriculture, the welfare of which has such a profound effect upon our standard of living, might be restored to a state of prosperity. And a little later, I shall return to this subject and discuss the influence upon agriculture of the costs of the implements of production and of fuel and of transportation.

Now I wish to examine with you fully and frankly the root evil in our economic system, debt; debt - public and private, domestic and external; that constant burden which drags at us unceasingly, and will continue always as a threat against the high standard of living which we strive so hard to maintain.

Powerful as are our people, mighty as are our resources, we have reached the point in these conditions of today where

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our debt is well nigh unbearable. I do not mean by that that tomorrow or the next day or even next year will come the time when we are no longer able to meet our obligations. But I mean that there will assuredly come the time when we must lighten the burden of the country's debt. What the people of Canada must determine now is whether they will wait until our debt has broken us or whether they will act without further delay, so that the benefits of an honourable reconstitution of our obligations will serve, in equal measure, debtor and creditor alike.

For you will agree that it is possible to go on and on to the point where complete relief from our debts will come too late to relieve our economic state; where this burden of debt, borne too long, will have injured us beyond the possibility of recovery.

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Now you may say: But is there no alternative course to that of ultimate debt revision? Is it not possible to achieve recovery in so sure and spectacular a way that, in relation to our new-found wealth, even our present debt will not be disproportionate?

That, my friends, is the question that every responsible man in public life has been asking himself, or should have been asking himself, for a long time. And the answer to it is No. And the reason is twofold: First, it is unprofitable, nay it is foolish, to assume such phenomenal world recovery as will advance this country to the point of wealth, where taxation to meet this debt will not bear too grievously upon the people. That is my confirmed view. And secondly - and this point is one which you must appreciate: Even assuming lightning

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speed in world recovery, this country, overburdened by debt, would not hold its place among the leaders but would fall back with those who, struggling on, might never finish the journey to prosperity.

This basic problem of the reconstitution of our debt I put to you only after the most careful thought. The need to reconsider our position with respect to our obligations, fairly and honestly made, is one which in a sense must be forced upon Canadians. I can promise you that we have examined over a long period of time, in all ways available, all other possible means to meet this situation. But the more we examine this whole question, the more certainly we are driven to this conclusion: That it is the duty of government in Canada today to undertake a comprehensive reconstitution of the whole national debt structure.

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This is the sort of problem upon which we all should have an opinion. Because it is a problem which each of us must face, and in the solution of which each one of us is equally interested. Whether we are rich or poor, debtor or creditor, our happiness and our welfare is alike involved in the prosperity and solvency of this country. It is therefore involved in the removal of this adverse influence upon our solvency and prosperity.

I speak in a way as if this conclusion had been newly reached by the Government. But that is not the case. The Government has, throughout its term of office, tried to conduct our national affairs with the guiding knowledge that our prosperity could not continue to grow greater unless our obligations continued to grow less. It was no easy thing,

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I can assure you, in these hard years to deny the demands from all sections of the country for grants of greater and greater sums for relief measures. But the nation's solvency declared a limit which we dared not pass.

For years the Government has been doing all it could to reduce our debt, both by general economies and, in the case of private debt, by the employment of specific measures designed to grant a measure of relief where the need for relief was most apparent.

A year ago this Government enacted into law the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act. There are few people in Canada who have not heard of this Act. There are certainly few farmers in Canada who have not come to look upon it as a friend to which they may confidently turn in time of stress.

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It provides the simplest possible and most inexpensive machinery to permit the farmer's debts, both secured and unsecured, to be written down in keeping with the farmer's capacity to pay and the productive value of his farm. The costs of operation of the Act are all paid by the Dominion Government. It is in operation in every Province of the Dominion and has already been the means of bringing relief to many thousands of Canadian farmers.

We do not, of course, for a moment suggest that the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act has done all that should be done to relieve the farmer of his debt burden, or indeed can do all that need be done. But it has made a wonderful beginning. .There must be ever before the Government the question of what other steps can be taken to reduce the debt of the agriculturalist.

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And there must be equally constant before the Government the question of what can be done to reduce the debt of that other great class in the community - the city dweller. For it should not be forgotten that the adjustment of the debts of one group in a community may compel a corresponding adjustment in the debts of the other groups in the community. An attempt to restrict the operation of a rule to a specific class might involve a basic dislocation of our whole economic structure. No one must be robbed to pay anyone else. That is not an uncommon trick, because it is a fairly easy one. But it is equally unprofitable. Our task is to strive to help both, without hardships upon either.

You say that sounds like magic. I think not. Only common sense. And there is no reason, either in theory or in practice,

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why we should not apply the principle of the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act to bring relief to the home owner.

In fact, it should and shall be done. The farm is not only the farmer's home but it is his producing factory. In that sense it can be distinguished from the home of the urban dweller. But that distinction is not one which forbids the extension of the principle to which I have referred.

You understand, of course, that the ordinary commercial business, when in distress, can take advantage of bankruptcy proceedings, but the ordinary householder, when in distress, has no alternative if he cannot pay but to forfeit his home if the mortgagee so decrees. This is unsatisfactory to the mortgagee. And I believe that class, if it takes a sane view of the situation,

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will welcome the introduction of legal machinery by which the mortgagor will be enabled to scale down his obligation to those proportions where the mortgagee's interest is assured for the reason that the home owner can pay it and still remain solvent.

In the Provinces, there are laws by which a moratorium may be obtained upon the payment of the individual's debts. But a moratorium is not even a good emergency measure. It simply freezes the debt, and leaves the creditor and debtor glaring at one another across it. We want to look after the creditor as well as the debtor and put their new relationship upon a sane and sensible basis.

That is one aspect of one phase of the general debt situation -- that of private debts. The other phase, of course, is that of public debts -- the great national

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debts, which include the Canadian National Railway debt, the Provincial and Municipal debt, the debt to the people of Canada, and to foreign countries.

Now I tell you plainly that this great national debt of ours must be reduced. Although we are making progress to recovery, although indeed we have made, comparatively speaking, phenomenal progress in the last two or three years, although our business is picking up, our trade increasing, our unemployment decreasing, I will not pretend that I can see any real promise of permanent security until we have lightened this awful burden of the national debts.

You do not have to be in the confidence of the Government to know how serious the situation is. Some Municipalities have been compelled to default. Some Provinces would have defaulted had the Dominion not come to their aid.

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The strain which this country feels in ~~reading~~ meeting the annual charges upon its vast indebtedness is tremendous.

What do we propose to do in thise circumstances? We propose, my fellow Canadians, to ask the people of this country who are the creditors of the Dominion Government, the Canadian National Railways and of the Provinces and of the Municipalities, to agree to a scheme of conversion upon a substantially lower rate of interest than that now provided for. Already on the conversions carried out by this Government in the last five years the total interest saving effected amounts to $16,600,000 every year, and it may interest some of you to learn that our last Dominion loan which was for a term of twenty years and was extremely well received sold at a rate a little more than 3%.

In future there will be no more tax-free bonds offered by the Dominion of Canada.

We will co-operate with the Provinces and the Municipalities in refunding operations and upon terms and conditions just to the people of this country.

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In order to reconstitute our National debt, our Railway, our Provincial and Municiple debt, we propose to set up a Loan Council . The functions of this body need not be elaborated here. What we propose to do is in principle what the Government of the United Kingdom did so successfully, and I feel sure that the course we intend to pursue will meet with the same measure of cooperation as the British Government received from the people of that country and that our whole scheme will be carried through with the same measure of success and with the same measure of non-interference with the normal conditions of the business of the country.

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Now, as to our foreign debt. Canada holds a proud place among the nations as a country whose word is as good as its bond. He would be a traitorous citizen indeed who would do aught to imperil that reputation. As long as we are able to pay, we will continue to pay.

But the basic question which confronts us is this: Are our resources great enough to meet our great obligations, domestic and foreign? Does the business of the country promise that measure of improvement which will help us to carry an unreduced burden of foreign debt without breaking our backs? For everyone, creditor and debtor alike, will agree that it is unwise, unprofitable, unpatriotic, profligate, to continue to bear a burden which may finally wreck us. Then the creditor and the debtor are

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equally the losers. The former gets no more money; and the latter, ultimately forced to suspend payment, finds himself far beyond the point where any suspension of payment will bring the slightest measure of relief. For the debtor will be beyond the stage of resuscitation.

From whence comes our major revenues? They come from direct taxation and customs and excise duties. I do not say that our revenues cannot be increased by direct taxation. They can be, and they will be. But I do say that our revenues, so increased, will not be adequate to forever take care of our mounting debts unless our general trade increases likewise.

It is axiomatic that external debts

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can only be paid in goods and services. Now, we have two great external debtors, the United Kingdom and the United States. Our entire debt to the United Kingdom we can and do pay in goods and services. Our entire debt to the United States we cannot and do not. Now, I do not maintain that an exact theoretical and actual balance between the exports and the imports of any two countries is practicable or necessarily desirable. But I do maintain that if the balance of trade of the debtor country with the creditor country is unfavourable, then the debtor country can only pay in goods and services, if it has a favourable balance of trade with other countries sufficient to make such payments. How does it stand with Canada? The simple situation in respect to Canada is this: That, with our increase in debts, the practical certainty is that our favourable balance of trade with all other countries will not be enough to enable us indefinitely to meet our obligations in the United States, unless our

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trade with that country can be increased.

It is, therefore, clear that we must do all we can to increase our business with the United States. And it seems to me equally clear that it would be advantageous to the United States to do all it can to help us increase our business. It is, after all, a simple proposition. The United States cannot eat its Canadian cake and have it. We cannot keep on buying United States products and meeting United States debts unless the United States buys more of our products than it does at present.

Most of you do not like figures, and because of that, I have resolutely restrained a somewhat pronounced propensity on my own part to load my speeches with figures and data. But in this particular case, some figures are really necessary to make clear the point I am contending for. These figures you will find available in a note from the Canadian Government to the United States

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Government, which was published in the press of today's date. I hope you will take time to consider these figures.

I have told you the way in which foreign debts are paid, - that is, in goods and services. I have told you that we are doing all we can to increase our trade with the United States, so that our obligations, payable in that country, can be paid in goods and services.

I believe we will succeed in achieving this highly desirable adjustment in our international trade. The two Governments are at present seriously engaged in negotiations designed to increase the trade between their countries. We have reason to expect, and do expect, that these negotiations will be successful. But even if they are not, I want you to be in no doubt upon this point: This Government, whether

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it succeeds in its present trade negotiations with the United States or whether it does not, will keep on meeting its obligations in that country. We have never yet broken our word to any nation. And we never will. If the Government of the United States does not see fit to make it possible to increase our exports, that will not influence our course of action. The honour of Canada is bound up in our promise to pay. And every Canadian worthy of the name will stand behind that promise.

That is all I need now say. To have said less, however, would not have been frank with you. We have long been anxiously concerned with the problem of our debt. And that is a problem about which, assuredly, you should not be kept in ignorance.

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Therefore, my friends, if you vote for this Government, you will vote on the understanding that you are giving me a definite mandate to review this vast question of our debt, and to take such action as will equitably re-adjust the relationship of debtor and creditor, and maintain the reputation of this country to pay right up to the limit of its capacity to pay.

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No one will deny that our standard of living will be most assuredly and favourably effected by such action as will restore the labour market to a sound and healthy condition. In other words, there can be no greater influence upon our standard of living than a solution of our unemployment problem.

My political opponents have had a great deal to say in the last two or three years about what they call my pledge to end unemployment. And I think that while the criticism is perhaps a superficial one, it is fair enough, at least judged by general political standards. At any rate, I do not in any way object to it. I did say that I would end unemployment. I would not have you in any doubt upon that point. I made that statement at the City

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of Moncton during the campaign of 1930.

I repeat that statement here tonight.

I make it as sincerely now as I did then. After five years of experience of the right and wrong way in which to deal with the problems of the depression, I have finally, in a sense reluctantly but quite irrevocably, determined on what we conceive to be the only practical solution of the problem in its present form.

In a moment I shall tell you what this solution is. Before I do, it may be fair and profitable to set up and contrast my own point of view and my own statements with the apparent point of view

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of Mr. King, as reflected in his statements and undertakings. In 1930 Mr. King promised you a Commission to deal with the unemployment situation. In 1935 he promises you a Commission once again. As I have most sincerely said, this is no time for unhelpful condemnation of the plans of our political opponents. And yet, when the Leader of a great party, after watching this tragic cavalcade from the side lines for five long years, has learned nothing more than apparently has Mr. King, my natural restraint and consideration for my opponents, breaks down before the clear need to warn the country what will be its fate if it entrusts itself to the guidance of one so supremely oblivious to our actual problems, so utterly uninformed of the practical ways to deal with them, as has shown himself to be, over and over

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again, my right honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition.

Now, public works, theoretically and in fact, are an aid to unemployment. Housing also has its place and an important place. Many other schemes of employment tried in this and other countries have all perhaps something to be said for them. But they have all this to be said against them, that they cost money. And since, contrary to the views of some people, the financial resources of every country are limited, it comes in the last analysis to a question of how the money available can best be spent.

Though this government has not yet ended unemployment, it has every reason to be proud of what it has done. In the desperate circumstances in which we found ourselves, with people discouraged

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and the morale of the workers almost broken, some measures of a temporary character were essential. But I say that my opponents, who are glibly talking about curing this problem by the planting of a few trees, the improvement of roads, and the beautifying of parks, have no conception of what the magnitude of the problem is or they would treat it in a less frivolous way.

We, with the Provinces and the municipalities, have undertaken useful projects. We have constructed miles of road; the Trans-Canada Highway is well on the way to completion; fire guards have been cleared; railway crossings have been improved; millions of trees have been planted; many experimental plots have been laid out; important buildings have been erected; and hundreds of thousands of man days of work have been provided;

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communication services have been improved; a good start has been made towards the completion of the facilities required by the forest services for experimental purposes. We have provided for the Dominion Forest Service a chain of experimental stations and model forests all the way across Canada, representing every type of condition in the world's industry, and these we set out to develop - first, by turning to account the areas we already controlled, when they were available, then, by acquiring other areas from the Provinces, until today, except for one site on the Pacific Coast, which is still under negotiation, the chain of stations is complete and each in the course of development. Further, through our relief

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camps, we have provided temporary occupation for single homeless men until such time as they could be reabsorbed into industry.

By intelligent management, with the aid of business, in cooperation with the provinces, by the splendid support of citizens in every walk of life, both those who could afford to contribute and those who could not afford to contribute, we have made definite headway. We have reduced unemployment. Unemployment which reached the high figure of approximately 783,000 in the low point of the depression in 1933, is now under 500,000 substantially where it was in June 1931.

Note

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Now I will ask you a question. Suppose that we were able to return this country to the conditions prevailing at the peak of the boom years, would we by so doing succeed in reducing our unemployed to the numbers as of that time? I say No. And it is vitally important that you should understand why. And this is why. The greater employment of more efficient machinery in the last five or six years, the introduction of new economies, the development of labour-saving devices, the elimination of duplication, growing concentrations of business, have made it impossible under the same conditions to employ the same number of people.

It is calculated that, in the last five years, there has been added to our workers, - the white-collar worker, the farm worker, the industrial

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worker about 800,000 persons. Assuming we were to return to the level of 1929, the lag in the present volume of unemployment would not be taken up by more than 50%.

But the business of this country has not increased to this extent, for the basic reason that the business of the world has contracted, and even if it had, it would have been necessary to put a stop, during the interval, to all concentrations of business, all economies in operation, all labour saving devices, which would, of course, have been as unwise as it would have been impracticable.

So, either way, you see it was utterly impossible, and so it will continue to be. For science and invention will not submit to a straight jacket, and

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to the rate of recovery of this shattered world, even assuming we could now look forward to recovery, there is a very definite maximum.

despair ? — restricted protect quantity ago etc

Now, there is nothing particularly new in all this, and I am not suggesting that the proposal I have to make is one the soundness of which is supported only by very recent events. Its soundness in principle was apparent some time ago. But experience in the past year emphasizes the urgent need of its adoption.

Therefore I come to my proposal.

dictatorship

In my opinion and in the opinion of my colleagues, the first step to be taken by way of a permanent solution of this problem (i.e. unemployment) is to remove from the labour market all those workers who have reached the age where, especially under conditions of today, the worker's social interest, the State's economic interest, equally suggest the wisdom of retirement.

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It is, of course, clear to all of us that the old rules governing hours of labour and years of labour can no longer apply, because we live in changed economic conditions. That fundamental truth forces fundamental changes in our whole economic system. These changes embrace changes in conditions of work, hours of work. They also embrace changes in the age of retirement from work.

This new economic trend has already influenced the retirement schemes of certain private enterprises. And these enterprises, after careful estimate of all the factors involved, have met the new conditions by determining upon a retirement age of sixty years.

The Government recognizes this principle. And, in conformity with it, will introduce into Parliament legislation to make it effective.

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This scheme has two basic merits. It provides the only possible means by which the youth of the land can secure employment, when by age and training, they are ready for employment. It provides the only means by which all people may obtain security and leisure, and a chance for recreation and pleasure, when they have moved beyond that age where, in any Christian state, the workman should be forced to continue at his labours.

Let me make this proposal clear, because, as I say, while the idea is not novel, its operation will be enormously far-reaching. It is a bold, and, I believe will prove to be a triumphant, attempt to put an end to this curse of unemployment, to free the labour market from the dead weight of the unemployed, to put purchasing power in the hands of a greater number, to

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effect, in a sound and equitable way, a measure of the redistribution of the wealth of the land.

The application of this principle will mean, in the first year of its operation, the withdrawal from the labour market of 120,000 people, and provide that number of jobs for younger workers.

Now, if you take a pencil and paper and make a simple calculation, you will find that even this great scheme will not take care of literally every one of our unemployed. But it will take care of such a great percentage of them, that other schemes, of little account by themselves, may be used to bring our unemployment to the irreducible minimum. Then we can advantageously employ certain ancillary schemes; for instance, housing. We have already made a beginning on the development of a housing programme.

Forest conservation is another

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State-operated plan which then will have a real significance. There is room for a progressive farm settlement programme.

The development of our mining areas could be increased were the State to give a greater measure of support to prospectors. Naturally, these are projects in the development of which the cooperation of Provinces will be necessary.

No one single scheme devised by wit of men can prevent seasonal unemployment, but under a central authority empowered to regulate various schemes of public works, the old extremes of seasonal unemployment may be greatly moderated.

It is to be remembered that, on account of seasonal and climatic conditions in this country, we always have had, roughly, 10% of our workers unemployed. This element in the problem, Unemployment Insurance is designed to care for. Benefits

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to the extent of $42,000,000 annually under this scheme will be distributed to workers who are unemployed from time to time.

Now, there is another phase of this unemployment situation which, in some respects, is the most important of all. The unemployment of parents, of heads of families, has too often meant that boys and girls are denied the training necessary to properly equip them for employment. While our Provincial schools have reached a high standard of excellence, and are yearly increasing the sphere of their usefulness, in these times the Federal Government is the only power able to take care of the grave situation I have mentioned. And for this reason, the Government has decided to ask from Parliament a sum of money adequate to ensure the training of our boys and girls denied proper education because of conditions for which neither they nor their parents are in any way responsible.

Now, I am not concerned to offer you an elaborate

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explanation of why these great plans and projects to which we are now committed, were not introdueed some time ago. I think fair-minded people are fully satisfied with the explanation which I offered you in January. Under the terrible stress and shock of the first five years of the depression, it was the duty of Government, and its sole duty, to put the strength of the State into those emergency measures which were designed primarily to take care of that emergency. A permanent plan in those circumstances would not only have been unprofitable, but distinctly dangerous. All feform measures involve a re-adjustment of the existing economy. And this means disturbance and strain. That is the reason why in January I said that we had to get over the first shock of the depression, to adjust ourselves, to take all safeguarding emergency measures, before reform could be undertaken. You understand more clearly now why I said what I did eight months ago.

Finlayson says Mr. Bennett ended his reading here.

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Now that I have dealt with these two basic problems of debt and unemployment, I shall discuss briefly the remaining major influences upon the state of agriculture and industry.

You know, of course, what we have done for the wheat grower and what we are continuing to do. Knowing that, all agriculturalists naturally ask the Government whether we propose that the principle underlying our assistance to the wheat grower is to be extended to cover other basic natural products.

I suppose every government in the world, certainly every government in every country which has made any headway against the depression, is helping agriculture; as in Great Britain, as in the United States; where, by differing means, government has come to the aid of agriculture in a way to which no other times can offer the remotest parallel.

In all countries there is, of course, a political and economic element opposed to

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government aids to agriculture. But that has not stopped government intervention on agriculture's behalf. In Canada, there has been a very vehement minority opposed to government intervention. But, happily for agriculture, that has not stopped government intervention. It will be your duty, you agriculturalists, and you who are interested in the welfare of agriculture - which is the same thing as the welfare of Canada - it will be your duty to see that this unreasoning and furious political minority is never given a chance to break down all the aids to agriculture which Government has already accomplished, or to deny to agriculture the possibility of government assistance in the future.

In these speeches, I am here to talk about the future rather than the past. But you will have a better appreciation of what this Government in the future can do for you if you will consider what it has done to secure

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the home market, to expand our markets through the Empire Trade Agreements, to further extend the markets for our farm products through Trade Agreements with foreign countries; what it has done through the Marketing Act to enable the producer to make the most effective use of these markets, to reduce the farmer's burden of debt through the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act and through the Farm Loan Board to make possible the carrying on of his operations on a lower cost basis.

Do you want all these benefits swept away? If you do, then vote for Mr. King!

Now, our academic friends, the apostles of nineteenth century Liberalism, will hold up their hands in horror and say: "Why, all this is economic nationalism. This is government intervention in business. This is reform of our economic system. This is all wrong, because it is all different to what it was a hundred years ago."

Well, it <u>is</u> economic nationalism, and it <u>is</u> reform of our system; but it is <u>not</u> wrong, simply because it was not done a hundred years ago. On the contrary, had it been done a hundred years ago, it would not now be right, for the simple reason that the basic conditions of that time are fundamentally different from the basic conditions of this time. That is the point which economic and political

fanatics

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seem incapable of realizing. Well, never mind. Let us reduce their power to a minimum, and, despite their opposition, let us go on and try to save this country.

What more Government aid is necessary? What more should be done to sell our products at a price which will give the producers a living wage, and in quantities which will enable them to continue at their present vocations? Take the most important of our products - wheat. I have spoken about wheat. And when I do into Western Canada, I will have a good deal to say about it and our Wheat Board, and how it will operate, and the purpose it will serve, and the measure of success which we can forecast for it.

Now to return to your question regarding minimum prices for other basic natural products. My opinion is this: That there is no essential difference in

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principle between the production of wheat and the production of any other basic natural product which would justify a discrimination between wheat and those products.

Therefore, I believe that the Government should cooperate with producer associations to establish a minimum price to the farmer. I say that unhesitatingly because - and this is a point to beobserved by all - the establishment of a minimum price need not, and must not, increase the cost to the ultimate consumer. It need not, because the ultimate consumer has never yet got the real benefit of a bankrupt price. It must not, because to give the producer a profit at the expense of the consumer would be an unwarrantable tinkering with our economic structure. What we will do, however, - and this cannot be called tinkering, except by those who have improperly profited

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in the past - what we will do is to impose such checks and controls upon distribution, as will ensure that the price the producer gets and the price the consumer pays are more nearly equated.

We have already the machinery for this; all the machinery which it is possible to provide under the limitations of our constitution. I am not satisfied with that machinery. I think we can strengthen it. But to strengthen it, an amendment to the constitution becomes necessary. And I propose to ask the Provinces to confer with the Federal Government so that we may agree upon the steps to be taken to empower the Federal Government to effect a greater measure of social justice without interference with any exclusive rights of the Provinces.

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Speech by Mr. Bennett Sept. 10/35

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Tonight I wish to speak to you about the inequalities in our standard of living, and the ways to remedy them. I wish also to speak about credit; and about the significance of transportation costs, and costs of production, in relation to a prosperous agriculture. I shall also read the pledges which I made in 1930, and examine with you the extent to which they have been carried out.

Now, as we are agreed, there is no such thing as a literally uniform standard of living for all classes in the community or for all communities in the country. But, on the other hand, there are, at present, certain inequalities in the standard of living among classes in the community and among communities in the country which are correctible, and which must be corrected, before we can boast that our high standard of living is fairly enjoyed by our people. That is a truth which demands recognition, however unpalatable it may be to some people.

We must all subscribe to the controlling fact that henceforth great riches and great poverty cannot live side by side in the same community. When we do so, we begin to march swiftly towards the solution of many of our problems. When we believe that the rich should come automatically to the rescue of the poor, then we do much to ensure a natural balance in the whole economy of the capitalist system.

In what way can we cure these harmful inequalities in our standard of living? First, there is the voluntary way; the way of unselfishness and self-denial. There is the way which opens, when we begin to translate a few of our pious protestations into actual practices. And this is by far the best way. The cynics who call themselves realists, the disbelievers who claim to be men of affairs, may jeer at this. But I tell you, my friends, that after a long life in business, I have found no rule which operates in the common interest so fairly and so effectively as a man's conscience.

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Then there is the compulsory way by which we may correct the inequalities in our standard of living. And, after all is said and done, the best means of compulsion is taxation; taxation designed not for punitive purposes nor for vengeful, but designed scientifically and sanely to distribute more evenly the burden which the nation must bear, and to distribute more evenly the advantages which the people of the nation, without regard to class or race or creed, have an equal right to share.

I talked to you, my friends, about these questions last January. I think you know my point of view. I think you will agree that our general plan of reform is sound and sensible. I venture, indeed, to hope that you will pass upon it as one which knowledge of our troubles and of the means which will cure them, proclaim to be a wise one.

We have made an excellent beginning. We will continue along that way carefully, resolutely, in justice to all, free from the prejudice which must distort our view and confound our most vehement efforts.

Everything has its normal rate of speed. When that is exceeded, wreck often follows. To try overnight to cure capitalism of these faults which, in company with all other animate and inanimate things, it admittedly has, would simply be to destroy it. And you must understand me now and for all time as declaring against any action which will destroy the capitalist system. For that action would be the action of a Socialist, and believe me, I am no Socialist and never will be.

If you want socialism, if you want to impose upon your free Canada the serfdom of Russia, if you want confiscation of all you own, if you want to be dragooned by the State, don't vote for me; for no place or preferment will ever bribe me to surrender my lifelong belief in the right of freedom for the individual, for agriculture, for industry, and for the economic system under which we have lived so long.

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There is no room in the same country for socialism and liberty. You agree, of course! But on that account, you need not feel obliged to look askance at Mr. Woodsworth. Just as Mr. King is a classical Liberal, so Mr. Woodsworth is the classical, text-book Socialist. He is toomuch a man of culture, he is too generous and too kind, to even understand the sinister and ferocious and destructive force which he so benignly and unconsciously camouflages. For Mr. Woodsworth is really a reactionary of the better sort.

Capitalism is your servant, and must never be your master. But capitalism should be treated fairly. When it goes wrong, as it has gone wrong, it must be corrected. And when it goes right, might it not be applauded? As I say, you can wreck capitalism quickly, but you can only reform it slowly. You can bring down Communism upon you by one mad act; but you can attain to excellence under capitalism only with patience. We will get nowhere by recklessly and stupidly clouting capitalism into a paralysis of ineffectiveness. I warn you of that, because in the last few months there has been manifest in this continent, a determined effort by the arch enemy of capitalism to upset it. In your own interest, resist that influence. When you see the signs of revolution, fight it with all your might. And treat capitalism decently, not for its own sake, but for your own sake. For it can serve you well. Make it work, and make it work hard for you. Get all you are entitled to out of it. That is far more sensible than shooting it dead.

During this campaign the Canadian elector is going to have just about as busy a time as are the various candidates for his favour. For he will have to listen to all kinds of plans by which faults in our economic system, which result in inequalities in our standard of living, may be cured. He is going to hear the case for capitalism, as it always was; the case for capitalism reformed; the case for socialism; the case for communism; and the case for some rare economic creations for which, perhaps, we cannot find a name. For they will be something never seen before on land or sea.

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You will be told that the capitalist system is all right, and that the capitalist system is all wrong. You will be told that all's well with production, but that distribution is at fault. You will be told that we produce more than we can pay for, but not more than we can consume. And to each of these statements, a moral will be attached.

You will be urged to embark upon new monetary schemes. You will be told that the rigidity of our present money policy holds us in a vice. Advocates of the "rubber dollar" will be upon you. Zealots who obscurely think that the printing press can take the place of hard work and thrift, will have a lot to say. It will be a busy time for all. And in the resulting confusion, there is but one safe guide. Get hold of the facts and never let go of them.

It has become almost trite to say that the obvious disequilibrium between supply and demand, production and consumption, is caused through mal-distribution. When we are told that we can produce, not more than we can consume, but more than we are able to pay for, that broadly speaking, is the case. Hence, we have the paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty. Vast supplies of food, material, equipment, clothing, at one end and at the other, dire need of these things. Something has happened at the sending end to prevent the proper reception at the receiving end. That is called faulty distribution.

Now, many cures for these faults in distribution have been suggested. Some of them have merit, and some of them have not. One of the cures most commonly talked about at the present time which has undoubted merit if it is given a fair chance, is the cure by means of a better system of credit.

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There are new, and their proponents claim better, systems of credit to be obtained through inflation, through the issuance of paper dollars, through the employment of the good old printing press, through the backing of a note issue by the entire resources of the state.

And we have credit schemes based on what I may call possibly without offence, more orthodox practices. Both these groups of schemes, the orthodox and the less orthodox, we will look at in a moment.

Now, Mr. King has included in his fourteen points, or rather he has subjoined to the original fourteen points, conceived and done into published form some years ago, statements dealing with credit. I fancy the happy idea of adding them was inspired by the vehement protests of what is loosely known as the left wing of the Liberal Party which, despairing of the efficacy of Mr. King's Liberalism, and doubtful even of its power of appeal, thought in this way to give their party some association with the current practical problems of the day.

Thus, the purpose behind these statements is clear, I wish their meaning had the same merit. I have read these statements and I don't know what they mean. Do you? Or do you agree with me that Mr. King has given us a very special example of his unique gift of saying a lot and meaning so very, very little. But while these statements have evidently been dragged in by those of Mr. King's friends whose complacency has been touched by some realization of the situation, and who, therefore, wish at least to try the effect of rough uponthe death mask of old Liberalism; while, as I say, these statements may have been dragged in by others than Mr. King, I still think it is not unreasonable to press Mr. King for an explanation of what it is all about. These statements have to do with credit. Should he not then tell us where he stands on questions

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of credit; on questions of inflation, on printing press money, on green backs, on getting something for nothing. Without these statements, we would not have had to trouble him. We would have assumed that as a Liberal, he stood against all of them. But as these statements are evidently designed to give Liberalism a radical twist, must we not re-examine the Leader of Liberalism in his new role of monetary reformer?

I speak in a sense, lightly of this matter, because it has its funny side. But it has its serious side as well. It has a really tragic element in it, and that is this; - that in these times when this country is fighting for its very life, the Leader of one of its great parties can be turned aside from all his old practices and all his old faiths, not by a genuine conversion, but by a feeling that in some way not clearly revealed to him, he can gain a new vantage point from which he can captivate the electors, coming and going.

Well, so much for Mr. King and his credit statements and his credit policy and his whole thought and purpose on the question of monetary reform.

Now, on these questions of credit, I will tell you where I stand.

I believe in a measure of controlled inflation. For instance, I believe that Canada's departure from the gold standard has been manifestly to the advantage of Canada, and I am against any plan which would impose upon our fiscal system an inflexibility likely to interfere with its proper regulation in terms of whatever may be before us internationally in the monetary future.

I believe in easier credit. I believe in lower interest rates, bank rates, mortgage rates. Interest which was fair enough in prosperous days, in these times of hardship comes perilously close to usury.

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The important thing about these views is not so much that I hold them now, but that we have already gone a long way in putting them into practice. For in the last two years, as you will recall, we have introduced a measure of controlled inflation. We have brought about easier credit conditions. We have secured lower interest rates; and we have secured them without disturbance to our economic system, or without injury to any element in it, either creditor or debtor. These adjustments and changes were carried out in so orderly a fashion that many of you doubtless were not aware of the change. But you all had the benefit of it, and the benefit has been great.

Now I think that that is the way in which you wish your Government to do business. At any rate, it is the only way in which this Government knows how to do business; that is, in a sensible, regular, unexcited way; the way experience and a real working knowledge of things financial, teach.

Upon the question of credit, the basic difference between the Conservative Government and some of the other parties and groups which oppose us, is simply this. The difference is not that we are more radical than they, or that they are more radical than we. The real difference is not in our objectives, which in each case is the relief of the people; but in the means we employ to gain them. The real difference is that while our opponents in some instances, propose means which will not work either theoretically or actually, we have proposed means which will not only work theoretically, but have been working, actually. May I say that the difference is between the plans and actions of the man of affairs and the visionary: between the man with his feet on the ground and the man tossed hither and thither without purpose and without plan, moved fitfully by every wind that blows. Think that over and take your choice.

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Let me add this, to make the question still more clear. We employ means which are in present use. Some of our opponents are attempting to employ means which are not now in use, and never will be. If new means are necessary, we will be diligent to discover them. But we have all the means at hand to give this country complete relief from harmful credit conditions, and to give it the entire benefit of a credit system which will adjust in the only way in which it is helpfully adjustable, the relationship between debtor and creditor; between buyer and seller; between producer and consumer.

So I am against uncontrolled inflation; they had uncontrolled inflation once upon a time in Germany when the entire pre-war debt of the German Empire could have been paid off with one Canadian cent. I am against green backs and printing house money, because they mean not only the ruin of this country, but the bankruptcy of every individual who has any stake in it. Print green backs, turn on the printing presses, and you sell your birthright for a madman's dream which never can come true.

Now, the question of the Bank of Canada. I address people in scores of different trades. Whatever trade or business or profession yours may be, you will call to mind the clumsiness and excitability of the beginner in it. You who are a carpenter, how often have you watched the beginner smash his thumb?

This Bank of Canada which was incorporated in the financial structure of this country in the interest of all classes, for greater security, for better credit, for easier money conditions, has now become the subject of learned debate among the politicians contending for your favour. And as the average politician knows no more, alas, about finance than does, let me say, the average lawyer about carpentering, he approaches the matter with the same clumsiness, the same excitement,

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as would the lawyer had he to drive a nail. And he makes just about as good a job of it: How could you expect the politician to talk sensibly, when he chooses to deal with a highly technical matter as if it were a wholly political one? So in form political, the Bank of Canada is held up to your condemnation or your approval, as a privately owned bank. Those who fancy privately owned banks, applaud it. Those who fancy publicly owned banks, condemn it. When the Government put your bank through as a privately owned bank, that was a tip to most of our opponents to go straight for a publicly owned bank. There you have the explanation.

But our opponents pay small tribute to the intelligence of Canadian people if they think that they can obtain your judgment upon the real merits of this instrument of social security by holding it up to you in this light. Tell them, my friends, to play politics with other things, and leave alone those matters for which your interest demands a fair deal.

This Bank of Canada was set up for one purpose and one purpose only, - to serve the people of this country. If it does not serve them, it fails and must be abolished. If it serves them better as a privately owned bank than as a publicly owned bank, a privately owned bank in your interest, it must remain; but if it can be shown that it will serve your interests better as a publicly owned bank, then a publicly owned bank it will become. And I tell you that there will be no one who will more vehemently urge the change from private to public ownership than will I. But obviously, this is not the time to decide that question. The Bank is just beginning to operate in terms of the whole system. Let us see how it gets along and then let us decide whether the Bank under public ownership will serve you better.

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Surely, this is the obvious thing to do. Surely, this proposal is a reasonable one. We tried so hard to serve you when we supported the principle of this Central Bank and when we declared for private ownership. Nothing has transpired as yet to show that we were wrong, and nothing can have transpired as yet to enable any man, banker, financier, businessman or politician, to say that we were wrong. And that is the point of the whole thing. And that fact discloses the recklessness and ignorance of some of our political opponents who at the expense of your security, and to advance themselves, are trumping up causes which have no substance in fact.

Now, I have made what I regard as a justifiable and most important distinction between ourselves and the other parties, in matters of monetary policy. We speak from the standpoint of experience; they, from that of party interest. You know where we stand. I defy anyone to say where Mr. King stands. And if Mr. King does not know where he stands, can you reasonably expect the newly formed parties to be any clearer. In brief, the Conservative Party stands upon the bedrock of performance; the opposing parties upon the changing sands of political expediency. We have not only done what we said we would do. We have done far more not only than what we said we would do; we have done far more than we have even told you of. As businessmen we have done a good job. As propagandists, I admit we have still much to learn. And that statement is intended to cover the whole record of the Government.

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But, Mr. King will say, that is all very well, but you didn't end unemployment, and you said you would. And you made a lot of other promises to do things which you have not done. All right. I will face that charge now. And you and I will go over the promises I have made. And I am content to have you decide whether, in the circumstances of the last five years, I have not faithfully carried them out.

At Winnipeg on June 16th, 1930, in the opening speech of the campaign, I, on behalf of the Conservative Party, gave the following pledges: And I shall briefly comment on them:-

"1.- We pledge ourselves to a policy of protection for Canadians in the development of our national resources, our agricultural and industrial life, and our consumers from exploitation."

I think it is agreed that this pledge has been literally fulfilled.

"2.- We pledge ourselves to foster and develop our agriculture, and the live stock and dairyindustries, now so sadly neglected."

Look at the reform policy of the Conservative Party -- the part already in operation, the part now coming into operation. I think you will agree that <u>that</u> pledge has been literally fulfilled.

"3.- We pledge ourselves to the stabilization of economic conditions, and to continuity of trade and freedom from the manipulation of home and foreign tariffs."

The Ottawa Agreements, the Agreements with France and other countries, the pending Agreement with the United States; our refusal to bow to the arbitrary direction of Japan; these acts and achievements will, I think, convince you that this pledge has been literally fulfilled.

"4.- We pledge ourselves to the development of interprovincial trade, and of a Canadian fuel policy, and development of a foreign market."

The development of interprovincial trade and the development of foreign markets, you know about. What we have done to develop and

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put into operation a Canadian fuel policy,you also know something about,and will hear more of from me shortly. If you wish to be critical, you may say that what we have done to date is not a 100% fulfilmemt of our pledge. But if you want to be fair, you will agree that it is a pretty thorough-going performance, when you stop to think of the almost insurmountable difficulties which have faced us.

"5.- We pledge ourselves to the improvement of the whole scheme of Canadian transportation northward, by the completion of the Hudson Bay route, and the construction of such branches as may be necessary to render it most readily available to every part of Canada; to the Pacific slope by a Peace River outlet, and east and west by the development of the St. Lawrence Waterway, and we pledge ourselves to aid existing traffic channels and to increase port facilities on the Great Lakes, the Hudson Bay and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to the establishment of a national highway system."

The St.Lawrence Waterway Treaty, a national highway system reaching completion, the Hudson Bay Railway finished, port facilities on Hudson's Bay, service to every transportation agency in Canada, assistance to harbours. My friends, a marvellous performance, even for times of prosperity. My Liberal opponents may say that there is no railway to the Pacific slope by a Peace River outlet. Well,there isn't and there isn't going to be until times improve. Our Peace River friends will admit the sense of that, and will agree that we may postpone the fulfilment of this undertaking for a little while.

"6.- We pledge ourselves to foster and support a plan for greater Empire trade based on mutual advantage."

A literal,100% performance. Let Liberalism try to deny it.

"7.- We pledge ourselves to a national old age pension scheme."

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Already we have gone half way to absolute fulfilment of this pledge,and are paying 75% of the whole pension bill. And now we bring into our national economy a pension scheme greater and infinitely more comprehensive than any of which I dreamt in 1930. For then I did not think that this economic cataclysm would have turned the world into new shapes and would have basically changed the relationship of nation to nation, so that each of them would have to adopt practices which five years ago had not place in the philosophy of any practical-minded statesman.

"8.- We pledge ourselves to such compensating adjustments as will insure the benefit of the above policies to every part of Canada".

Subsidies, coal subventions, bonuses, freight rates, aids to our distressed areas. On this pledge we have certainly made good.

Now there are two other pledges of which you have heard a lot. The first is my pledge to end unemployment. That I have dealt with. I await your judgment upon my good faith and zeal with complete confidence.

Then in my speech at Winnipeg on June 16th,1930,I made another pledge when I said: "What will the Conservative Government do to help you? Listen carefully, all you who rightfully ask for facts and results. Listen, you agriculturists from the West and all the other parts of Canada. You have been told to mock at tariffs and applaud free trade. Tell me, when did free trade fight for you? You say our tariffs are only for the manufacturers. I will make them fight for you as well. I will use them to blast a way into the markets that have been closed to you."

Have I done so? And now, you Canadians whose future depends upon the capacity of Government to get you foreign markets, read carefully that statement of 1930. For by it I stand today. It was right then, and it is a thousand times more so now. It was right then,

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when there were still one or two nations practising free trade, and it is a thousand times more so now, when every nation has embraced a doctrine of economic nationalism and protects itself by ever-mounting tariffs.

Mr.King says that if we reduce our tariffs, we will find operating in other countries the same sweet spirit of altruism. It seems incredible that here today in this country, the leader of a great Party, with the experience of the last five years to guide him, will still uphold a plan which, without the slightest shadow of a doubt, would result in our utter bankruptcy.

Now, Mr. King, ever since I made that speech, has been pleased to make frequent reference to it and, in his own mind at least, has dressed me up as a sort of arch fiend in international trade, brandishing this unique and terrifying weapon. But, as a matter of fact, while I do boast the authorship of the phrase he deplores, I cannot claim to be the only adherent of the principle of trade which it connotes. Indeed, in these times, even Conservatism cannot claim its sole employment. In other countries, where a keener realization of current conditions apparently prevails than in certain political groups in Canada, you will find that this method of using national tariffs to secure markets has been approved even by statesmen of unimpeachable Liberal associations.

I quote from the London "Times" of March 9th,1935: "The importance of the tariff weapon is negotiating trade agreements was emphasized by Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, at a National Government meeting at Norwich last night. 'I have made trade agreements', he said, 'with fifteen different countries, and I say emphatically that if I had not been armed with the weapon of a tariff, it would have been absolutely impossible for me to have made even one agreement.' Mr. King will not deny that Mr. Runciman is a great Liberal.

Again, according to the London "Times" of February 23rd,1935

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Mr. Lloyd George is quoted as saying that, "Having got tariffs, you ought to make a ruthless use of them for the purpose of reducing and where possible removing, those difficulties in the way of international trade."

Mr. Lloyd George is surely the titular head of Empire Liberalism, and certainly has never been a protectionist, but he is quoted as saying that until free trade came again he would use, quite inexorably, such tolls as have been imposed for the purpose of inducing a bargaining process that would establish low tariff groups in the world.

And yet Mr. King goes on talking about the iniquity of bargaining, and the wisdom of reducing tariffs by the unilateral, voluntary way. You Canadian producers and consumers, you with an interest in the export market and in the domestic market, do you yet realize what Mr. King is saying? Have you yet grasped the full meaning of his undertakings? Do you understand what unilateral reduction of tariffs means? Do you appreciate the fact that no other government is following this absurd trade doctrine? Do you want in Canada a government which will be the only government in the whole wide world professing and, on its own statement, determined to practice, this sort of commercial mediaevalism?

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Radio Speech Coll - Gen Elect of 1935 - issues
Vy Mr. Bennett (4)
Sat. Sep. 14/35.

PRIVATE AND

CONFIDENTIAL

TO BE RELEASED FOR PUBLICATION IN NEWSPAPERS
APPEARING ON THE STREETS NOT EARLIER THAN
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

On Wednesday night I had not time to speak to you as I intended about our railway problem and the influence of the cost of production upon the welfare of agriculture. I shall do so now.

In no country in the world are the costs of transportation of greater account in the question of agriculture's prosperity, than in Canada. For there is no country whose produce has to travel greater distances to its markets. A modern and efficient transportation system is vital to our welfare. I wish now to discuss the state of our present transportation system.

And now I can almost hear you say to yourselves: "At last we have Bennett on the question of amalgamation". It has been in many ways entertaining to read and listen to debates in all sections of the country, as to how we should dispose of our railway problem. And I hope that the orators who have regaled themselves and you with an expression of their view, will forgive me for saying that, in the main, they have shown surprisingly little knowledge of the fundamental question involved. Instead of beginning at the beginning of the question, they have begun at the end of it. They have talked about amalgamation, and whether amalgamation should be under public or private auspices. Now I believe that, to everyone who has thought about this matter - and I think most of you have - the first questions which come to mind are something like these: What, essentially, is the matter with the railways? Are they obsolete in equipment or service? Is there too much competition, too much duplication, too much waste, too much debt?

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Certainly there is too much debt.

Is there too much competition? When we talk of competition, we are accustomed to think of competition between our two great railway systems. But today we must look at competition in another way:- the competition of the highways, of the automobile, of air transport, with the railways. We must, in short, before we can deal with the narrower question of railway transportation, deal carefully with the broader question of general transportation. It has, of course, occurred to you that, in the last ten or fifteen years, increased employment of the automobile, both passenger and freight, made possible by vast improvement in our highways, has seriously cut into the business of the railways. It has occurred to you that, in the next few years, aviation, as a passenger carrier, a mail carrier, - a freight carrier, possibly - will cut seriously into the business of the railways. And it has occurred to you also, I know, that the amazing modernization of rail services going on in wealthier countries than Canada, has made parts of our system and parts of our equipment relatively obsolete and non-competitive; new motive power, electrification, Diesel engines, air cooling systems: These others have, but not we.

What are we to do about this? In recent years we have had two inquiries into our railway situation, and they have resulted in real benefit to the country. Now we reach a further stage where we must first of all review the whole problem, not as a political one, or as a sectional one, not as one to be determined on the basis of public ownership or private ownership, but as a problem which can never be solved until a great general scheme is worked out covering all aspects of transportation.

When we have done that, when we have decided upon such a scheme, we may then require our aviation services to conform to it. We may then control and regulate our road transportation services, so that they will fit into this scheme; and modernize

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and recast our railway services, so that they will also have their proper place in it. Then, and only then, can the question of amalgamation arise.

We must have the best possible transportation system. Here we are, 10,500,000 people, pperating as a political, social and economic federation in this immense territory. All modern means available to keep us in touch with one another, to abridge space, to facilitate communication, must obviously be employed. For the permanence and effectiveness of confederation depend upon our capacity to act as a confederation.

And we can never act as a confederation unless we can maintain touch. Therefore, this whole transportation and communication problem must be reviewed again, and from the beginning, in the most impartial and thorough-going fashion. This is a task, not for politicians, but for railway men, engineers, economists, business men. It is a task to which sould be summoned representatives of all interests from all sections of the country. It is a task for which the Economic Council, in theory and in fact, is eminently suited. And the Economic Council will be charged with it.

I have already told you, more than once, why problems of this nature could not have been tackled in the worst days of the depression. Judgment upon matters of this kind can best be reached when the pressure of emergency questions is relaxed. For this is indeed a basic element in the Government's programme of reform, and demands calm and unhurried examination. In times of great stress, such examination is not possible.

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~~launched.~~ It is upon that conviction that I suggest to you the need of now embarking upon an honest and fearless examination of our railway problem.

Had circumstances enabled us to conduct the examination, in the way I suggest, in time to consider the resulting report and to form a judgment upon it, I would now have presented to you a conclusion reached by the Government, and asked your approval on October 14th of their proposed plan of action. As this has not been possible, however, the next best thing is to undertake that the findings of the Economic Council, as soon as they are made, will be examined by this Government, and thereafter Parliament will be invited to pass appropriate legislation to make effective the changes, the decrease in debt, the decrease in expenses, and so on, that they may recommend.

If, among the other recommendations, the Economic Council recommends any form of amalgamation of the railways, I will tell you where I stand. Before Parliament is asked to give effect to any such recommendation, the Government will submit the recommendation to the people for their directions. We will take no step whatever until we have a clear and definite mandate of the people of Canada, who, after all, are the shareholders of our national railways.

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Then again, we can help to restore agriculture by reducing the dosts of production, that is, by reducing the costs of all those elements which go into the total cost of production, such as the cost of farm machinery, and tractors, and cheap automobiles; such as the cost of fuel.

The cost of everything, as you know, which a producer has to buy, influences his costs of production. But there are certain elements of controlling importance. Some of these I have mentioned. Now, it should be the ambition of government to bring the costs of these basic elements in our production situation to a level with the costs to the producer in the country from which normally we import, - that is, of course, the United States. And it is not only the ambition but the determination of this Government to do so.

Now, when we consider reducing costs to the primary producer, we must consider also the effect of such reduction upon the wages and employment of the factory worker. Free trade might give you cheaper farm implements, but that is by no means certain. What is certain, however, is that it would wreck your industries and throw your workers into unemployment. That is why free trade has gone out of fashion.

But I believe that the interests of both the agriculturalist and the factory worker can be served by employing the modern means of adjustment and control now available to government. I will tell you how at another time.

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Now, as to the cost of fuel. In 1930, one of the pledges of the Conservative Party was to inaugurate a national fuel policy. And you have the right to ask, and I the privilege of telling you, what has been done toward carrying out this policy; and what has yet to be done to complete it, and what it is, and when it also can be done.

In the conditions prevailing, we have made excellent progress toward the development of a worth-while fuel policy. Let me tell you in a word what we have done.

We have restored the coal industry of the Maritimes and have developed the coal industry in Western Canada through employment of the following means: tariffs, railway subventions, assistance through research, restriction of imports, subsidized shipping and subsidies to users of native coal. The effectiveness of this assistance can be measured by the fact that movements of Canadian coal have increased from 114,000 tons in 1929 to 2,314,000 tons in 1934.

The great energy industry of Canada is hydro-electric power. Canada in the hydro-electric field has been a

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brilliant pioneer. It has brought hydro-electric energy to the service of the people. Hydro-electric energy has lightened the tasks of labour. It has modernized the home. It has come to the aid of the hard working agriculturalists. And its usefulness is just beginning. The problem is to determine the best, soundest, and most equitable way in which we can bend to the people's use the vast hydro-electric resources still unemployed.

That is not a question which has recently arisen. It is a question which has, of course, been before Government for many years, which throughout that time has been receiving a measure of attention, and which adversity, unsettled conditions, preoccupation with more critical matters, have made impossible the determination of a final and comprehensive policy.

Now that the Government is preparing to embark upon the second phase of its fuel policy, it becomes essential that it include within its examination of our fuel resources, that of hydro-electric energy.

It is necessary to now review the whole field of our energy industries; coal, oil, hydro-electric, peat it you like. We must raise again the question of the possibility of increasing the shipments of Maritime coal and of Western coal to the central Provinces. We must raise again the question of the greater employment of the vast hydro-electric resources of Ontario, Quebec and the other power Provinces, and the service, not only to those Provinces, but to all the other Provinces as well. We must, in short, deal with this problem in terms

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of conditions of today, and arrive at some solution which will meet adequately and fairly the demands of tomorrow.

The broad aspects of this matter are simple, but the proper correlation of our energy resources, the development of a plan designed to serve this country, is a matter which can only be successfully undertaken by experts, and only after the most exhaustive study.

Therefore, the Government will authorize the Economic Council to conduct a full enquiry into the whole question of the energy industries. The Economic Council will start work without delay, and will go into the question of rates, prices, subventions, into the question of transportation, including the use of pipe-lines. They will go at this job, and stick at it until they have prepared a recommendation for Parliament which will show the way to avoid the present competition, the present unprofitable production, the present prices, by devising a scheme of co-ordination, and elimination of duplication.

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As I told you at the outset, my purpose was to discuss with you fully and frankly those national problems upon the solution of which the welfare of each one of us so greatly depends. These speeches have been, of course, what are called political. There was no way of avoiding that because I have not only been dealing with the facts of the situation in Canada and throughout the world, but I have been trying to show you the attitude of my party and my opponents to these facts.

Nevertheless, I have tried, I hope successfully, to keep these talks free from any prejudices or bitterness or purposeless criticism. Naturally, I have spoken as head of the Conservative Party, but I have spoken also as your fellow citizen, concerned first and all the time about Canada. In these days of trouble and anxiety, our only concern about our party should be that it might serve you well.

I have tried to present the world situation and our Canadian situation as I see them. I have not overstated one single fact. I have indeed spoken of the state of Europe as the citizen of a country, forever safe, I pray from the hellish tragedy which is beginning to take form there. I have been told that perhaps I should have said more about the European situation. But it seems to me that I have said what is necessary when I say that this Government, by all just and honourable means within its power will

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save this country harmless from what impends. Perhaps I have said what is necessary when I impress upon you the vital need that you protect yourselves by choosing a Government not only unchangingly pledged to your interests and yours alone, but in every way prepared and able to safeguard those interests.

This I have said to put you on your guard. Assuredly, it is not my wish to bring more thought of trouble to your troubled minds. Nor need we give ourselves over to lamentation. Our job is now to take all measures to protect ourselves; to gather as one man behind the banner on which appears the safest, truest watchword - Canada First.

With this shadow before our eyes, sadly our thoughts go back to those days of 1914, the shadow of which we have not yet emerged from. And we cannot think of those times without thinking also with continued gratitude and admiration of those Canadians who in the years that followed wrote high the name of Canada upon the role of honour. For history has yet no finer page than that on which is written the glory of the Canadian corps.

Let me get back to the situation in Canada. View it from the standpoint of our present needs. Push back the thought of war. Use but the troubled state of this wide world as a guide to help you reach a judgment upon what should now be done to safeguard the welfare of Canada.

Now all these troubles, economic and political, did not crash down upon us overnight. They have been long building into their present horrible proportions. This Government has known that, and has been acting accordingly.

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Run over in your mind what we have done in these last few years and you will understand just what I mean.

I have told you of the measures of our reform programme. You are becoming increasingly familiar with them. Now add to them some of the other things which we have done or will now do. I have already said something about these also and so I will be brief, and just point out how they will favourably affect our standard of living. For that is the best test of their value.

I have spoken of the need to safeguard our workers in their employment from the danger of the sale of goods in this country, manufactured by cheap foreign labour. One of the great truths of this present world economic situation is that Japan has come into the world export markets as a great industrial power. Its machinery is as good as any machinery in the world. Its workmen are as skillful; its engineers are as highly trained. When these workmen will labour at a small fraction of what our workmen need to maintain their present standard of living, what is the inevitable result of open competition? The result is not only bankruptcy for our factories, but a loss of livelihood for our people unless we do the sensible thing, and see that goods manufactured with low cost labour do not knock our workers out of employment. That, we will continue to do, because the Conservative Government does not intend, if it can help it, that Canada be turned into one vast unemployment camp.

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I have talked of what must be done in this world state of economic turmoil, to retain and increase our foreign markets. You know what we have done in the last five years. It is a great achievement. I told you what we will continue to do. I pointed out the difference between the Liberal and Conservative way of trade. I hope I have succeeded in convincing you that for this country to knock down its tariff walls in the expectation that other countries will do likewise, is just another way of knocking this country on the head. I put it to any one of you: Can you afford to give away anything you have and get nothing in exchange? Are we so fantastically rich and prosperous that we can afford to donate some of those riches to another country? That is exactly what Mr. King is asking you to do. I put it to you. Does it make sense?

I spoke to you also about our trading situation with the United States. I hope you have read the communication of this Government to the Government of the United States, which was published in the press on Monday last, That will show you what we are prepared to do to increase our exports to the United States, to recapture the markets lost in that country by the Liberal Government.

And here may be a good place to put an end once and for all to the unfounded and misleading statements made by our Liberal opponents on the whole question of foreign markets. You have doubtless heard them say that the policy of the Conservative Government has not succeeded in increasing our export markets.

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And you have probably also heard them say that the Liberal policy has. Well, my friends, those two statements are in every respect contrary to the truth. During the Liberal regime of eleven years, world conditions improved and improved and improved, and no action of any Government in Canada was necessary to give this country the full benefit of that improvement. During the Conservative regime of the last five years, world conditions have become worse, and only in the last year or so has there been any sign of a pick up. Nevertheless, during that time, the Conservative Government, in relation to world business, has improved our export situation in a phenomenal way, as these figures will demonstrate.

Now listen. Every country's export business has gone down in the depression, as we know. But among the great trading nations of the world, Canada, thanks I may honestly claim to the efforts of your Government, is in a most favourable position. Between 1930 and 1934, the United States' decrease in export business was 45%, Germany's 40%; Denmark's 36%; the Netherlands' 31%; France's 31%; the United Kingdom's 28%; and Canada 26%. In 1929 Canada had 3.71% of the world's total export business; in 1934 Canada had 3.99% of the world's total export business.

That will demonstrate in a conclusive way what a business Government, believing in business methods and with the will and capacity to execute business agreements, can do for you. And mind you, that was in the years of the depression, when every Government in the world was fighting for the life of

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its export trade, because all these Governments happened to believe that they should stand behind the business of the country in periods of depression and help that business out. I ask you, my friends, what would have happened to this country had you had, alone among the great trading nations of the world, a Liberal Government opposed to government intervention.

I have talked to you about unemployment, and what we resolved to do to put an end to it. I am happy to receive from every part of Canada the assurance that our people not only appreciate what we have already tried to do, but approve this further and final measure which will get the results for which we have so earnestly been striving.

I told you what we will do to ensure the necessary measure of technical education for those boys and girls whose parents have not been able to provide it for them. You know in all these years we have had in mind the tragedy of our youth born into a world not of their making, but victims of its troubles more surely perhaps than any other class, because the depression never let them get a start; because the unemployment of their parents kept them from the proper education; because even if they got an education, there was really nothing they could do with it. And in these years, we have thought and thought what we could do which was really helpfull and constructive. I have been urged times without number to address the youth of the land and point out to them the glorious future towards which they

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were marching. Honestly, I had not the heart to do it. I believed that their future would be a happy one, but I wanted to feel that this Government could claim to have had something to do with it before I ventured upon prophesy. Now I can speak, because of this great scheme to end unemployment, by this secondary scheme of technical education, we can honestly and sensibly say to the boys and girls of this land: We have done something to provide you with a technical education; we have done something to fit you for a job.

I have told you about debt. It must be reduced. We cannot continue to bear the burden made so much heavier by those hard times. We are going to ask our bondholders to relinquish part of their interest; and the mortgagees to agree to relinquish part of their interest. The Government will take steps to free the Dominion Treasury from part of its burden. The Government will also take steps to relieve you and you and you, struggling under farm mortgages, struggling under home mortgages, of part of your interest rate.

I have told you of the need to see that the producers of our basic natural products are assured the price in these markets which will give them a decent livelihood. No class in this country can possibly prosper unless they prosper. Their prosperity will not unfavourably affect the welfare of any other class. Your universal approval of this project is, therefore, assumed.

I have said a word about the faults in distribution, and have discussed some of the remedies which can help to

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correct these faults. I have told you where I stand on the question of credit. I have told you that I am for easy money, easy credit, lower interest rates, lower mortgage rates. I have told you that I am for a better balance of advantages between debtor and creditor; producer and consumer. I have also told you that I am forever opposed to the idea that at our will the heavens will rain dollars. We have the machinery to get the results which must be got. Let's be sensible and use it. There is no other machinery can take its place.

I read you the pledges which I made in 1930. Tell me you Canadians, have we not kept faith?

These things the Government have done, and are preparing to do, to help agriculture, to improve business, to protect your interests to safeguard the standard of living of our people.

When I speak of the standard of living, I mean the general, average standard of living; that is, one enjoyed throughout the length and breadth of Canada. When we have a high, general, nation-wide standard of living, it can be fairly said that Canada is operating as a political, social and economic unit. But if a certain standard of living is restricted to certain sections of the country, then we are not a unit in any real sense of the word. We are not an economic society. We have different fashions of life. These work at crosspurposes. They wrench and tear at our political integrity. They threaten our confederation. That is inevitable.

It is no more natural than right that there should be differences in the standards of living as between one part of the

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country and another. We cannot all be the same. We cannot all have exactly the same. I suppose every community always will have its well-to-do and its less well-to-do. But we are agreed that great and unmerited wealth and great and unmerited poverty, living side by side, are an abnormality and an injustice. We will get rid of them. We can do more. We can see to it that there is a fair distribution, among all parts of the country, of the benefits of our confederation. That is a supreme duty. Any unnatural disparity in living conditions, any correctible inequality of benefits, must be cured. For they are dangerous fissures in the national structure.

He is a poor Canadian who will deny that the Provinces of Canada should enjoy the maximum equality in the advantages of confederation. But if all the parts are to share alike, there must be the closest relationship among them. The divisions of this giant country must be bound together, not only by common traditions, but by joint possessions; not only by a common faith, but by an economic system universal and impartial in its service to Canadians.

We must take hold upon every means which will unite us. For union means security;.disunion means, of course, the wreck of confederation and the economic annihilation of its parts. That is elementary. We all know it to be the case. But too many of us act as if it were not so. We in one section sometimes look askance at favours granted to another. We forget that a benefit for one is a benefit for all. That is a truth to be kept constantly in mind.

Therefore, we must build up the East and West trade route. We must support civil aviation, and improve national broadcasting. We must recast the freight rate structure, and undertake the

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modernization of our rail transport. We must complete the Trans-Canada Highway. For these all mean life and strength to our Dominion. They are the bonds of its union. The courage and capacity of our pioneer forbears gave us possession of this great land and of its natural wealth. Social and economic equality of benefits and opportunity alone can keep it for us, and make possible the confederate action upon which our security depends.

You have gloriously carried out an experiment in settlement and an experiment in nationalization which is unparalleled in the annals of history. We, a mere handful of people, have conquered the northern half of a great continent. We have worked hard. We have turned the wealth of our heritage to good account. We have grown into a nation which can hold its head high. But we are still young. Even in times of world prosperity, our problems would be very great.

Look at the problem of holding together, with ten and a half million people, a country thirty times as large as the British Isles, a country which is heavily in debt, which has been built up partly through a great export trade that world conditions are viciously attacking, a country which for so many years operated prodigally upon borrowed money and is now called upon, not only to operate upon the money which it can earn, but to meet a great debt which ~~greedy~~ unthinking politicians did so much to build into its present awful proportions.

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I say all this, knowing that trouble can never dismay Canadians. Yet, I would not have dared to tell you what I have and what I must, did I not believe from the bottom of my heart that nothing can defeat us if we will stand together. Support your confederation. Cleave to all parts of it. Be eager to share your happiness and prosperity with those who have less than you. Resolve to think in terms of our national problems and national interest. Abolish sectionalism. Break down all differences between class and class. Proclaim by deeds the truth of the saying that, whether you are rich or poor, easterner or westerner, you are, first and all the time, a Canadian.

Unity, my fellow citizens: Without it there is no hope for us. By its immeasurable power we will win through. How to strengthen union, how to carry a fair standard of living into every section of this great Dominion, how to bind the East to the West, to bring our Maritimes into closer association with our central Provinces, to prove to British Columbia that if it loses a market in Asia we from all parts of Canada will join in getting it a market elsewhere.

These are urgent problems. Here are some of the ways in which this Government is meeting them.

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Three years ago the Conservative Government introduced into Parliament a Bill to nationalize radio. That Bill was passed into law. Since then we have taken the first steps to establish national broadcasting under a broadcasting commission. The original plan of the Government was to construct across Canada a chain of great broadcasting stations. Prior to the introduction of the legislation, an agreement was entered into with the government of the United States by which were made available the wave-lengths necessary for this purpose. These stations have not yet been built, because the Government felt that at that stage in the development of radio and . in the acutely adverse financial conditions then prevailing, it was not wise to embark upon this costly work. Now that the situation is better in some ways, the Government proposes to proceed with its original plan as soon as possible.

I cannot overstate the value of a good broadcasting system to this country. I do not believe there is any country in the world where it is quite so important to have the best possible radio communications. I am sure that the people of Canada are in such agreement upom this point that it is not how necessary to say anything more about it.

I have said something about transportation and the place of aviation in the general transportation picture.The time has come when the Government of Canada must do still more to support and develop civil aviation, so that the Canadian people and Canadian interests may be assured of a service adequate to the needs of the present day. Science has been good to Canada and has sent her new

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forms of communication and transportation in answer to our urgent need for means to shorten time ahd abbreviate distance.

a national highway —
to be funded in next 12 months

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for wheat has been pretty well exploited, the world market for coarse grains still awaits your conquest. Indeed, right here at home in our Maritimes, there is a market for coarse grains from Western Canada, at prices which will bring a profit to the producer and at prices which the consumer can very well afford to pay. For he in turn will be able to declare a dividend upon his investment, provided that the cost of transportation can be brought down.

~~Another~~ important link between the various parts of Canada, is a national highway. As you are aware, this government in 1930, promised to carry through a national highway. As I have told you, the Government has made such progress that the highway will be finished within the next 12 months. I think that those who are not compelled by self-interest to disagree, will accept that as an accomplishment in which they may rejoice. At another time I will more fully discuss these and other means which we must employ to safeguard the unity of this country. We dare not neglect them, for in this world situation, in this national situation, we must be all together, if we are not to fail. So when there are so many serious things of immediate account to think about, is it not unprofitable for any of us to go on living in a world of make-believe. Is it not rather a confession of incapacity when politicians become lyrical about a past than can not return, or a future that will never be.

In these anxious times, no fair-minded person is disposed to condemn any Canadian, so long as he does his best, however ineffective that best may be. And I have no inclination, I assure you,

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to needlessly attack my political opponents. We can no longer afford the luxury of small partisanships and petty hostilities. The welfare of this country is a question men of good-will in all parties should recognize as the important thing, and be prepared to put the national interest above that of party. Politicians should try, to think as patriots. But you will agree, I think, my anxious-minded friends, that in the conditions which I truly describe and which you know prevail, it is somewhat trying to have ones political opponents stray far away from reality into the fanciful realm in which abide dictatorships and Hitlerism and all that sort of thing.

But there you are. It is the case. And I am perplexed to determine why Mr. Mackenzie King has chosen that line of attack on me. Either he believes it to be a telling one or he has no other. I think it is because he has no other. For I think more highly of Mr. King's sagacity than to suppose he would have had recourse to this method, if he hadn't been utterly bankrupt of ideas. When he talks in this way, who is he trying to frighten? You? Me? Himself? I really don't know whom. It is too absurd. It is not even a good joke.

For surely Mr. King knows that there will never be a dictator in this country as long as Canadians are Canadians. There will never be a Hitler or a Mussolini or Fascism or Nazism as long as our people retain their present love of freedom. So do not let us be childish and talk about things that have no substance, when we all know that there are things of grave importance which

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should engage our every waking hour. Talk about unemployment; talk about trade; talk about our financial situation and our standard of living, and on the basis of these, criticize the Government if you will. Then we will meet that criticism and I think we will meet it effectively. But don't call us a Hitler, or a Mussolini, or a dictator, because that is burlesque and only makes us laugh.

As I have told you, Mr. King's committee on strategy have advised him that the depression single-handed would defeat the Conservative Government, and have in consequence cautioned him against saying anything which by the remotest chance might engage the attention of the electors. At least we can all agree that Mr. King has faithfully obeyed that injunction. But I fear, or rather I hope, that this committee on strategy has outguessed itself and has forgotten the fact that the Canadian elector rightfully claims to be an intelligent person who wants before him the facts of the situation and the plans and proposals of the competing parties upon these facts. He wants to know what he is up against and he wants to know what the future has in store for him. And he also wants to know what the parties are going to do about it. What he does not want is to be treated as a child and threatened with a bogey man and asked to live in a fairy world, when all the time he is living, in fact, in a world which is not a very happy one and certainly not a very prosperous one.

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I think it would be both interesting and profitable if we were now to look at the policies and plans of the other parties. Let us examine their effectiveness against the background of those grim facts which it has been my unhappy duty to impress upon you.

Let us first take a look at the party known as the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. This is the party which advocates socialism. What does socialism mean? It means common ownership of all your assets. It means expropriation of all private property. It means that Canadians, if they adopt this policy, must surrender their individual rights and their individual possessions: If they are house owners, their homes; if they have savings in banks, their savings; if they possess nothing but freedom of thought and freedom of action, then their freedom of thought and freedom of action.

This is Socialism; which is the doctrine of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. But I venture to say that only a very small percentage of those who proclaim allegiance to that party, either understand or believe in its doctrine. I do not think that even the majority of the leaders of that party believe in its doctrine. And if they will not consider me impolite to say so, I question very much whether those leaders even know what the doctrine of their party is.

This present C.C.F. movement is harmless enough, and its

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proclamation of Socialism is as guileless as you please, and the great majority of its leaders, and nearly all its followers, are true Canadians, believing in law and order and fair play. Their anxiety is to get rid of this depression and to get on. That's certainly all right. It is only with the basic idea of Socialism that I take issue.

. . . . . The great majority of the C.C.F. followers have grouped themselves under the banner of that party, because they thought it would be in the forefront of recovery and reform. Young men and women who faced the future without hope, those of all ages without the means of livelihood, those upon whom the times have borne heavily, many in fact, who believed that without justice or reason, they had been woefully treated: Many from these groups have joined the C.C.F. Why? Because they claimed that they could not find in the old Liberalism or in the old Conservatism operating in the old fashioned way, anything which promises to be of any help to them.

Now, today, the question arises whether all these Canadians should continue to pay lip service to a Socialist creed and to support a Party that supports a Socialist creed, in the hope that some day it may possibly be able to do something for them. And I think all these anxious, troubled people, if they sought impartial advice, would be told that that depended largely on whether there was any hope for them in Liberalism or in Conservatism; that that depended on whether either of the great parties now understood the problems of the day, and were prepared to successfully meet them by making whatever changes in their

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traditional policies and practices as were necessary.

For that is the vital question. I put it in this fashion because Conservatism can proudly and satisfactorily answer it. I put it in this fashion also, as you may guess, because I know that Liberalism cannot satisfactorily answer it. That is quite clear. Therefore, our friends who have looked towards the C.C.F.; our friends who have not known where to look, can, as a beginning, write off Liberalism as a party without a plan, and also without a hope, if its good friend, the depression, lets it down.

Before we continue the examination of the Conservatism and Liberalism of today, let me say a word about the latest party to appear upon the political horizon. I am not in any way disposed to take issue, on general grounds, with that Party. They proclaim that they are working in ways which they believe are right, towards the amelioration of economic and social conditions. But, then so are Mr. King and Mr. Woodsworth, and so is the Conservative Party. Each party, in its own way, is trying to do the fair thing by Canada. Have no doubt about that. But the vital question for you to decide is this: Which of these parties is the one best able to serve you in this time of crisis? In the best of times you should have in government something more than goodwill. In these worst of times, a government without experience and capacity, will assuredly let you down.

But I think I shall leave to Mr. Stevens the task of explaining to you his policy and his platform. When he has done so, the significant difference between the Reconstruction Party and Conservatism will be abundantly clear to you. You will find that the difference in objectives is far less than in the means proposed to attain them. National objectives cannot be obtained by arousing class prejudices and by repudiation and destruction.

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All his political life long, Mr. Stevens has endorsed the fundamental principles of Conservatism, even when Conservatism might fairly have been called reactionary. Now, Mr. Stevens, in the last few months, has renounced the Conservative Party, and, perforce, has therefore felt compelled to also renounce the policies and practices which he has fought for throughout all these years. The policies and practices of the/ modern Conservatism certainly embrace all that is sensible and feasible in Mr. Stevens objectives. Moreover, the modern Conservatism will gain these objectives by means tested and tried and approved, not only by Conservatism, but by yourselves, times without number. The means to be employed by Mr. Stevens have never been used successfully. Most of them could not be used successfully, or unsuccessfully, For they are simply unworkable, Why, then, does Mr. Stevens use them?

That seems to put Mr. Stevens in a difficulty. If he adheres to our policies, but abandons our practices, he retains our hope, but is without the means to realize it; an unsatisfactory position in these exacting times. Indeed, if he keeps on as he has begun, Mr. Stevens will be the makings of a political paradox. But we won't worry about that. The serious question is: How can Mr. Stevens hope to effectively operate upon a plan untested, untried, and only a few weeks old. It doesn't look at all safe or sound or hopeful, in this stormy weather.

Insofar as the success of Mr. Stevens may mean the adoption of new, untried, demonstrably unsound practices, I feel it my duty to warn you to reject them. And insofar as his success may mean a division in the forces/ bent upon progress, . I cannot but warn you that if that division occurs, it might conceivably result in the return to power of Liberalism./ And that will be a grievous blow to Canada. Now I will tell you why.

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(Mr Bennett's radio speech Sept 14/35 continued)

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Not because there are any villains in the Liberal piece. According to their lights, that party is prepared to work for you. That is the tragedy of it. For their plan of work, their doctrine, their whole philosophy, are based upon conditions which ceased to be, a very long time ago. That is the essential point which you must realize. That is the vital matter in this whole political situation, which you must understand; that Liberalism, mighty in the past, powerful as it once was to serve you, is today, by its profession of faith, by the teachings of its leaders, by its whole stock in trade, archaic, numb, without any knowledge whatever of what this situation is all about.

There is something very fine about Liberalism, and something very fine about the academic way in which Mr. King expounds the doctrines of Liberalism. Before the days of monopolies, before the days of concentrations of business, when there was a controlling marketplace, when there was balancing competition, before the days of economic nationalism, before the days when modern industrial conditions, when modern ways of life, necessarily and basically changed our whole economic scheme of things - before those days, Liberalism was real and vital. In this modern world, it is but a ghost.

In the old days, its economic doctrine - which was to leave things alone and let business run itself - was a good doctrine. Its political doctrine - which was to leave things alone and let the country run itself - was not a bad doctrine. Cherish the memory of it, if you will, but realise that in those practical and trying and fast-changing conditions, it can be but a memory. Raise this Liberal ghost and it will haunt you, upon that backward trail which you must travel, if laissez faire is to be your guide.

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It is quite unnecesssry to ask Mr. King whether I am right or not. For by his actions since his first day in public life, he has proved that I am right. By his actions when he was Prime Minister, by the policies of his Party which he has espoused, by his every thought and word, he has proved that I am right. I can't be wrong. For even Mr. King's most ardent flatterers, among themselves in secret, gaze fearfully, upon his incorrigible mediaevalism.

But I don't have to go any farther back than those three key-note speeches delivered by Mr. King two or three weeks ago. I think most of you heard them or read them. The powerful, highly-organized Liberal Association has endorsed them. Doubtless copies have been dispersed for your edification. Look them up. Read them over again, and tell me where in them is anything which anxious men and women, business men threatened with bankruptcy, agriculturalists with inadequate markets, industry with lessening sales, can look to with any hope. Point to a specific proposal on which you can really pin your faith.

What do they say about your standard of living? What is the plan to protect it? Yet he criticizes me for declining the demand of Japan to open wide our gates and let in the products of that country, which ultimately, believe me, would smash our industrial structure, and drive our workmen to join the long lines of the unemployed.

You will find nothing in these speeches, because it is the genius of Liberalism to put nothing in its speeches. And why? Because Liberalism can have no plan and yet be Liberalism. When Liberalism ceases to do nothing, it ceases to be Liberalism. The high command of presentday Liberalism in Canada has run true to form. The council of strategy, deaf to the pleadings of a few young Liberals, who had wilfully refused to give up thinking, declined to do

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anything; unless you can call Mr. King's monumental contribution to the debate upon national credit anything; which honestly I cannot. This high command said:- "Do nothing, and the depression will defeat Bennett." Well, let it. That is not what I am worrying about. Elect Mr. King, and the depression will assuredly defeat you!

When I say that, I speak as a Canadian and not as a Party man. Elect Mr. King, and under his policy I tell you that our foreign markets will fall away, that our domestic markets will become less and less, that our financial structure will become still more gravely imperilled, that unemployment will engulf the people. For the national business will break down.

My friends, I think that even my harshest critics will admit that I have been a good man of business. I think that those who now work the hardest to defeat me will admit, if they are honest, that I have done my best to serve this country. And it would be unforgivable for a Canadian and a man of experience to make a statement to gain whatever end you like, unless he believed that statement to be founded on the truth; as I sincerely do. And so I repeat: Elect Mr. King, entrust this country to the failing power of Liberalism, deliver Canada into its phantom hands, and you face the prospect of bankruptcy; that kind of bankruptcy, you Canadians, which may mean the end of our confederation.

What, then, should you do? Do what is sensible and right. Look after yourselves. Reclaim this situation before it is too late. For, bad as things are, threatening as is the future, we do not have to accept defeat. Our salvation continues to be within our power to control..And that is the way I believe Canadians would have it. You have shown that you are not afraid of a fight. Fight now, and all together. And you will move straight onward. A government with a plan, with resolution, with business knowledge, with an appreciation of conditions throughout the world, can so employ the natural resources of this country, can so

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support the superb resolution and capabilities of Canadians, that they will win through. This is a crisis - a world crisis and a Canadian one, But we can surmount it if we stand together and remember that the decision before us at the poll is not whether we would like a change from Conservatism to Liberalism, or whether you would prefer Mr. King to Bennett, but that the decision which you must make is as to whether you want in government for the next five years, a Party which can serve you in a practical way or a Party whose idealism sets it upon the sidelines and leaves you to help yourselves.

When I made my January speeches, some of my friends, both Liberals and Conservatives, told me that I had impaired the general effect of them by injecting into the last a distinctly partisan note. And I am free to tell you that I made that last speech with genuine reluctance. I took no pleasure whatever in assaulting Liberalism and my good friend, the leader of the Liberal Party. For in my anxious heart there was no room for criticism. But it was not enough that I should point out the dangers of the situation, and the ways in which they might be met. It was not enough that I should point out the need for reform. I was in duty bound to point out, as well, the political agency through which reform might be secured. I was required to tell you the reason why Conservatism could serve you in the ways required, and why Liberalism could not.

And assuredly tonight there is no room in my anxious heart for unnecessary criticism. And so I have spoken of Liberalism and the other junior parties without rancour of any kind. You may take my word for that. But, on the other hand, I must make the issue plain to you. Because better understanding of the facts makes you turn from Liberalism, is certainly no reason why I should not give you a better understanding of the facts. Is that not so?

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I shall now have something to say about modern Conservatism. In my January speeches I laid down certain principles of reform for which the Conservative Party stood. I told you of my belief in the need for those measures many of which for years had been in force in England and which undoubtedly saved that country during the depression. I told you that we would undertake these reforms - that, in fact, we had already made a beginning. I warned you also, that there was no magic way of bringing these about. That they had to be undertaken in an orderly fashion; that they would take time. I have nothing to add to what I said in January. That was the fact then. That is the fact now.

I am not going to weary you by a further account of what this Government has done. Regard it, if you please, only as evidence of what we are capable of doing, as proof of the effectiveness of the Conservative policy.

Just let me read this partial list so you may have it in mind:

Central Bank;

The Marketing Act;

Farm loans;

Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act;

Unemployment Insurance;

Minimum wages;

Eight-hour day;

Day of rest;

The Economic Council.

The Housing Act;

An Act creating a Board of Commerce and Industry;

Amendments to The Companies Act;

Amendments to The Criminal Code, protecting investors, and abolishing unfair trade practices;

The Wheat Board Act.

It is an impressive legislative record, don't you think? And it is beginning to work, wonderfully well. We are ahead of the results which we expected up to date. How far have we

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It is an impressive legislative record, don't you think? And it is beginning to work, wonderfully well. We are ahead of the results which we expected up to date. How far have we got to go, how long it will take to get the results necessary to your well-being, I do not know. But the main thing is that we will keep on going until we do. And another important thing for you to remember is that we know where we are going.

Now as to the future.

I have spoken to you about our reform programme and what we have done. I have discussed what we have done, to improve our national state. You know what has been done. I think we have your approval of the soundness of our plan and the value of the action which has already been taken. In my January speeches I discussed the principle of reform on which we were operating. I examined in detail the measures which had already been passed by Parliament. I outlined the second phase and told you then "that we would go on and on until the task was done".

Then I fell ill. I dislike to talk about my illness. Certainly I do not remind you of it to rekindle your sympathy. Unimportant in itself, it is of consequence because it had an influence upon the course of events. It gravely intefered with the development of our programme.

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Perhaps the fault was mine.

At any rate, this illness assuredly slowed it up; through no one's fault, I repeat, but my own. As a result, I fear I let my party down. I fear I also let you down. But perhaps you will not hold that against me.

The point, however, is this, and it is one for you to note; That had it been otherwise, had I had an unbroken sweep between January and May, we would have been further ahead than we are now. Other vital elements in our programme would now have been enacted into law, and we would have been pushing on with them. I do not mean for a moment that our programme would have been complete. I want to make that clear to you. But we would have been doing some things which now lie immediately before us for performance. That is all.

For there is no magic way out of our troubles. If there were, we would have been out of them long ago. They will be met and overcome only with hard work and patience and intelligent thought and resolute action. If anyone tells you that he has the immediate solution to this problem, you must not take him seriously. It is natural that, under the press of adverse circumstances, patriots and humanitarians alike, should, in increasing numbers, devise novel cures for our national ills. That shows their zeal, which is often so admirable a quality; at worst, it leaves them blameless. But if we take these cures seriously, we will not be likewise blameless. For the national mind must be sober and constant. Yours is the national mind.

The nation which will win through is the nation which

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keeps its nerve, maintains its sense of balance, is undismayed by hardship, is unselfish in the face of want. Such a nation, under a sane and experienced government, with natural resources to back its efforts, is the nation which need not fear defeat. That nation is Canada.

I have said enough of what lies behind us. I have also spoken about the plans for the future. They must be carefully weighed by you. I no more want Conservatives to vote for them because they are Conservatives, than I think Liberals should vote against them because they are Liberals. I want Conservatives, as well as Liberals, to think of their country first. If they do that, they will have little time to think of anything else. This is a crisis in the affairs of Canada. I would be false to my trust if I did not, from the bottom of my heart implore you to choose the course which, after calm consideration and examination, you decide is the one which will lead this country out of its awful troubles.

I have told you truly of the dark and disturbing conditions. But we face them. And we have the means to

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change them, if we choose.

These means are contained within the programme of the Conservative Party. I have told you that this whole programme cannot be developed and put into operation in a day. On the other hand, the first phase of it is already in operation, working well.

Now let us examine the second phase, and try to determine how quickly we can get it going also. For while those in relative security today, can perhaps wait, there are too many in suffering and hardship, to make possible any plan which cannot promise at least some immediate results. The programme of this Progressive Conservative Party, while of necessity stretching into the future, has already produced results, and will produce much greater results in the very near future.

Look at these basic elements in the next step of our reform programme now awaiting execution

Take unemployment. The necessary organizatiom can be quickly completed, and all steps, of whatever nature and kind, can be taken in time to permit the introduction of the necessary legislation early in 1936.

Take the national debt, - public, private, domestic and foreign. Not one instant will be lost in setting up the necessary inquiry. A conversion of the debt of this country

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C 116247

will be undertaken as soon as possible.

Take trade. We will drive on, without pause, to build up our foreign trade by the only means effective in these world conditions. I ask for a mandate to complete the trade agreement with the United States and to renew the Ottawa agreements in 1937. I shall have more to say on this in later speeches.

Take aids to agriculture, and the question of minimum prices. I have told you what I will do to reduce the cost of farm implements. The minimum price for wheat has been fixed and is already effective. The question of minimum prices for other basic natural products is being dealt with by the Marketing Board.

Take the question of the means we shall employ to protect the confederation, to bring about a closer union among the parts of this vast country, to see that the people in every section are equipped, not only the better to serve themselves but to serve their fellow Canadians through the length and breadth of the land.

Radio: Plans for a trans-Canada chain of high-power broadcasting stations were prepared some months ago. The money to put them into effect will be voted at the next Parliament.

Civil aviation. The Government Departments have been long engaged upon the consideration of this important matter. The Government is now sufficiently informed upon the various phases of it to take action.

The Trans-Canada Highway: That you know about already. Work continues. The completion of the highway is in sight.

Freight rates: The freight rates structure must be recast so it will serve the cause of unity.

A Canadian fuel policy: I have told you what the Government has done and proposes to do. You may assume that we will go on without delay.

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Reduction of debt; reduction of unemployment; stabilization of farm prices upon a living level; better co-operation among the parts of Canada; better equalization of benefits among the Provinces of the Confederation; these things we can promise you. Protection of the home market from harmful invasion by the goods of countries upon a lower standard of living than our own; this we can promise you. Greater foreign markets for our products, natural and manufactured; these we can promise you if there are nations in the world today ready and able to exchange fairly their goods for ours. I believe there are. If there are not, the fault is not Canada's. If there are not, this further I can promise you:. That the Conservative Government, in this world of economic nationalism, will never voluntarily reduce its tariffs, in the hope or expectation that by so doing other nations may be persuaded to a correspondingly reckless and unbusinesslike course of action. For that way of doing business is the way to bankruptcy.

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KODAK SAFETY

 C 116249

And now I have come to the end of these radio talks. I thank you with all my heart for the way in which you have received them. I like to think that your approval of them means your approval of what I have tried to do for you in these last five years. If that is so, I am well repaid; I am indeed grateful and proud.

I know that I have made mistakes. I know that all my plans have not been carried out. I offer you no further excuse; just my regret. These hard, hard times, some say, free me from all shadow of blame for what I have not done. Some even say that they have earned us high praise for what we have been able to do.

Perhaps that may be so. At any rate, when you know the facts, you will decide. My remaining duty is to give you the facts. It is for you to pass judgment upon them. It is neither my duty nor inclination to influence your judgment, when once you know the facts.

You will, I entreat you, look carefully into what the Government has done and has not done. Test in all possible ways the merit of its acts. Fully explore the extent of its failures. Think steadily of the Government's plans for the future. Try the worth of them by your knowledge of what today's needs require in Government.

Do all you can to acquaint yourselves with the situation in Canada. Diligently study the state of Europe and of the world. Then come to your decision upon the policies and plans and party which at this time of world crisis will be best for our country. Once made, cleave to that decision. And let not friendship nor hostility, political allegiance or personal regard, change you. For change would be a treachery to your own best interests.

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C 116250

If you wish that I continue to serve you, I will be honoured and happy to do so. If you wish that someone else now serve you, I will be honoured and happy to remember that once you chose me to do so. I will be content to believe that then I did my best, and that best was not bad. I would be more than content if I could believe that my successor might do better for you than I. For that is all that matters; your welfare; the welfare of Canada.

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CANADA

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DOMINION OF CANADA

FEDERAL ELECTIONS

OCT. 14TH 1935

LIBERAL PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN

HON VINCENT MASSEY, K.C.
CHAIRMAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

J. F. MACKAY
CHAIRMAN PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

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C 116[illegible]

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Coll - Gen Elect 1935 - campaign

C 116252

TELEPHONE
ADELAIDE 0584

J. F. MacKay & Co.
FINANCIAL AGENTS LIMITED

200 BAY STREET

TORONTO, CANADA

December 28th, 1935.

Mr. H. R. L. Henry,
Private Secretary
to the
Prime Minister,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Henry:

Under seperate cover I am sending to your address, copy of a booklet covering some of the activities of the Publicity Committee during the recent Federal Election.

Only three copies of the booklet have been issuad, the other two to be kept by Hon. Mr. Massey and myself. I thought perhaps this might be of some value among the Prime Minister's archives.

Wishing you the Season's Compliments,

I am

Yours faithfully,

J. F. MacKay

JFM/N

DEC 30 1935

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The Committee was constituted as follows;-

Mr.J.F.MacKay, Chairman.

The Hon.Vincent Massey, P.C.

Mr.Norman Lambert,

Mr.W.R.P.Parker,

Mr.H.H.Johnson,

with Mr.W.S.Thomson as Secretary.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Publicity arrangements

in connection with the

Canadian Federal Election

October Fourteenth, 1935.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 116255

SUMMARY.

		$
1.	RADIO .	45,073.68
2.	BILLBOARD POSTERS .	20,956.35
3.	DAILY PAPERS .	13,823.93
4.	FARM PAPERS .	4,859.45
5.	MAGAZINES .	2,000.00
6.	ONE-SHEET POSTERS .	6,353.61
7.	BOOKLETS and LEAFLETS .	7,754.66
8.	SUNDRIES .	6,522.36
	T O T A L	$ 107,344.04

(Sketches and photographs of one-sheet posters, twenty-four sheet posters and newspaper advertisements are attached)

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SUMMARY -

1. Cost of Station Time	$	22,657.48
2. Cost of Lines and Pickup		12,576.41
3. Cost of Newspaper Advertising		9,839.79
TOTAL COST	$	45,073.68

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C 116257

MEMORANDUM OF RADIO BROADCASTS

FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA

Date of Broadcast	Speaker	Broadcast Originated	Hour P.M.		Minutes on the air.	No. of Stations	Cost of Station Time .	Cost of lines & Pickup.	Cost of Newspaper Advtsg.	TOTAL COST.
July 31	Mackenzie King	Ottawa	9	E.D.S.T	30	39	$ 1272.30	$ 858.26	$ 1131.60	$ 3262.16
Aug. 2	Mackenzie King	Ottawa	9	"	30	39	1172.30	858.26	521.80	2552.36
Aug. 5	Mackenzie King	Ottawa	9	"	30	39	1272.30	858.26	351.55	2482.11
Aug. 7	Mackenzie King	Kingston	9	"	90	2	405.00	144.15	68.00	617.15
Sept. 11	J.C.McRuer	Toronto	8	"	15	1	60.00	-	236.26	296.26
Sept. 11	W.H.Moore and others	Oshawa	8.30	"	60	1	-	32.50	251.25	283.75
Sept. 17	Mackenzie King	Ottawa	9	"	30	46	1429.30	940.43	410.23	2779.96
Sept. 18	J.C.McRuer	Toronto	8	"	30	1	60.00	-	125.63	185.63
Sept. 18	Norman Rogers, Odette LaPointe & Paddy Antin		9	"	15	32	875.65	633.14	257.73	1566.52
Sept. 24	Mrs.Douglas Blair and Wm. H. Fox, Jr.	Toronto	8.15	"	15	1	60.00	-	202.50	262.50
Sept. 25	J.C.McRuer	Toronto	8	"	15	1	60.00	-	125.63	185.63
Sept. 25	C.A.Dunning		10	"	30	23	992.75	706.75	308.73	2008.23
Sept. 25	Mrs. L.R.McCallum and John Frye	Toronto	7.45	"	15	1	60.00	-	202.50	262.50
Oct. 1	Helen Van Dusen and Donald Begg	Toronto	8.15	E.S.T.	15	1	60.00	-	202.50	262.50
Oct. 1	A.G.Slaght	Toronto	9.30	"	60	7	615.00	125.11	385.00	1125.11
Oct. 2	J.C.McRuer	Toronto	8	"		1	60.00	-	125.63	185.63
Oct. 3	Mrs.Fulford and Dalton Wells	Toronto	8.15	"	15	1	60.00	-	202.50	262.50
Oct. 4	M.F.Hepburn	Toronto	9.30	"	60	8	571.00	145.74	220.00	936.74
Oct. 5		Toronto	9	"	30	1	-	-	50.00	50.00
Oct. 5	Speakers from 9 Provinces	Toronto	9.30	"	30	24	1027.75	1141.53	505.73	2675.01
Oct. 5	Mrs.Thorburn	Toronto	10.45	"	15	9	226.90	166.95	392.63	786.48
Oct. 5	A.G.Slaght	White River	8.30	"	30	6	365.00	330.91	184.50	880.41
Oct. 5	Duncan Marshall	Toronto				1	21.00	-	45.00	66.00
Oct. 5	J.L.Ralston	Halifax	9.30	"	30	27	1059.25	765.73	529.02	2354.00
Oct. 7	Duncan Marshall	Toronto				1	21.00	-	15.00	36.00
Oct. 9	J.C.McRuer	Toronto	8	"	15	1	60.00	-	125.63	185.63
Oct. 8	Duncan Marshall	Toronto				1	21.00	-	15.00	36.00
Oct. 8	Mackenzie King and 8 Premiers	Toronto	9.30	"	135	422	5125.15	2168.51	714.15	8007.81
Oct. 9	C.A.Dunning	Toronto	10.30	"	30	26	1041.75	726.87	529.02	2297.64
Oct. 9	Duncan Marshall	Toronto				1	21.00	-	15.00	36.00
Oct. 10	J.C.McRuer	Toronto	8	"	15	1	60.00	-	125.88	185.88
Oct. 10	M.F.Hepburn	Sarnia	9.30	"	60	5	535.00	104.17	425.56	1064.73
Oct. 10	Newton Rowell	Woodstock	8.30	"	60	1	200.00	102.30	26.25	328.55
Oct. 10	Mackenzie King	Brockville	9.30	"	60	1	70.00	108.00	-	178.00
Oct. 10	Duncan Marshall	Toronto				1	21.00	-	15.00	36.00
Oct. 11	Roebuck and Hepburn	Guelph &	8	"	60	20	1187.80	549.24	215.75	1952.79
Oct. 11	Duncan Marshall - Toronto	Parry Sound				1	21.00	-	15.00	36.00
Oct. 12	Mackenzie King	Ottawa	10	"	60	42	2341.00	1109.60	551.63	4002.23
Oct. 12	Duncan Marshall	Toronto				1	21.00	-	15.00	36.00
Oct. 14	Spot Announcements	Toronto,				3	325.28	-	-	325.28
							$ 22657.48	$ 12576.41	$ 9839.79	$ 45,073.68

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Three twenty-four sheet Posters were prepared.

1. "A UNITED CANADA WILL SOLVE YOUR PROBLEMS."

2. "LET KING RESTORE THE MARKETS THAT BENNETT AND STEVENS LOST."

3. "ONLY KING CAN WIN: GIVE HIM A WORKING MAJORITY."

Poster	Number posted	Length of showing	Commencing
#1.	434)	260 for 4 weeks	September 14th
#2.	526)	700 " 3 "	
#3.	1,561	All for 10 days	October 4th

TOTAL COST ..... $ 20,956.35

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 116259

1. One whole page of advertising in every Daily Paper in Canada; except in the Province of Quebec.

Run on Friday, October 11th, 1935.

"CANADA CANNOT STAND ANOTHER FIVE YEARS OF BENNETT'S BROKEN PROMISES".

2. One half page of advertising in every Daily Paper in Ontario

Run on Tuesday, October 8th, 1935.

"THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER: FORGOTTEN FOR FIVE YEARS UNDER THE BENNETT-STEVENS RULE."

TOTAL COST $13,823.73

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One advertisement in each of fourteen

Farm Papers.

"MORE AND BETTER MARKETS FOR CANADIAN PRODUCTS: KING WILL BRING THEM BACK."

TOTAL COST ..... $ 4,859.45

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 116261

One double page advertisement in Maclean's Magazine, the issue of October 15th, 1935.
(Distributed on or about October 10th, 1935)

C O S T $2,000.00

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S A F E T Y A F I L M

Four one-sheet posters were prepared.

1. "A UNITED CANADA WILL SOLVE YOUR PROBLEMS",

Printing 10,050 copies in English; making two plates in French for Quebec; freight and postage on both; -

. . . . . $ 1,030.05

2. "MORE TRADE MEANS MORE JOBS, MORE BUSINESS, MORE RAILWAY TRAFFIC, AND - RECOVERY",

Printing 15,882 copies in English; supplying stickers for each poster; plus freight and postage;-

. . . . . $ 689.42

3. "IF YOU 'BLAST' YOUR MARKETS, YOU DAM UP YOUR TRADE".

Printing 15,130 copies in English; supplying stickers for each poster; plus freight and postage;-

. . . . . $ 615.42

4. "CUT THE CORDS THAT STRANGLE CANADA",

Lithographing 15,885 copies in English; separate art-work and commission; plus freight and postage;

. . . . . $ 1,938.62

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C116263

Three one-sheet posters were distributed between the Provinces other than Quebec in quantities proportionate to the number of Ridings in each Province. All shipments were addressed to the Provincial Organizers, excepting in Ontario and Alberta where shipments went direct to the individual candidates.

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

The fourth one-sheet poster was distributed throughout Ontario by a sign-posting agency; shipments of this poster to the other Provinces went direct to the Provincial Organizers.

Posting #4 throughout Ontario . . . . . $ 2,080.00

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

The four one-sheet posters, plus the expense of posting #4 -

TOTAL COST . . . . . $ 6,353.61

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C 116264

Four booklets were prepared.

1. "MACKENZIE KING TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE",

50,000 copies distributed to the Provincial Organizers, and in Ontario and Alberta to individual Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . . . $ 1,610.52

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2. "MR. KING REPLIES TO MR. BENNETT",

25,000 copies distributed direct to all Candidates except in the Province of Quebec.

Printing and shipping charges . . . . $ 331.84

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3. "MACKENZIE KING THE OBSTINATE IDEALIST", by W.H. Moore, M.P.

30,000 copies distributed to Provincial Organizers and in Ontario and Alberta to individual Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . . $ 220.61

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4. "MACKENZIE KING AND THE WAGE EARNER", by W.H. Moore, M.P.

20,000 copies distributed to Provincial Organizers and in Ontario and Alberta to individual Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . . $ 146.20

Incidental charges . . . . . $ 200.00

T O T A L C O S T . . . . . $ 2,509.17

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1. "THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER"

1,029,000 copies distributed to Provincial Organizers; and in Ontario and Alberta direct to individual Candidates.

Printing, stereos, and shipping charges . $ 4,139.99

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2. "VOTE LIBERAL ITS KING OR CHAOS",

205,000 copies distributed to Candidates.

Printing, and shipping charges . . . . $ 673.49

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3. "A VOTE FOR STEVENS IS A TORY VOTE",

111,500 copies distributed to Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . . . $ 332.79

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4. "SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS RE ABSENTEE VOTERS",

50,000 copies distributed to Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . . . $ 99.22

TOTAL COST . . . . . $ 5,245.49

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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1. CUTS and MATS,

Cuts and Mats of prominent Liberals supplied on request to those papers guaranteeing their reproduction before October 14th, 1935. Also other incidental cuts and reproductions.

. . . . . $ 335.08

2. WINDSHIELD STICKERS,

"VOTE LIBERAL AND GET ACTION"

250,000 stickers distributed to Provincial Organizers, and in Ontario and Alberta to individual Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . $ 794.76

3. BLOTTERS,

"ONLY KING CAN WIN"

300,000 blotters distributed to Provincial Organizers, and in Ontario and Alberta to individual Candidates.

Printing and shipping charges . . $ 1,790.41

4. "FORGOTTEN CONSUMER" (Meetings and publicity)

Travelling expenses, cost of samples, and publicity expenses in connection with the meetings. (Not including cost of pamphlets)- approx. . .$ 600.00

5. MAPLE LEAF GARDENS (Rental only) . . . . $ 750.00

6. SUNDRIES,

Including Office expenses, salaries, telephone, telegraph, mailing and shipping charges, etc., . . . $ 2,252.11

TOTAL COST . . . . . $ 6,522.36

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA CANNOT STAND ANOTHER 5 YEARS OF BENNETT'S BROKEN PROMISES

C 116267

Promises and Failures—that's what Bennett gave Canada . . . That's what Canada would get from him again . . . Five more years of Bennett would ruin Canada.

1. BENNETT PROMISED to end Unemployment—HE FAILED!
   Unemployment has increased 400%
2. BENNETT PROMISED to keep Canada free from the dole—HE FAILED!
   Instead of giving work and wages, he spent $593,000,000 on relief.
3. BENNETT PROMISED to bring prosperity to Canada—HE FAILED!
   Canada has had misery, hardship and strife.
4. BENNETT PROMISED to pay old age pensions in full from the Federal Treasury—HE FAILED!
   The Provinces still pay a large share.
5. BENNETT PROMISED to "blast" his way into the markets of the world—HE FAILED!
   Canada's trade has been cut in half.
6. BENNETT PROMISED to protect the Canadian Consumer—HE FAILED!
   He raised the taxes and forgot the Consumer.



Canada has learned that Promises and Failures are all we can get from Bennett.

ONLY KING CAN WIN —
GIVE HIM A WORKING MAJORITY

VOTE LIBERAL
IT'S KING OR CHAOS

Published by the National Liberal Federation Ottawa

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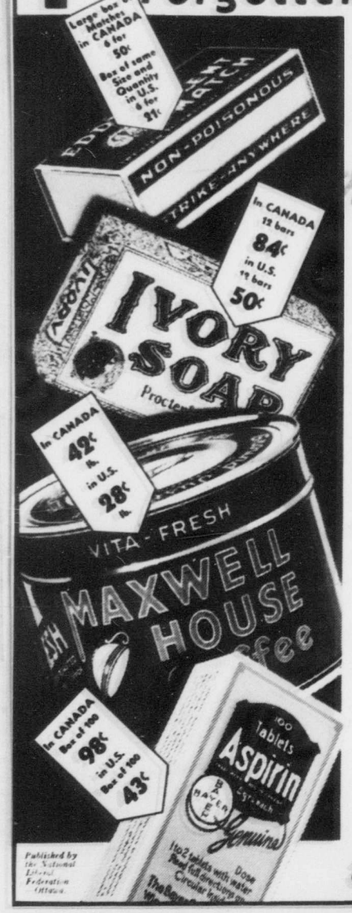
HALF PAGE Newspaper Advertisement.

C 146268

THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER

Forgotten for five years under Bennett and Stevens



Why do the necessities of life cost so much more in Canada than in the United States? Bennett is to blame. High Tariffs . . . Excise Taxes . . . Increased Sales Tax . . . Fixed Valuations and Nuisance Taxes instituted by Bennett have made the cost of living a heavy burden in Canada.

The wages and standards of living, if anything, are a little higher in the United States than in Canada . . . Our Canadian workmen are just as efficient, able and anxious to work as those in the United States . . . The Canadian retail merchant sells on a closer margin of profit than does the United States merchant, and yet —

COMPARE THESE CANADIAN AND U.S. PURCHASE PRICES:-

(The following partial list represents goods of the same standard and quality)

(Prices on or about August 1, 1935)

	Canada	U.S.
Maxwell House Coffee—1 lb.	42c	28c
Chase & Sanborn Coffee—1 lb.	37c	25c
Miracle Whip Mayonnaise Dressing—1 qt.	53c	35c
Gold Dust Powder, 4½ oz. pkg.	5c	
14 oz. tin		5c
Matches—6 large boxes	50c	21c
Ivory Soap, medium—12 bars	84c	50c
Lifebuoy Soap—1 cake	8c	5c
Old Dutch Cleanser—2 cans	20c	15c
Kraft Relish—1 jar	23c	17c
Aunt Jemima Pancake Flour — 1 lb. 4 oz.	16c	12c
Canned Pears,		
Aylmer—16 oz. can	21c	
Delmonte—29 oz. can		24c
Canned Peaches,		
Aylmer—16 oz. can	21c	
Delmonte—29 oz. can		20c

	Canada	U.S.
Gillette Blue Blades—10	50c	37c
Bayer Aspirin tablets—100	98c	43c
Pepsodent Tooth Paste— large tube	39c	29c
Lifebuoy Shaving Cream—1 tube	35c	26c
Noxzema—4 oz. jar	54c	39c
Woodbury's Cold Cream— 3 oz. jar	50c	
3½ ozs.		39c
Mead's Dextri Maltose—1 lb.	79c	59c
Ovaltine — 16 oz. tin	98c	
14 oz. tin		48c
Heater plug	30c	15c
Eveready battery—No. 950	15c	10c
Porcelain Electrical receptacle	20c	10c
Double socket	20c	10c
Brass socket	25c	15c
Knife switch—2 pull	50c	19c
No. 226 Radio Tube	$1.10	59c

The Sales Tax, reduced by the Liberals from 6% to 1%, was raised to 6% by Bennett and Stevens.

THE LIBERAL PARTY WILL RESTORE TO "THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER" THE RIGHTS OF WHICH HE HAS BEEN ROBBED BY BENNETT AND STEVENS DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

Vote Liberal

and lower the cost of living!



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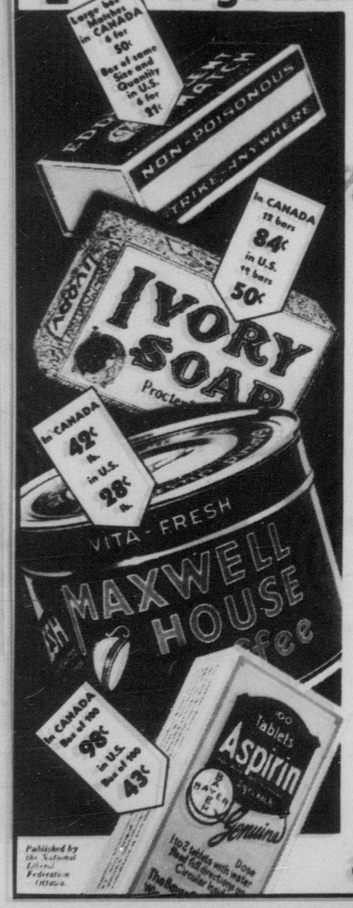
HALF PAGE Newspaper Advertisement.

THE FORGOTTEN CONSUMER

C 116268

Forgotten for five years under Bennett and Stevens



Why do the necessities of life cost so much more in Canada than in the United States?
Bennett is to blame. High Tariffs . . . Excise Taxes . . . Increased Sales Tax . . . Fixed Valuations and Nuisance Taxes instituted by Bennett have made the cost of living a heavy burden in Canada.
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Canned Pears,		
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Vote Liberal

and lower the cost of living!

Published by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

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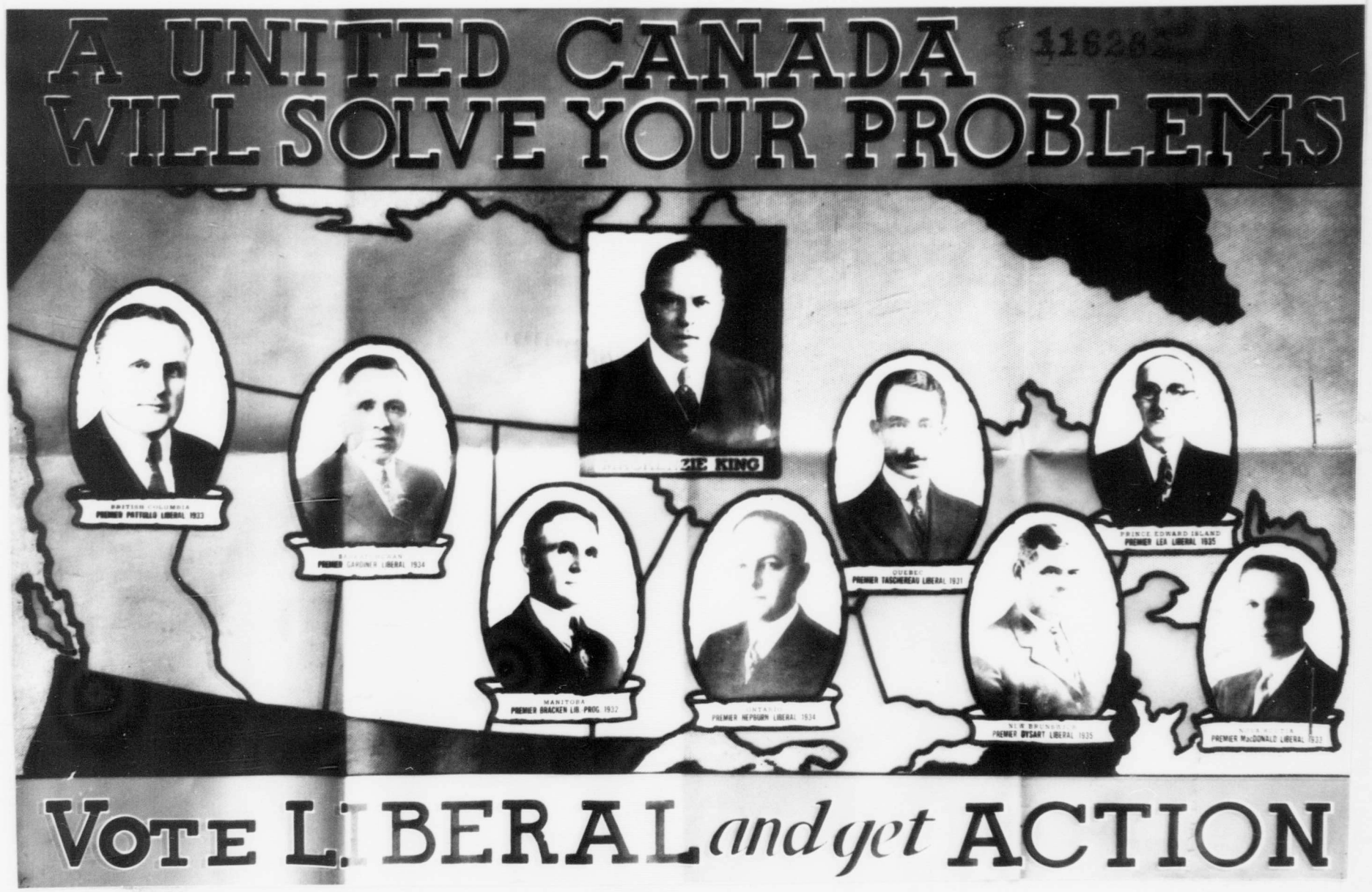

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MORE TRADE *means*

MORE *Jobs*

MORE *Business*

MORE *Railway Traffic*

and —

RECOVERY

Vote Liberal - Get Action

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MORE TRADE *means*

MORE *Jobs*

MORE *Business*

MORE *Railway Traffic*

and —

RECOVERY

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MORE TRADE *means*

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and —

RECOVERY

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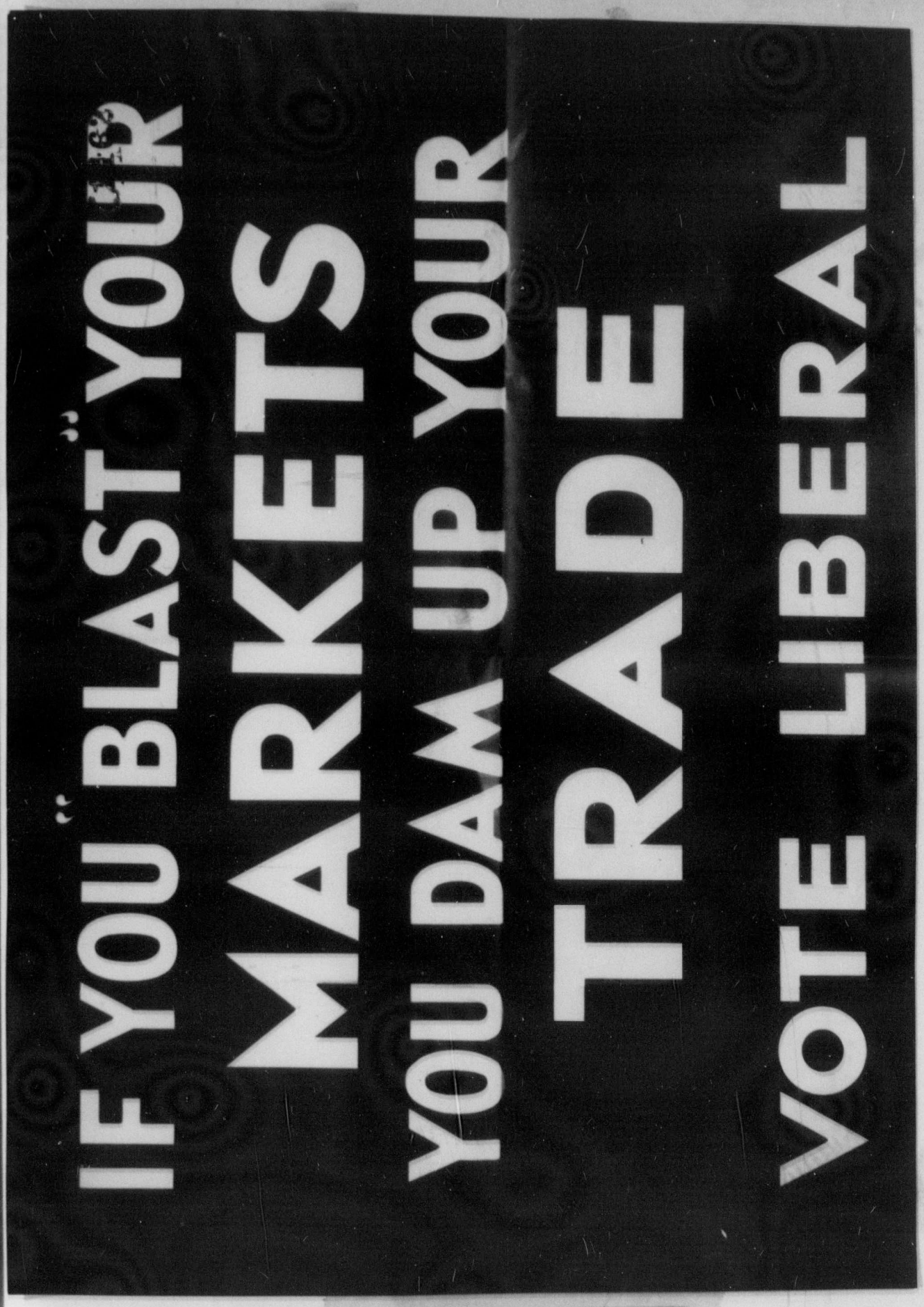

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IF YOU "BLAST" YOUR
MARKETS
YOU DAM UP YOUR
TRADE
VOTE LIBERAL

" ONE-SHEET POSTER # 2 "

C 116272

Cut the Cords that strangle Canada



VOTE LIBERAL

and get ACTION

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Cut the Cords that strangle Canada



VOTE LIBERAL
and get ACTION

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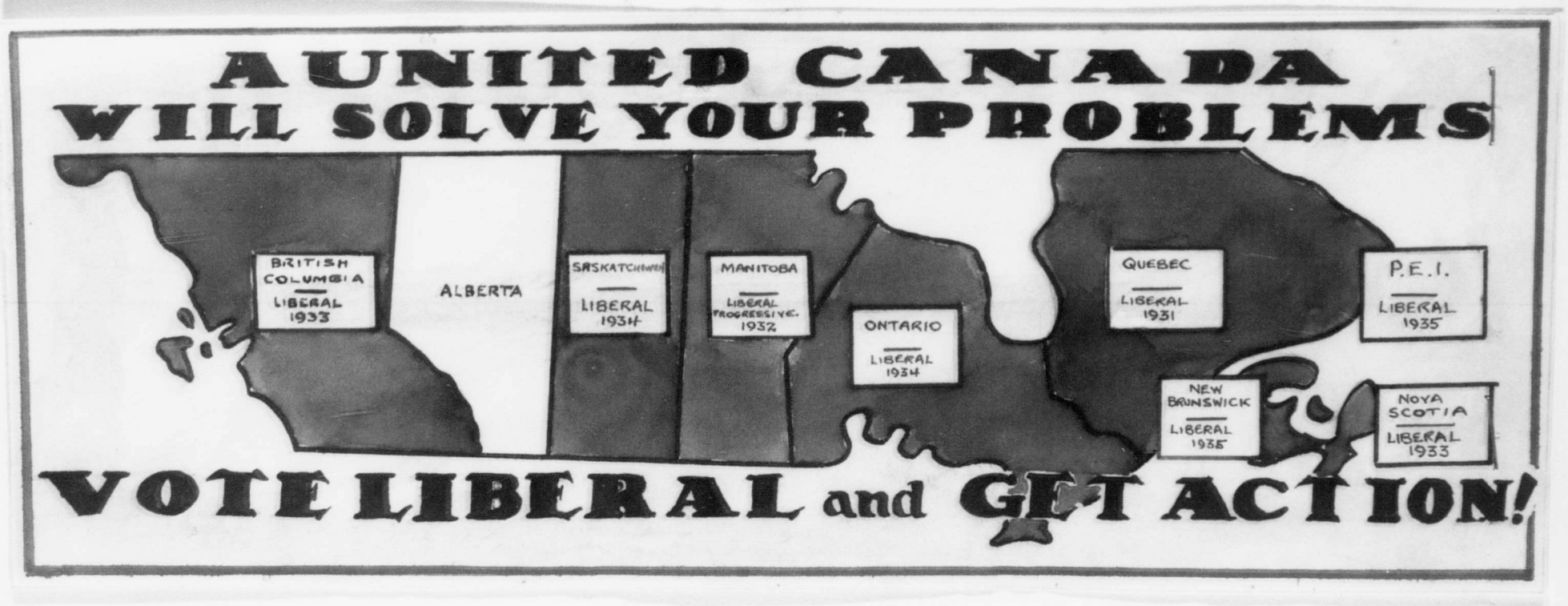

" TWENTY-FOUR SHEET POSTER # 1 "

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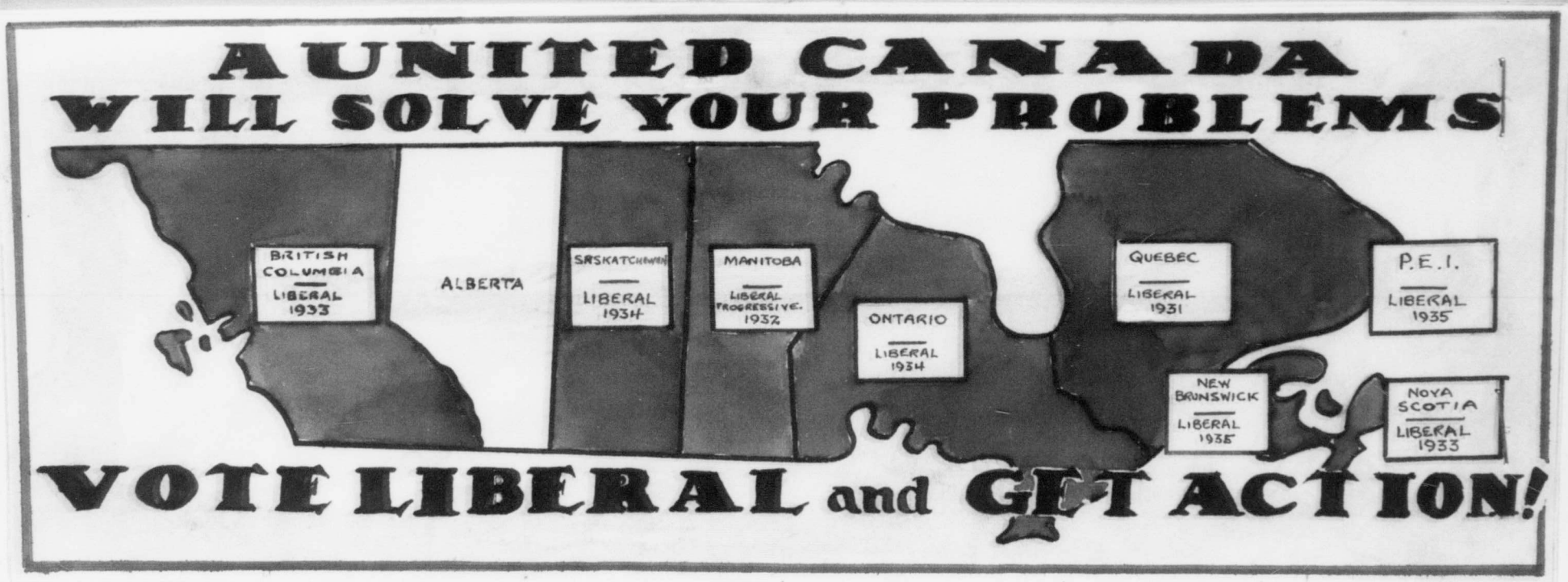

" TWENTY-FOUR SHEET POSTER # 1 "

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Let KING RESTORE THE MARKETS

THAT BENNETT & STEVENS LOST

VOTE LIBERAL AND GET ACTION

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ONLY KING CAN WIN



GIVE HIM A WORKING MAJORITY

VOTE LIBERAL-
IT'S KING OR CHAOS

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ONLY KING CAN WIN



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IT'S KING OR CHAOS

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REVISED ITINERARY OF THE RT.HON.W.L.MACKENZIE KING -BALANCE OF CAMPAIGN

Lv. Winnipeg	CP Spl.	11.00 P.M.	Wednesday, October	2nd
Arr.Fort William	" "	6.30 P.M.	Thursday "	3rd

MEETING PORT ARTHUR - 4½ Miles distant
(3rd)

Lv. Fort William	CPR # 4	8.05 A.M.	Friday, October	4th
Arr.Toronto	" # 4	7.30 A.M.	Saturday "	5th
Lv.Toronto	CNR #41	9.00 A.M.	" "	5th
Arr.Barrie	" #41	11.25 A.M.	" "	5th

MEETING BARRIE (evening)
(5th)

(Private car to leave Barrie CNR #44, 4.05 P.M., Saturday," 5th)
(Mr. King and party to motor from Barrie to Toronto after)
(evening meeting.)

Lv.Toronto	POOL # 34	11.35 P.M.	Saturday, October	5th
Arr.Ottawa	" # 34	7.45 A.M.	Sunday "	6th
Lv.Ottawa	POOL # 33	11.35 P.M.	" "	6th
Arr.Toronto	" # 33	7.15 A.M.	Monday "	7th
Lv.Toronto	CNR # 17	8.30 A.M.	" "	7th
Arr.Chatham	" #117	1.30 P.M.	" "	7th
Arr.Windsor	" #117	2.30 P.M.	" "	7th

MEETING WINDSOR
(7th)

Lv.Windsor	CNR #10	1.00 A.M.	Tuesday "	8th
Arr.Toronto	" #10	8.10 A.M.	" "	8th

MEETING TORONTO
(8th)

Lv.Toronto	CNR ~~#83-86 1.30 P.M.~~ 101-1-2, 8.00 am		Wednesday "	9th
Arr.Niagara Falls	" ~~#83-86 4.30 P.M.~~ 101-1-2 (11.07) a.		" "	9th

MEETING NIAGARA FALLS.
(9th)

Lv.Niagara Falls	CN #105	5.45 A.M.	Thursday "	10th
Arr.Toronto	" #106	7.55 A.M.	" "	10th
Lv.Toronto	" # 14	9.15 A.M.	" "	10th
Arr.Brockville	" # 14	2.35 P.M.	" "	10th

MEETING BROCKVILLE (10th)

Lv.Brockville	CPR #566	8.10 A.M.	Friday "	11th
Arr.Ottawa	" #566	11.05 A.M.	" "	11th
Lv.Ottawa	CNR # 50	4.30 P.M.	" "	11th
Arr.Montreal	" # 50	7.45 P.M.	" "	11th

MEETING MONTREAL (11th)

Lv.Montreal	CNR Frt.#401	11.30 P.M.	" "	11th
Arr.Ottawa	" " #401	4.00 A.M.	Saturday "	12th

MEETING OTTAWA (12th)

Issued October 4th,1935.

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

Coll - Gen. Election 1935

C 116278

Speech A. G. Slaght, K.C.,
delivered at public meeting
Toronto Oct. 1st., and also
broadcast 9.30 - 10.30 Oct.1st/35
over Ontario Network.
from the Meeting.

OPENING:

Ladies and Gentlemen: There never was since Confederation an election of such great importance to the people of Canada. The Liberal policy is clear-cut, well-defined and offers a solution to unemployment, international trade and a return to the prosperity enjoyed by Canada under the Laurier and King administrations. But there are two other parties seeking your support - Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens are leaders of nothing more or less than two wings of the Tory party.

I told you Bennett and Stevens are the leaders of nothing more or less than two wings of the Tory party. Let us take a close-up look at Mr. Stevens.

He and Bennett have been political bedfellows, snuggled under the same political quilt for the pas five years.

Don't forget that Mr. Stevens was defeated in Vancouver City in the general election of 1930, five years ago, properly trounced by my good friend the Hon.Ian McKenzie.

I want you to get a true perspective of his record and the record by which he arrived at leadership, so called, of a new party.

In 1930, while Stevens was defeated, Mr. Bennett was elected and found himself with a substantial majority and formed a Government.

He looked around for a man from British Columbia after his own heart and instead of taking any of the elected representatives of the people, he chose Mr. Stevens. And why not? They had worked together, cheek by jowl, for fifteen years preaching high tariff, protecting the big interests and opposing Liberal-Progressive reform policies in Parliament. So Mr. Bennett secured the resignation of one of the Conservative members for East Kootenay and handed Mr. Stevens a seat in Parliament, which he could not get for himself and made him Minister of Trade and Commerce, one of the most important Cabinet positions that the Country had to offer. And Stevens was glad to get it. Bennett, in 1930 picked him out of the political discard - brushed the dust of his defeat off him, and by the process of political fanning and the application of wet towels, spruced him up and sat him at the Cabinet table in Ottawa, with a salary of $14,000 a year and $2,000 extra allowance for a motor car thrown in for good measure.

$16,000 a year and a Cabinet position was not bad for a gentleman who had been engaged in some stock jobbing operations in connection with the Manufacturers Finance Corporation, Limited, to which I shall refer later, but which brought ruin to the extent of three million dollars to thousands of small investors across Canada.

Mr. Stevens in his whole campaign, has never attempted to give you an account of his stewardship during his four years as Minister of Trade and Commerce in the Bennett Cabinet.

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C 116279

He drew down at the rate of sixteen thousand dollars a year from the taxpayers money, for those four years, the neat little sum of sixty-four thousand dollars.

Quite a tidy wage you will say, for a four year job, to say nothing of railroad passes on both the great railways, which he enjoyed in common with all other members of both parties.

Now, as he has failed to give you an account for that money you paid him, I am going to do it in part for you and then ask yourselves whether he has not been the most expensive luxury that Canada has been saddled with during the last four years. Expensive not only because we paid him sixty-four thousand dollars, but if we had paid him nothing, it will take us a long time to recover in Canada the losses that this gentleman has cost our country through his illfated administration of Trade and Commerce.

Here are some of the things he did in return for your sixty-four thousand dollars:

As Minister of Trade and Commerce he had a big staff of inspectors and officials supposed to enforce the Weights and Measures Act.

The law against short weights was in force during all Mr. Stevens four years of office.

He was in charge of enforcing it.

I have secured from Ottawa, the Blue Book Records which I have here and the official figures will both shock and amuse you.

He spent on inspectors and investigators salaries under this Weights and Measures Act alone -
" in the fiscal year of 1932-33.....$306,000.
What do you think he collected in fines that year?
From the same Blue Book I quote..... $45.
The next fiscal year 1933-34 he spent.....$286,000.
In fines he collected..... $80.

What do you think of that? The same man who beat the drums and talked big talk about short weight and the Price Spreads Commission cost the taxpayers $307,000 to find out really that Stevens had messed things up in his department for four years.

(1) No sooner installed in power as a member of the Cabinet he put a two cent tax on sugar, two dollars a bag for a one hundred pound bag, a commodity that every housewife on the farm or in the Towns must place on her table to feed the family. Sugar is a poor man's necessity. Stevens had no scruples in joining with the rest of the Cabinet to lay this burden on the back of the Canadian people. The Liberals opposed it. Stevens laughed and at the crack of the whip, the good Tory majority jammed it through.

(2) He raised the Tariff sky-high for the benefit, of course, of his friends the manufacturers.

The result, he cannot deny, forced you to pay higher prices under a high Protective Tariff for your boots,

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C116280

your clothes, your furniture, your dishes, everything you wear and use in your daily life. Farm machinery and the farmers got their dose under Stevens. The Liberal Party say that it was a dastardly betrayal of the men on the land, to raise the Tariff on their implements of production. But you of the towns don't escape. Mrs. Thorburn has already made it clear in a wonderful way to the women of Canada the difference in prices of fifty standard articles that go into every home.

(4) Stevens and the Cabinet voted to raise the Sales Tax from one cent, to which King had reduced it, back to six cents. This is a silent tax that gets you without attracting much attention, for every dollar you hand the merchant. Stevens took six cents off and you got ninety-four cents worth of good.

Ninety-four cents? No! You paid your dollar for about fifty or sixty cents worth of goods in Mrs. Thorburn's schedule.

(5) Stevens for fifteen years, has, with other High Tariff Tories, insulted the great American people with that slogan "No truck or trade with the Yankee" and for the last five years has been entirely consistent in maintaining this attitude, not only against the United States, but has broadened out the slogan to "No truck or trade with anybody".

The result was inevitable. Canada has been isolated from World Trade and strangled for the past five years. The folly of expecting nations in whose face you slam the doors of trade - to come and buy your goods has been clearly proven. Canada, with her great natural resources, produces more than she can consume with her small population.

(6) Stevens strongly opposed the repeal of section 98, running true to form as a plutocratic and autocratic Tory. The Liberal Party has pledged itself to strict enforcement of the country's laws but the Liberal Party is equally insistent that no iron heel or ruthlessness shall remain written into the country's laws.

Stevens, as a Cabinet Member, was responsible for the so-called Bank of Canada Act. This Act places the credit and currency issue of the Nation in private hands. MacKenzie King and the Liberals fought this act. The Liberal policy maintains that the Bank of Canada must be one in reality, controlled by the people of Canada themselves. A real national bank.

His political insincerity is well illustrated when we find after enacting this very law - he poses in his new Platform as opposed to the law he helped create - now calls for a National Bank of Canada.

(7) Stevens voted against the Combines Investigation Act prior to 1930 when it was introduced by Mackenzie King and passed by Parliament. His exact language opposing the Bill in part was as follows:

> "A combine is usually prompted by efforts for efficiency and economy and generally results in better service, the stabilizating of prices and the uniformity of supply. My further objection is that the bill is inquisitorial."

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This is the man, the great friend of the people, as he would have you believe today. The over-night convert. He has got political religion he would have you believe, like that darkey who walked up the sawduct trail rolling his eyes when Billy Sunday was carrying on. Can you credit a man with sincerity who opposed and attempted to defeat the Bill to destroy Combines, taking a brief for the combines and their usefulness and then, with a back somersault prior to election, pretends to condemn Combines. Stevens helped to strangle Canadian Trade while Minister of Trade and Commerce. From 1930 to 1934 Canadian Trade fell off from two billion, four hundred million in 1930 to only approximately a billion in 1934, being a drop of over fifty percent.

(8) Stevens was a party to the removal from the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railway in 1933 of a Labour Representative. Now poses a a friend to labor.

Two weeks ago I met a friend of mine who told me Mr. Stevens reminded him of a bird. I asked "What bird" and he said a Mugwump. I asked what a Mugwump was and he said "A bird who sits with his mug on one side of the fence and his wump on the other. Then the wind changes a little and ruffles its feathers and the next thing you see it sitting with its wump on this side and its mug on the other. Some people may think that my friend, in going to the feathered tribe, hit the nail on the head. It is not my story, but isn't it just what the people are thinking of this political gymnast?

Perhaps the most flagrant political hypocracy chargeable against this self-appointed leader is found in his pre-election promises regarding stock transactions and the responsibility of directors of companies towards their shareholders. Let me read you from his Reconstruction Party Hand Book, issued by Mr. Stevens himself from his headquarters 350 Notre Dame Street, Montreal. On the front page you will find advice to his own candidates to USE THIS MANUAL. He can't complain if I use and refer to page 13, where you will find this unctuous language -- Unctuous, considering the source

> " We think it of primary importance that the legal fiction that ownership means control, should be replaced by an acceptance of the fact that shareholders are often in effect a powerless group and properly the subjects of a trustee relationship."
>
> " We feel that the whole trend of law should be towards putting the managers and directors in a trustee capacity with respect to all security holders."

There you have, most assuredly, a repentance and a new declaration of faith.

Does he realize that the law of Canada has always recognized that a director of a corporation has a sacred trust towards the shareholders of the company?

In other words, the director's duty is to protect the shareholders from being fleeced. Does he realize that this was the law governing Canada during the disgraceful career of the Manufacturers Finance Corporation, of which he was a director.

Stevens, in addition to his reference to the duty of directors, in his platform, is undertaking to tell the people of Canada how to conduct their business. He proposes to discipline marketing and tell the business men and farmers

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C116282

of the country how much they can sell and how much they can grow, and how to carry on their affairs.

Before the people entrust him with a dictatorship on such lines, perhaps it is well to take a little time to look up his own record in the past and to see how he has managed his own business and the business of other people when he became a director of Manufacturers Finance Corporation.

There is nothing personal in such an enquiry when the man poses as a fit and proper person to tell other people how to run their business. He opens the door for an inquiry as to his fitness as well as his sincerity.

Personally, I would have made no reference in this campaign to the sordid story of the Manufacturers Finance, but for the fact that this self-appointed leader prunes himself upon his virtue and the virtue of his Party as regards the duty of directors towards shareholders. When a man sets himself up on a purity pedestal, he cannot complain if his own record contained in evidence is looked at, so that the public may decide between his conduct and his pre-election promises.

The story of the Manufacturers Finance Corporation is a pitiful one to relate. It has left a trail of disastrous wreckage in the homes of poor people across Canada.

This corporation was conceived in the brain of a Tory Senator, Senator McDonald from the Maritimes - a Tory Senator and a political bed-fellow of Mr. Stevens'. Senator McDonald controlled a piano factory in Eastern Canada and the pians factory was headed for the rocks of bankruptcy.

He conceived the scheme of running it on public money. It was hopeless to expect the public to invest money in a piano factory in these days when the field of musical instruments has so radically changed and the gramophone and radio have replaced the old time piano in our homes.

So Senator McDonald and H. H. Stevens, M.P. put their heads together to invite the public to entrust them with the public money by investing it in a company to which they gave the high-sounding name of Manufacturers Finance Corporation,Limited.

Mr. Stevens was a director and Senator McDonald was the President.

The chief purpose of the company was to gather in money from the public and lend it to a number of piano dealers, the most prominent of which was the Senator's own piano company.

The extent of the operations of this finance company can be better appreciated, when I tell you that they sold over Three Million Dollars worth of securities to the unsuspecting public. The securities that the investor was supposed to have, were instalment notes from buyers of pianos, endorsed by the Senator's Company, of course, and were supposed to be guaranteed against loss by a British insurance company. Senator McDonald and Mr. Stevens and the other directors issued through the company to the public, an attractive pamphlet entitled "Safety First" in which they were careful to describe Mr. Stevens as former Minister of Trade and Commerce, Federal Government, Ottawa. The evidence disclosed that 90% of the business of the Company was to discount lien notes for the Senator's piano company.

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They took from the public over Three and One Half Million Dollars. The liquidator in bankruptcy stated the assets did not exceed Three Hundred Thousand Dollars. Unsecured shareholders did not receive one penny by way of return on their investment.

As a result of the mismanagement of the company, over three million dollars was lost to the investing public.

In reporting the evidence before him, the Security Commissioner for Ontario, who was recently called upon to investigate the company, disclosed that Mr. Stevens, who was supposed to have subscribed for four hundred and fifty shares of stock, never signed his application and backed out of taking the shares. This significant finding appears:

> " Mr. Stevens did not become a shareholder until the 4th, of March, 1925, when he received from Mr. W. M. McDonald as a bonus, two thousand common shares of watered stock having a nominal par value of $10.00 per share, amounting in all to $20,000. For nearly a year Mr. Stevens acted as a director without being qualified.

Do you appreciate what that means?

This man violated the law of Canada by acting as a director of a company in which he held no stock.

In means also that after so doing for a year, he accepted from one of the promoters a gift of twenty thousand dollars, nominal value of bonus watered stock.

That is a pretty easy way to get a block of stock in return for putting your name on a prospectus and inviting the public to buy shares, relying on the fact that H. H. Stevens, former Minister of Trade & Commerce, Federal Government, Ottawa, is a director of the company, to protect the shareholders.

Let me read you from their prospectus, issued by Stevens and his fellow directors, as to what they said to the public.

"Safety First" was the title, and the following extracts from the promises and bait show us the lengths to which these gentlemen were prepared to go to induce the innocent investor to part with his money:

LISTEN TO THIS WORDING:

> " In placing before you the attractive Feature of our 'GUARANTEED INVESTMENT RECEIPTS' the Directors of the Manufacturers Finance Corporation Limited ask you to keep in mind the fact that they have been long in contact with the business world and have given our 'GUARANTEED INVESTMENT RECEIPTS' long and careful attention before placing them before the public."

> " The Directors, whose names are publishod in this booklet, are men of standing, well and widely known, who back the Company's representations by their business experience and judgement and the weight of their personal reputations."

Get that, Ladies and Gentlemen, " a man of standing, public experience and judgement and the weight of their personal reputations.

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And this ill-managed Company tottered and crashed leaving shareholders without one penny return.

And this is not the worst of it.

This gentleman, who advertised himself as former Minister of Trade & Commerce, ran a stock selling firm under the name of the Vancouver Holding Corporation at 715 Board of Trade Building, Vancouver, - through his salesmen flooded his own province with what turned out to be worthless bankrupt securities, and notwithstanding the fact that he was a director of the Company, took commissions from his own company for selling this worthless stock.

So anxious was he to me commissions for his own pocket out of stock sales, that he wrote a letter to McDonald which is filed as an exhibit on the investigation in which he uses the following language: "Will you therefore write me a covering letter making me the sole salesman in this territory, and also declaring that all stock salesmen in the territory operate under me. In other words make it clear this territory is mine." That is a letter from H. H. Stevens.

When the company went into bankruptcy an investigation of the books disclosed that Stevens, the Director, had been drawing stock commissions from the treasury of his own company for selling shares and, while his hands were still dripping with the money thus secured, he wrote out a cheque for the monies he had taken in this way from the company and returned the amount to the liquidator.

But the records do not disclose that he returned one dollar to the unfortunate shareholders that his salesmen persuaded to buy these worthless shares.

We do find that the matter came before the court and I have in my hand a Certified copy of a court order dated as late as October 1933 which shows that the liquidator, applied for and secured an order to institute an action in the name of the Manufacturers Finance Corporation in respect of the sale of the company's stock at a discount against H. H. Stevens for forty-nine thousand, five hundred and twenty four dollars and thirty eight cents ($49,52[illegible].38). The order authorized suit against other Directors.

The Court records disclosed that no such suit was ever entered against H. H. Stevens.

Nor did he ever pay in this amount to the liquidators.

Let me read you some extracts from the recent report of the Ontario Security Commissioner:

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EXTRACTS from Security Board Report. July 22, 1935

Page 19: Mr. Stevens did not become a shareholder until the 4th of March 1925, when he received from Mr. W.M.McDonald as a bonus two thousand common shares of watered stock having a nominal par value of $10.00 per share amounting in all to $20,000. For nearly a year, Mr. Stevens acted as a director without being qualified.

Page 20: The "Safety First" pamphlet, as well as other sales literature, was extensively used. Mr. Stevens well knew that these sales were being made on the representation that investors could not lose by reason of the fact that all accounts owing to the company were fully insured against loss.

Page 20: Mr. Stevens and the other directors not only knew that there were defaults on the lien notes discounted by the company and that no claims were being made, but that if claims were made and the financing method of the company thus disclosed, the policies would be cancelled and it would be impossible to sell further shares to the public. Notwithstanding this Mr. Stevens continued to permit the selling of shares not only through his agency in British Columbia and Alberta but throughout Canada. As a director he approved of the allotment of these shares.

Page 21: I must also find that in October, 1926, Mr. Stevens received a further direct warning from Mr. Huot as to the serious financial position of the company and that he took no steps to act on Mr. Huot's warning.

Page 22: Mr.Stevens cannot escape censure for being derelict in his duty as a Director, as a result of which the investing public has lost $3,300,000.

Page 24: These men had no qualification to act as directors in such a highly specialized banking business as the one in which the company was engaged. They allowed the "Safety First" pamphlet to go out, and allowed their names to be used by a gift of common shares of stock.

And from the Judgment of Mr. Justice Rose in a recent suit:

> "I have reached the conclusion that the writing of each of the policies was induced by fraudulent misrepresentations ... and that from the time when the first of the defendant companies assumed the risk, in August 1924, until the control of the Finance Corporation's affairs passed into the hands of the Liquidator in August, 1928, there was a fraudulent concealment by the Finance Corporation of facts the disclosure of which would have been followed at once by the cancellation of any policies in force at the making of the disclosure, and would have rendered the placing of further insurance an impossibility."

Other suits were instituted, however, we have learned, and against the innocent shareholders who bought these worthless securities on the representation I have read you made to them by Mr.Stevens, Senator McDonald and others.

A very pitiful case has come to my attention through the press very recently. It is the case of a man named Stewart McInnis, a Toronto school teacher, who is, however, unknown to me. Mr. McInnis has asked Mr. Stevens some very direct questions.

McInnis was induced to buy on the installment plan, twenty-five hundred dollars ($2500.00) worth of worthless Manufacturers' Finance Stock.

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When the company became bankrupt, the liquidator sued McInnis for the balance of his installments and, according to McInnis, he has been forced to pay twelve hundred and ninety dollars ($1,290). McInnis says his spine was injured during the war and that during his stay at Christie Street Soldiers' Hospital having his war wounds attended to, his wages were garnisheed by the liquidator of the Manufacturers' Finance. When McInnis got out of the hospital and went to get his salary cheque, he found there was not any money. Mr. McInnis has been asking Mr. Stevens the following questions according to the Press accounts:

He wants to know why he, a poor man, induced by high-pressure salesmanship to purchase on the installment plan $2,500 worth of stock in the Manufacturers' Finance Corporation, has been forced nearly into bankruptcy while Mr. Stevens "got out after taking his director's fees for a number of years and not looking after the business, so that it was one of the worst crashes in our financial history.

What McInnis wants to know and what the people would like to know is why the little fellow has to pay through the courts for the worthless stock he purchased, while the big fellow is immune, notwithstanding that the court authorized proceedings to collect from him forty-nine thousand dollars ($49,000). Has Mr.Stevens anything to say about this?

Some enquiring people are asking if it is not about time Mr. Stevens did something to help these unfortunate, ruined shareholders who lost their savings in his company, before becoming a self-appointed guardian of the public against high-pressure salesmanship and stock promotion.

McInnis' loss is one of many. In many a home today, there are pitiful losers as a result of this financial debacle.

Two years ago, I took some part in an exposure in this Province of what is known as the Abitibi Bond Scandal disclosures, which disclosures contributed in part at least, to the overwhelming defeat of the Henry Government.

The Abitibi Bond Scandal, bad as it was, has the fragrance of a rose as compared to the malodour of the sordid story of Manufacturers' Finance.

Stevens not only sat on the Board of Directors, not only issued this flaming prospectus, not only drew fees as a Director, not only accepted his bonus stock, twenty thousand dollars ($20,000) for nothing, but actively participated through his own salesmen in selling these shares to the public.

This is the same Mr. Stevens who, not unlike Dr.Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, would have you support him today - - as the man who now promises to protect the investing public from selfish predatory stock-jobbing promoters.

What a picture!

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Speech to br broadcast by Hon. J. G. Gardiner
Premier of Saskatchewan, over a national network
on Tuesday evening, October 8th :

Five years ago Mr. Bennett undertook to improve the conditions of Agriculture, industry and transportation with the result that unemployment would be brought to an end.

He undertook to do this by introducing protection as opposed to revenue tariffs; Conservatives previously had applied high revenue tariffs, Liberals had applied low revenue tariffs on, or free entry of, goods coming from outside countries combined with preferential tariffs, lower or giving free entry to British or Empire goods. Mr. Bennett, without re-convening a convention of his party and while the campaign was under way, reversed the Conservative policy and on his own responsibility yielded to the entreaties of certain interested parties to propose outright protection as the panacea for all the ills of the world,

He argued at the time that protection had brought prosperity to the United States and certain European countries such as France and Germany and that we in Canada were alone proceeding with our heads in the sand of low tariff leading to depression. The people gave him a mandate to proceed and to his credit it must be said he applied protection as promised.

Having undertaken the policy single-handed and having succeeded in sweeping the country upon the policy, he no doubt felt himself justified in taking over the Finance Department in person to assure its complete adoption. During the Special Session he also asked from Parliament, and in the flood of victory received, unprecedented powers to deal with tariffs without consulting Parliament. He has exercised every power

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(Hon.J.G.Gardiner)

given, and made use of every right which his remarkable victory made possible, to inflict protection until he is looked upon today by friend and foe alike as one who neither asks for nor accepts the advice or co-operation of others.

Representatives of Provincial Governments of both political parties have recognized this during interprovincial conferences. Mr. Baldwin has mildly protested against it in relation to imperial conferences. Mr. Thomas being more outspoken has referred to his Canada First blasting policies as "Humbug". His whole attitude was in keeping with a world sentiment of mistrust, fear and lack of confidence such as swept the world into war between 1911 and 1914 and for a second time applied between 1928 and 1935 is threatening to sweep the world into war again.

Even in a world of mistrust, narrow nationalism and fear, protection has miserably failed to do what Mr. Bennett claimed for it. Agriculture, industry and transportation have suffered under it as never before due to the fact that trade, which is essential to prosperity, cannot thrive in a world ruled by such sentiments while the very natural conditions existing in the world demand trade to satisfy individual needs.

When the world has been so afflicted in the past Liberalism has always been called to the rescue. It was so at the end of the last century. It was so the world over following the war. It is so again now. The spirit of the League of Nations, the spirit of democracy, led by Britain, is again holding up its head throughout the world. Just as in 1896 and 1921 so in 1935 Canada needs Liberalism under the

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(Hon.J.G.Gardiner)

Leadership of the Rt.Hon.William Lyon Mackenzie King to restore confidence, inspire progress and bring stability in government based upon the rights and powers of democratic institutions.

The Liberal Party believe in co-operation among the provinces as opposed to dictation from, and centralization of power in, Ottawa. Saskatchewan as one of the Liberal Provinces will co-operate. The Liberal Party believes in the development of trade within the Empire based upon mutual understanding and benefit as against selfish interest; the Liberal Party believes that a world of warm and cold zones spanned by systems of communication which stir wants and desires for exchange in every human breast can only enjoy peace and prosperity where trade is unobstructed and intercourse free.

Our Leader is not only moved by the wishes of his party but he is inspired by its sentiments and will carry them into interprovincial, intercommonwealth, and international negotiations of the future. Under his leadership the greatest of the commonwealths of the Empire will take its stand alongside of the Motherland for peace, progress and prosperity throughout the world which is the only permanent cure for unemployment and depression.

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Speech to be broadcast by Hon. T.D. Pattullo,
Premier of BRITISH COLUMBIA, over a national network on Tuesday evening,
October 8th.

MR. CHAIRMAN,
RIGHT HONOURABLE MACKENZIE KING,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am glad to join with the Right Honourable Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party, and with the Prime Ministers of other provinces of Canada in support of candidates running under the banner of Liberalism. I do so upon grounds which I believe to be practical and in the best interests of our country. I think it safe to say that the average citizen desires to see the affairs of our country conducted in orderly and sensible fashion for the benefit of the public generally.

I do not think that either the extremists of reaction or of radicalism can properly settle the problems of society. In the light of elections in various portions of Canada during the past two years, it is not drawing upon our imagination to suggest that the Liberal Party most nearly typifies the temper and feelings of the Canadian people at this time.

Every cause to succeed must have an organization to support it, and the Liberal Party exists as an organization not for the purpose of furthering the designs or the desires of a few individuals, but for the purpose of advising the public in respect of public policy and of putting this advice into practical effect.

It is generally admitted that we have arrived at one of the most crucial periods in our history. So far as British Columbia is concerned, we face the future with every confidence and well we may, for the Province has been blessed with a great variety of natural resources with consequent industrial potentialities. In addition to our wealth of natural resources, British Columbia is the only portion of the Empire facing the Pacific from the west, and is destined to play an increasingly important part in contact with the myriads of peoples bordering the Pacific Ocean.

In the Dominion, Provincial and municipal spheres there are matters of pressing importance which must be adjusted, and

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which can only be adjusted by consultation and conference. The welfare of every portion of Canada is of concern to all other portions. If we are to have a prosperous, a happy and a united Canada, truly all must be for each and each for all.

Shortly after a new Government takes office in Ottawa it will be necessary to hold a conference of the provinces and the Dominion. At that conference eight of the provinces will be represented by Liberal governments. I feel confident that best results can be obtained through conference with those having common cause and common viewpoint. The Liberal Party is solidly united in Canada, while all other forces are divided. It is of first importance that there should be a strong government in Ottawa capable of putting into effect measures necessary to meet present extraordinary conditions.

Without questioning the sincerity of purpose of any other party or organization, I suggest to every elector in the Dominion of Canada that the best interests of this great Dominion lie in the election of a Liberal administration on October fourteenth.

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

Gen. Elect 1935.
C116292

SPEECH TO BE BROADCAST BY HON. JOHN BRACKEN, PREMIER OF MANITOBA OVER A NATIONAL NETWORK ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8th, 1935.

Fellow Citizens of Canada:

As Liberal Progressive Premier of Manitoba, I am happy to associate myself with the Liberal Premiers of the other Provinces in their nation-wide broadcast.

I am speaking to you tonight from the City of Winnipeg, a city located on the eastern edge of a great agricultural empire -- an empire that extends for nearly a thousand miles northwesterly to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.

Within the life-time of men now living this vast area has become dotted with the modest farmsteads of thousands of pioneers. Within the last half century, almost a third of a million farm homes have been established. Nearly a quarter of Canada's population now claims this region as its home.

In the last five years, in spite of crop failures, the struggling farmers of this area produced four times the requirements of all Canada for bread. At the same time these years have been years of unprecedented hardships for them all.

You ask the reason why. The answer is very clear. In those five years the gross agricultural revenue of the farmers of Western Canada was less by nineteen hundred million dollars than that of the five years preceding.

Nineteen hundred million dollars is a lot of money. We know what its loss has meant to us. I sometimes wonder if the Canadian people as a whole sufficiently comprehend what it has meant to the rest of Canada.

Because of that loss we necessarily paid less to our creditors, thus still further intensifying business stagnation and unemployment. Because of it we were forced to do without farm labor, with the result that thousands of men, formerly employed, were added to other thousands already on relief. Because of that loss we had no choice but to buy less goods. We consequently paid less to railways for incoming freight, thus further increasing the already heavy railway deficits, and giving further excuse for the laying off of railway workers.

What were the causes of this economic disaster? They were two in number. Low prices was the major cause; poor crops in some districts a minor one.

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HON.. JOHN BRACKEN

From this brief review of the past five years two startling facts emerge. The first is that even in those bad years Western Canada produced four times the needs of all Canada for bread. The second is that the low prices received have resulted not only in staggering losses to Western farmers but in reducing to that extent our buying power for Canadian and other goods.

What is the solution of our problem? There is only one. What Western Canada needs today, and in the future, is markets. Give her markets, and she will solve all her own problems. Give her a place to sell her surplus products, and she will carry her own weight in Confederation and help the other Provinces to carry theirs. Give her markets and with her added shipments and purchasing power, the problem of railway deficits and its danger to Canadian economic life will disappear.

On the other hand, if we prevent the acquisition of new markets, we remove all justification for any further extension of agriculture in the West. If we continue to lessen the outside markets we once had, we but intensify the trying conditions of recent years. To the extent that we deny ourselves outside markets, to that extent will farmers, on a wholesale scale, be forced into bankruptcy, to that extent will unemployment increase, railway deficits multiply, and widespread default ensue and, whether we will it or not, the burden of such a major catastrophe would fall directly or indirectly on other parts of Canada.

Fellow Canadians, I am not a partisan in politics. I happen to be Premier of Manitoba, but I have spoken to you tonight as a Western Canadian farmer and a citizen of Canada. The views I have expressed are my convictions. I am supporting Mr. King at this time because I believe that our farm problems and our national problems can be more satisfactorily solved if we have a greater outlet for our surplus agricultural products. I am supporting him because I believe the policy of lower tariffs and greater international trade is a better way to achieve this end than a policy of high tariffs and restricted trade.

Holding these convictions as strongly as I do, and having the interests of Canadian agriculture at heart, I have no choice, if I am to be true to Western Canada, but to express them at this time. We lost an opportunity for wider markets in 1911. My hope is that we may be spared a second mistake of this kind.

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Speech to be broadcast by Hon. W. M. Lea, Premier of Prince Edward Island, over a national network on Tuesday evening, October 8th :

Five years of business depression; five years of hardship and distress; five years of disappointed waiting for the fulfillment of the Bennett pre-election promises, have taught our people, the primary producers of the Province of Prince Edward Island, our fishermen and farmers, to examine more carefully than heretofore the fiscal policies of the leaders of the several political parties now seeking the support of the electors of Canada.

The citizens of Prince Edward Island have always been injured by the high tariff policy of the Conservative Party. Having few manufacturing industries, we are compelled to import practically all our implements of production and necessities of life, prices of which commodities are always raised in direct proportion to the increased tariff duties. Being Maritime people, greater freedom and expansion of foreign trade enables us to take advantage of cheaper water transportation that was enjoyed during the previous Liberal regime with Cuba, the West Indies, and other distant markets where our chief cash potato crop found profitable sale, a market that is lost to us as the direct result of the application of the Bennett arbitrary valuation policy granted the Minister of National Revenues, prohibiting the importation of Cuba's sugar, and other required goods.

Hand in hand with our loss of markets, came the increase in duties on implements of production of our dairymen already suffering from a 60% reduction in fat values, and cream separators, formerly free, were increased 25%, or $25.00 on the average priced machine. Most of the other necessary farm implements and extra parts for repairs were also raised by tariff increases, greatly aggravating in this Province the effect of the world economic depression. As the actual worth of prices received for farm products is

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valued in proportion to their purchasing power that is also influenced by tariff levies on the necessities of life.

Many varied and fantastic methods have been adopted by the Bennett administration to tax indirectly the necessities of our people, the result of which has been that while the prices of farm products from 1930 to 1932 had decreased by an average of 42%, the necessities of life had only decreased 20%. The opinion of leading economists that the world depression was intensified to a considerable degree by the endeavour of many nations to force the sale of goods on markets from which they refused to buy, has justified the "extension of trade policy", carried on by the previous Liberal administration.

To bring into effect national trade policies, national agriculture and livestock policies, national forest and fisheries policies, which will promote the greatest measure of prosperity and the most good to the greatest number of people in Canada, to establish a more uniform rate of Municipal, Provincial and Federal bond interest, it is necessary to obtain the fullest measure of co-operation between Provincial and Federal Governments, which is now only possible by electing a strong Liberal Government at Ottawa, with a clear working majority, led by our experienced Parliamentarian and outstanding Statesman, the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King. This need transcends all other considerations now before the electorate.

The tidal wave of liberalism that has swept over Canada, culminating in the annihilation of the Conservative Party of this Province was in a large measure due to the disappointment of the electors over the non-fulfillment of the bombastic pledges of the Conservative Leader that were made in 1930, "to end unemployment, to improve markets for Canadian products, and to pay 100% of the old age pension", none of which have

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(Hon. W. M. Lea)

been carried out.

Faced with the failure of their high protection policies, the Leader of the Conservative Party, and his former chiefly responsible lieutenant, are now attempting to purchase the support of the electors with their own hard earnings, through offers of monetary assistance to meet every request. This policy is disguised by Mr. Bennett under the cloak of 'reform' and by Mr. Stevens under the ill-fitting garment of 'reconstruction'. The thrifty provident producers of this Province view with alarm such fantastic proposals, and it is my considered opinion and prediction that on October 14th, four Liberal candidates will be elected from the Province of Prince Edward Island with the largest majorities on record, and that every one of the Stevens' candidates will lose his deposit.

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Speech to be broadcast by Hon. A. L. MacDonald,
Premier of Nova Scotia, over a national network,
on Tuesday evening, October 8th:

The spirit of liberalism is the spirit of modern science applied to politics the spirit that first examines and criticizes and experiments and then constructs, the spirit that would prove all things and hold fast to that which is good.

In this election campaign the Liberal Party in Canada, under the distinguished leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King, remains true to that spirit, it presents to the Canadian people a programme of progress and reform not a mushroom program sprung overnight from the brain of one man, not a desperate programme born in the travail of an election campaigm, but a program conceived and planned after the problems of Canada had been thoroughly studied by many men from all parts of this country and in the light of attempts made at one time or another in one place or another to solve similar problems.

Having thus studied the problems of Canada the Liberal party now presents for the approval of the Canadian people a programme which retains and incorporates what is best and wisest in the experience of the past and which at the same time gives full expression to that progressive and creative impulse which is now and ever has been the very soul of Liberalism.

The programme of reform to which the Liberal Party is pledged commends itself to me and I believe to the great majority of the people of Canada, because of its own inherent worth and because it has been so conceived and so planned whether one looks at the economic or social features of that programme he will find that the Liberal Party has studied the problem scientifically. It has looked at conditions today. It has observed how they arose. It has considered the various ways in which they might be dealt with. It has had regard to the experience of other countries, and now as the fruit of its labour it plaees before the electors of Canada a definite opinion as to what is the sound, sane and progressive policy for

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this country to follow at this time.

A political party or a political leader must be judged however, not only on the specific pledges of the party programme. Electors have a right to consider not merely what is the declared policy on problems that are now present but also what is likely to be the attitude of the party and of the leader towards new problems as and when they arise. In my judgment one of the most pressing problems of the immediate future in this country will be that so often presented by a federal union, the problem of reconciling the interests of one part of the union with another. To the solution of that problem I feel that Mr.King will bring an unusual ripeness of judgment and experience. A fairness of mind and a regard for all the people of this country and for the rights of all the provinces. Many of the problems that are bound to arise within the next few years will require imperatively joint and co-operative action by the Federal and Provincial Governments. I feel that, with Mr. King as Prime Minister of Canada such action is much more likely to result than if the destinies of this country are again to be placed in the hands of Mr. Bennett.

Finally, I believe that nothing will be more necessary within the next four years than a strong and stable government at Ottawa. There will be great questions to be settled in these years, the unemployment problem, the railway question, matters of trade and tariff, important items of social reform, these and other like questions can be satisfactorily settled only by a government with a definite mandate from the people. A government with a decisive majority over all other parties and groups. Nothing could more seriously interfere with the settlement of these problems than to put the Government under the necessity of bartering for the support of some other group or groups and of sacrificing many of its principles in the process.

The policy of the Liberal Party is clear, let the mandate to and the majority for the Liberal party be equally clear so that the Liberal Government at Ottawa and the Liberal Governments in eight out of the nine Canadian Provinces all united by a common principle and pursuing a common purpose,may go forward with sure steps along the road of progress and reform.

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C 116299 Elect 1935

Speech to be broadcast by Hon. A.A. Dysart, Premier of NEW BRUNSWICK, over a national network on Tuesday evening, October 8th.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is both a privilege and a pleasure to contribute my thought and opinion along with the seven other provincial Prime Ministers to assist you in rendering your decision at the polls on October Fourteenth.

I am naturally interested primarily in the welfare of my native Province, New Brunswick. But only to the extent that one's personal concern dominates his affection for other members of the family does that feeling for New Brunswick take precedence over the other Provinces which are our sisters in the Confederation. We all of us are confronted today with stupendous social and economic problems. There is no chart for their solution. We must tread the course warily but at the same time courageously. That task is futile unless the master of the ship has the confidence and co-operation of his crew and without goodwill and understanding among its members.

You have in Canada today the basic factors to insure a safe passage. Eight of the nine Provinces in Canada are governed by Liberal administrations. They have confidence and faith in the policies of the Federal Liberal Party and look with hope and anticipation to the day, not far distant, when they may co-operate with a new MacKenzie King administration at Ottawa to seek a solution for our common problems.

Let me admonish you my listeners young and old that our difficulties are too serious for you to dismiss lightly the responsibility that falls on your shoulders on October Fourteenth. The whole future of Canada, your destiny, will be shaped during the next five years. You are building on a solid foundation when you vote for interprovincial harmony and understanding. Without that consideration there is little hope for a quick and satisfactory

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adjustment of our troubles and worse than that the very bonds of union are threatened.

If you would speed national and Provincial readjustment give us the keystone of unity, a Liberal Administration at Ottawa.

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C 116301

Speech to be broadcast by Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Premier of Quebec, over a national network, on Tuesday evening, October 8th.

People of Canada,

From distant Quebec, I am addressing this message to you through our great Sister Province of Ontario with which we are bound by so many ties of neighbourly intercourse, common problems, and, I am happy to say, triumphant liberalism.

Four minutes is a short time, it is long enough, however, to voice one's feelings towards toryism and Bennettism.

Expressing, I trust, the feelings of the immense majority of the men and women of Quebec, I say that I am against the tory régime of Ottawa, headed by the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett and by the remnants of those who have deserted and fled from the burning deck of the tory ship.

In a very few words I shall express my own opinion.

I am against the present federal Government for the following reasons:

1. An honest man, whatever may be the field of his activities, whether social, political, professional, or in the sanctuary of his home, is bound to keep his word and fulfil his promises. If he makes promises which he knows he cannot honour, he is doubly unworthy of the position held by him.

Mr. Bennett, in 1930, gave solemn pledges, promising to resign and inviting his supporters to oust him, should he fail to honour his word. Three of these pledges particularly interest us: unemployment, old age pensions and help to the farmers.

I ask the unemployed, the old people and the toilers of the soil if, after five years of Bennett rule, their condition has improved. I have no hesitation in saying that it is

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worse. Should we give this Government another lease of life of five years to accomplish what it has failed to carry out in the five years that have just rolled into a past which we should like to forget.

2. Provincial rights have been ignored, the late Minister of Justice, in the House, was honest enough to express his dissent from his own legislation which was a clear invasion of provincial rights.

3. All provincial Governments, with the exception of one, are overwhelmingly liberal. Sympathetic and cordial co-operation between federal and provincial Governments is essential to a united, happy and prosperous Canada and to find a solution of the difficult problems which we are facing today.

No such co-operation is possible with the Ottawa dictator. We had with him several interprovincial conferences. They led to nothing and the representatives of the provinces were sent home with a lecture and the blessing of the dictator, a blessing of a doubtful benefit to its recipients!

4. Mr. Bennett cannot be trusted, because after being considered a safe man at the beginning of his career, when he seemed inclined to maintain the best political and social traditions of Canada, and retain the elements which had made our country great and prosperous, hetore these leaves from the book of his political life and unfaithful to his past launched into a socialistic venture, bordering on communism, that will lead nowhere, unless to the downfall of our country.

People of Canada, please remember the disastrous speeches of the Prime Minister over the radio in January last. They took the breath away from his most intimate and admiring friends. Remember last session's legislation, remember a very recent speech after which Canada's bonds crashed and have not yet recovered and tell me if the destinies of Canada can safely be placed, for the coming five years, into the hands of this gentleman

Canada, under W. L. Mackenzie King, enjoyed five years of prosperity. If he is returned I am sure that better days will shine for us, but to carry out his program, Mr. King must have a large following, independent of party groups, crazy adventurers and untried utopists. Let us give him a strong majority. People of Canada, I thank you for the four minutes of patience you have given to a son of Old Quebec, the home and stronghold of Liberalism.

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Midland Toronto meeting speech material Coll - Gen. Elect 1935

C116303

MR. HEPBURN'S BROADCAST TUESDAY NIGHT, 8TH OCTOBER, 1935.

RIGHT HONOURABLE MR. KING, MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I bring to you the greetings of this great mass meeting being held in Midland where many thousand people are assembled in support of our two candidates in the Simcoes, - George McLean and D. F. McCuaig. I find here the same enthusiasm for the Liberal cause which was evident from coast to coast on the speaking tour I have recently completed. The people recognize that only King can win, and the vital interests of all classes and creeds and of every province demand that he should be given a working majority. I have no hesitation in declaring that this will be the outcome. During my travels I have been greatly impressed by the significant fact that in the Provincial legislatures there is a total of 360 Liberal members as against 50 Conservatives. Victory is in the air and next Monday night Mackenzie King will undoubtedly be acclaimed as the new Prime Minister of Canada.

The definite promises of Bennett made five years ago are still unfulfilled. He promised everything he could think of at the time. He now asks you to renew for a further five years a promissory note he has failed to pay and on which he has not even paid the interest.

Bennett promised to end unemployment or perish in the attempt; to keep Canada free from the dole; to bring prosperity to Canada. In those he failed. He promised to pay Old Age Pensions in full from the Federal Treasury.

He promised to blast his way into the markets of the world. He failed. Canada's foreign trade has fallen since he came into power by one thousand million dollars. Bennett promised to protect the Canadian consumer. Instead, he raised the taxes and forgot the consumer.

Mr. Bennett transferred control of our national gold reserves and of our currency to a privately owned Bank, But now from coast to coast there is a demand for a nationally owned Bank of Canada so that the control of the currency and monetary system of this country may be in the hands of those responsible to the people. Mr. King is definitely pledged to this policy.

So much for Mr. Bennett, his promises, and his policies.

Now, in the minds of many, there has been a special danger in this election arising from the large number of parties which are appealing for support, namely, that no single party might have a clear majority in Parliament. This would mean a great deal of compromise and political log-rolling, and

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possibly prolonged negotiations between conflicting groups before any constructive measures could be undertaken, and possibly even another general election in the next few months. It might mean nothing less than complete paralysis of government in what may very well be the most critical stage of Canada's history. To avoid such a disaster - Vote for Mr. King! - for only he can win! Give him a working majority! It's "KING" or - chaos!

YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING - to be fair. His record shows that. He will be fair to Labour. As the first Canadian Minister of Labour he was responsible for many measures in the interests of Labour. You can trust him to be in the forefront of all sound measures for the advancement of the interests of the labouring classes.

YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING - to be fair to business. Under his administration Canadian trade and manufacturing expanded and became prosperous. During his regime we exported more manufactured goods on a per capita basis than any other country in the world.

He will make stable tariffs through Parliamentary action, abolishing the constant tinkering by officials under pressure from interested parties, which has created confusion and chaos in the tariff policy of Canada during the Bennett regime.

YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING - to be fair to the primary producer, whose market prices are determined abroad and whose hope of profit depends on low production costs. He too, stands steadfast against railway amalgamation and for fair treatment of the mining industry.

YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING - to be fair to the forgotten consumer who, under the Bennett regime, has been forced to pay from 50% to 150% more for the necessities of life than his neighbours in the United States, Great Britain and Australia.

YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING to be fair to all races and all creeds, to the unemployed and to the employed, to the Veterans and to men and women alike. He was fair to the Veterans and he appointed the first woman senator.

YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING to be friendly. He will not quarrel with Canada's neighbours. The blasting policies will cease. He was a member of the Laurier Government when the Fielding Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was made in 1911. He has the confidence of the leading British statesmen. He saw the possibilities of a market in Japan and sent the Honourable Mr. Marler there to represent us. He can be relied on to make fair and friendly trade

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treaties as he did before with all our customers to the advantage of Canada.

MACKENZIE KING has in the past proven himself a sound and safe and progressive leader for Canada. The country needs him now. Let him finish his work.

And so I say, YOU CAN TRUST MACKENZIE KING in this crisis, and he, in my judgment, will certainly be acclaimed Prime Minister of Canada on next Monday night.

The Liberal party is a virile fighting force and is sweeping on to certain victory.

.....

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C 116306

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

A REPRINT OF
THE STATEMENT to the PRESS

issued by

The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King

ON THE NIGHT of the GENERAL ELECTIONS,
OCTOBER 14th, 1935.

Issued by
THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
114 Wellington St. :: Ottawa.

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C 116307

The Voice of the People

A Reprint of the Statement to the Press
issued by
The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King
on the Night of the General Elections,
October 14th, 1935.

I thank the people of Canada for the confidence they have today expressed in Liberal principles and policies, in the Liberal party, and in myself as its leader. The Liberal party has placed its trust in the people. The people today have reciprocated that trust in abundant measure. It will not be betrayed.

I congratulate the members of the Liberal party on the splendid campaign they have waged. We have been attacked on all sides, and we have won on all fronts. Today's overwhelming victory is the response of the people made effective through organized effort in a great cause, which was begun the moment the Liberal party went into opposition in 1930, and which has been carried forward with increasing vigor and determination. In this great effort, men and women, young and old, have equally shared. It has been furthered by a strong and helpful Liberal press; and by efficient organization in all parts of Canada—from the headquarters of the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa and provincial Liberal associations in the provinces, to the committees of Liberal workers in municipalities and in the remotest rural polls.

The whole-hearted co-operation of the Liberal premiers and governments of eight of the nine provinces of Canada was an exceptionally significant feature of the campaign, and one which may be expected to contribute in no uncertain way to the solution of many of our country's perplexing problems.

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A Victory for Democracy

Today's victory is a victory for democracy. It discloses that the people may be relied upon to exercise their judgment clearly, in spite of innumerable and unscrupulous efforts to divert the electorate from the real issues before them. It constitutes a great deliverance; a deliverance of the people from one-man government, from mistaken policies, and from autocratic leadership. It is a triumph for broad principles and policies, as against promises and pledges recklessly and extravagantly made for the sole purpose of winning an election. It is a declaration that tradition, experience and achievement are still regarded by the Canadian people as one of the greatest assets a political party may possess. It is a direct response to the Liberal protest against all forms of dictatorship in Canada, whether they incline towards Fascism, Socialism or Sovietism, and equally against endless and dangerous experimentation in matters of government. It is a direct response to the appeal for the maintenance of British parliamentary practice and procedure. It proclaims the end of the super-man idea. It is clear evidence of the desire of the people of Canada to maintain high standards in Canadian public life, and to enjoy a tone in the discussion of public affairs wholly different from that to which, both in and out of Parliament, they have become accustomed during the last five years. It makes clear that the people of Canada have had enough of "blasting" methods, and of "the iron heel"; that they wish to see concord replace discord, and co-operation replace dissension within our own borders; and that good-will and not ill-will should prevail between Canada and other countries.

Features of Campaign Condemned

The results afford the strongest condemnation of the attempts made by the Bennett government to debauch the people with expenditures from the public treasury, and of the efforts made by Mr. Bennett himself to intimidate the electorate through fear, by raising the bogeys of Communism, of the undermining of Canada's industrial standards by unrestricted oriental and other foreign competition, and of the wholesale destruction which he said would await industry under a Liberal government. They afford a conclusive condemnation of the unworthy means employed in the endeavour to effect a so-called national government in Canada; to do, after an election, what no political party was prepared to sponsor in the campaign itself. It is proof of the folly of individuals, whatever their motives, summoning new political parties into being, giving them their names and programs, and expecting any appreciable measure of support. It is to be hoped that the campaign of 1935 will witness the end of hysteria, and a speedy return to sanity, in the discussion and administration of the country's affairs.

Endorsation of Liberal Principles and Policies

In the present campaign, the Liberal party concentrated upon the issues which it considered to be vital to the recovery of our national life, but it by no means restricted its discussion to them. It made its position clear upon all questions of immediate concern. The results of today's voting may, therefore, be regarded as an all but unanimous endorsation of the principles and policies set forth.

Today's election discloses that the people share the view, which the Liberal party has all along maintained, that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It is an endorsation of the Liberal proposal to deal with this question by means of a representative national commission, and by policies which will serve to revive industry and trade.

The results make equally clear that the people generally share the view, kept to the fore by the Liberal party, that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development; and that a Canadian government should do all in its power to negotiate trade agreements with all countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis. The results make clear that the people of Canada are opposed to planning for scarcity by the restriction of production, of trade, and of employment, and that they are not satisfied with the Ottawa trade agreements, and welcome the prospect of their early revision. Everywhere, Mr. Bennett has said that the verdict of this election would be a verdict for or against the Empire trade pacts of 1932. There can no longer be any mistake as to what the people think of those agreements and of Mr. Bennett's methods of their negotiation.

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A Verdict Against Economic Nationalism and Monopolies

The election is an unmistakable verdict in favor of the liberation of external and internal trade; and in favour of a reciprocal agreement with the United States, and of the restoration of trade with Japan upon a mutually beneficial basis in the case of each of these countries. It constitutes a demand for the abolition of the extravagant increases in the tariff, together with the removal of arbitrary taxes and regulations, as imposed by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling the commerce of the nation, exploiting consumers, and robbing railways of business. It is a demand for an end to the making and altering of tariffs by executive action, and for the substitution of stability for uncertainty in the administration of customs laws. It is an overwhelming condemnation of the policies of economic nationalism, economic isolation, and economic imperialism, upon which the present government has proceeded in all its legislation; and a corresponding demand for the substitution of policies which will make for economic freedom, national expansion, and international good-will.

The election is an endorsation of the Liberal view that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to every citizen. It is a verdict against a privately owned and controlled central bank, and in favor of a properly constituted national bank to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue considered in terms of public need. There can be no mistaking the demand for a restoration to the government of Canada of control over credit and currency issue. As the campaign proceeded, the issue of the control, by the people, of all functions of government, through their representatives in Parliament, and not by any other power, became increasingly clear. The electorate has declared that a responsible ministry, not organized finance and international money power, is to control in all matters of state.

The election is an overwhelming verdict against amalgamation of the railways of Canada, and against the creation of other monopolies, whether related to the agencies of transportation and communication, production, trade, industry or banking.

Government in Industry and in the State

It is a verdict for the democratization of industry, and the rights of labour and consumers to have their voice heard and influence felt in the control of industrial policy. It is a warning and rebuke to arrogant employers of labour, who have sought to intimidate their employees, and to prevent them from enjoying the free exercise of the franchise, which is the birthright of every Canadian citizen.

Above all, the election is a demand for the restoration of responsible government in Canada, and government not by a single individual but by the collective wisdom of many minds. The people have expressed their determination to end one-man government and to reverse the trend of the past five years in the direction of dictatorship. They have overwhelmingly condemned the present government, and the arbitrary and autocratic methods by which it has proceeded from the day it assumed office, and the manner in which it has persistently defied the unmistakable will of the people.

It is a verdict in favor of personal liberty, electoral reform, and of measures which will, among other things, prevent the national radio being surreptitiously used by any political party for the defamation of character.

It is a verdict in favor of the reduction of the burden of public debt and taxation, and in favor of the attainment of a balanced budget.

It is a verdict in favor of those courses in international relations which will make for peace and good-will.

It is a verdict in favor of a more equitable distribution of wealth, with increasing regard to human need, to the furtherance of social justice, and to the promotion of the common good.

These are all principles and policies which the Liberal party has consistently and continuously espoused, and for which it has steadily fought. We began the fight for these policies and principles in the Parliament of Canada. We carried our advocacy of them to the people in by-elections and in provincial elections. The voice of the people, though

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clear and decisive, remained unheeded, and their will and wish ignored. We have now submitted our policies to the people in a general election. We have received their endorsation. We shall proceed to put these policies into effect.

The Task of Liberalism To-day

A century ago Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle for political liberty and responsible government. The existence of both has been threatened in the period of time that Mr. Bennett has been at the head of affairs. They have been maintained in the measure they have only by continuous and strenuous effort on the part of Liberals in and out of Parliament. They will now be fully restored by a Liberal government.

In the new era which dawns today, the struggle for the rights of the people will, in the realm of economic liberty and security, be carried on as never before. Poverty and adversity, want and misery, are the enemies which Liberalism will seek to banish from our land. They have lain in wait at the gate of every Canadian home during the past five years, and their menacing mien has served to destroy the souls, as well as the minds and bodies, of an ever increasing number of men, women and children in our land. We take up at once, as our supreme task, the endeavor to end poverty in the midst of plenty, starvation and unnecessary suffering in a land of abundance, discontent and distress in a country more blessed by Providence than any other on the face of the globe, and to gain for individual lives, and for the nation as a whole, that "health and peace and sweet content" which is the rightful heritage of all.

The people of Canada have made clear that, in their opinion, "present material interests", and a course of action which does not distinguish between materialistic and spiritual values, must make way for something nobler in the conduct of a nation's affairs; and that self-seeking and selfishness, however much they may appear to lead to wordly success, are not the paths of true greatness either for an individual or a nation. The people of Canada today have reaffirmed their faith in the ancient and beneficent precepts that it is only by sharing each other's burdens, and doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, that men and nations can serve their own best interests and the common good.

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Coll. Gen. Elect 3) 1935.

C 116310-A

General Election, 1935. date Oct 14
Formation of Government — Oct 29.

Decisive Verdict for Liberal principales and policies; (a)

Unprecedented majority (b)

Fewer Liberals elected by minority vote than Conservatives or Independents;

Answer to Bennett;

Promises: "end unemployment", "New Deal", etc.;

One man Government;

Economic nationalism;

Bribery and intimidation of electorate;

Answer to Stevens and C.C.F.:

Attempts to capitalize on discontent, and experimentation;

An overwhelming endorsation of "14 points";

By-elections:

Queens, P.E.I.; acclamation;

Portneuf; "

Assiniboia; (c) large majority;

~~Strictest~~ Endorsation of Government's record to date.

(a) See memorandum - Significance of Liberal Victory in G.E. 1935, sent to Laurier House.

(b) See memoranda - Electoral data, sent to Laurier House;
also, Considerations re criticism that 47% of total vote elected 178 Liberals in G.E. 1935, sent to Laurier House.

(c) See memorandum - re Assiniboia by-election, January 6, 1936, sent to Laurier House.

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Note: Weir (Macdonald) and Thorson (Selkirk) are listed in this summary as Liberal seats in the Province of Manitoba. In the Canadian Press summary they are listed separately as Liberal-Progressives.

Gen. Election 1935 - Results.
C 116311

SUMMARY OF PARTIES

Latest Information Available Canadian Press, at 1.00 p.m., October 17, 1935

	Lib.	Con.	C.C.F.	Stevens	U.F.O. Lab.	S.C.	Ind.	Ind.Lib.	Ind.C.	Doubtful	Total
Prince Edward Island	4										4
Nova Scotia	12										12
New Brunswick	9	1									10
Quebec	55	5						4		1	65
Ontario	55	26			1						82
Manitoba	13	1	2							1	17
Saskatchewan	16	1	2			2					21
Alberta	1	1				15					17
British Columbia	5	5	4	1			1				16
Yukon									1		1
TOTAL	170	40	8	1	1	17	1	4	1	2	245

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C 116312

Summary of Standing of Parties - (Pending recounts)
Arranged by Groups of Provinces.

	No. of Seats	Lib.	Ind.Lib.	Cons.	C.C.F.	Soc.Credit	Others
Maritimes	26	25		1			
Quebec	65	55	5*	5			
Ontario	82	55		26			1
Western Provinces (Including Yukon)	72	35		8	8	17	4**
Totals	245	170	5	40	8	17	5

* Including one doubtful which may be Liberal.

** Including one doubtful which may be Liberal.

October 17, 1935.

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Proportion of Seats in Each Province to Total Number of Seats

	No. of Seats	Percentage of Total (to nearest percent.)	No. of Portfolios due each province (on basis of 14 portfolios)
P. E. I.	4	2 %	.28
Nova Scotia	12	5 %	.70
New Brunswick	10	4 %	.56
Quebec	65	26 %	3.64
Ontario	82	33 %	4.62
Manitoba	17	7 %	.98
Saskatchewan	21	8 %	1.12
Alberta	17	7 %	.98
B. C.	16	7 %	.98
(Yukon	1)		

245.

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POPULATION OF CANADA

French Racial Origin

(Figures obtained from 1931 Census Bulletin)

Provinces	Total Population	Total of French Racial Origin	Percentage of French Origin to total population.	Percentage of French Origin in each Province to total population in each Province.
Canada	10,376,786	2,927,990	28.22	
Prince Edward Island	88,038	12,962	0.12	14.72
Nova Scotia	512,846	56,629	0.55	11.04
New Brunswick	408,219	136,999	1.32	33.56
Quebec	2,874,255	2,270,059	21.88	78.98
Ontario	3,431,683	299,732	2.89	8.73
Manitoba	700,139	47,039	0.45	6.72
Saskatchewan	921,785	50,700	0.49	5.50
Alberta	731,605	38,377	0.37	5.25
British Columbia	694,263	15,028	0.14	2.16
Yukon	4,230	250	-	5.91
Northwest Territories	9,723	215	-	2.21

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C116315

POPULATION OF CANADA

(Figures obtained from 1931 Census Bulletin)

Provinces	Total Population	Roman Catholics: Total of Roman Catholic Population	Roman Catholics: Percentage of Roman Catholic to total population	Roman Catholics: Percentage of Roman Catholic in each Province to Total population in each Province
Canada	10,376,786	4,285,388	41.30	
Prince Edward Island	88,038	39,105	0.38	44.42
Nova Scotia	512,846	162,754	1.57	31.74
New Brunswick	408,219	188,098	1.81	46.08
Quebec	2,874,255	2,463,160	23.74	85.70
Ontario	3,431,683	744,740	7.18	21.70
Manitoba	700,139	189,693	1.83	27.09
Saskatchewan	921,785	233,979	2.25	25.38
Alberta	731,605	168,408	1.62	23.02
British Columbia	694,263	90,852	0.88	13.09
Yukon	4,230	667	0.01	15.77
Northwest Territories	9,723	3,932	0.04	40.44

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C116316

MR. KING:

At 1.00 o'clock today, the Canadian Press reported the standing as in the attached summary.

Souris, Man., and Chapleau, P.Q., are now both considered doubtful by the Canadian Press. Souris was first reported Conservative. Chapleau was first reported Liberal, but is now tentatively held by an Independent Liberal.

Cariboo is conceded Liberal.

The standing therefore is:

170 Liberals
4 Independent Liberals
1 Independent,

all of whom may be put in the Government category. In addition, the two doubtful seats may go Liberal, and one would be Independent Liberal in any event.

On the basis of 175 Government seats, there is a majority of 105.

EAP.

Oct. 17, 1935

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Summary of Standing of Parties
Arranged by Groups of Provinces.

	No. of Seats	Lib.	Ind.Lib.	Cons.	C.C.F.	Soc.Credit	Others
Maritimes	26	26		1			
Quebec	65	55	5*	5			
Ontario	82	55		26			1
Western Provinces (Including Yukon)	72	35		8	8	17	4**
Totals	245	170	5	40	8	17	5

* Including one doubtful which may be Liberal.

** Including one doubtful which may be Liberal.

October 17, 1935.

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E.A. PICKERING TO WLMK

OCT. 17, 1935

C 116318

MR. KING: Elections - Gen. Elec 1935 - Results
Elections - " " - Que.

We have not sent a telegram of congratulations to any of the Independent Liberals elected in Quebec, nor have we sent a telegram of regret to any of the official Liberal candidates who were defeated by Independent Liberals in Quebec.

The four constituencies involved are:

Labelle:

M. Lalonde - Ind. Lib. (Elected)
(No official candidate)

Matapedia-
Matane:

A. Lapointe - Ind. Lib. (Elected)
J.A.Dionne - Official Candidate

St. Ann,
Montreal:

W.J.Hushion - Ind. Lib. (Elected)
Hon. J. Dillon - Official Candidate

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C116319

Three Rivers:

Hon. W. Gariepy - Ind. Lib. (Elected)
Philippe Bigué - Official Candidate.

You may wish to discuss this question with Mr. Lapointe this afternoon.

EAP.

Oct. 17, 1935

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C116320

December 17, 1935

Mr. King:

The recounts resulted in the election of three Liberal candidates whose defeat had previously been conceded, and to whom messages of regret had been sent at the time of the election. These members are:

York West.: Col. J.E.L. Streight

Souris: George McDonald

Vancouver Burrard: G. G. McGeer

I attach a draft message of congratulations which, in the circumstances, you may wish to send to Col. Streight and Mr. McDonald. Having spoken to Mr. McGeer since the recount it may not be necessary to write to him.

I also attach a memorandum giving the full particulars of all the recounts. Where an Independent Liberal was declared elected over a Liberal in the recounts, it is not necessary ~~you~~ or advisable to send a message of congratulations.

E.A.P.

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C 116321

Recounts

Ontario:

Waterloo South: Remains unchanged as result of recount.
(Alex. M. Edwards, Cons. elected)

York West: Election conceded this seat to Brown, Cons.
Telegram of regret sent to Col. J.E.L. Streight.

Recount gives majority to Col. Streight, Lib.
(No further message sent to Col. Streight)

Quebec:

Chapleau: Election conceded this seat to T. A. Lalonde, Lib.
Telegram of congratulation sent to Mr. Lalonde.

Recount gives majority to F.A.F. Blais, Ind. Lib.
(No message sent to Mr. Blais, -
nor further message to Mr. Lalonde)

Pontiac: Election conceded this seat to J. E. Piché, Lib.
Telegram of congratulations sent to Mr. Piché.

Recount gives majority to W. R. McDonald, Ind.Lib.
(No message sent to Mr. McDonald, -
nor further message to Mr. Piché)

Manitoba:

Souris: Election conceded this seat to Wills, Cons.
Telegram of regret sent to Geo. McDonald, Lib.

Recount gives majority to Geo. McDonald, Lib.
(No further message sent to Mr. McDonald)

British Columbia:

Vancouver-Burrard: Election concedded this seat to Webster, C.C.F.
Telegram of regret sent to G.G.McGeer, Lib.

Recount gives majority to G. G. McGeer, Lib.
(No further message sent to Mr. McGeer)

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from a group of Toronto
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THE DOMINION SECURITIES CORPORATION

HEAD OFFICE: TORONTO, CANADA

A-100
1935

MONTREAL, WINNIPEG, VANCOUVER
LONDON, ENGLAND

40 EXCHANGE PLACE
NEW YORK

October 19, 1935.

CANADA'S ELECTION DISTINCTLY FAVORABLE

The decisive victory of the Liberal Party under the leadership of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at the Canadian general elections on October 14th completely eliminates the possibility of the introduction of unorthodox and experimental policies of government which were advocated by certain minority parties, during the campaign. Mr. King's party received the largest number of seats in the House of Commons which has ever been extended to either of the two major parties since the formation of the Dominion of Canada. Of the 245 seats in the legislature the Liberals won 168; the Conservatives, 41 the Reconstruction Party, 1; the Social Credit Party, 17; the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation, 8; and other parties 10. The Liberal Party has more than twice as many seats as all other parties combined.

During the campaign, there was considerable anxiety over the strength of certain elements in the form of minority parties that threatened to disturb the balance of power which heretofore had always been with either the Liberals or Conservatives. It is now an assured fact that the Canadian people have definitely chosen one of the old political parties to carry on the task of running the Federal government. The unknown factor which caused considerable worry to the leaders of both major parties was the formation of the Reconstruction Party with its "New Deal" platform. This new party was organized by Mr. Stevens who resigned from the Cabinet of the Conservative Party and although they had over 170 candidates running for election, Mr. Stevens himself was the only one elected.

The Conservative and Liberal Parties, except for the question of tariffs have but slight differences in their major policies. Although Mr. King has been termed a free trader, it is extremely unlikely that he will disturb existing tariffs to such an extent that they will seriously effect Canadian manufacturing. Trade treaties with the United States may be revised somewhat for it is known that the new Prime Minister favors commerce with this country.

Recovery, both in general business and finance, has been sonewhat obscured by what appeared for a time to be a growing trend toward economic and social experimentation. Investors in Canadian securities, who regarded the general election as the only weakness in the otherwise favorable outlook, now have this doubt definitely removed. Under Mr. King, Canada should continue to extend the recovery in general business and finance which has taken place under Mr. Bennett's leadership. The Dominion not only has gone through the depression in a very satisfactory manner, but according to an official bulletin of the League of Nations, is today leading the world in recovery.

Although the background of strength underlying the general situation is well known, a few facts should prove of interest. Since the low point of the depression in February, 1933, the trend of business in Canada has been moving steadily upward in an improvement so marked that its reality need no longer be doubted. The index of physical volume of business, the comprehensive indicator of business activity, prepared monthly by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at Ottawa, was 108% of the 1926 normal in August as compared with 99% in August, 1934, and 67% in February, 1933. Foreign trade for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1935 was the best in four years and 34% greater than in 1933 and for the same fiscal year the Federal Government reported the first ordinary surplus since 1930. Certain commodities such as nickel, copper and newsprint are today being produced in larger volume than in 1929 and wheat, Canada's largest export, is in a more favorable position both from the standpoint of price and marketing than in many years.

THE DOMINION SECURITIES CORPORATION.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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1935

THE DOMINION SECURITIES CORPORATION

HEAD OFFICE: TORONTO, CANADA

MONTREAL, WINNIPEG, VANCOUVER
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Coll - Gen Elect of 1935

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister C 116323

Ottawa,.....

Castonguay

yes

~~In~~ constituencies where member elected on minority of votes.

Can he indicate ~~to~~ party affiliation of man elected.

1935 - Sat or Mon
1930 } as soon as possible
1911

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C 116324

THE EVENING CITIZEN, OTTAWA, ONT. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1

Over Half of Federal Members Won Seats on Minority Votes

Liberal and Cons. Leaders, However, Led All Opponents

Final Tabulations of Recent Dominion Election Show 137 Out of 245 Elected on Split Votes. Liberals Have Least Minority Members on Percentage Basis.

More than half the men and women elected in the October federal election gained their parliamentary seats on minority votes, it was shown yesterday when final tabulations were available. Out of 245 members, 137 were elected on split votes, a percentage of 55.9.

This high average of minority winners was due to the record number of candidates, 892. It may result in demands for election reforms but they generally follow each election and quickly disappear.

Although the Liberals swept into power with the biggest majority since Confederation, they elected less minority members on a percentage basis than any other party or group. This fact may have a bearing on possible election reforms.

The number of Liberals who polled enough votes to win constituencies but who lacked a majority over all opponents, was 79 or 46.1 per cent. of the 171 elected. The number of Conservatives was 34 or 87 per cent.; C.C.F., seven, or 100 per cent.; Liberal-Progressive, two or 100 per cent.; Reconstruction, one or 100 per cent.; Independent Liberal, four or 80 per cent.; Social Credit, eight or 47.6 per cent.; Independent, one or 100 per cent., and U.F.O.-Labor, one or 100 per cent.

Premier King had a majority over his three opponents and Conservative Leader Bennett had a small majority over his four opponents. J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the C.C.F., won on a split vote. So did Reconstruction Leader Stevens. J. H. Blackmore, house leader of the Social Credit group had a majority over all opponents.

Of the two women elected, Agnes Macphail, who represents Grey-Bruce as a U.F.O.-Labor, was a minority winner. Mrs. George Black, who won the Yukon as an Independent Conservative, had only one opponent.

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Cred. Com. Elect. 1935
From Mr Castonguay's Office

C116325 12-17

GENERAL ELECTION, 1921.

Popular Vote by Parties and Provinces.

(According to Canadian Press reports)

	Conservative	Liberal	Progressive	Ind.	Totals.
Ontario	445,150	351,717	329,502	9,003	1,135,372
Quebec	163,743	558,056	31,790	39,477	793,066
Nova Scotia	87,988	136,064	35,741	-	259,793
New Brunswick	61,172	76,653	17,447		155,272
Manitoba	46,486	29,525	83,350	13,361	172,722
British Columbia	74,226	46,249	21,786	12,739	155,000
P. E. I.	19,504	23,950	8,990	-	52,444
Saskatchewan	37,345	46,447	136,486	3,610	223,888
Alberta	35,181	27,404	104,295	6,024	172,904
Yukon	707	658	-	18	1,383
Totals.	971,502	1,296,723	769,387	84,232	3,121,844

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C 116326

GENERAL ELECTION, 1926.

Popular vote by parties and provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press

	Con.	Lib.	Pro.	L.Pro.	Labour	Ind.	U.F.A.	Rejected
Ont.	680,742	441,254	50,360	38,112	6,282	5,356	-	4,161
Que.	286,824	507,775	-	-	-	8,787	-	5,909
N. S.	122,965	99,581	-	-	6,412	-	-	888
N. B.	87,080	74,465	-	-	-	-	-	1,232
Man.	83,100	36,242	22,092	38,379	17,194	-	-	1,021
B. C.	100,066	68,317	-	-	11,757	4,330	-	875
P.E.I.	26,217	29,222	-	-	-	-	-	130
Sask.	67,524	125,849	38,324	13,413	-	-	-	1,350
Alta.	49,514	38,451	-	-	8,148	163	60,740	977
Yukon	823	648	-	-	-	-	-	11
Totals	1,504,855	1,421,804	110,776	89,904	49,793	18,636	60,740	16,554

Total number of votes polled 3,273,062 (including all rejected ballots, but not including the vote for Provencher where election was by acclamation. The number of votes polled in Provencher in 1930 was 7,812.)

GENERAL ELECTION, 1930.

Popular vote by parties and provinces
compiled by the Canadian Press.

	Con.	Lib.	Pro.	L.Pro.	Labour	Ind.	U.F.A.	Farmer	Communist.
Ont.	745,414	590,071	12,815	-	992	8,785	-	-	1,499
Que.	456,037	542,135	-	-	-	21,776	-	-	313
N. S.	140,513	127,189	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N. B.	109,839	75,221	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Man.	111,312	37,234	-	59,155	19,809	2,018	-	-	3,873
B. C.	119,074	98,933	-	-	15,732	7,894	-	-	-
P.E.I.	29,692	29,698	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sask.	129,420	153,673	18,178	-	-	6,155	-	22,766	-
Alta.	67,808	60,148	-	-	8,769	2,727	60,924	-	-
Yukon	846	558	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	1,909,955	1,714,860	30,993	59,155	45,302	49,355	60,924	22,766	5,685

Total number of votes polled 3,898,995 (not including rejected ballots, which amounted to 16,554 at the general election of 1926, also not including the vote for Labelle and Acadia where election went by acclamation. At the 1926 general election the number of votes polled in Labell was 8,848 and in Acadia 8,893.)

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Coll - Gen Elect 1935

C 116327

GENERAL ELECTION, 1926.

Popular vote by parties and provinces.

	Con.	Lib.	Pro.	L. Pro.	Labour	Ind.	U.F.A.	Rejected ballots.	Totals.
Ont.	680,742	441,254	50,360	38,112	6,282	5,356	-	4161	1,226,267
Que.	286,824	507,775	-	-	-	8,787	-	5,909	809,295
N. S.	122,965	99,581	-	-	6,412	-	-	888	229,846
N. B.	87,080	74,465	-	-	-	-	-	1,232	162,777
Man.	83,100	36.242	22,092	36,379	17,194	-	-	1,021	198,028
B. C.	100,066	68,317	-	-	11,757	4,330	-	875	185,345
P. E. I.	26,217	29,222	-	-	-	-	-	130	55,569
Sask.	67,524	125,849	38,324	13,413	-	-	-	1,350	246,460
Alta.	49,514	38,451	-	-	8,148	163	60,740	977	157,993
Yukon	823	648	-	-	-	-	-	11	1,482
Totals-	1,504,855	1,421,804	110,776	89,904	49,793	18,636	60,740	16,554	3,273,062

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Coll. Gen. Elect. 1935
C 116328

STANDING OF PARTIES

General Election 1935.

	Lib.	Con.	Stevens	C.C.F.	U.F.O. Lab.	S.C.	Ind.	Lib. Prog.	Ind.Lib.	Ind.Con.	Total
Prince Edward Island	4										4
Nova Scotia	12										12
New Brunswick	9	1									10
Quebec	54	5							6		65
Ontario	56	25			1						82
Manitoba	12	1		2				2			17
Saskatchewan	16	1		2		2					21
Alberta	1	1				15					17
British Columbia	6	5	1	3			1				16
Yukon										1	1
TOTAL	170	39	1	7	1	17	1	2	6	1	245

December, 1935.

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With my compliments
L. D. Gibson

bdg ~~Alberta~~ election 1935.

Coll - Gen. Election of 1935

C 116329

ALBERTA ELECTION RESULTS 1935.

The total popular vote by parties in the General Elections in Alberta this year are shown at a glance by the following table:-

	Social Credit	Liberal	U.F.A.-Labour	Cons.	Others	Total
Provincial	163,700	69,845	38,149	19,358	10,700	301,752
Federal	111,007	50,425	30,819	40,307	5,500	238,058
Loss or Gain X	52,693	19,420	7,330	X20,949	5,200	63,694

Note: U.F.A. 33,063
Labour 5,086

From this table some interesting results are derived. Social Credit, in the Provincial election, polled 54% of the vote and carried 88% of the seats (56 out of 63). All other parties polled 46% of the vote and elected 12% of the seats (7 out of 63). In the Federal election, Social Credit polled 46% of the votes and again carried 88% of the seats (15 out of 17) while all other parties polled 54% of the votes and yet only carried 12% of the seats.

In the Provincial election, the combined Liberal-U.F.A.-Labour forces polled 107,994 votes, or 35% of the total, while in the Federal election, the same forces polled 81,244 votes, or 34% of the total vote polled. This means that whereas the voting strength of Social Credit dropped from 54% of the total in the Provincial, to 46% of the total in the Federal, the combined Liberal-U.F.A.-Labour forces only dropped from 35% of the total in the Provincial to 34% of the total in the Federal.

From August 22nd, the date of the Provincial election, to October 14th, the date of the Federal election, Social Credit lost heavily in total votes polled. There were 63,694 less votes polled in the Federal election than in the Provincial election. Of that number 52,693 were lost by Social Credit, the losses of all other parties being only 11,001 votes. This indicates a tremendous falling off in the Social Credit following in a space of 7 weeks, far out of proportion to the losses of other parties in the same period, all of which other parties went into the Federal election very much discouraged after their decisive defeat in the Provincial contest.

Under the circumstances, the Liberal showing in 1935 was exceedingly good. In the 1930 general election the total Liberal vote was 46,275. This means that in the 1935 election the Liberal strength was increased by approximately 50%. All other parties suffered, especially the U.F.A. party, which in 1930 polled 74,187 votes as against 33,063 (not including Labour) in 1935, a drop of over 41,000.

The total vote by parties in the elections of 1926 and 1930 were as follows:

	1926	% of vote	1930	% of vote
U.F.A.	71,967	41	74,187	39.4
Liberal	47,702	27.2	46,275	24.5
Independent	1,254	.7	27,954	14.6
Conservative	40,091	22.8	25,499	13.7
Labour	14,123	8.2	14,354	7.7
	175,137		188,269	

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 116330

The results of these two general elections by members elected was as follows:

	1926	% of seats	1930	% of seats
U.F.A.	43	71.6	38	60
Liberal	7	11.6	11	17.4
Conservative	4	6.6	7	11.4
Independent	-	-	3	4.7
Labour	6	10.2	3	6.3
	60		63	

These results for 1926 and 1930 constitute a fair guide to future possibilities in this Province. For example, in 1926 the U.F.A. with 71,967 votes, carried 43 out of 60 seats. The U.F.A. vote in that year was 41% of the total. Then in 1930 the U.F.A. with 74,187 votes, carried 38 seats out of 63. The U.F.A. vote in that year was 39.4% of the total. These were normal elections in the sense that there were no religious appeals or extravagant promises, such as were experienced in the 1935 campaign. Therefore, it is interesting to observe that the Liberal vote in 1935 of 69,845 was only slightly less than the U.F.A. vote in the years 1926 and 1930 when that party carried the Province by sweeping majorities in seats, but by a minority of the total popular vote.

The loss in the popular vote by the Liberals in the Federal Election is approximately equal to the gain of the Conservatives. This is no cause for worry. The Conservatives are much more powerful federally than provincially. In another Provincial contest there is every liklihood that Liberals can do even better than in 1935.

It is also interesting to observe that the Liberal-Progressive forces (Liberal-U.F.A.-Labour) in the 1935 contest polled 107,994 votes in the face of the bitterest and strangest opponent which the Province has ever seen, a total vote which vastly exceeds that polled by any one party or combination of parties in any previous election. Thus it is plain that the combined Liberal-Progressive forces under normal voting conditions, can easily carry this Province.

Another aspect of the 1935 figures is that the oft-repeated boast of Social Credit workers and leaders, that this place was 90% for Social Credit, and that place was 80% for Social Credit, etc., was greatly exaggerated. Polling day came at the very peak of Social Credit enthusiasm and fervor and yet they only polled 54% of the votes, sinking to 46% seven weeks later in the Federal contest.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect, 1935

C 116331

SOME STATISTICS RE GENERAL ELECTION - CANADA, 1935.

Total Number of voters in the Dominion eligible to vote..... 5,921,887

Total Number of Voters in the Dominion who exercised their vote..... 4,452,262

The votes polled by the various political parties and the number of members elected for each party were:

Members		Votes
Liberals	- 169	1,955,594
Conservatives	- 41	1,311,392
C.C.F.	- 8	390,820
Reconstruction	- 1	384,221
Social Credit	- 17	182,766
Independent Lib.	- 4	105,148
Others	- 6	45,512
Communist	- 0	31,151

No. of ballots rejected..... 45,658

		TOTAL NO. OF VOTES	AVERAGE VOTES PER CANDIDATE
243	Liberal candidates polled	1,955,594	8047
229	Conservative " "	1,311,392	5726
116	C.C.F. " "	390,820	3368
173	Reconstruction " "	384,221	2220
48	Social Credit " "	182,766	3807
81	Others " "	227,469	2808

From H Butcher
26.2.36.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Frozen
Chief Electoral
Officer 11/1/36

Coll (Gen Elect 7 1935)

C116332

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

Total number of valid votes polled: 4,406,604.

Votes polled for each party:

Liberal	2,060,742	(including votes for Ind. Lib.)
Conservative	1,312,088	(including votes for Ind. Con.)
CCF	390,820	
Reconstruction	384,221	
Social Credit	182,766	
U.F.A. Labour	7,210	
Communist	31,151	
Others(Independent)	37,606	

Percentage of votes polled for each party:

Liberal	46.7%
Conservative	29.7%
CCF	8.8%
Reconstruction	8.7%
Social Credit	4.1%
U.F.A. Labour Independent	2 %

Number of seats won by each party:

Liberal	178	(including 5 Ind. Lib. in Que. and 2 Lib.Pro. in Manitoba)
Conservative	40	(including 1 Ind. Cons. in Yukon)
CCF	7	
Reconstruction	1	
Social Credit	17	
U.F.A. Labour	1	
Independent	1	
	245	

Percentage of seats won by each party:

Liberal	72.6%
Conservative	16.3%
CCF	2.8%
Social Credit	6.9%
Reconstruction U.F.A. Labour Independent	1.4%

Average number of votes required to elect one Member:

Liberal	11,577
Conservative	32,802
CCF	55,831
Reconstruction	384,221
Social Credit	10,751
U.F.A. Labour	7,210
Independent	37,606

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

SAFETY FILM

C 116333

GENERAL ELECTION, 1930.

Total number of valid votes polled: 3,898,995.

Votes polled for each party:

Liberal	1,774,015
Conservative	1,909,955
Progressive	30,993
Labour	45,302
Independent	49,355
U.F.A.	60,924
Farmer	22,766
Communist	5,685

Percentage of votes polled for each party:

Liberal	45.5%
Conservative	48.9%
Progressive	7.9 per 1,000
Labour	1.16%
Independent	1.26%
U.F.A.	1.56%
Farmer	5.8 per 1,000
Communist	1.4 "

Number of seats won by each party:

Liberal	91
Conservative	137
U.F.A.	10
Progressive	2
Labour	2
Ind. Labour	1
Independent	2

Percentage of seats won by each party:

Liberal	37.4%
Conservative	55.9%
U.F.A.	4.1%
Progressive, Labour, Independent	2.6%

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Coll- Gen Elect 7/1935

116335

Year		Total Names on Voters List	Total Conservative Votes Cast	% of Cons. Votes cast to Total names on Voters List
1911	-	1,820,742	669,594	36.8
1930	-	5,153,971	1,909,955	37.

In 1911 - 36.8% of the total names on Voters List elected 134 Conservative Members, or 60.6% of total seats.

In 1930 - 37% of the total names on Voters List elected 137 Conservative Members, or 55.9% of total seats.

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Cor - Ten Cleet 71435

C 116336

Total names on voters' list for 1911 - 1,320,742

" " " " " " 1930 - 5,153,971

" " " " " " 1935 - 5,919,417

---

total Cons. vote.

& % " to total names on list for each year

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Coll - C Elect 1935
116337

Copy sent to Mr. King 23/1/36

General Elections, 1935

ELECTORAL DATA

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

Date of General Elections: October 14, 1935;
Liberal Government took office: October 23, 1935.

1. Party Standing in H. of C. after G. E., 1935.

Government:			
Liberal	170		
Ind. Lib.	6		
Lib.-Prog.	2	178	
Conservatives:		39	
Independents:			
Indep.-Cons.	1		
Reconstruction	1		
C.C.F.	7		
U.F.O.- Labour	1		
Social Credit	17		
Independent	1	28	245

2. Liberal Majority in New H. of C.

Majority of new Government over all opponents: 111;
(largest majority in Canadian history)
Previous largest majority, 1917, Unionist: 71;
Previous largest Liberal majority, 1904: 64;
Largest Conservative majority, (1878
(1882 68.

RLF/KE

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 116338

2- Popular vote in

~~Electoral Data~~ General Elections 1911, 1930 and 1935.

(Based on figures supplied by the Chief Electoral Officer)

1. Total number of votes polled:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	625,103	667,594	12,831
1930:	1,774,015	1,909,955	215,025
1935:	2,060,742	1,312,088	1,035,774

2. Percentage of votes by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	47.8%	51.2%	
1930:	45.5%	48.9%	5.6%
1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

3. Number of Seats won by each Party:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	87	134	
1930:	91	137	17
1935:	178	40	27

4. Percentage of Seats won by each Party to Total No. of Seats:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	38.4%	60.6%	
1930:	37.4%	55.9%	6.7%
1935:	72.6%	16.3%	11.1%

5. Average No. of Votes required to Elect one Member:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	7,185	4,997	
1930:	19,494	13,985	9,523
1935:	11,577	32,802	37,134

RLF/KE

Copy sent Mr. King Jan. 24, 1936

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C 116339

6. Re C.C.F. and Reconstruction Party, 1935:

	C.C.F.	Reconstruction
No. of votes polled:	390,820	384,221
Percentage of Total Votes:	8.8%	8.7%
No. of Seats won:	7	1
Percentage of Seats won to Total:	3.6%	.4%
Average No. of Votes required to elect one Member:	55,831	384,221

7. No. of Members Elected by a Minority Vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others	Total
1911:	3	4		7
1930:	6	15	3	24
1935:	~~265~~ 85	35	17	137

8. Percentage of Members Elected by a Minority Vote to Total No. of Members Elected by Each Party.

	Lib.	Cons.	Others	All Parties
1930:	3.5%	5%		3.2%
1935:	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%
1935:	47.7%	87.5%	62.9%	55.3%

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CANADA

C 116340

3 2. ~~Failure of the~~ Conservative Government's Defeat, 1935.

Conservative membership in H. of C. fell from 137 after G. E. 1930 to 39 (from second largest Conservative following since Confederation to the lowest in history, worse even than 1921, when only 50 Cons. elected).

No Conservatives returned for:

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia.

One Conservative returned for:

New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta.

Only one province in which more than 5 Cons. returned. (Ontario)

12 Cabinet ministers defeated in G. E. 1935:

Ernst (Queens-Lunenburg)
Gobeil (Compton)
Hanson (Skeena)
Gendron (Not in H. of C.)
Dupre (Quebec West)
Gagnon (Dorchester)
Murphy (Neepawa)
Geary (Toronto South)
Gordon (Timiskaming South)
Weir (Melfort)
Sutherland (Oxford North)
Manion (Fort William)

Also defeated:

Bowman, Speaker; Morand, Deputy Speaker.

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4. Evasion of Contest by Conservative Members.

6 Cabinet Ministers given appointments just prior to G. E. (1/3 of Cabinet Membership):

Rhodes (Senate)
Guthrie (Chairman, Railway Commission)
Duranleau (Judge)
Sauve (Senate)
MacLaren (Lt. Gov. of N. B.)
Macdonald (Senate)

22 Cons. M. P.'s given appointments between Feb. 1, 1935 and Oct. 14, 1935

16% of Conservative membership in H. of C. (133 at Jan. 1, 1935)

See Supplement

5. Defeat of C. C. F. and Reconstruction Party

C.C.F.:

No. of Members at dissolution:---------9

No. of candidates in G. E., 1935:---118

" votes polled 390,820

Percentage of total vote

No. of candidates elected----------7

Members returned only in 3 provinces.

6. ~~Defeat of~~ Reconstruction Party.

No. of candidates in G. E., 1935:--174

Mr. Stevens alone returned.

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C 116342

40.- Defeat of C.C.F. and Reconstruction Party:

	C.C.F.	Reconstruction
~~no. of votes polled~~		
no. of Members at dissolution -	9	1
no. " Candidates in G. E. 1935 -	118	174
" " votes polled -	390,820	384,221
Percentage " " " to total vote -	8.8%	8.7%
no. of Members elected -	7	1
Percentage of " " to total -	2.8%	.4%
~~no. of members~~		
average no. of votes required to elect one member -	55,831	384,221;
~~No of Members etc~~		
~~Members returned in provinces~~		
No. of provinces in which members returned -	3	1

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5. Significance of the Liberal Victory

6- Failure of unscrupulous efforts in campaign:

i.- To divert the electorate from real issues by bogies of Communism, of industrial competition from the Orient, etc.;

ii.- To bribe or intimidate the electorate by "wheat cheques" public works, threat of closing factories, etc.;

iii.- To capitalize on the existing hardship and discontent (Stevens);

iv. To mislead the electorate by the pretence of a "New Deal", that Members of Government knew to be ultra vires.

A decisive verdict against (dictatorship;
)
(experimentation;

An answer to surreptitious attempt to impose "National Government" on country;

An overwhelming endorsation of principles and policies set forth in Mr. King's speech, H.of C. Feb. 27, 1933 (14 Points).

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C 116344

6- Re Bennett charge that 35% of Electorate elected present Liberal Government;

(Mr. Bennett, unrevised Hansard, Feb. 10, 1936, p. 45)

Ridiculous to take percentage of Liberal votes to total of names on voters' list;

Should take Liberal votes as percentage of all votes cast;

Smaller percentage of Liberal Members elected in G.E. 1935, by minority votes than Conservatives or Independents:

	Liberal	Conservative	Independent	all Parties
	47.7%	87.5%	62.9%	55.9%
(1930	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%)

Number of Members elected by minority vote

Only - Conservative Members not elected by a minority vote;

~~No. of minority~~ Increase in number of parties and in number of independents

No. of members elected by a minority of votes has increased with number of parties and number of independents engaging in Contest;

Liberal majority would undoubtedly have been greater if Elections had been a two-party Contest;

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Coll. Gen. Elect 1935
C 116345

Persons other than Candidates

to whom Mr. King might wish to send messages

October 14, 1935

British Columbia:

Hon. T. D. Pattulo, Premier of British Columbia, Victoria.

Dr. J. H. King, Victoria, B.C.

Major S. F. M. Moodie, Vancouver, B.C.

Mrs. T. W. Sutherland, Wells, B.C.

Alberta:

J. B. McBride, Esq., 604-5 Tegler Building, Edmonton, Alta.
Sec. Calg. Lib. Assn.

R. M. Edmanson, Esq. President, Alberta Liberal Assn.,
Canada Life Building, Calgary, Alta.

Hon. Senator W. A. Buchanan, Lethbridge, Alta.

Hon. Senator D. E. Riley, High River, Alta.

W. R. Howson, Esq., 11027 - 89th Avenue, Edmonton, Alta.

Saskatchewan:

Hon. J. G. Gardiner, Premier of Saskatchewan, Regina, Sask.

Hon. T. C. Davis, Regina, Sask.

J. J. Stevenson, Esq., Regina, Sask.

W. F. Kerr, Esq., Regina, Sask.
Sec. Sask. Liberal Assn.

Miss Wilna Moore, Saskatoon, Sask.

Harry Butcher, Esq., Punnichy, Sask.

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Prince Albert:

Dr. Thomas Robertson, Prince Albert, Sask.

Mr. J.W. Sanderson, Prince Albert.

Colonel Geo. C. Dempster, Prince Albert.

J. H. Lindsay, Esq., Prince Albert

Mr. Andrew Knox, Prince Albert.

Manitoba

J. C. Davis, Esq., President, Manitoba Liberal Assn., Winnipeg.

Mr. & Mrs. W. J. Lindall, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Hon. John Bracken, Winnipeg, Man.

J. W. Dafoe, Esq., Winnipeg, Man.
A. B. Hudson, Esq., Winnipeg, Man.

Ontario

Hon. M. F. Hepburn, Toronto, Ont.

Hon. Senator A. C. Hardy, Brockville, Ont.

Hon. Vincent Massey, Toronto, Ont.

H. H. Johnson, Esq., King Edward Hotel, Toronto, Ont.
Sec. Ontario Liberal Assn.

Frank O'Connor, Esq. Toronto, Ont.

E. J. Long, Esq. Toronto, Ont.

Albert Matthews, Esq. Toronto.

R. A. McDougall, Esq. , President, Men's Branch, 20th Century Liberal Association, Woodstock, Ont.

Mrs. H. M. Lay & family, Barrie, Ont.

Mrs. C. H. Thorburn, Ottawa, Ont.

Sanderson
Jamieson
Brockville

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Quebec:

Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Quebec, P.Q.

Colonel Edouard Tellier, 10 St.James St. West, Montreal.
(Montreal Organizer)

Miss Odette Lapointe, President, Women's Branch, 20th Century Liberal Association, Quebec.

Mrs. Pierre F. Casgrain, 246 Elm Avenue, Westmount.

Colonel F. M. Stanton, Esplanade Avenue, Quebec.
Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Montreal.
Hon. Senator Raoul Dandurand, Montreal.
Hon. Cyrus A. MacMillan, McGill University, Montreal.

New Brunswick:

Hon. A. A. Dysart, Fredericton, N.B.

Hon. J. B. McNair, President, NewBrunswick Liberal Assn., Fredericton.

(Foster)

Senator O. Turgeon, Bathurst, N.B.
Hon. Senator W. E. Foster, Rothesay, N.B.

Nova Scotia:

Hon. Angus L. Macdonald, Premier of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

Mr. M. B. Archibald, President, Nova Scotia Liberal Association, Halifax, N.S.

Hon. E. M. Macdonald, Pictou, N.S.

Prince Edward Island:

Hon. Walter M. Lea, Premier of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown.

Hon. T. A. Campbell, Attorney-General, P.E.I., Charlottetown.

Hon. Senator J. E. Sinclair, Emerald, P.E.I.

Hon. Senator Creelman MacArthur, Summerside, P.E.I.

Hon. Senator J. J. Hughes, Souris, P.E.I.

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

Col Gen. Elect 1935
C 116348

ELECTION NIGHT - OCTOBER 14, 1935

Required:

(a) Telegrams to elected candidates.

1. An approved form of message.

2. A box for elected candidates set up as present candidate box.

3. Name and address of candidates to be typed each on a separate telegraph blank.

4. Canadian Press election returns form on which to mark off persons to whom messages sent.

5. Special messages as Mr. King indicates.

(b) Telegrams to defeated candidates.

1. An approved form of message.

2. A box for defeated candidates set up as present candidate box.

3. Use addressed telegraph blanks, not sent to elected candidates.

4. Mark off on Canadian Press election returns.

5. Special messages as Mr. King indicates.

(c) Papers for recording vote.

1. Two sets of 40 copies each of a summary sheet, numbered in order.

2. Large supply Canadian Press forms for indicating each batch of members elected.

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C116349

(d) Electoral data.

1. Results of elections by parties since general election 1867.

2. Majorities in Prince Albert constituency as far back as 1908, and in Assiniboia (see under heading " Saskatchewan", page 243, Parliamentary Guide) back to 1887.

By-elections to be included in the information required in 1 and 2.

(e) Staff &c.

1. One person listing returns,by constituencies,on Canadian Press forms; also on summaries.

2. One person taking Canadian Press Forms in to Mr. King to be recorded by him on his own Forms, and then to members of staff sending telegrams.

3. One person attending to special messages as directed by Mr. King.

4. Two radios.

Note.

To be prepared immediately after polling day.

1. A book of Liberal Members, arranged,-

(a) Alphabetically

(b) By provinces alphabetically.

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Day letter

C 116350 [elections]

Please accept and extend to the Liberals of

my heartiest congratulations upon your election to the Parliament of Canada as member for the constituency. I am delighted to think that in the carrying out of Liberal principles and policies which ~~have~~ received such overwhelming endorsation Yesterday ~~today~~, the constituency of will be among the number to lend its aid ~~to~~ the enactment of those measures so imperative to the relief of existing distress and so essential to national recovery.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

Chg. National Liberal.

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[19C, 116351]

DAY LETTER

I am very sorry that the constituency of
is not among the number to be represented on the government side in the next Parliament of Canada, and that you yourself as the Liberal candidate should have suffered defeat. I hope, however, that you and the Liberals of
will feel that your combined efforts to win the riding have contributed in no uncertain way to the great victory which the party has won and to the advancement of those principles and policies for which we have all battled so valiantly.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

Chg. Nat. Lib. Fed.

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MR. KING

C116352

Further congratulatory telephone messages received from:

✓ Gerald Brown, Asst. Deputy Minister of Labour.

✓ Hon. Mr. W. Gariepy (Ind. Lib) (Three Rivers)
His secretary called from Three Rivers to extend congratulations on Mr. Gariepy's behalf.

✓ Major A. Lanctot (The Archives)

✓ Karl Chamberlain Asst. Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce.

✓ Hector McKinnon The Tariff Board.

E. R. Jackson, Cascades, P.Q.

✓ John Collins Chateau Laurier.

October 15, 1935.

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Phone Calls

C116353

Mail & Express, London, Eng. | New York Overseas Operator ~~Of. 21. Montreal~~

✓ T. E. Leslie	Halifax	(Congratulations Good wishes)
✓ Miss J. Le Febvre, Apt 2	'88 Nepean, Former Secretary to Mr. Renfret	" "
✓ Mr. & Mrs. T. R. Palmer	333 Metcalfe	" "
✓ A. Savard	Nat'l Lib. Fed'n	" "
✓ H. Sedgewick	C.F.R.B. Toronto	" "
✓ Mrs. A. J. Young	North Bay	" "
✓ J. M. Turcotte	187 Notre Dame Hull	" "
✓ Col. R. F. Parkinson	Journal 194 Carling	" "
✓ Mrs. H. R. L. Henry	10 Russell Ave	" "
✓ James McKee	Experimental Farm Ottawa	" "
✓ W. R. P. Parker	Toronto Rivdale.	" "
✓ Dr. W. L. McDougald	Wellington 3870 Montreal	" "
✓ Dr. & Mrs. Eberts	Montreal 14 Sunnyside	" "
✓ Harvey J. Sims, KC	3575 Pul St Kitchener	" "
✓ Miss Quain	305 Wilbrod	" "
✓ Miss Sherritt 16. x	former Secretary to Mr. Malcolm 116 Gilmore	" "

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C116354

✓ Dr. & Mrs. W.T. Shirriff 262 O'Connor Ottawa Congratulations Good wishes

✓ Dr. & Mrs. T.A. Lamer (11 Linden Terrace. " "

~~Senator Hardy Brockville~~

✓ Mrs. Wm. Hendrie Hamilton

~~Dr. McCann Renfrew~~ Gateside House

✓ Howard H. Ward 15 Cobalt Ottawa " " ✓

✓ Lt. Col. A.T. Thompson 2419 Armour " "

✓ A. Fournier M.P. elect Hull 198 Main St.

✓ Dr. H. Deslauriers M.P. elect Montreal 1960 Fullum

✓ Ray Brown Ottawa " "

~~Colin Campbell~~ 153 Glendale ~~Kingston~~ (Op. 4)

19-10-35

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116355

October 15, 1935.

Congratulatory telephone messages received from:

Gerald Brown, Asst. Deputy Minister of Labour.

Hon. W. Gariepy (Ind. Lib. Three Rivers)
His Secretary called from Three Rivers to extend congratulations on Mr. Gariepy's behalf.

Major G. Lanctot (The Archives)

Karl Chamberlain, Asst. Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Hector McKinnon,	35 Butternut Terrace,	Ottawa.
E. R. Jackson,	Cascades,	P. Q.
John Collins,	Chateau Laurier	
Dr. & Mrs. W.T. Shirriff,	267 O'Connor St.	
Dr. & Mrs. T.A. Lomer,	11 Linden Terrace	
Mrs. Wm. Hendrie,	Gateside House,	Hamilton, Ont.
H. H. Ward,	15 Cobalt St.	Ottawa
Lt.-Col. A.T. Thompson,	241 Gilmour St.	
A. Fournier, M.P.-elect,	198 Main St.	Hull, P.Q.
Dr. H. Deslauriers, M.P.-elect,	1963 Fullum St.	Montreal, P.Q.
Ray Brown,	153 Glendale St.	Ottawa
T. E. Leslie,		Halifax, N. S.
Miss J. Lefebvre,	Apt. 2, 88 Nepean St.	Ottawa
Mr. & Mrs. T.R. Palmer,	333 Metcalfe St.	
A. Savard,	Roxborough Apts.	
H. Sedgwick,	C.F.R.B.	Toronto
Mrs. A. J. Young,		North Bay, Ont.
J. M. Turcotte,	187 Notre Dame	Hull, P.Q.
Col. R. F. Parkinson,	194 Carling	Ottawa

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C 116356

Mrs. H. R. L. Henry,	10 Russell Ave.	Ottawa
James McKee,	Experimental Farm,	
W. R. P. Parker,	Erindale,	Toronto
Dr. W. L. McDougald,	14 Sunnyside,	Toronto
Dr. & Mrs. Eberts,	3575 Peel St.	Montreal, P.Q.
H. J. Sims, K.C.,		Kitchener, Ont.
Miss Quain,	305 Wilbrod,	Ottawa
Miss H.F. Sherritt,	116 Gilmour St.	

Acknowledged
October 19, 1935.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

Oct. 15, 1935.

C116357

The following people telephoned the House of Commons to congratulate Mr. King:

171 W'haven

✓Hon. T. C. Norris of the Radio Commission.
✓F. A. McGregor. 8-61 Delta Drive
~~Ray Brown.~~
✓W. M. Southam and his brother, of the Citizen. Linden Glen, Rockcliffe
✓W. W. Cory. - 25 Grosbeak Avenue H.S.S. Casa Loma
✓Mrs. Alan Findlay and Mrs. Mary Stiles of
412 Nepean St.
(These were the two ladies who spoke to Mr. King
at St. Andrew's Church on Sunday night and wished
him good luck.)
J.F
✓Mrs. (Dr.) Ellis, 7 Monkland Ave., called Laurier House.

21-10-35

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 116358

Congratulations -

V.S- Tory (personal call at office)

J.A. Russell " " 58 Park Cres.

Geo. Gunther, auditor General
103 Mackenzie (telephone call)

Fraser Elliott 29 Clemow
Comr- Income Tax)
(telephone call)

Oct 16

21-10-35

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 116359

October 17, 1935.

CONGRATULATIONS

Mr. Ouimet (House of Commons Staff) Paul S. 239 Chapel

Mr. Jos. Smith (House of Commons Staff)

Mr. Jules Castonguay (Mr. Castonguay wishes to discuss electoral reform sometime).

Phone Col. J. G. Rattray 81 Somerset W.

Mr. E. H. Scammell (Department of Pensions) 90 Fifth Ave.

WLM

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

OFFICE OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

C 116360

MEMORANDUM

Oct. 18, 1935.

CONGRATULATIONS

Dr. Howden MP Office ✓

A. E. Goulet MP (Russell) Office ✓

21-10-35-

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

C116361

MR. KING:

Mr. F. W. Perras, Member-elect for Wright County, telephoned today, to extend congratulations.

207 McLaren

HRLH.

Oct. 19, 1935

Phone 21-10-31

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

KODAK SAFETY FILM

Ritz Carlton Hotel

C116362

MR. KING:

Mr. George Washington Stephens, of Montreal, telephoned while in Ottawa yesterday to extend congratulations to you.

HRLH.

Oct. 21, 1935

21-10-35

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

C 116363

Dr Tanner, Midland Congrats & good wishes

Called about 2 pm

phone

21-10-35

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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CANADA

C116364

Mr. King:

Among the letters that have come to me since the elections, the following contained messages of congratulations which I am asked to convey to you:

Mr. T. L. McEvoy, (Formerly of the House of Commons Staff, now of Montreal.)
415-Mt Pleasant Ave West
Mr. P. J. Moore, Calgary, Alta.
c/o Heintzman Co.

H. H.

Ottawa,
October 28, 1935.

Ack.

30-10-35

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Con- Gen Elect 1935.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister C 116365

Ottawa, January 23, 1936

From Chief Electoral Officer

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116366

GENERAL ELECTION, 1911.

Total number of valid votes polled: 1,307,528.

Votes polled for each party:

Liberal	625,103
Conservative	669,594
Other	12,831

Percentage of votes polled for each party:

Liberal	47.8%
Conservative	51.2%

Number of seats won by each party:

Liberal	87
Conservative	134

Percentage of seats won by each party:

Liberal	39.4%
Conservative	60.6%

Average number of votes required to elect one member:

Liberal	7,185
Conservative	4,997

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C116367

GENERAL ELECTION, 1930.

Total number of valid votes polled: 3,898,995

Votes polled for each party:

Liberal	1,774,015
Conservative	1,909,955
Others	215,025

Percentage of votes polled for each party:

Liberal	45.5%
Conservative	48.9%
Others	5.6%

Number of seats won by each party:

Liberal	91
Conservative	137
Others	17

Percentage of seats won by each party:

Liberal	37.4%
Conservative	55.9%
Others	6.7%

Average number of votes required to elect one member:

Liberal	19,494
Conservative	13,985
Others	9,523

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116368

GENERAL ELECTION, 1935.

Total number of valid votes polled: 4,406,604

Votes polled for each party:

Liberal	2,060,742	(including votes for Ind.Lib.)
Conservative	1,312,088	" " " " Con.)
Others	1,033,774	

Percentage of votes polled for each party:

Liberal	46.7%
Conservative	29.7%
Others	23.6%

Number of seats won by each party:

Liberal	178	(including 5 Ind. Lib. in Quebec and 2 Lib. Pro. in Manitoba)
Conservative	40	(including 1 Ind. Con. in Yukon)
Others	27	

Percentage of seats won by each party:

Liberal	72.6%
Conservative	16.3%
Others	11.1%

Average number of votes required to elect one member:

Liberal	11,577
Conservative	32,802
Others	37,134

~~C.C.F.~~	C.C.F.	Reconstruction
No. of votes polled:	390,~~820~~	384,221
Percentage of Total Votes:	8.8~~%~~%	8.7%
No. of ~~numbers~~ seats won:	7	1
Percentage of seats won:	~~2.8%~~ 2.8%	.4
Average no of votes required to elect one member:	55,831	384,221

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Collateral
Elections - General Election 1935

Prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh
July 31, 1936, in connection
with Record of Liberal Government
since October 23, 1935.

Elections

GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1935

C116369

Date of General Elections: October 14, 1935;

Liberal Government took office: October 25, 1935;

- - - - - - -

1. Party Standing in H. of C. after G.E., 1935:

Government:			
Liberal	170		
Ind.Lib.	6		
Lib.Prog.	2	178	
Conservatives:		39	
Independents:			
Ind. Cons.	1		
Reconstruction	1		
C.C.F.	7		
U.F.O.-Labour	1		
Soc.Credit	17		
Independent	1	28	245

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116370

Liberal Majority in New H. of C.

Majority of new Government over all opponents: (largest majority in Canadian history)	111;
Previous largest majority, 1917, Unionist:	71
Previous largest Liberal majority, 1904:	64
Largest Conservative majority { 1878 { 1882	68

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116371

Memo prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh
July 31, 1936, in connection with
the Record of Liberal Government
since October 23, 1935.

2. Popular Vote in General Elections 1911, 1930 and 1935.

(Based on figures supplied by the Chief Electoral Officer)

Total number of votes polled:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	625,105	669,894	12,821
1930:	1,774,015	1,909,955	215,085
1935:	2,060,742	1,312,098	1,055,774

Percentage of votes by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	47.8%	51.2%	
1930:	45.8%	48.9%	5.6%
1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

Number of Seats won by each Party:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	87	134	
1930:	91	137	17
1935:	178	40	27

Percentage of Seats won by each Party to Total No. of Seats:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	39.4%	60.6%	
1930:	37.4%	55.9%	6.7%
1935:	72.6%	16.3%	11.1%

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116371

Memo prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh
July 31, 1936, in connection with
the Record of Liberal Government
since October 23, 1935.

2. Popular Vote in General Elections 1911, 1930 and 1935.

(Based on figures supplied by the Chief Electoral Officer)

Total number of votes polled:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	625,105	669,894	12,851
1930:	1,774,015	1,909,955	215,025
1935:	2,060,742	1,312,088	1,033,774

Percentage of votes by parties to total vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	47.8%	51.2%	
1930:	46.5%	49.9%	5.6%
1935:	46.7%	29.7%	23.6%

Number of Seats won by each Party:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	87	134	
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Percentage of Seats won by each Party to Total No. of Seats:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
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W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Average Number of Votes required to Elect one Member:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others
1911:	7,386	4,987	
1930:	10,794	13,985	9,523
1935:	11,677	32,802	37,134

Number of Members Elected by a Minority Vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others	Total
1911	3	4		7
1930:	6	15	3	24
1935:	85	35	17	137

Percentage of Members Elected by a Minority Vote to Total Number of Members Elected by each Party:

	Liberal	Conservative	Others	All Parties
1911:	3.5%	3%		3.2%
1930:	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%
1935:	47.7%	87.5%	62.9%	55.9%

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
(M.G. 26, J 4, Volume 162, pages C115561-C116384)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(July 31, 1936)
Memo prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh
in connection with the Liberal
Government Record since Oct. 23,1935.

C 116373

3. Conservative Government's Defeat, 1935:

Conservative membership in H. of C. fell from 137 after G.E. 1930, to 39 (from second largest Conservative following since Confederation to lowest in history, worse even than 1921, when only 50 Conservatives elected).

No Conservatives returned for:

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia.

One Conservative returned for:

New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta.

Only one province in which more than 5 Conservatives returned. (Ontario).

12 Cabinet Ministers defeated in G.E. 1935:

Ernst (Queens-Lunenburg)
Gobeil (Compton)
Hanson (Skeena)
Gendron (Not in H. of C.)
Dupre (Quebec West)
Gagnon (Dorchester)
Murphy (Moosawa)
Geary (Toronto South)
Gordon (Timiskaming South)
Weir (Melfort)
Sutherland (Oxford North)
Manion (Fort William)

Also defeated:

Bowman, Speaker; Morand, Deputy Speaker.

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Memo prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh July 31, 1936, in connection with the Liberal Government Record since Oct. 23, 1935.

C 116374

4. Defeat of C.C.F. and Reconstruction Party:

	C. C. F.	Reconstruction
No. of Members at dissolution	9	1
No. of candidates in G.E. 1935	118	174
No. of votes polled	390,820	384,221
Percentage of votes polled to total vote	8.8%	8.7%
No of Members elected	7	1
Percentage of Members elected to total	2.8%	.4%
Average no. of votes required to elect one member	55,831	384,221
No. of provinces in which Members returned	3	1

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1933-1939
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

KODAK SAFE

Memo prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh
July 31, 1936, in connection with
the Liberal Government Record since
October 23, 1935.

C116375

5. Significance of the Liberal Victory:

Failure of unscrupulous efforts in campaign:

i. To divert the electorate from real issues by bogies of Communism, of industrial competition from the Orient, etc.;

ii. To bribe or intimidate the electorate by "wheat cheques", public works, threat of closing factories, etc;

iii. To capitalize on the existing hardship and discontent (Stevens);

iv. To mislead the electorate by the pretence of a "New Deal" that Members of Government know to be ultra vires.

A decisive verdict against { dictatorship, / experimentation;

An answer to surreptitious attempt to impose "National Government" on country;

An overwhelming endorsation of principles and policies set forth in Mr. King's speech, H. of C. Feb. 27, 1933 (14 Points)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Memo prepared by Mr. Fredenburgh July 31, 1936, in connection with the Liberal Government Record since Oct. 23, 1935.

C 116376

6. Re Bennett charge that 35% of Electorate elected present Liberal Government:

(See Mr. Bennett, Unrev. Hansard, Feb. 10, 1936, p.45).

Ridiculous to take percentage of Liberal votes to total of names on voters' list;

Should take Liberal votes as percentage of all votes cast;

Smaller percentage of Liberal Members elected in G.E. 1935 by minority votes than Conservatives or Independents;

Members elected by a Minority Vote:

	Liberal	Conservative	Independent	All Parties
Number 1935 -	85	36	17	137
(1930 -	6	15	3	24)
Percentage 1935-	47.2%	85.5%	62.9%	55.9%
(1930-	6.6%	10.9%	18.1%	9.8%)

Only four Conservative Members not elected by a minority vote;

Number of Members elected by a minority of votes has increased with number of parties and number of independents engaging in contest;

Liberal majority would undoubtedly have been greater if Elections had been a two-party contest.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Coll - Gen Elect 1935
C116377
(copy kept for Coll. on By-Elections)

BY - ELECTIONS

1. ASSINIBOIA, January 6th, 1936:

Gardiner (Liberal)	7,350	
Irvine (C.C.F.)	3,719	(Mr. Gardiner received
Liberal majority	3,631	66% of the total vote)

Result at General Election, 1935:

McKenzie (Liberal)	6,213
Lynd (Conservative)	3,847
Broughton (C.C.F.)	3,293
Hilton (S.C.)	1,557

Mr. McKenzie obtained 41% of the total vote.

2. QUEEN'S, P.E.I., January 6th, 1936:

Dunning (Liberal) Acclamation.

Result at General Election, 1935: (Two seats)

Larabee (Liberal)	10,326
Sinclair (Liberal)	10,303
McLure (Conservative)	7,767
Myers (Conservative)	7,262
Hughes (Reconstruct.)	1,004
Ings (Reconstruct.)	836

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3. PORTNEUF, January 29th, 1936:

Gauthier (Liberal) Acclamation

Result at General Election, 1935:

Cannon (Liberal) 5,981

Jolicoeur (Conservative) 5,155

Dussault (Ind.Liberal) 4,281

Plamondon(Ind.Liberal) 64

4. ANTIGONISH - Guysborough, March 23, 1936:

Kirk (Liberal) Acclamation

Result at General Election, 1935:

Duff (Liberal) 7,779

MacKichan(Conservative)3,783

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C 116379

5. VICTORIA, June 8th, 1936:

Tolmie (Conservative)	5,977
Gordon (C.C.F.)	5,887
McDowell (Liberal)	5,725

Result at General Election, 1935:

Plunkett (Conservative)	7,505
Gordon (C.C.F.)	6,482
McDowell (Liberal)	6,378
George(Reconstructionist)	905

6. WRIGHT, QUE., August 10th, 1936:

Leduc (Liberal)	Acclamation

Result at General Election, 1935:

Perras (Liberal)	5,945
Beauchamp (Conservative)	2,540
Lavigne (Reconstructionist)	1,296
Gross (Independent)	825

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C 116380

9. BONAVENTURE, Quebec, March 22nd, 1937:

Cote (Liberal)	7,735
O'Connell (Independent)	6,076
Thibault (Independent)	225

Result at General Election, 1935:

Marcil (Liberal)	8,436
Jessop (Conservative)	5,930

10. HAMILTON WEST, ONT., March 22nd, 1937:

Marsh (Conservative)	8,102
Connor (Liberal)	7,295
O'Hanley (C.C.F.)	3,536

Result at General Election, 1935:

Wilton (Conservative)	7,857
Henderson (Reconstructionist)	5,065
Connor (Liberal)	4,817
Ainslie (Liberal)	3,434
Connor (C.C.F.)	2,203

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 116381

11. **RENFREW NORTH, Ontario, April 5th, 1937:**

Warren (Liberal)	5,863
Wood (Conservative)	5,459

Result at General Election, 1935:

McKay (Liberal)	6,052
Cotnam (Conservative)	4,134
Kidd (Reconstructionist)	1,949

12. **CAPE BRETON - NORTH VICTORIA, N.S., October 25th, 1937:**

MacLean (Liberal)	Acclamation

Result at General Election, 1935:

Cameron (Liberal)	6,457
Johnstone (Conservative)	4,067
MacDonald (Reconstructionist)	3,377

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C116382

13. DUFFERIN-SIMCOE, Ontario, November 15th, 1937:

Rowe (Conservative) — Acclamation

Result at General Election, 1935:

Rowe (Conservative)	8,150
Boake (Liberal)	4,767
Ferry (Reconstructionist)	2,657

14. FRONTENAC-ADDINGTON, Ontario, November 15th, 1937:

McCallum (Liberal) — Acclamation

Result at General Election, 1935:

Campbell (Liberal)	7,250
Pringle (Conservative)	6,831
Hellmuth (Reconstructionist)	345

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

(UNKNOWN)

NOV 31, 1935.
C 116383

Copy for Mr. Mackenzie King's information.

Elections - Gen. Elec. 1935 - Alberta

PRIVATE REPORT FROM ALBERTA:

1. PEACE RIVER;- Nomination has not yet been held in this riding, but it appears that three persons will present themselves for convention, which is to be held soon, namely -

Joe McIsaac, lawyer, Sexsmith, Alberta. Roman Catholic, who would seem to stand the best chance of those named in this particular riding.

Jack Thompson, hardware merchant, Grand Prairie, Alberta, a defeated candidate.

Mr. Fredericks, editor of the "Peace River Record".

This seat seems doubtful but perhaps could be won if well organized.

2. ATHABASCA; - Candidate nominated - J. McNamee, Durlingville. Farmer. Doubtful. Badly in need of financial assistance.

3. JASPER-EDSON;- Hon. Charles Stewart nominated. Little doubt but that this seat will be Liberal.

4. EDMONTON WEST;- Candidate nominated - James A. McKinnon, 9920 St. Georges Crescent, Edmonton. Financial man. Strong in society and fraternal work. Excellent candidate, every prospect of winning.

5. EDMONTON EAST; - Candidate nominated, Lt. Col. G. B. McLeod, 9838 - 112 Street, Edmonton. Fighting chance.

6. VEGREVILLE;- Candidate nominated - J. S. McCallum, 11216 Jasper Ave., Edmonton. Former provincial member for portion of this riding. Approximately two thirds of population Russian or Russian descent, but likely that sitting member, Lukhovic, will win. Our candidate speaks Russian.

7. WETASKIWIN - Candidate nominated - Walter S. Campbell, 6210 Ada Boulevard, Edmonton. Business man connected with Gault's Ltd., and Wainwright Gas. Co. Close friend of Hon. Charles Stewart. Prospects not bright in this seat.

8. CAMROSE; Candidate nominated - Geo. P. Smith, Camrose. Good speaker. Former provincial member of Cabinet, with certain unfortunate associations as such. Liberals not unanimous. Fighting chance at best. Probable loss.

9. BATTLE RIVER; - Candidate nominated - Martin Forster, Wainwright. Ex-mayor of that city and reliable business man. Monetary Reform ideas very much in evidence in this riding and present prospects not bright. Probable loss.

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10. RED DEER - Candidate nominated - Geo. Clark, Eagle Hill via Olds; son of Dr. Michael Clark. Farmer. Good speaker and well liked. Probable win.

11. ACADIA; - Convention held at Hanna, May 29th, but have not seen results. This comprises an area which has had five successive crop failures. Social Credit and Monetary Reform ideas very prevalent. Unless compromise candidate was nominated would consider prospects poor.

12. CALGARY WEST; - Candidate nominated, Pete Hyde. You have heard a good deal of this gentleman but my own conclusion is that while he has shown commendable energy in organization, his candidature is on account of his own personal business ambitions. If Hon. Mr. Bennett is a candidate a Conservative victory is certain. I am inclined to think that Mr. Hyde would consider prestige of defeated candidate to his advantage.

13. CALGARY EAST; - Candidate Nominated - Joe Shaw. Shaw will as usual conduct a highly individual type of campaign but should win.

14. BOW RIVER; - Candidate nominated - Mr. Walrod, Rockyford. All enquiries elicted the information we would lose this seat.

15. MACLEOD ; - Candidate nominated - F. O. McKenna, lawyer, Pincher Creek. Roman Catholic. This candidate would appear to have a good chance of election.

16. LETHBRIDGE; - Candidate nominated - Lin Fairbairn, lawyer, Lethbridge. Young man but a hard fight in this riding. Probable loss.

17. MEDICINE HAT; - Candidate nominated - Dr. Gershaw, sitting member, would appear to have a safe seat.

GENERAL COMMENT; - It is difficult to estimate results in Alberta because of the emergence on the public horizon of "Social Credit", politico-religious doctrine, which cuts across the United Farmers movement and has affected considerable portion of Liberal votes. In accordance with the survey above, it would appear to me at the present time that there are not more than four (4) safe Liberal seats in the Province. Nine almost certain Opposition and four doubtful.

I found considerable lack of co-operation between those interested in Liberalism Federally and Provincially. No one has taken an aggressive lead Federally. Mr. J. M. Dillon, 3809 Fourth Street, West Calgary, has been retained as organizer in Southern Alberta. His functions have been both federal and provincial, but any financial assistance which he has received has been from provincial sources. Mr. Dillon is an Irish Roman Catholic, apparently endowed with energy and a good deal of skill along old fashioned political lines. I do not know how you can best distribute financial aid to Federal candidates as Mr. Stewart's financial advisers are non personae gratae to most Liberals.

31-5-35

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C116385

D/6 Brockville mulcy

● ● ● WILL A LIBERAL GOVERNMENT BE ELECTED ● ● ●

The Unemployed and Independent Voters have not, so far in the Election Campaign, made up their minds which Party they will support, as so far, they have not heard anyone deliver a specific concrete business address.

After listening in over the Radio and reading in the Press, speeches made by the Leaders of both Major Parties, and The Wizard Oil Testimonials of the Minor Groups, they begin to wonder what kind of rating these men give to their intelligence. They do not have to be told by every Speaker of the Liberal Party that Mr. Bennett has failed to blast a straight road through this depression, because they are still unemployed.

At this period in the Campaign the Liberal Party under the Leadership of Mr. King has an appeal which the Independent Elector would support, provided this appeal is made with some specific undertakings, and not by vague theories. These Voters at this stage of the Election Campaign are not interested in the repeal or leaving alone of Section 98, - R. B. Bennett's broken promises,- Canada's status in the event of War,- What Sir John A. McDonald or Sir Wilfred Laurier have done or have said. Most of them are informed and all are living in a much changed world, and not in Benjamin Franklin's time. These men and women are the groups of Voters who elect or defeat a Government and in the present Election are greater in number than at any time since Confederation. They are not clamouring for Cure-Alls, but are looking for Leadership, and give both Major Parties credit for being sincere in their efforts, but asking for specific answers to only a few leading questions.

(1) Is it possible to balance the Budget leaving out unemployment relief ?

(2) Give reasons why the Bank of Canada should be operated under the Department of Finance.

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(3) How would you handle the Wheat Situation for the benefit of the Western Farmer and not gamble in the World's Wheat Market ?

(4) When the same taxes are levied by the Federal, Provincial and Municipal Governments, is it possible for an arrangement to be made whereby Federal Machinery only is used in collecting and a proper distribution made, thus avoiding unnecessary expense to the Government and Tax Payers ?

(5) Give the remedies for Unemployment Relief. What is the present annual cost ?

(6) Do you think it fair taxation, and in the interest of the Mineral Developement of this Country, that a Gold Mine in this Country, which this year made a net profit of $10,600,000. should pay the Government $7,000,000 ? The Gold Tax and The Income Tax of five of the largest Shareholders make up this Seven Million. If not, would you be willing to make 50% of the income from Gold Mines exempt from Income Tax, the same as it was up to this year ?

(7) Explain briefly what the Duff Report on the Railway Situation recommended. A fair capitalization of Two and one-half Billions for our two railroads and the gross receipts of last year's less than Three Hundred Million, shows on the face of it that more traffic is the cure, not amalgamation. In view of this fact, instead of 'passing the buck' to a new Economic Council, would you be willing to insist that the Railways immediately give the Duff Report recommendations a fair trial and not allow them to drift along as they have the last three years. Would you also assist the Railways in bringing Truck & 'Bus transportation rates under the Railway Commission ?

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N. B.

(1) All answers should be FEARLESS and SPECIFIC.

(2) Evasive and Political Expediency answers will not be read.

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Prominent
Montreal Liberal

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C116389

BROCKVILLE

1. Constituency represented:

Leeds

2. Place of meeting:

3. Time:

8.15 p.m.

4. Chairman:

Mr. James R. Maclaren, K.C.

5. Radio:

From 9.30 to 10.30 p.m.

6. Speakers:

Mrs. George T. Fulford Jr.

Mr. Donald Elswood Lewis, K.C., Candidate in Leeds

Senator A. C. Hardy, who will introduce

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Candidate:

Mr. Donald Elswood Lewis, K.C.

8. Sitting Member:

Honourable H. A. Stewart, Minister of Public Works

9. Prominent Liberals:

Candidates from adjoining ridings invited. including

Colin Campbell, Frontenac, and professor Norman Rogers, Kingston

Officers of Liberal Association invited.

Rt. Hon. Geo. P. Graham,

Mr. George T. Fulford, M.L.A., etc.

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10. Notes on Candidates:

Donald Elswood Lewis, K.C. -

Born and educated in Brockville.

Barrister (Osgoode Hall)

Has served as town councillor

Has served as mayor

President Rotary Club

Has been district governor Rotary International

Prominent representative Canadian Legion

At all times a public spirited citizen.

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CANADA

C116391

BROCKVILLE

1. Constituency represented:

   Leeds

2. Place of meeting:

   New Theatre

3. Time:

   8.15 p.m.

4. Chairman:

   Mr. James R. Maclaren, K.C.

5. Radio:

   From 9.30 to 10.30 p.m. ~~(local)~~ C.R.C.O.

6. Speakers:

   Mrs. George T. Fulford Jr.

   Mr. Donald Elswood Lewis, K.C., Candidate in Leeds

   Senator A. C. Hardy, who will introduce

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Candidate:

   Mr. Donald Elswood Lewis, K.C.

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   Officers of Liberal Association invited.

   Rt. Hon. Geo. P. Graham,

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10. Notes on Candidate :

Donald Elswood Lewis, K.C. -

Born and educated in Brockville.

Barrister (Osgoode Hall)

Has served as town councillor

Has served as mayor

President Rotary Club

Has been district governor Rotary International

Prominent representative Canadian Legion

At all times a public spirited citizen.

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C116393

Mr. Bennett at Toronto

Challenge to Mr. King re Ontario Power Contracts

Suggested reply (from Percy Parker)

My answer to Mr. Bennett's challenge of last night about the Hydro Electric Commission's Power Contracts is this: There has been no cancellation, though an act has been passed empowering the government to cancel these contracts. I may add this, however. I would approve of the cancellation of any contract such as these, based on considerations inimical to the public interest or made for improper reasons or to the detriment of the people. Furthermore, I pledge all the powers of the Dominion government to probe to the full the promotion of these contracts without delay so that the ultimate loss if any will fall upon the millionaire promoters instead of the innocent bondholders and power users. Will Mr. Bennett say that had he been Mr. Hepburn he would have stood by these contracts which threatened destruction to the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

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C116394

BRANDON

1. Constituencies represented:

Brandon, Souris, Neepawa, Macdonald, Marquette.
(all immediately adjacent to Brandon)

2. Place of Meeting:

Winter Fair Arena.

3. Time:

8.15 p.m.

4. Chairman:

A. G. Buckingham, K.C., President, Brandon Federal Liberal Assn.

5. Speakers:

J. Allison Glen (possibly), Liberal-progressive candidate in Marquette.

J. E. Matthews, Liberal candidate in Brandon.

Hon. D. G. McKenzie, Minister of Agriculture in Manitoba Government, who will introduce,

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

6. Radio:

CKX - Brandon

CJGX - Yorkton

CJRC - Winnipeg

Mr. King to speak from 9.15 p.m.

7. Official Liberal Candidates:

Brandon - J. E. Matthews

Souris - George McDonald

Neepawa - F. D. MacKenzie

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C116395

7. (continued)

Macdonald - W. G. Weir

Marquette - J. Allison Glen

(For candidates of other parties, see special file of candidates)

8. Sitting Members:

Brandon - D. W. Beaubier, Conservative

Souris - E. F. Willis, Conservative

Neepawa - Honourable T. G. Murphy, Conservative

Macdonald - W. G, Weir, Liberal

Marquette - Col. H. A. Mullins, Conservative (now Senator)

9. Prominent Liberals:

Candidates in above named constituencies invited.

Officials Liberals Associations invited.

10. Officials Brandon Federal Liberal Association:

President:- A. G. Buckingham, K.C.

Secretary:- Harold D. Clement

11. Liberal organizer for province of Manitoba:

Mr. J. C. Davis.

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Byle Brandon.

Conservative Headquarters

at Brandon

C116396

(Capital letters) Campbell Furniture

Undertaking & Ferguson

Cuts on door: "Removed to new funeral home."

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C116397

Mr. King:

For approval. Please note Miss Moore's telegram.

EAP

OK,

Send words re to Johnson.

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C116398

BRANDON

1. **Constituencies represented:**

Brandon, Souris, Neepawa, Macdonald, Marquette.
(all immediately adjacent to Brandon)

2. **Place of Meeting:**

" Winter Fair Arena.

3. **Time:**

8.15 p.m.

4. **Chairman:**

A. G. Buckingham, K.C., President, Brandon Federal Liberal Assn.

5. **Speakers:**

J. Allison Glen (possibly), Liberal-progressive candidate in Marquette.

J. E. Matthews, Liberal candidate in Brandon.

Hon. D. G. McKenzie, Minister of Agriculture in Manitoba Government, who will introduce,

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

6. **Radio:**

CKX - Brandon

CJGX - Yorkton

CJRC - Winnipeg

Mr. King to speak from 9.15 p.m.

7. **Official Liberal Candidates:**

Brandon - J. E. Matthews

Souris - George McDonald

Neepawa - F. D. MacKenzie

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C116399

7. (continued)

Macdonald - W. G. Weir

Marquette - J. Allison Glen

(For candidates of other parties, see special file of candidates)

8. Sitting Members:

Brandon - D. W. Beaubier, Conservative

Souris - E. F. Willis, Conservative

Neepawa - Honourable T. G. Murphy, Conservative

Macdonald - W. G. Weir, Liberal

Marquette - Col. H. A. Mullins, Conservative (now Senator)

9. Prominent Liberals:

Candidates in above named constituencies invited.

Officials Liberal Associations invited.

10. Officials Brandon Federal Liberal Association:

President:- A. G. Buckingham, K.C.

Secretary:- Harold D. Clement

11. Liberal organizer for province of Manitoba:

Mr. J. C. Davis.

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C116400

b/o Brandon (accordion)

Re Conservative Headquarters at Brandon, Man.

(Sign across front of building at top)

CAMPBELL

UNDERTAKING & FURNITURE

FERGUSON

(Placards on windows)

CONSERVATIVE HEADQUARTERS

(Card placed in door)

"Removed to new funeral home."

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Typo - Itinerary

C116401

Aug. / Sept.	
18	Ottawa
25	Ottawa
Sept. 1	~~Ottawa~~ Montreal.
8	~~Ottawa~~ Ottawa.
15.	~~Ottawa~~ Banff.
22	~~Calgary~~ Edm. Van - Victoria.
29	Cal. Reg. to Grand.
Oct 6	- Montreal, Toronto etc.
13	

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C116402

Mon. Sept. 1 - Leave Ottawa

Tues 2 St. John

Wed 3 Halifax

Thurs 4 Charlottetown

Sat 6 Quebec

Sept

Mon 15 - Leave Ottawa

Wed 18 - Win.

Thurs 19 - Sask.

Fri 20 - P.E.

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SAFETY FILM

C116403

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

Lv. Ottawa	Pool	No.	33	10.45 p.m.	Monday,	August	12th
Ar. Toronto	"	"	"	7.00 a.m.	Tuesday,	"	13th
Lv. Toronto	CNR	"	17	8.30 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Woodstock	"	"	"	11.04 a.m.	"	"	"

Afternoon Meeting Woodstock

Lv. Woodstock	CNR	No.	16	7.51 p.m.	Tuesday,	August	13th
Ar. Toronto	"	"	"	10.15 p.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	29	7.35 a.m.	Wednesday,	"	14th
Ar. Guelph	"	"	"	9.15 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	181	9.39 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Palmerston	"	"	"	11.00 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	331	11.15 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Wingham	"	"	"	1.15 p.m.	"	"	"

Meeting Wingham

Lv. Wingham	CNR	No.	194	6.30 a.m.	Thursday,	August	15th
Ar. Palmerston	"	"	"	7.55 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. Palmerston	"	"	169	8.20 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Stratford	"	"	"	9.35 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	29	10.42 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. London	"	"	"	11.41 a.m.	"	"	"

Meeting London (Evening)

(Sleep on Car)

Lv. London	CNR	No.	14	5.40 a.m.	Friday,	August	16th
Ar. Toronto	"	"	"	8.40 a.m.	"	"	"
Lv. "	"	"	"	9.15 a.m.	"	"	"
Ar. Ottawa	"	"	"	5.15 p.m.	"	"	"

ALL TIMES STANDARD

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C116404

ITINERARY - Hon. J. G. Gardiner

Sept. 2nd - Frontenac-Addington Co. - Colin Campbell's picnic afternoon.

" " Leeds Co. at night

" 3rd - ~~Renfrew Co.~~ Trenton - Northumberland

" 4th - ~~Carleton Co.~~ Lanark Village - afternoon
Lanark Co. - evening

" 5th - Huron-Perth Co.
& Goderich

" 6th - Kent Co. at Chatham

" 7th - North York Co.

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ITINERARY - Hon. J. L. Ralston

Sept. 9th - Kingston

" 10th - Sarnia

" 11th - Brantford

" 12th - St. Catharines

" 13th - Toronto (Sam'l Factor)

" 16th - Northumberland at Cobourg

" 17th - Victoria Co. at Lindsay

" 18th - Hastings Co. at Belleville

" 19th - Brockville

" 20th - Lanark or Renfrew Smiths Falls

" 21st - Cornwall.

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C116406

Change in Mr. King's Itinerary for Western Trip

Lv.	Brandon	CPR	#1	1.40 A.M.	Friday, Sept.	20th
Ar.	Regina	"	1	7.00 A.M.	" "	"
Lv.	Regina	CNR	#5	10.20 A.M.	" "	"
Ar.	Saskatoon	CNR	#5	4.45 P.M.	" "	"

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Itinerary for Western Trip.

Lv. Ottawa	CPR #7	9.25 PM	Tuesday	Sept.	17th.
Ar. Brandon	CPR #7	12.40 PM	Thursday	Sept.	19th.
	MEETING BRANDON.				
Lv. Brandon	CNR #5	1.45 AM	Friday	Sept.	20th.
Ar. Saskatoon	" "	4.45 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING SASKATOON.				
Lv. Saskatoon	CNR #7	9.15 AM	Saturday	Sept.	21st.
Ar. Prince Albert	" "	12.15 Nn	"	"	"
	MEETING PR. ALBERT (21st.)				
	Motor to Shelbrook for meeting Mon.		"		23rd.
Lv. Prince Albert	CNR #60	5.30 PM	Tuesday	Sept.	24th.
Ar. Saskatoon	" "	8.30 PM	"	"	"
Lv. Saskatoon	" #1	9.35 PM	"	"	"
Ar. Edmonton	" "	6.30 AM	Wednesday	"	25th.
	MEETING EDMONTON.				
Lv. Edmonton	CNR #1	7.00 AM	Thursday	"	26th.
Ar. Vancouver	" "	9.00 AM	Friday	"	27th.
Lv. Vancouver	CPSS	10.30 AM	"	"	"
Ar. Victoria	"	3.15 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING VICTORIA.				
Lv. Victoria	CPSS	12.00 Mdnt.	"	"	"
Ar. Vancouver	"	7.00 AM	Saturday	"	28th.
	MEETING VANCOUVER.				
	Mr. King to motor to Harrison Hot Springs		Sunday	"	29th.
Lv. Vancouver	CPR #4	7.15 PM	Sunday	"	"
Ar. Agassiz	" "	9.29 PM	"	"	"
(Pick up Mr. King.)					
Ar. Calgary	CPR #4	8.20 PM	Monday	"	30th.
	MEETING CALGARY.				
		3.00 AM			
Lv. Calgary	CPR #2	~~3x23xPM~~	Tuesday	October	1st.
Ar. Regina	" "	8.00 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING REGINA.				
Lv. Regina	CPR #4	9.35 AM	Wednesday	"	2nd.
Ar. Winnipeg	" "	7.15 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING WINNIPEG.				

ALL TIMES STANDARD.

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C116408

Itinerary for Western Trip.

Lv. Ottawa	CPR #7	9.25 PM	Tuesday	Sept.	17th.
Ar. Brandon	CPR #7	12.40 PM	Thursday	Sept.	19th.
	MEETING BRANDON.				
Lv. Brandon	CNR #5	1.45 AM	Friday	Sept.	20th.
Ar. Saskatoon	" "	4.45 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING SASKATOON.				
Lv. Saskatoon	CNR #7	9.15 AM	Saturday	Sept.	21st.
Ar. Prince Albert	" "	12.15 Nn	"	"	"
	MEETING PR. ALBERT (21st.)				
	Motor to Shelbrook for meeting Mon.		"		23rd.
Lv. Prince Albert	CNR #60	5.30 PM	Tuesday	Sept.	24th.
Ar. Saskatoon	" "	8.30 PM	"	"	"
Lv. Saskatoon	" #1	9.35 PM	"	"	"
Ar. Edmonton	" "	6.20 AM	Wednesday	"	25th.
	MEETING EDMONTON.				
Lv. Edmonton	CNR #1	7.00 AM	Thursday	"	26th.
Ar. Vancouver	" "	9.00 AM	Friday	"	27th.
Lv. Vancouver	CPSS	10.30 AM	"	"	"
Ar. Victoria	"	3.15 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING VICTORIA.				
Lv. Victoria	CPSS	12.00 Mdnt.	"	"	"
Ar. Vancouver	"	7.00 AM	Saturday	"	28th.
	MEETING VANCOUVER.				
	Mr. King to motor to Harrison Hot Springs		Sunday	"	29th.
Lv. Vancouver	CPR #4	7.15 PM	Sunday	"	"
Ar. Agassiz	" "	9.29 PM	"	"	"
(Pick up Mr. King.)					
Ar. Calgary	CPR #4	8.20 PM	Monday	"	30th.
	MEETING CALGARY.				
		3.oo AM			
Lv. Calgary	CPR #2	~~8.00 PM~~	Tuesday	October	1st.
Ar. Regina	" "	8.00 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING REGINA.				
Lv. Regina	CPR #4	9.35 AM	Wednesday	"	2nd.
Ar. Winnipeg	" "	7.15 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING WINNIPEG.				

ALL TIMES STANDARD.

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C116409

REVISED ITINERARY OF THE RT.HON.W.L.MACKENZIE KING -BALANCE OF CAMPAIGN

Lv. Winnipeg	CP Spl.	11.00 P.M.	Wednesday, October	2nd
Arr.Fort William	" "	6.30 P.M.	Thursday "	3rd

MEETING PORT ARTHUR - 4½ Miles distant
(3rd)

Lv. Fort William	CPR # 4	8.05 A.M.	Friday, October	4th
Arr.Toronto	" # 4	7.30 A.M.	Saturday "	5th
Lv.Toronto	CNR #41	9.00 A.M.	" "	5th
Arr.Barrie	" #41	11.25 A.M.	" "	5th

MEETING BARRIE (evening)
(5th)

(Private car to leave Barrie CNR #44, 4.05 P.M., Saturday," 5th)
(Mr. King and party to motor from Barrie to Toronto after)
(evening meeting.)

Lv.Toronto	POOL # 34	11.35 P.M.	Saturday, October	5th
Arr.Ottawa	" # 34	7.45 A.M.	Sunday "	6th
Lv.Ottawa	POOL # 33	11.35 P.M.	" "	6th
Arr.Toronto	" # 33	7.15 A.M.	Monday "	7th
Lv.Toronto	CNR # 17	8.30 A.M.	" "	7th
Arr.Chatham	" #117	1.30 P.M.	" "	7th
Arr.Windsor	" #117	2.30 P.M.	" "	7th

MEETING WINDSOR
(7th)

Lv.Windsor	CNR #10	1.00 A.M.	Tuesday "	8th
Arr.Toronto	" #10	8.10 A.M.	" "	8th

MEETING TORONTO
(8th)

Lv.Toronto	CNR #83-86	1.30 P.M.	Wednesday "	9th
Arr.Niagara Falls	" #83-86	4.30 P.M.	" "	9th

MEETING NIAGARA FALLS
(9th)

Lv.Niagara Falls	CN #105	5.45 A.M.	Thursday "	10th
Arr.Toronto	" #106	7.55 A.M.	" "	10th
Lv.Toronto	" # 14	9.15 A.M.	" "	10th
Arr.Brockville	" # 14	2.35 P.M.	" "	10th

MEETING BROCKVILLE (10th)

Lv.Brockville	CPR #566	8.10 A.M.	Friday "	11th
Arr.Ottawa	" #566	11.05 A.M.	" "	11th
Lv.Ottawa	CNR # 50	4.30 P.M.	" "	11th
Arr.Montreal	" # 50	7.45 P.M.	" "	11th

MEETING MONTREAL (11th)

Lv.Montreal	CNR Frt.#401	11.30 P.M.	" "	11th
Arr.Ottawa	" " #401	4.00 A.M.	Saturday "	12th

MEETING OTTAWA (12th)

Issued October 4th,1935.

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CANADA

C116410

REVISED ITINERARY OF THE RT.HON.W.L.MACKENZIE KING -BALANCE OF CAMPAIGN

Lv. Winnipeg	CP Spl.	11.00 P.M.	Wednesday,	October 2nd
Arr.Fort William	" "	6.30 P.M.	Thursday	" 3rd

MEETING PORT ARTHUR - 4½ Miles distant
(3rd)

Lv. Fort William	CPR # 4	8.05 A.M.	Friday,	October 4th
Arr.Toronto	" # 4	7.30 A.M.	Saturday	" 5th
Lv.Toronto	CNR #41	9.00 A.M.	"	" 5th
Arr.Barrie	" #41	11.25 A.M.	"	" 5th

MEETING BARRIE (evening)
(5th)

(Private car to leave Barrie CNR #44, 4.05 P.M., Saturday," 5th)
(Mr. King and party to motor from Barrie to Toronto after)
(evening meeting.)

Lv.Toronto	POOL # 34	11.35 P.M.	Saturday,	October 5th
Arr.Ottawa	" # 34	7.45 A.M.	Sunday	" 6th
Lv.Ottawa	POOL # 33	11.35 P.M.	"	" 6th
Arr.Toronto	" # 33	7.15 A.M.	Monday	" 7th
Lv.Toronto	CNR # 17	8.30 A.M.	"	" 7th
Arr.Chatham	" #117	1.30 P.M.	"	" 7th
Arr.Windsor	" #117	2.30 P.M.	"	" 7th

MEETING WINDSOR
(7th)

Lv.Windsor	CNR #10	1.00 A.M.	Tuesday	" 8th
Arr.Toronto	" #10	8.10 A.M.	"	" 8th

MEETING TORONTO
(8th)

Lv.Toronto	CNR #83-86	1.30 P.M.	Wednesday	" 9th
Arr.Niagara Falls	" #83-86	4.30 P.M.	"	" 9th

MEETING NIAGARA FALLS
(9th)

Lv.Niagara Falls	CN #105	5.45 A.M.	Thursday	" 10th
Arr.Toronto	" #106	7.55 A.M.	"	" 10th
Lv.Toronto	" # 14	9.15 A.M.	"	" 10th
Arr.Brockville	" # 14	2.35 P.M.	"	" 10th

MEETING BROCKVILLE (10th)

Lv.Brockville	CPR #566	8.10 A.M.	Friday	" 11th
Arr.Ottawa	" #566	11.05 A.M.	"	" 11th
Lv.Ottawa	CNR # 50	4.30 P.M.	"	" 11th
Arr.Montreal	" # 50	7.45 P.M.	"	" 11th

MEETING MONTREAL (11th)

Lv.Montreal	CNR Frt.#401	11.30 P.M.	"	" 11th
Arr.Ottawa	" " #401	4.00 A.M.	Saturday	" 12th

MEETING OTTAWA (12th)

Issued October 4th,1935.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

File

C116411

HALIFAX

1. Constituencies represented:

All twelve Nova Scotia constituencies.

2. Place of Meeting:

Arena rink.

3. Time:

8.30 p.m. Atlantic Daylight Saving Time.

4. Chairman:

Mr. M. B. Archibald, President, Nova Scotia Liberal Assn.

5. Speakers:

Honourable Angus L. Macdonald

R. E. Finn, K.C.

Gordon B. Isnor

Rt. Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

6. Radio:

Radio to cover province and Prince Edward Island.

7. Candidates:

R. E. Finn, K.C.)
) - Halifax
Gordon B. Isnor)

Note: For federal candidates in all Nova Scotia ridings see separate file of candidates.

8. Sitting Members:

F. P. Quinn (senator)

1 Vacant (Hon. W. A. Black - deceased)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116412

9. Prominent Liberals Present:

All federal candidates in province invited.

All members Provincial cabinet invited.

Officials of Liberal organizations, including 20th century clubs.

10. Notes on Halifax candidates:

Robert E. Finn, K.C.

Has had many years experience, both as a member of the federal House and also was liberal candidate in by-election 1923 and general election 1925.

Gordon B. Isnor -

Elected to provincial legislature in 1928. Re-elected in 1933. Successful merchant in Halifax.

11. Officials Nova Scotia Liberal Association:

President, M. B. Archibald.

Secretary, J. Gordon Fogo.

12. Officials Halifax County Federal Liberal Association:

President, George E. Hagen.

Secretary, C. H. Bennett.

Note: Letter from M. B. Archibald attached.

Mr. C. A. Bowman hopes Mr. King will shake hands with Ralph Bell and his brother, Dr. Winthrop Bell.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C116413

Nova Scotia Cabinet

The Honourable Angus L. Macdonald, Premier and Provincial Secretary.

The Honourable Alexander S. MacMillan, Minister of Highways.

The Honourable John A. McDonald, Minister of Agriculture

The Honourable Josiah H. MacQuarrie, Attorney-General.

The Honourable Michael Dwyer, Minister of Public Works and Mines, and Minister of Labour.

The Honourable Frank Roy Davis, M.D., C.M., Minister of Public Health.

The Honourable Joseph W. Comeau, Minister without Portfolio.

The Honourable Clarence W. Anderson, Minister without Portfolio.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116414

HALIFAX

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   All twelve Nova Scotia constituencies.

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Arena rink.

3. **Time:**

   8.30 p.m. Atlantic Daylight Saving Time.

4. **Chairman:**

   Mr. M. B. Archibald, President, Nova Scotia Liberal Assn.

5. **Speakers:**

   Honourable Angus L. Macdonald

   R. E. Finn, K.C.

   Gordon B. Isnor

   Rt. Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

6. **Radio:**

   Radio to cover province and Prince Edward Island.

7. **Candidates:**

   R. E. Finn, K.C.)
) - Halifax
   Gordon B. Isnor)

   Note: For federal candidates in all Nova Scotia ridings see separate file of candidates.

8. **Sitting Members:**

   F. P. Quinn (senator)

   1 Vacant (Hon. W. A. Black - deceased)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116415

9. Prominent Liberals Present:

All federal candidates in province invited.

All members Provincial cabinet invited.

Officials of Liberal organizations, including 20th century clubs.

10. Notes on Halifax candidates:

Robert E. Finn, K.C.

Has had many years experience, both as a member of the federal House and also was liberal candidate in by-election 1923 and general election 1925.

Gordon B. Isnor -

Elected to provincial legislature in 1928. Re-elected in 1933. Successful merchant in Halifax.

11. Officials Nova Scotia Liberal Association:

President, M. B. Archibald.

Secretary, J. Gordon Fogo.

12. Officials Halifax County Federal Liberal Association:

President, George E. Hagen.

Secretary, C. H. Bennett.

Note: Letter from M. B. Archibald attached.

Mr. C. A. Bowman hopes Mr. King will shake hands with Ralph Bell and his brother, Dr. Winthrop Bell.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116416

Nova Scotia Cabinet

The Honourable Angus L. Macdonald, Premier and Provincial Secretary.

The Honourable Alexander S. MacMillan, Minister of Highways.

The Honourable John A. McDonald, Minister of Agriculture

The Honourable Josiah H. MacQuarrie, Attorney-General.

The Honourable Michael Dwyer, Minister of Public Works and Mines, and Minister of Labour.

The Honourable Frank Roy Davis, M.D., C.M., Minister of Public Health.

The Honourable Joseph W. Comeau, Minister without Portfolio.

The Honourable Clarence W. Anderson, Minister without Portfolio.

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

KODAK SAFETY FILM

C116417

EDMONTON

1. Constituencies represented:

East Edmonton

West Edmonton

also seven northern constituencies of province

2. Place of Meeting:

New Empire Theatre

3. Time:

8.30 p.m.

4. Chairman:

W. R. Howson, Esq.
Provincial Liberal Leader

5. Radio:

CJCA to cover all nine northern constituencies.

6. Speakers:

Hon. Charles Stewart

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Candidates:

East Edmonton - Lt.-Col. George B. McLeod

West Edmonton - James A. McKinnon

(for Liberal candidates in other seven northern constituencies, see attached list.)

8. Sitting members:

East Edmonton - A. U. Bury, Conservative (now judge)

West Edmonton - Hon. Charles Stewart - Liberal

Jasper-Edson - (new constituency)

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CANADA

C116418

8. Sitting Members (continued):

Peace River - D. M. Kennedy, U.F.A.

Athabaska - P. G. Davies, Conservative.

Wetaskiwin - W. Irvine - U.F.A.

Camrose - W. T. Lucas, U.F.A.

Battle River - H. E. Spencer, U.F.A.

9. Officials Edmonton East Federal Liberal Association:

President - Walter S. Campbell

Secretary - G. H. Van Allen, K.C.

10. Officials Edmonton West Federal Liberal Association:

President - J. C. MacDonald, K.C.

Secretary - Joseph Driscoll.

11. Notesmen Candidates:

(see attached memos for two Edmonton candidates)

Note:

Mr. Stewart & Mr. McBride feel that reference need not be made to individual candidates as nine constituencies are involved.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Ayle
Edmonton
(accordion)

C116419

Mr King.

Will you please answer this question to-night:

What do you intend to do about the import duty on automobiles now that all but a few of the higher priced cars are assembled in Canada to take advantage of Canada's preferential tariff with British possions and because of the manufacturers freight saving?

Liberal party worker.

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CANADA

C116420

EDMONTON

1. Constituencies represented:

East Edmonton

West Edmonton

also seven northern constituencies of province

2. Place of Meeting:

New Empire Theatre

3. Time:

8.30 p.m.

4. Chairman:

W. R. Howson, Esq., Provinqial Liberal Leader.

5. Radio:

CJCA to cover all nine northern constituencies.

6. Speakers:

Hon. Charles Stewart

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Candidates:

East Edmonton - Lt.-Col. George B. McLeod

West Edmonton - James A. McKinnon

(for Liberal candidates in other seven northern constituencies, see attached list.)

8. Sitting Members:

East Edmonton - A. U. Bury, Conservative (now judge)

West Edmonton - Hon. Charles Stewart - Liberal

Jasper-Edson - (new constituency)

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CANADA

C116421

8. Sitting Members (continued):

Peace River - D. M. Kennedy, U.F.A.

Athabaska - P. G. Davies, Conservative.

Wetaskiwin - W. Irvine - U.F.A.

Camrose - W. T. Lucas, U.F.A.

Battle River - H. E. Spencer, U.F.A.

9. Officials Edmonton East Federal Liberal Association:

President - Walter S. Campbell

Secretary - G. H. Van Allen, K.C.

10. Officials Edmonton West Federal Liberal Association:

President - J. C. MacDonald, K.C.

Secretary - Joseph Driscoll.

11. Notes on Candidates:

(see attached memos for two Edmonton candidates)

Note:

Mr. Stewart & Mr. McBride feel that reference need not be made to individual candidates as nine constituencies are involved.

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C116422

List referred to in the foregoing letter.

Name of Constituency		Federal Liberal Candidate.
1. Jasper-Edson	-	Honourable Charles Stewart. Edmonton, Alberta.
2. Peace River	-	Joseph P. McIsaac, Esq., P.O. Sexsmith. Alberta.
3. Athabasca	-	J. O. McNamee, Esq., P.O. Bonnyville. Alta.
4. East Edmonton	-	Lt.-Col. George B. McLeod Edmonton, Alberta.
5. West Edmonton	-	James A. McKinnon, Esq., Edmonton, Alberta.
6. Wetaskiwin	-	Walter S. Campbell, Esq., Edmonton, Alberta.
7. Camrose	-	George P. Smith, Esq., Camrose, Alberta.
8. Battle River	-	Martin L. Forster, Esq., Wainwright, Alberta.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116423

JAMES A. McKINNON

Place & Date of Birth	-	Port Elgin, Bruce County, Ontario 1883 Scottish Parentage.
Related	-	Nephew of John Tolmie who represented Bruce County 1896 - 1911.
Married	-	Irene Sharpe of Summerside P.E.I. once represented by Mr. King. One Child.
Religeon	-	Presbyterian.
Occupations	-	Insurance Broker.
Alberta	-	Came 1903 - School Teacher, Newspaper Reported with Edmonton Bulletin.
Political Activities.	-	Always Liberal, active for 25 years. Has filled various offices in Liberal Association.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116424

LT. - COL. GEORGE B. MCLEOD

Place & Date of Birth	-	Dwelf, Wellington County, Ontario 1881.
Married	-	Ruby Il McLeod - One Child.
Religion	-	Baptist.
Occupations	-	Merchant, Realestate & Insurance Broker, Police Magistrate 1919 - 1934.
Alberta.	-	Came to Alberta 1903.
War Service	-	Overseas for nearly three years as O.C. 63rd Battalion.
Political Activities	-	President of Young Mens Liberal Club South Wellington when Hugh Guthrie first Elected. First President Edmonton Young Mens Liberal Club 1904 - 05. Have filled various offices of Liberal Association.

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CANADA

C116425

FREDERICTON

Informal Reception on arrival, in Council Chamber, Parliament Buildings. Luncheon with Provincial Cabinet at Golf Club.

Constituency:

York-Sunbury.

Liberal Candidate:

W. G. Clark

Sitting Member:

Honourable R. B. Hanson

Cabinet Ministers:

Honourable A. A. Dysart, Premier & Minister of Public Works.
" J. B. McNair, Attorney-General
" F. W. Pirie, Minister of Lands and Mines.
" C. T. Richard, Secretary-Treasurer.
" A. C. Taylor, Minister of Agriculture
" Dr. W. H. Roberts, Minister of Health & Labour.
" A. P. Paterson, President of the Council.
" W. S. Anderson, Minister without portfolio.

New Brunswick Legislature:

43 Liberals

5 Conservatives

Election, June 27 - 1935.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116426

NOTES FOR FREDERICTON VISIT

Re History New Brunswick:

History of province goes back to 1534 when Jacques Cartier landed within 40 miles or so of site of present city of Chatham.

Throughout 17th century, contest waged for territory between English and French - 1710 the British won out and obtained territory under treaty of Utrecht.

New Brunswick originally part of province of Nova Scotia under name of county of Sunbury.

In 1874 - year after arrival of Empire loyalists at St.John - New Brunswick became separate province with Fredericton as capital.

In 1839, famous boundary line dispute between New Brunswick and Maine almost precipitated war with United States. Ashburton treaty of 1847 established present boundary and settled dispute.

New Brunswick experienced all the hardship and ill-effects of poor colonial administration under a governor appointed by the British government, independent of the Assembly. Not until 1855 that full measure of responsible government granted to province.

City of Fredericton:

As early as 1692, Fredericton was seat of the government of Acadia. Since 1784 has been capital of New Brunswick. Situated on the celebrated St.John river - named St.John by Champlain "because it was on that day I arrived there" - (year 1604).

Seat of University of New Brunswick - an institution which has wielded a great influence upon the life and character, not only

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116427

of the province, but of Canada. Original charter issued in 1800.

A beautiful city noted for its cathedral, elm shaded streets, comfortable homes, beautiful river on which it is located.

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CANADA

Ottawa Citizen July 17/35

New Brunswick Govt. Sworn In At Fredericton

C116428

Premier A. A. Dysart Also Takes Portfolio of Public Works. Seven Other Ministers Take Oath.

(Canadian Press.)

FREDERICTON, N.B., July 16.—New Brunswick's first Liberal government in 10 years was sworn in here tonight under Hon. A. A. Dysart as premier and minister of public works.

Other cabinet members are:

J. B. McNair, Fredericton, attorney-general.

F. W. Pirie, Grand Falls, minister of lands and mines.

C. T. Richard, Bathurst, secreta[redacted] treasurer.

A. C. Taylor, Salisbury, minister of agriculture.

Dr. W. F. Roberts, Saint John, minister of health and labor.

A. P. Paterson, Saint John, president of the executive council.

W. S. Anderson, Newcastle, chairman of the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission and minister without portfolio.

The new government succeeds that of Hon. L. P. D. Tilley, who resigned last Friday as a result of the provincial elections June 27. When only five Conservatives were returned as against 43 Liberals. Every member of the old cabinet lost his seat.

The Liberal party had declared an intention of establishing a department of federal affairs, and Mr. Paterson was mentioned as the most likely choice for the new post. Legislation would be necessary to create this department.

The swearing in ceremony was carried out in the Legislative Assembly chamber before Lieutenant-Governor Murray MacLaren, with H. Lester Smith, clerk of the executive council, administering the oath.

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CANADA

C116429

NOTES FOR FREDERICTON VISIT

Re History New Brunswick:

History of province goes back to 1534 when Jacques Cartier landed within 40 miles or so of site of present city of Chatham.

Throughout 17th century, contest waged for territory between English and French - 1710 the British won out and obtained territory under treaty of Utrecht.

New Brunswick originally part of province of Nova Scotia under name of county of Sunbury.

In 1874 - year after arrival of Empire loyalists at St.John - New Brunswick became separate province with Fredericton as capital.

In 1839, famous boundary line dispute between New Brunswick and Maine almost precipitated war with United States. Ashburton treaty of 1847 established present boundary and settled dispute.

New Brunswick experienced all the hardship and ill-effects of poor colonial administration under a governor appointed by the British government, independent of the Assembly. Not until 1855 that full measure of responsible government granted to province.

City of Fredericton:

As early as 1692, Fredericton was seat of the government of Acadia. Since 1784 has been capital of New Brunswick. Situated on the celebrated St.John river - named St.John by Champlain "because it was on that day I arrived there" - (year 1604).

Seat of University of New Brunswick - an institution which has wielded a great influence upon the life and character, not only

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C116430

of the province, but of Canada. Original charter issued in 1800.

A beautiful city noted for its cathedral, elm-shaded streets, comfortable homes, beautiful river on which it is located.

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CANADA

KODAK SAFETY F

C116431

PORT ARTHUR

1. Constituencies represented:

   Fort William and Port Arthur.

2. Place of Meeting:

   Armouries - Port Arthur.

3. Time:

   8.15 p.m.

4. Chairman:

   Mr. Alex. J. McComber,

5. Radio:

   CKPR, to cover both constituencies

6. Speakers:

   Reverend Dan McIvor, candidate Fort William

   Clarence D. Howe, Candidate Port Arthur

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Sitting Members:

   Fort William - Hon. R. J. Manion,

   Port Arthur - D. J. Cowan, Conservative (now judge)

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CANADA

C116432

PORT ARTHUR

1. Constituencies represented:

   Fort William and Port Arthur.

2. Place of Meeting:

   Armouries - Port Arthur.

3. Time:

   8.15 p.m.

4. Chairman:

   Mr. Alex. J. McComber,

5. Radio:

   CKPR, to cover both constituencies

6. Speakers:

   Reverend Dan McIvor, candidate Fort William

   Clarence D. Howe, Candidate Port Arthur

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Sitting Members:

   Fort William - Hon. R. J. Manion,

   Port Arthur - D. J. Conway Conservative (now judge)

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C116433

OTTAWA

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   West Ottawa; East Ottawa.

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Auditorium

3. **Time:**

   8.15 p.m. (Mr. King to arrive at platform at 9.30 p.m.)

4. **Chairman:**

   Senator Cairine Wilson

5. **Radio:**

   National Hookup - 10.00 to 11.00 p.m.

6. **Speakers:**

   See Attached list.

7. **Candidates:**

   West Ottawa - Mr. T. Frank Ahearn

   East Ottawa - Mr. E. R. E. Chevrier

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C116434

OTTAWA

1. Constituencies represented:

West Ottawa; East Ottawa.

2. Place of Meeting:

Auditorium

3. Time:

8.15 p.m. (Mr. King to arrive at platform at 9.30 p.m.)

4. Chairman:

Senator Cairine Wilson

5. Radio:

National Hookup - 10.00 to 11.00 p.m.

6. Speakers:

See Attached list.

7. Candidates:

West Ottawa - Mr. T. Frank Ahearn

East Ottawa - Mr. E. R. E. Chevrier

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C116435

TENTATIVE PROGRAMME

Broadcast 8.30 - 11.00 CKCO - 10.00 - 11.00 CRCO

Chairman: Senator Cairine Wilson, President of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada.

8.15 - 8.30	Songs - Twentieth Century Troubadours
8.30 - 8.35	Chairman - Senator Cairine Wilson
8.35 - 8.45	Mr. Frank Ahearn, Official Liberal Candidate for Ottawa West
8.45 - 8.55	Miss Ida Smith, Chairman, of the Administrative Committee, Women's Branch of the Twentieth Century Liberal Association of Canada. (5 minutes)
	Miss Lucette Valin, Secretary, Women's Branch of the Twentieth Century Liberal Association of Canada. (5 minutes)
8.55 - 9.05	Mr. John P. Madden, Vice President, Men's Branch of the Twentieth Century Liberal Association of Canada.
9.05 - 9.10	Songs - Twentieth Century Troubadours
9.10 - 9.40	Hon. Vincent Massey, President of the National Liberal Federation
9.40 - 9.50	Songs - Twentieth Century Troubadours
9.50 - 10.00	Mr. E. R. E. Chevrier, K.C., Official Liberal Candidate for East Ottawa
10.00 - 10.02	Senator Cairine Wilson introducing Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
10.02 - 11.00	Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

- - - - - - - - -

GOD SAVE THE KING

- - - - - - - - -

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C116436

NIAGARA FALLS

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   Haldimand, Lincoln and Welland

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Arena

3. **Time:**

   8.00 p.m.

4. **Chairman:**

   Mr. Charles Anderson, Mayor of Niagara Falls

5. **Radio:**

   9.00 to 11.00 p.m. To cover 3 constituencies.

6. **Speakers:**

   See attadhed list

7. **Candidates:**

   Haldimand - Frank Laidlaw

   Lincoln - A. E. Coombs

   Welland - A. B. Damude

8. **Sitting Members:**

   Haldimand -M. C. Senn, Conservative

   Lincoln - Hon. J. D. Chaplin, Conservative

   Welland - G. H. Pettit, Conservative

9. **Prominent Liberals:**

   See attached list

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10. Notes on Candidates:

A.B.Damude - Welland: Candidate federal election 1930. Insurance Agent. Ex-Warden Welland county.

A.E.Coombs - Lincoln: Born North York. Graduated Toronto University. High School Teacher. Principal and classical master of St.Catharines collegiate for past 26 years. Has held high executive office in the Masonic Order.

Frank Laidlaw - Haldimand: Born in township of Oneida in county Haldimand. First elected to municipal council of Walpole in 1917. Elected reeve Walpole 1930 to 1934. Warden Haldimand county 1933. A farmer. A presbyterian.

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C116438

MONTREAL

1. Constituencies represented:

   All the Island of Montreal.

2. Place of Meeting:

   Mount Royal Arena.

3. Time:

   8.30 p.m.

4. Chairman:

5. Radio:

   To cover province of Quebec, including Hull station.

6. Speakers:

   Mrs. Pierre Casgrain

   Mr. Gaston Lacroix, President of Young Liberals Assn.

   Honourable Fernand Rinfret,

   Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

   Honourable P.J.A.Cardin

7. Candidates:

   See attached list.

8. Sitting Members:

   See attached list.

9. Prominent Liberals:

   All candidates in the neighbourhood of Montreal invited.

   All Liberal Senators of the province invited.

   Provincial Ministers, Legislative Councillors and Provincial

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9. Prominent Liberals (continued):

Members invited.

Presidents of various Liberal clubs of Montreal invited.

Note:

Senator Raymond will meet Mr. King at the train, and accompany him to the Mount Royal Arena.

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LONDON MEETING

C116440

Mayor Wenige desires to see Mr. King
during his visit to London.

Andexed.

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C116441

LONDON

1. Constituencies represented: at meeting.

   London

   West Middlesex

   East Middlesex

2. Place of Meeting:

   Fair Grounds

3. Time:

   8.00 p.m. Standard (9.00 p.m. DAYLIGHT)

4. Chairman:

   Colonel (Dr.) Clark ,Brown

5. Speakers:

   Mr. G. A. P. Brickenden

   Colonel Duncan Ross

   Honourable J. C. Elliott

   Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

6. Radio:

   From 8.30 p.m. Standard (9.30 p.m. DAYLIGHT)

[redacted]

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7. Candidates: in constituencies represented

(a) London -

Mr. G. A. P. Brickenden - Official Liberal

Colonel Clifford Reason, Independent Lib. Soldier

Mr. F. C. Betts - Conservative

Mr. J. F. White - Stevens

Mr. E. O. Hall - C.C.F.

Mr. J. Leckey - Communist

(b) West Middlesex -

Hon. J. C. Elliott - Liberal

Dr. Freele - Conservative

J. E. Campbell - Stevens

(c) East Middlesex -

Colonel Duncan Ross - Liberal

Mr. Frank Boyes - Conservative

Mr. Orville Hughes - Stevens

8. Sitting Member: 4 constituencies represented

London - J. F. White, Conservative

West Middlesex - Honourable J. C. Elliott, Liberal

East Middlesex - Mr. Frank Boyes, Conservative

9. Prominent Liberals: Present

Liberal Members and Candidates in adjoining ridings invited.

Also Presidents and Secretaries various Liberal associations.

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10. Notes on Liberal candidates:

Mr. G. A. P. Brickenden - Barrister.

Colonel Duncan Ross - Merchant at Lucan. Three times a candidate. 1921-1930-1935. Prominent in military circles. Veteran Great War. Awarded M.C. at battle of Cambray. Son of Mr. J. M. Ross, Liberal candidate in 1917.

Honourable J. C. Elliott -

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Mr King
I understand there
will be a great many
returned men at the
pr. nic – Renner

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KODAK SA

11 6464
~~11 6465~~

A. S. RENNIE.

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CANADA

C116445

WINNIPEG

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   Winnipeg South; Winnipeg South Centre; Winnipeg North; Winnipeg North Centre; St. Boniface; Provencher; Springfield; Selkirk; Portage la Prairie; Lisgar; Macdonald.

2. **Place of meeting:**

   Winnipeg Auditorium

3. **Time:**

   7.30 p.m.

4. **Radio:**

   Available from 7.45 p.m. to 9.00 p.m.

5. **Chairman:**

   J. C. Davis, President, Manitoba Liberal Association

6. **Speakers:**

   Honourable T. A. Crerar

   Premier John Bracken, Premier of Manitoba, will introduce

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. **Candidates:**

   Winnipeg South - Les. Mutch

   Winnipeg South Centre - Ralph Maybank

   Winnipeg North - C. S. Booth

   Winnipeg North Centre - H. P. A. Hermanson

   St. Boniface - Dr. M. P. Howden

   Provencher - A. L. Beaubien

   Springfield - J. M. Turner

   Selkirk - J. T. Thorson

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C116446

7. Candidates (continued):

Portage la Prairie - Harry Leader

Lisgar - Howard Winkler

MacDonald - W. G. Weir

8. Sitting Members:

Winnipeg South - Hon. Robert Rogers, Conservative

Winnipeg South Centre - W. W. Kennedy, Conservative

Winnipeg North - A. A. Heaps, Labour

Winnipeg North Centre - J. S. Woodsworth, C.C.F.

St. Boniface - Dr. J. P. Howden, Liberal

Provencher - A. L. Beaubien, Liberal Progressive

Springfield - Thomas Hay, Conservative

Selkirk - J. H. Stitt, Conservative (now C.S.Commissioner)

Portage la Prairie - W. H. Burns, Conservative

Lisgar - J. L. Brown, Liberal Progressive

MacDonald - W. G. Weir, Liberal Progressive

9. Prominent Liberals Present:

Members Manitoba Provincial Government invited.

Liberal Candidates Eastern Manitoba invited.

Officers Liberal Organizations invited.

10. Provincial Organizer:

J. C. Davis, Esq.

Note: W. J. Lindal and F. C. Hamilton will meet Mr. King on arrival at station.

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C116447

Young Veterans Society

Class 4 A

Boys who were discharged from army under 18 years of age are going to ask a question Mr King as to his attitude regarding the Disabled Young Veterans

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C116448

WINNIPEG

1. Constituencies represented:

Winnipeg South; Winnipeg South Centre; Winnipeg North; Winnipeg North Centre; St. Boniface; Provencher; Springfield; Selkirk; Portage la Prairie; Lisgar; Macdonald.

2. Place of meeting:

Winnipeg Auditorium

3. Time:

7.30 p.m.

4. Radio:

Available from 7.45 p.m. to 9.00 p.m.

5. Chairman:

J. C. Davis, President, Manitoba Liberal Association

6. Speakers:

Honourable T. A. Crerar

Hon. John Bracken, Premier of Manitoba, will introduce

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Candidates:

Winnipeg South - Les. Mutch

Winnipeg South Centre - Ralph Maybank

Winnipeg North - C. S. Booth

Winnipeg North Centre - H. P. A. Hermanson

St. Boniface - Dr. J. P. Howden

Provencher - A. L. Beaubien

Springfield - J. M. Turner

Selkirk - J. T. Thorson

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7. Candidates (continued):

Portage la Prairie - Harry Leader

Lisgar - Howard Winkler

MacDonald - W. G. Weir

8. Sitting Members:

Winnipeg South - Hon. Robert Rogers, Conservative

Winnipeg South Centre - W. W. Kennedy, Conservative

Winnipeg North - A. A. Heaps, Labour

Winnipeg North Centre - J. S. Woodsworth, C.C.F.

St. Boniface - Dr. J. P. Howden, Liberal

Provencher - A. L. Beaubien, Liberal Progressive

Springfield - Thomas Hay, Conservative

Selkirk - J. H. Stitt, Conservative (now C.S.Commissioner)

Portage la Prairie - W. H. Burns, Conservative

Lisgar - J. L. Brown, Liberal Progressive

MacDonald - W. G. Weir, Liberal Progressive

9. Prominent Liberals Present:

Members Manitoba Provincial Government invited.

Liberal Candidates Eastern Manitoba invited.

Officers Liberal Organizations invited.

10. Provincial Organizer:

J. C. Davis, Esq.

Note: W. J. Lindal and F. C. Hamilton will meet Mr. King on arrival at station.

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C116450

WINDSOR

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   Essex East, Essex West, Essex South.

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Windsor Arena.

3. **Time:**

   8.00 p.m.

4. **Radio:**

   None

5. **Chairman:**

6. **Speakers:**

   Paul Martin, candidate Essex East

7. Norman A. McLarty, candidate Essex West

   Murray Clark, candidate Essex South and Senator Lacasse

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. **Sitting Members:**

   Essex East - Hon. R. Morand, Conservative

   Essex West - S. C. Robinson, Conservative

   Essex South - E. J. Gott, Conservative

9. **Prominent Liberals Present:**

   Officials of Liberal Organizations invited.

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C116451

10. Officials Essex East Liberal Association:

Mr. Richard Benoit, President

11. Officials Essex West Liberal Association:

Mr. Percy McCallum, President

12. Notes on Candidates:

Paul Martin - Graduate of Cambridge, President League of Nations Society of Windsor, Barrister, Provincial Candidate in Renfrew 1929.

Norman A. McLarty - Barrister. No previous experience in public affairs.

Murray Clark -

MADE IN CANADA

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C116452

WINDSOR

1. Constituencies represented:

Essex East, Essex West, Essex South.

2. Place of Meeting:

Windsor Arena.

3. Time:

8.00 p.m.

4. Radio:

None (hope to be arranged)

5. Chairman:

Percy P. McCallum, President, Essex West Liberal Association

6. Speakers:

Paul Martin, candidate Essex East

Norman A. McLarty, candidate Essex West

Murray Clark, candidate Essex South and Senator Lacasse

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King to be introduced by Mr. R.F.Benoit, President, East Essex Liberal Assn.

7. Sitting Members:

Essex East - Hon. R. Morand, Conservative

Essex West - S. C. Robinson, Conservative

Essex South - E. J. Gott, Conservative

9. Prominent Liberals Present:

Officials of Liberal Organizations invited.

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C116453

10. Officials Essex East Liberal Association:

Mr. Richard Benoit, President

11. Officials Essex West Liberal Association:

Mr. Percy McCallum, President

12. Notes on Candidates:

Paul Martin - Graduate of Cambridge, President League of Nations Society of Windsor,
Barrister, Provincial Candidate in Renfrew 1929.

Norman A. McLarty - Barrister. No previous experience in public affairs.

Murray Clark - Farmer, No previous experience in public affairs.

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C116454

file London

We stopped the export of liquor to prevent our border from becoming a rum runners row (Roe) infested with hijackers and hold up racketeers, whose illegal operations placed the lives of our citizens in jeopardy and lined the shore of your otherwise picturesque river, with rum runners shantics and schacks (SCHACKS). We stopped it in the interests of human decency and our national self-respect.

But we did not stop the wheels of industry in your great steel plant where hundreds of men supporting more than a thousand people, were able to earn an honest living, and rear and educate their families in a decent occupation. (NOT ONE VOICE FROM ANY OF YOUR THREE LOCAL MEMBERS WAS RAISED IN PROTEST.) And reference to the steel plant brings to my mind a problem that I am fully aware, is of the greatest importance to this community.

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C116455

only this afternoon one of my indoor friends advised me that he had inquired of several workers in various local plants as to how things were going. Invariably the reply was "OK, now, but what are we going to do when we are laid off." I am sure I am safe in saying that this is uppermost in the minds of the great army of workers in this community.

Hon. ladies and gentlemen, when machines are idle, a little oil will preserve them for future use - but what about the man or woman - the human ~~being~~ machine?

I declare, sir, it is the preservation of the human being, in which I am interested. Why is it that we have our plants bristling with activity ~~industry~~ night and day (for a few months) and then 50% idle or to a great degree idle the balance of the year? I repeat it is the human worker who must be given first consideration and I therefore propose to bend my best effort to legislate for more regular production - shorter working hours, still better conditions,

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and thereby stamp out this tragedy of traffic in human toil- men called in to work at the nod of the employer and suddenly left to shift for themselves ~~themself~~ when the plant closes down. Let us crush this unfair practice!

With the great swing to liberalism throughout the land, that heavy responsibility seems destined to fall upon my shoulders and those of my loyal cohorts. May the Almighty give me strength to carry on! - But remember I need all possible help! ~~I could not~~ Certainly I could not ask for finer lieutenants than those you have chosen to represent Essex County, Mr. Martin, Mr. McLarty and Mr. Clark. Elect them and thereby send to Ottawa three gentlemen upon whom I am sure I can rely for much assistance in the heavy task which I believe ~~to be~~ will be mine after Oct 14th.

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C116457

VICTORIA

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   Victoria, Nanaimo

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Royal Victoria Theatre

3. **Time:**

   8.00 p.m.

4. **Radio:**

   Speech to be broadcast.

5. **Chairman:**

   Mr. B. C. Nicholas

6. **Speakers:**

   Honourable T. D. Pattullo, Premier of British Columbia

   Mr. B. I. Johnson, M.L.A.

   Senator J. H. King

   Mr. T. John McDowell, Candidate Victoria.

   Mr. Alan Chambers, Candidate Nanaimo.

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. **Sitting Members:**

   Victoria - D. B. Plunkett, Conservative

   Nanaimo - C. H. Dickie, Conservative

8. **Prominent Liberals Present:**

   Members Provincial Government invited.

   Officers Liberal Associations invited.

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9. Officers Victoria Federal Liberal Association:

President - W. H. Kinsman

Secretary - A. H. Cox

10. British Columbia Organizer:

Major S. F. M. Moodie

11. Members Provincial Cabinet:

Honourable T. D. Pattulo, Premier

" G. M. Weir, Provincial Secretary

" Gordon Sloan, Attorney-General

" Wellesley Gray, Minister of Lands.

" John Hart, Minister of Finance

" Kenneth C. MacDonald, Minister of Agriculture

" George S. Pearson, Minister of Labour

" Frank M. McPherson, Minister of Public Works.

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C116459

VANCOUVER

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   Vancouver Centre; Vancouver East; Vancouver Burrard; Vancouver North; Vancouver South; New Westminster.

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Arena

3. **Time:**

   8.00 p.m.

4. **Radio:**

   Province wide broadcast.

5. **Speakers:**

   Hon. Ian Mackenzie

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

6. **Chairman:**

   Mr. Thomas Braidwood, President, Vancouver Liberal Council

7. **Candidates:**

   Vancouver Centre - Hon. Ian MacKenzie

   Vancouver East - Dr. J. Lorne MacDougall

   Vancouver Burrard -Mayor G. G. McGeer

   Vancouver North - A. E. Munn

   Vancouver South - A. M. Manson

   New Westminster - Thomas Reid

8. **Prominent Liberals:**

   Federal candidates for Vancouver and district invited.

   Members provincial Liberal cabinet invited.

   Officials Liberal Associations for Vancouver and district invited.

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9. Sitting Members:

Vancouver Centre - Hon. Ian MacKenzie, Liberal

Vancouver East - [illegible] Independent Labour

Vancouver Burrard - W. Hanbury, Liberal

Vancouver North - A. E. Munn, Liberal

Vancouver South - Angus MacInnis, Independent Labour

New Westminster - Thomas Reid, Liberal

10. Provincial Organizer for B.C.

Major S. F. M. Moodie

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C116461

Mrs. Buckley - [illegible]
Alta
Wes. see at meeting

Magistrate H. F. Wood -
Secy telephoned

Basil Gordon.

Col. Cy. Peck
Room 927 Major Chipman
or
York Hotel till 2 o'clock

Tyle
Vancouver

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CANADA

C116462

ST. JOHN

1. Constituency represented:

   St.John-Albert

2. Place of Meeting:

   Capitol Theatre

3. Time:

   8.30 p.m. Atlantic Daylight Saving Time

4. Chairman:

   Honourable Dr. W. F. Roberts, Minister of Public Health.

5. Speakers:

   Honourable Dr. W. F. Roberts

   " A. A. Dysart

   Mr. William M. Ryan, K.C.

   Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

6. Radio:

   Radio to cover province.

7. Candidate :

   William M. Ryan, Esq., K.C., Official Liberal

   Thomas Bell, Esq., Conservative

8. Sitting Members:

   Thomas Bell, Conservative

   Honourable Murray MacLaren, Conservative

9. Prominent Liberals:

   All federal candidates in province invited.

   All Members Dysart cabinet invited.

   All Liberal Members New Brunswick Legislature invited.

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9.- (continued)

All defeated candidates in last provincial election invited.

10.- Officials St-John-Albert Federal Liberal Association:

President, Hon. Dr. W. F. Roberts

Secretary, E. J. Henneberry.

NOTE: Letters from William M. Ryan (candidate) attached.

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SASKATOON

1. Constituencies represented:

   Saskatoon.

2. Time of Meeting:

   8.15 p.m.

3. Chairman:

   R. M. Currie, President, Saskatoon Liberal Association.

4. Speakers:

   Dr. A. MacG. Young

   Hon. J. G. Gardiner

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

5. Radio:

   To cover province of Saskatchewan.

6. Official Liberal Candidate:

   Dr. A. MacG. Young

7. Sitting Member:

   F. R. MacMillan, Conservative

8. Prominent Liberals:

   Federal candidates invited.

   Provincial members invited.

   Officials Liberal Associations invited.

9. Officials Saskatoon Liberal Association:

   President:- Mr. R. M. Currie

   Secretary:- H. G. H. Gilding

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QUEBEC

1. Constituencies represented:

Quebec East

Quebec South

Quebec West & South

2. Place of Meeting:

St. Roch's Market, Quebec, in the constituency of Quebec East.

3. Time:

8.30 p.m. Eastern Daylight Saving Time

4. Chairman:

Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Premier of Quebec

5. Speakers:

Hon. Ernest Lapointe

Hon. L. A. Taschereau

Hon. Lucien Cannon

C. G. Power,

Mr. Reneault Miville-Dechene, President Young Men's Liberal Assn. of the Province of Quebec

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

6. Radio:

Provincial - Mr. King on air from 9.15 to 10.15

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7. Candidates:

Quebec East - Hon. Ernest Lapointe

Quebec South - Major C. G. Power

Quebec West & South - no nomination to date of Major Power's letter, August 30, 1935

8. Sitting Members:

Hon. Ernest Lapointe - Liberal

Major C. G. Power - Liberal

Hon. Maurice Dupre - Conservative (Quebec West)

9. Prominent Liberals Present:

Federal candidates (see list in Major Power's letter attached)

Members of provincial cabinet

Presidents of Liberal Organizations

Regional Presidents of the Quebec Province Young Liberals Assn.

10. Liberal Organizer for the District of Quebec:

Major C. G. Power, K.C.

Note: Letter and telegram from Major Power attached.

Letter from Colonel F. M. Stanton also attached.

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C116467

REGINA

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   Regina City, Lake Centre, Qu'Appelle, Weyburn, Moose Jaw.

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Armouries

3. **Time:**

   8.15 p.m.

4. **Chairman:**

   B. D. Hogarth, K.C., President, Regina Liberal Association

5. **Radio:**

   Doubtful

6. **Speakers:**

   D. A. McNiven, Esq. K.C.

   Rt. Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

7. **Candidates:**

   Regina City - D. A. McNiven, K.C.

   Lake Centre - F. Fred Johnston

   Qu'Appelle - J. A. McCowan

   Weyburn - E. J. Young

   Moose Jaw - J. Gordon Ross

8. **Sitting Members:**

   Regina City - F. W. Turnbull, Conservative

   Lake Centre - (new constituency)

   Qu'Appelle - E. E. Perley, Conservative

   Weyburn - E. J. Young, Liberal

   Moose Jaw - W. A. Beynon, Conservative

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9. Officials Regina Liberal Association:

President - B. D. Hogarth, Esq. K.C.

Secretary - B. J. McDaniel, Esq.

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File Lesnia

C116469

What is your attitude in regard to Canada's participation in the European war that is likely to come as a result of the Italo-Ethiopian affair?

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Mr. Mackenzie King

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C116470

Hon. Mr. King [illegible] Regina

What stand [illegible] take

if Elected about Returned

Men. Who always. Rec – a

Pension up to a short time

ago and who now have been

cut off Completley 'by the

Bennett Gov: because there

Pension was small

a Returned Man.

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C116471

LEASK

1. Place of Meeting:

Marks Hall

2. Time:

8.00 p.m.

3. Chairman:

Mr. F. Bradshaw, President, Leask Federal Liberal Association

4. Speakers:

No information furnished, as to speakers other than

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

5. Officers Prince Albert Federal Liberal Association:

President: Dr. Thomas Robertson

Secretary: Colonel G. L. Dempster

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KODAK SAFETY FILM

C116472

PRINCE ALBERT

1. Place of Meeting:

   Armouries

2. Time:

   8.00 p.m.

3. Chairman:

   Mr. Jack Sanderson

4. Speakers:

   Hon. T. C. Davis

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

5. Radio:

   To cover northern half of province.

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C116473

CHARLOTTETOWN

1. Constituencies represented:

   Kings, Queens & Prince

2. Place of Meeting:

   Forum

3. Time:

   ~~8~~ 9.00 p.m. Atlantic Daylight Saving Time

4. Chairman:

   Mr. Russell Chandler, President, Queen's County Federal Liberal Association.

5. Speakers:

   Hon. Dr. Thomas V. Grant, (Kings)

   Hon. Peter Sinclair (Queens)

   Mr. J. J. Larrabe (Queens)

   A. E. MacLean (Prince)

   Honourable Walter M. Lea

   Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

   Note: Candidates to speak five minutes.

6. Radio:

   To cover province and part of mainland.

7. Candidates:

   Kings - Hon. Dr. Thomas V. Grant, Official Liberal

   Queens -

   Hon. Peter Sinclair , Official Liberal

   J. J. Larrabe, Official Liberal

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C116474

7. (Continued)

Prince:

A. E. MacLean, Official Liberal

Note: For all federal candidates nominated to date and sitting members, see special file of candidates.

8. Sitting Members:

Kings:

Hon. J. A. Macdonald (now a senator) - Conservative

Queens:

W. C. S. McLure, Conservative

J. H. Myers, Conservative

Prince:

A. E. MacLean, Liberal

9. Prominent Liberals:

All members Provincial cabinet invited.

All local members invited.

All Liberal association officers invited.

10. Officials Queen's County Federal Liberal Association:

President: R. C. Chandler

Secretary: George J. Tweedie

11. Notes on Candidates:

Hon. Thomas V. Grant - Kings

Formerly member of P.E.I. Legislature. Member late liberal cabinet. Federal candidate in 1930.

Hon. Peter Sinclair - Queens

Retired farmer. Former Member P.E.I. Legislature.

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11. (Continued)

Member last Liberal cabinet without portfolio.

J. J. Larrabe:- Queens

Merchant. Former member P.E.I. Legislature.

A. E. MacLean:- Prince

Federal member since 1921.

12. P.E.I.Cabinet:

Hon. Walter M. Lea, Premier, Provincial Secretary-Treasurer and Minister of Agriculture.

Hon. James P. McIntyre, Minister of Public Works.

Hon. Thane A. Campbell, Attorney-General.

Hon. Mark R. McGuigan, K.C., Minister of Education.

Hon. B. W. Lepage, Minister without Portfolio.

Hon. Lucas R. Allen, " " "

Hon. J. A. Campbell, " " "

Hon. Martin Gallant, " " "

Hon. T. W. L. Prowse, " " "

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C116476

1. Constituencies represented at meeting. Kings Queens & Prince

2. Place of Meeting. Forum Charlottetown P.E.I.

3. Time. 8. P.M. Sept 5th

4. Chairman. Possibly Russel Chandeler or Dr Yeo

5. Speakers. 4 candidates ~~few~~ minutes each
Hon Wm Bell five

6. Radio. Yes.. Broadcast - from 8.30 to cover province
(Kings) Dr Thos V Grant

7. Candidates in constituencies represented. Queens Sinclair Larrabe

8. Sitting Members of constituencies represented. Prince MacLean

9. Prominent Liberals present. Premier Lea & Members his cabinet

10. Notes on Liberal candidates.

Kings { Hon Thos V Grant M.D. Formerly member Local House.. Federal candidate in 1930 again in 1935. Member late Lib Cabinet

Queens { Sinclair Hon Peter (Retired Farmer) Former Local Member - also member of last Local Cabinet without Portfolio

Larrabe J.J. also former member of Local House. Merchant Belfast P.E.I.

Prince MacLean A.E. Federal Member since 1921

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C116477

CALGARY

1. Constituencies represented:

Calgary West, Calgary East, Bow River.

2. Place of Meeting:

Victoria Pavilion

3. Time:

8.30 p.m.

4. Chairman:

George H. Ross, President, East Calgary Federal Liberal Assn.

5. Speakers:

Charles R. Walrod, Liberal candidate Bow River

Peter L. Hyde, Liberal candidate Calgary West

Joseph T. Shaw, K.C., Liberal candidate Calgary East

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

6. Sitting Members:

Calgary West - Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett

Calgary East - Dr. C. D. Stanley, Conservative

Bow River - E. J. Garland, U.F.A.

7. Radio:

CFCN, powerful station carries as far west as Vancouver and as far East as Winnipeg

8. Prominent Liberals:

Liberal candidates in eight southern Alberta seats.

Senator Buchanan, Senator Riley, Alex. McMillan, President, Calgary West Liberal Assn.

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8. Prominent Liberals (continued)

James Herron, President, Bow River Liberal Association

Officers various Liberal Associations, including Women's Associations and 20th Century Clubs.

John J. Bowlen, M.L.A. Calgary

Note:

See attached list of Liberal candidates in and sitting members for the eight Southern Alberta constituencies.

Note:

Senator Buchanan asked that Mr. King make special reference to Mr. J. D. Shaw, K.C., candidate for Calgary East. However, at Edmonton, Mr. Stewart and Mr. McBride both said that it would not be possible to refer to individual candidates as the Calgary meeting, though being organized by Calgary West, Calgary East and Bow River, is held in the interests of all eight southern ridings.

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C116479

Eight Alberta Southern Constituencies

Constituencies	Liberal Candidate	Sitting Member
Acadia	Dr. A. M. Day	Robert Gardiner
Bow River	C. R. Walrod	E. J. Garland
Calgary East	J. T. Shaw, K.C.	Dr. C. D. Stanley
Calgary West	P. L. Hyde	Rt. Hon. R.B.Bennett
Lethbridge	L. E. Fairbairn	J. S. Stewart
MacLeod	F. O. McKenna	G. G. Coote
Medicine Hat	Dr. F. W. Gershaw	Dr. F. W. Gershaw
Red Deer	George Clarke	A. Speakman

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C116501

C116480

Lyle
Calgary
meeting — Youth

1. Restless, impatient —
2. "Social Credit helps us"
3. Educational training
   a - in universities
   b. in high schools
   c - The Civil Conservation Plan
   600000 - age 17-26 - limit 2 yrs.

Trade

1. Gradual reduction of the tariff measures of last 5 years is disappointment to many here.
2. They ask that strangulation be stopped - not gradually released.
3. The cost to Canadian consumers of the Bennett tariffs?

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C116481

Wheat - oats - barley -

1. Will the minimum price of wheat be maintained?

2. Should oats } have minimum?
" barley }

Since consumption is Canadian - this is possible.

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C116503

Broadcast

1 - Extent

2. Importance -

Unemployment

C116482

1. The Dominion - full responsibility and control while it remains a federal emergency.
2. It is urgent in Alberta -
   The Cities are bankrupt -
   The Province is in default -
   The field of taxation is limited by the B.N.A.
   There is no appreciable alteration in the number who require assistance now and two years ago
3. Unrest is coming on.
4. A special session desirable.
5. This means increased amount for unemployment -
6. It also means more taxes.
7. Reasonable wages for work really performed.

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C116483

Social Credit

C116483

1. A percentage of this vote is open to persuasion –
2. The use and issue of dominion non-interest currency for Govt. expenses and relief works would appeal to them.
3. There is no evidence here of Conservative backing of S.C.
4. Bennett has not made any promise or appeal to them.

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C116484

August 13, 1935

Mr. King:

The "Bonaventure" will arrive at Guelph, Wednesday morning, August the 14th, at 9.15 a.m. Standard time (10.15 a.m. Daylight).

The train leaves Guelph at 9.39 a.m. Standard time (10.39 a.m. Daylight.)

EAP

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C116485

August 20, 1935

MEMO. TO MR. MACKENZIE KING:

Arrives Riviere du Loup from P. E. I. Midnight Friday, (sleep in car) and leave Riviere du Loup by ferry at 8.00 a.m. Saturday morning, arriving St. Simeon 9.45 a.m. Motor 23 miles to Murray Bay (gravel road). Motor Murray Bay to Quebec, 93 miles.

Private car to be picked up by "Maritime Express" at Riviere du Loup 8.55 a.m. Saturday morning, for Quebec, arriving Levis 12.55 noon - car to be moved to Palais Station by first convenient train.

- - -

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for Edmonton Sept. 1935

C116486

WE, a Committee appointed by the Ex-Service men of Edmonton and their wives and dependents to meet the Rt. Hon. W.L.MacKenzie King, make the following representations on behalf of the said persons:

1. Every person who served during the Great War, particularly in France and Flanders, whether wounded or not, has suffered disabilities. The privations, hardships and mental strain through which they went has reduced the vital energy, causing unfitness for strenuous labor that cannot be traced to any definite cause by medical men, and which would not appear on the medical sheets. The evidence of mental strain is shown by the fact that strong men suddenly crazy right in the trenches.

2. Medical science is not an exact science, and in the majority of cases it is utterly impossible for any medical man to state positively that a certain disease condition is due to a definite cause. It is, therefore, quite unfair to expect the man applying for a pension to prove conclusively that a certain disability was definitely caused by war services.

3. There should be free hospitalization under present circumstances for all ex-service men and their dependents. With respect to the ex-service men, it is possible, if not probable that much of the need of hospitalization arises from the effects of war services. Further, practically 60% of the ex-sertice men are on relief as far as this City is concerned, and it is thought unfitting that such ex-service men and their families should be dependent on municipalities. It is submitted that services given to their country entitles this consideration from the Government of Canada.

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4. It is submitted that the widows of ex-service men who had recognized war disabilities and who died from causes which cannot be attributed to war services should be entitled to a pension. It is impossible to say that war services did not contribute to their death due to the fact that medical science is not yet an exact science.

5. There is overwhelming evidence that the medical sheets are not correct. In many cases the treatment received at dressing stations did not appear on the medical sheets. Men were accepted as A 1 and every person applying for a pension should have the benefit of the doubt or the burden of proof should be shifted from the applicant to the authorities of the Pension Board.

6. We request that the pensions payable to all men during the years 1921 to 1930 be at once restored, subject to the right of the pension authorities to change them after proper investigation. We feel that the reductions made were made for economic reasons and that the throwing of this burden on returned men is quite unfair.

7. It is represented that there should be no difference in the scale of pensions due to rank. It is recognized that the officers had greater responsibilities in service, but these were rewarded by higher pay and greater comforts. But in civil life the effects of disabilities are one and the same, that is the private is incapicated in civil life just as much as the officer by the same disability.

8. With respect to proof of age among the older men, it is always impossible to prove the same by Government Statistic because

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Statistic, because none exists. It is often impossible to prove the same fact from family bibles or from the sworn statements of older brothers and sisters, because in many cases none such exist. In such cases proof of age should be made by the man's papers.

9. It is represented that ex-service men with their disabilities cannot compete with youth with its energy and that under present circumstances ex-service men should be the responsibility of the Dominion Government and not of municipalities, it being understood that no objection can be made to the Government making such arrangements with the Province or municipalities by way of compensation as may be reasonable. This will insure equal treatment to all ex-service men. Many municipalities pay relief that is altogether inadequate.

10. It is submitted that the War Allowance Act as administered at present should be dispensed with and in its place under present circumstances there should be given to an ex-service man an adequate pension on reaching the age of fifty on his voluntarily withdrawing himself from the labor market.

11. Under the War Service Act income received from property is taken into consideration, whether the income is available to the man or not. There is one ex-service man who put his money into a house. Now the decreased rent of the house is taken over to pay interest on the mortgage and taxes. It is true that he is building an equity in

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this property, but he cannot live on such equity. There is another case of a farmer, whose whole income from his farm is taken to pay taxes.

Dated at Edmonton, Alberta this 25th day of September, 1935.

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Elections - Gen. Elec 1935 - Campaign

C116490

TELEPHONE QUEEN 597

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
OF CANADA

114 WELLINGTON STREET

OTTAWA, Ont. September 12th, 1935.

Memorandum to Mr. H.R.L. HENRY:

Re Mr.King's Western Tour:

The attached list of seven points in connection with Mr. Mackenzie King's trans-Canada tour was forwarded to the following Western organizations on August 12th last:-

Manitoba: J.C. Davis, Esq.,President Manitoba Liberal Association, 850 Somerset Bldg., Winnipeg, Man.

Saskatchewan: W.F. Kerr, M.L.A., Sec.Saskatchewan Liberal Association, Northern Crown Building, Regina, Sask.

Alberta: Hon.Chas.Stewart, Corona Hotel, Edmonton, Alta.

British Columbia: Major S.F.M. Moodie, Secretary B.C.Liberal Ass'n, 717 Vancouver Block, Vancouver, B.C.

When Mr. King's itinerary was definitely known on September 10th, the following persons were advised of his meetings in the respective provinces, by telegram:

Manitoba: J.C. Davis, Esq.

Saskatchewan: W.F. Kerr,M.L.A.

Alberta: J.Boyd McBride, Secretary, Alberta Liberal Association, 604 Tegler Bldg., Edmonton, Alta. (acting for Mr.Stewart)

British Columbia: Major S.F.M. Moodie.

These wires were followed up by a further letter on the same day, requesting that immediate attention be given to the previous communication of August 12th (and the information requested in the seven points supplied to Mr. Henry). A letter along these lines was also despatched to Mr.J.E.Matthews, at 1017 Rosser Ave., Brandon, Man., who is in charge of arrangements for the meeting at that point.

A further telegram (copy of which is attached) was forwarded to Messrs. Davis, Kerr, Stewart and Moodie, in order that the information might be in Mr. Henry's hands before the King left for the West.

for the EDITH O'MALLEY.
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA.

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RE WESTERN ITINERARY

of the

RT. HON. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, P.C.,M.P.

Mr. Mackenzie King is desirous that attention should be given to the following seven points, and that the information should be in the hands of his Secretary, Mr. H.R.L. Henry, at the earliest possible moment:-

(1) Time of the meeting in each case.

(2) What constituencies are covered by the meeting.

(3) Whether or not there is any radio broadcast.

(4) If there are other speakers in addition to Mr. Mackenzie King, and, if so, their names in full.

(5) The names in full of any candidates who are expected to be present.

(6) The names in full of any other important Liberals who are expected to be present.

(7) Mr. King is to be kept absolutely free. If his train arrives at a reasonable hour before the meeting, he would be pleased to see the candidate, or candidates, and the President and Secretary of the Association, but no one else until after the meeting, when he will be glad to shake hands with everybody.

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CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY

Lv. Ottawa	CPR #7	9.25 PM	Tuesday	Sept.	17th
Ar. Brandon,	" "	12.40 PM	Thursday	"	~~18th~~ 19th
	MEETING BRANDON				
Lv. Brandon,	CNR #6	1.45 AM	Friday	"	20th
Ar. Saskatoon,	" "	4.45 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING SASKATOON				
Lv. Saskatoon,	CNR #7	9.15 AM	Saturday	"	21st
Ar. Prince Alb	" "	12.15 Nn	"	"	"
	MEETING PR. ALBERT (21st)				
	Motor to Shelbrook for Meeting, Mon.			"	~~21st~~ 22nd
Lv. Prince Alb.	CNR #60	~~10.50 AM~~ 5.30 P.M.	Tuesday	"	24th
Ar. Saskatoon	" "	8.30 ~~1.45~~ PM	"	"	"
Lv. Saskatoon	" #1	9.35 PM	"	"	"
Ar. Edmonton,	" "	6.20 AM	Wednsdaay	"	25th
	MEETING EDMONTON				
Lv. Edmonton,	CNR #1	7.00 AM	Thursday	"	26th
Ar. Vancouver	" "	9.00 AM	Friday	"	27th
Lv. Vancouver	CPSS	10.30 AM	"	"	"
Ar. Victoria	"	3.15 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING VICTORIA				
Lv. Victoria	CPSS	12.00 Mdnt	"	"	"
Ar. Vancouver	"	7.00 AM	Saturday	"	28th
	MEETING VANCOUVER				
	Mr. King to motor to Harrison Hot Springs Sun. 29th				
Lv. Vancouver,	CPR #4	7.15 PM	Sunday,	Sept.	29th
Ar. Aggasiz	" "	9.29 PM	"	"	"
	(Pick up Mr. King)				
Ar. Calgary,	CPR #4	8.20 PM	Monday,	"	30th
	MEETING CALGARY				
Lv. Calgary,	CPR #2	3.00 AM	Tuesday,	October	1st
Ar. Regina,	" "	8.00 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING REGINA				
Lv. Regina,	CPR #4	9.35 AM	Wednesday	"	2nd
Ar. Winnipeg,	" "	7.15 PM	"	"	"
	MEETING WINNIPEG.				

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C116493

TORONTO [8 October, 1935]

1. Constituencies represented:

The 11 ridings in the city of Toronto: Broadview, Danforth, Davenport, Eglinton, Greenwood, High Park, Parkdale, Rosedale, St. Paul's, Spadina, Trinity.

The four York ridings: North York, South York, West York, East York.

2. Place of Meeting:

Maple Leaf Gardens

3. Time:

8.00 p.m.

4. Radio:

Nation-wide.

5. Chairman:

Hon. Vincent Massey

6. Speakers:

Mrs. Charles H. Thorburn, O.B.E.

Lionel Conacher

Mrs. George T. Fulford

8 Liberal provincial premiers, the first of whom begins to speak at 9.30

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King who will speak from 10.00 to 11.00 p.m.

7. Candidates: (see attached list)

8. Sitting Members: (see attached list)

9. Prominent Liberals:

All important members of the party in the provincial and federal field in Ontario have been invited, together with organization officials.

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Candidates in Toronto & York Ridings

Broadview	-	Major H. P. Snelgrove
Danforth	-	Norman Wilks
Davenport	-	John P. Travers
Eglinton	-	Egerton Lovering
Greenwood	-	Ernest Bray
High Park	-	J. C. McRuer, K.C.
Parkdale	-	J. L. Prentice
Rosedale	-	George A. Urquhart
St. Paul's	-	Salter A. Hayden
Spadina	-	Samuel Factor
Trinity	-	Hugh Plaxton
North York	-	Colonel W. P. Mulock
South York	-	Elmore Philpott
West York	-	Colonel J. E. Streight
East York	-	Goldwin Fleming.

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Sitting Members in Toronto & York Ridings

Toronto East - T. L. Church, Conservative

Toronto East Centre -Hon. R. C. Matthews, Conservative

Toronto High Park - A. J. Anderson, Conservative

Toronto North East - R. L. Baker, Conservative

Toronto North West - J. R. MacNicol, Conservative

Toronto-Scarborough - J. H. Harris, Conservative

Toront-South - Hon. G. R. Geary, Conservative

Toronto West Centre - Samuel Factor, Liberal

North York - W. P. Mulock, Liberal

South York - R. H. McGregor, Conservative

York West - Hon. J. E. Lawson, Conservative

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C116496

RE WESTERN ITINERARY

Of the

RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, P.C., M.P.

September 28th, 1935. Meeting to be held at Vancouver, B.C.

No.1. Time: Eight o'clock in the evening.

2. Constituencies:

Vancouver Centre.
Vancouver East.
Vancouver Burrard.
Vancouver North.
Vancouver South.
New Westminster.

3. There will be a radio broadcast.

4. Speakers:
Hon. Ian Mackenzie

5. Dr. J. Lorne MacDougall
Mayor G.G. McGeer, ~~M.L.A.~~
Albert E. Munn, ~~M.P.~~
Alexander M. Manson, ~~M.L.A.~~
Thomas Reid, ~~M.P.~~

6. Will submit list at a later date.

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66 9-4-1935.

C116497

Memorandum for Mr. King:

Re: Intimidation of Workers at Renfrew
during G.E. 1935

1. A circular letter, dated at Renfrew October 10th, 1935, was sent out, addressed "To the Electors of the Town of Renfrew", over the names of C. J. Cuthbertson, President, Renfrew Textiles Limited, J. J. Southern, General Manager, Renfrew Woollen Mills, and M. J. O'Brien, Jr., General Manager, the Renfrew Machinery Company Limited.

(Copy of circular letter attached).

2. Hand-bills were distributed during the campaign, entitled "Insurance for Jobs", bearing the inscription "Compliments of the Canadian Textile Journal, Montreal".

(Copy of hand-bill attached).

3. On October 9th, in the course of his speech at Niagara Falls, Mr. King dealt with these attempts of "certain manufacturers to frighten their employees into voting for the Bennett Government by pretending that election of Liberal Government will deprive them of their jobs. (From press report of Mr. King's speech, excerpt attached).

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4. The Ottawa Journal of October 12th carried a report of a public meeting the previous night at Renfrew, in support of the local Conservative candidate, at which M. J. O'Brien, Jr., urged the electors to support the Bennett Government. The article is headed "Plant Will Close If King Elected".

(Copy of press clipping attached)

5. Mr. King, speaking at Ottawa on October 12th, referred to the O'Brien statement. "The Liberal Leader said that if the plant was closed the Liberal Government would take it over and see that it is run. He also promised that employers could expect the fullest investigations into industry to find out how much safeguard was afforded the industry and the consumers by those who were obtaining special preference". (Ottawa Citizen, October 14th).

(Copy of press report of Mr. King's speech attached).

February 1, 1936.

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C116499

Excerpt from Mr. King's speech at Niagara Falls, Oct. 9/35.

(Evening Review, Niagara Falls, Oct. 10/35.)

Threats by Employers

Mr. King claimed that attempts are being made by certain manufacturers to frighten their employes into voting for the Bennett government by pretending that election of Liberal government will deprive them of their jobs. "I promise you," said Mr. King. "that if returned to power such concerns will be investigated for all of the five years under the Bennett government. If we find any instances of employes being terrorized by such threats, I promise you there will be a rigorous investigation into the higher profits and lower wages paid during the past five years. I warn such firms using slanderous methods to frighten their employes into voting against the Liberal government will be investigated to the very limit and we will find out how it has been possible at a time when wages have been lowered that profits have increased.

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C116500

Excerpt from Mr. King's speech, Ottawa, Oct. 12/35

(Ottawa Citizen, Oct. 14/35)

CHARGES 'UNDUE INFLUENCE' USED UPON ELECTORS

Rt. Hon. Mr. King Claims Circular Said to Have Been Issued at Renfrew Violates Elections Act.

FULLEST INVESTIGATION IN INDUSTRY PROMISED

Says His Govt. Would See Plant Reopened and Operated If Closed.

Charges that the Dominion Elections Act had been violated by a group of Renfrew industrialists and the promise that if he is returned to power "these men will find out whether the law has any value" were made by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, at the Auditorium Saturday night in closing his nation-wide campaign before an audience of approximately 10,000 persons.

Would See Plant is Run

Mr. King dealt with a circular letter said to have been sent out over the signatures of officials of three Renfrew industries and also spoke in no uncertain terms in dealing with a statement attributed to M. J. O'Brien, Jr., that the Renfrew Machinery Company would close if Mr. King was returned to power. The Liberal leader said that if the plant was closed the Liberal Government would take it over and see that it is run. He also promised that employers could expect the fullest investigations into industry to find out how much safeguard was afforded the industry and the consumers by those who were obtaining special preferences.

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"It would be interesting to find out how much is going to the wage earner and how much is going into the pockets of those others as profits," Mr. King declared.

Charges "Undue Influence."

Charging that the Renfrew industrialists were violating the Election Act with regard to "undue influence" in both the circular letter and in the speech said to have been made by Mr. O'Brien, Mr. King said that his government was not out to create unemployment but to cure it. He denied that he had at any time stated he would remove all protection from industry, as the industrialists were reported to have stated, and added that the Liberal policy did and would take care to see that all reasonable arguments were presented before adjustments were made, having in mind at all times the best interests of the consumers. Mr. King referred to the reported assertions by the industrialists as "a display of power begotten of special interests; money power in its most arrogant form."

On Oct. 10th a circular letter was sent out over the names of G. J. Cuthbertson of the Renfrew Textile Co., J. J. Southern of the Renfrew Woollen Mills and M. J. O'Brien, Jr., of the Renfrew Machinery Co., he said, Mr. King then read from the circular.

"This circular states 'Vote for Maloney if you do not want your factories closed.' That kind of thing is a violation of the Election Act, a criminal offence. They will find out whether this law has value or not. Here is what the Election Act states,"

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Mr. King added, reading from the act the following passages:

"Every person is guilty of the corrupt practice of undue influence and of an indictable offence against this Act punishable as in this Act provided, who, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, makes use of, or threatens to make use of, any force, violence or restraint, or inflicts, or threatens the infliction, by himself or by or through any other person, of any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm or loss, or in any manner practises intimidation upon or against any person, in order to induce or compel such person to vote for any candidate."

"And what does the law say about such a thing. Here is the penalty provided by the Elections Act," Mr. King said, reading again from the Act as follows:

"Any person who is guilty of any indictable offence against this Act is liable on indictment or on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and costs of prosecution or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, without hard labor, or to both such fine and costs and such imprisonment."

Quotes Report of Speech.

"These men will find out whether the law has any value if the Liberals are returned to power," Mr. King declared. "And here is another thing. This is from the Ottawa Journal in today's issue and is a report of a speech delivered at Renfrew by M. J. O'Brien, Jr. It appears

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Under the heading 'Plant Will Close If King Elected.' Mr. O'Brien says the doors of the Renfrew Machinery Company would close if Mr. King were elected. I read from the report of the meeting," Mr. King added, reading as follows from a clipping in his hand:

> "'We have the assurance of Mr. King and our South Renfrew Liberal candidate, Dr. J. J. McCann, that the tariff protection will be removed. Under this protection we are able to make an uphill fight and when we are beginning to see our way more clearly Mr. King pledges himself to remove tariff protection on textiles and farm implements. With the removal of tariff protection, we cannot compete with foreign manufacturers.'

"I ask the people of Canada, have I anywhere stated I intended to take away all protection on industry? What I said I would do was that I would cut down the high tariffs which are stifling and strangling trade and do it immediately and in accordance with what the Liberal platform states. Governments under Laurier and governments of which I have had the honour to be the head, have taken care and will take care to see that all reasonable arguments could be presented with respect to adjustments made. I also intend to take care of the needs of the consumers. Only by means of export trade can we hope to carry on. We have got to exchange goods. We will carry on and negotiate trade treaties with those nations who care to see what we can do. We will do it as reasonable men; we are not out to create unemployment, we are out to cure unemployment. Plant to close, that's a fine thing!"

When Deputy Minister

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Mr. King related how in 1907, when he was deputy minister of labor, there was a strike among coal miners in Western Canada. He was sent out to bring about a settlement, he said, and before he left he went to the Prime Minister, the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and asked for instructions as he wanted to know how far he could go. Sir Wilfrid, he said, told him that if he found the workmen were wrong and wouldn't yield to tell them that he (Sir Wilfrid) was prepared to send to Wales to bring in men to work the mines so that the consumers would be cared for. If the employers were wrong and would not conciliate, he said Sir Wilfrid had told him to inform them that he would take over the industry and nationalize it as a government industry.

Fullest Investigation

"I want to say to Mr. O'Brien and his employes and to all employers generally who make such statements that if those statements are carried out, the Liberal government, when elected, will get in touch with Premier Hepburn, see that his government gives assent so that there will no doubt of jurisdiction, and we will take over that plant and see that it is run. I say further that any employer may expect the fullest investigation into industry. We will have to find out how much is a safeguard to industry and a safeguard to consumers as well as to those who are getting special preferences. It will be interesting to find out how much is going to the wage earner and how much is going into the pockets of those others as profits. That8s what is necessary.

"What does that assertion mean? I say it is a display of power begotten of special privileges; money power in its most arrogant form. Do you wonder that the people of Canada are in terror with those in power seeking to browbeat employes?"

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COPY

Renfrew, Ontario,
October 10, 1935.

C116505

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE TOWN OF RENFREW

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Dominion election, on Monday next, is an important one. It is a very important election from the viewpoint of the Town of Renfrew, and its citizens, and of some of the industries located here.

The Bennett Government has promoted Canadian trade by giving the textile and cream separator manufacturers a moderate tariff protection against foreign made goods. Because of that tariff the factories producing these articles in this town, have been able to operate, and give steady employment to a great number of men and women resident in Renfrew.

The town has benifited. The business people have profited, and the regular payroll of over a half million dollars a year is a big factor in the promotion of business in this community.

Do YOU want these factories closed? Do YOU want to see Renfrew industries crippled with a possibility of increased taxation and many people put on relief? Do you intend your vote to be in favor of breaking down the tariff protection that has been given to local industry?

Or, are you in favor of helping to keep these factories going? We believe you want to encourage the manufacturers in your home town.

If so, we appeal for your vote and support, on Monday next, in favor of Dr. M. J. Maloney, the Conservative candidate for South Renfrew. The Conservative administration has given our factories a moderate tariff protection which affords employment for hundreds of people in Renfrew. The Conservative administration has promised to continue that needed tariff protection. Vote for home industry and enable us to continue operating in Renfrew.

Yours respectfully,

G. J. CUTHBERTSON
Pres. RENFREW TEXTILES LTD.

H. J. SOUTHERN
Gen. Mgr. REN FREW WOOLLEN MILLS

M. J. O'Brien, Jr.
Gen. Mgr. THE RENFREW MACHINERY CO. LTD.

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COPY

C116506

INSURANCE FOR JOBS

~~53,000~~ workers in CANADIAN mills now have jobs making
55,000 textile goods for sale in Canada.

12,000 workers in OTHER COUNTRIES now have jobs making textile goods for sale in Canada.

The Present Canadian Tariff rates are the

I N S U R A N C E P O L I C I E S

that provide these 55,000 Canadians with jobs.

I F Tariff rates were lowered so that twice as many textile goods were brought into Canada, there would be work for another 12,000 textile workers outside of Canada but----

12,000 CANADIAN WORKERS WOULD BE OUT OF JOBS.

Tell your Member of Parliament
how the Tariff insures
YOUR JOB.

Compliments of the
CANADIAN TEXTILE JOURNAL
MONTREAL

Associated Printers Limited,
Toronto.

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C116507

Montreal, October 11, 1935

National Unity:

Co-operation with provinces;

Bennett's challenge re Hydro.

Third Parties:

National Government:

"Canada First";

Amalgamation.

Promises & Bribery:

Orgy of promises;

Last minute bribery - wheat, dairy, etc.

Dictatorship:

Liberty only basis of reform;

Goal of Liberalism = retaining and enlarging freedom.

Trade:

Depression = no trade;

Reductions in reasonable manner -

threats to workingmen

Trade with all countries -

re U.S. and Herridge.

Unemployment:

Commission -

(relief important in Montreal)

Labour & Social Reform -

Record re;

Democratization of Industry.

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R.L. FREDENBURGH

C116508

Elections - Fed. Elec. 1935 ✓
Tariff Policy ✓
Labour ✓

Memorandum for Mr. King:

(1)

Re: Intimidation of Workers at Renfrew during G.E. 1935

1. A circular letter, dated at Renfrew October 10th, 1935, was sent out, addressed "To the Electors of the Town of Renfrew", over the names of C. J. Cuthbertson, President, Renfrew Textiles Limited, J. J. Southern, General Manager, Renfrew Woollen Mills, and M. J. O'Brien, Jr., General Manager, the Renfrew Machinery Company Limited.

(~~Copy of~~ circular letter attached).

2. Hand-bills were distributed during the campaign, entitled "Insurance for Jobs", bearing the inscription "Compliments of the Canadian Textile Journal, Montreal".

(~~Copy of~~ hand-bill attached).

3. On October 9th, in the course of his speech at Niagara Falls, Mr. King dealt with these attempts of "certain manufacturers to frighten their employees into voting for the Bennett Government by pretending that election of Liberal Government will deprive them of their jobs. (From press report of Mr. King's speech, excerpt attached).

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C116509

4. The Ottawa Journal of October 12th carried a report of a public meeting the previous night at Renfrew, in support of the local Conservative candidate, at which M. J. O'Brien, Jr., urged the electors to support the Bennett Government. The article is headed "Plant Will Close If King Elected".

(Copy of press clipping attached)

5. Mr. King, speaking at Ottawa on October 12th, referred to the O'Brien statement. "The Liberal Leader said that if the plant was closed the Liberal Government would take it over and see that it is run. He also promised that employers could expect the fullest investigations into industry to find out how much safeguard was afforded the industry and the consumers by those who were obtaining special preference". (Ottawa Citizen, October 14th).

(Copy of press report of Mr. King's speech attached).

R. L. F.

February 1, 1936.

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Session Box. 1935
re Address

WLMK

C116510

✓ Pa[illegible] 1935
✓ Dictatorships
✓ Ind'l. Disputes Investigation act 1907
✓ Combines Inves'n. Act.
✓ Labour
✓ Social Reform

Mr. Bennett's Programme of Reform

Mss. Prepared by Mr. King Jan. 1935

Re Method

Mr. Bennett's programme of reform raises several important questions for consideration:

1. Its constituent elements - inhowfar they are new or original.
2. How far what is proposed relates to what lies with certainty within the jurisdiction of the federal parliament.
3. How, insofar as they lie beyond federal jurisdiction, can they be brought within the ambit of the federal parliament?
4. To whatissues is the attempt to bring them within federal jurisdiction likely to give rise?
5. How are those issues to be solved, and what is to be method by which the programme is to be enforced?

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C116511

The latter question raises immediately the all important one of Dictatorship vs. Democracy. Is Mr. Bennett's method to be that of the dictator, imitating Hitler, by doing away with the rights of the several provincial legislatures and using coercion as a method of enforcement uniformity of laws throughout the Dominion with increased regimentation, or is to be the parliamentary method of reason, persuasion, open discussion in Parliament of all that is proposed, and enacted in accordance with parliamentary methods of procedure? Are existent popular rights to be sacrificed or compromised to serve the ends of so-called political reform? If so, the last state will be worse than the first. Reforms, whatever they may be, must be proceeded with on strictly democratic lines. Democracy is inseparable from a free Parliament. That is the consideration of chief importance. Dictatorship by any class is abhorrent to British peoples.

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C116512

Re Suggested Reforms -

What are they? - minimum wages, maximum hours, especially re female labour, abolition of sweating, of child labour; old age pensions, unemployment insurance, accident, invalidity insurance, and, in general terms, the abolition of unfair practices in trade and industry.

All of these we have in Canada in some measure, under (a) provincial jurisdiction, (b) under federal jurisdiction. Similar measures of social and industrial reform exist in other countries.

We have to be thankful that the Prime Minister has, even at this late date, come to see that measures of the kind are desirable, and necessary. The lamentable part of it all is that this recognition has come at the end of his five years of power rather than at the beginning of it. He was elected on his solemn undertaking that he would end unemployment. He now says that all these things are necessary to that end. Why then were the necessary measures not enacted during his term of office. Why have they been left over as a series of promises to serve his ends and those of his party in another general election.

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C116513

Before the enactment of new or further legislation, there is one step obviously which is even more necessary, and that is the enforcement of legislation we already have. If the Price Spreads investigation has disclosed anything, it is that there has been woeful neglect in the enforcement of existing laws with respect to the employment of women and children, minimum wages, maximum hours, sweating, etc., etc.

The Prime Minister will doubtless reply that these enactments coming within the scope of provincial jurisdiction, have lain beyond his own. But does the record as regards those unfair practices which come within the federal field disclose that he and his ministers have been any more vigilant in the enforcement of federal laws? There is a branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce known as the Weights and Measures Branch with federal officers whose duties are essentially those of seeing to the enforcement of the laws intended to ensure honest weights and measures. Just how efficiently have these laws been enforced?

It would seem that before enacting new laws, we had better see what can be done by proper enforcement of laws we already have.

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C116514

Equally, before making new promises in this and other fields, it would be well for the Prime Minister to carry out the promises made five years ago. Unemployment was to be ended then. Nothing was said at that time about the necessity of amending the constitution towards that end. It was all to be done by more in the way of protection. Protection remains, and so does unemployment. Before we attempt to cure unemployment by experiments in some new field, might it not be well to get rid in the first instance of those experiments which already have shown themselves not only to be inadequate, but themselves the very enactments which have done more to enhance unemployment than anything else.

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C116515

In the matter of social reform, Liberal governments have not followed in the federal field any policy of laissez-faire. The policy has been the direct opposite. The Department of Labour is a witness to the concern of the Liberal party for the well-being of Labour. It was a Liberal creation. The Labour Gazette, which has been published from month to month over a period now of 34 years, and which has been an instrument of investigation and information with respect to all phases of industrial conditions, was the creation of a Liberal administration. The annual reports and the special reports of the Department of Labour are all in the nature of state intervention in industrial problems. They were initiated by a Liberal government and developed under Liberal administrations on a scale far and away beyond anything attempted under other governments. Investigations into industrial conditions demanding reform have been a prominent feature of all Liberal administrations since Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government came into office in 1896.

Witness the investigation and reports regarding the need for the suppression of the sweating system in Canada in government clothing contracts, in 1898; the report in 1903 on industrial disputes in B. C.; the report, in 1906, on the coal miners strike at Lethbridge, Alta.; the report, in 1907, respecting hours of employment of telephone operatives; the report, in 1908, of the mission to England on the subject of Immigration to Canada; the report, in 1908, on industrial

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disputes in the cotton factories of Quebec; investigations into such occupational diseases as phosphorous necrosis in match factories - all of these under a Liberal administration between 1896 and 1911.

Witness the further reports made during the years of Liberal administration from 1921 to 1930.

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Witness the Conciliation Act of 1900; the Railway Labour Disputes Act; The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907. All of these measures are the direct antithesis of laissez-faire. All are in the nature of state intervention in industrial conditions for the purpose of effecting regulation and control. The Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons, 1900, its various amendments, the enactment of the Fair Wages and Eight Hour Day Act in 1930, the report upon the opium traffic, these are all enactments of Liberal administrations within the scope of federal jurisdiction.

Much is being said of the virtues of investigation as a cure of industrial evils. I have all along contended that there are certain evils which are more readily cured by publicity than by penalty, and that much in the nature of industrial wrongs, inhuman practices, greed and avarice were of this category. The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act is based upon this assumption.

The Combines Investigation Act of 1910 was a further recognition of the power of investigation to remedy commercial as well as industrial wrongs. That statute was repealed by a Conservative administration. Its re-enactment in enlarged form by a subsequent Liberal administration in 1923 was evidence

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of the determination of a Liberal government to act upon the principles of investigation.

To these might be added the many amendments to the criminal code as a means of copying with social, industrial, and commercial evils, as well as with what might be more definitely described as criminal practices.

In the face of a record of the kind, to speak of the Liberal party as a party of laissez-faire, is to proclaim oneself woefully ignorant of existing legislation on social and industrial reforms, or of a deliberate determination to misrepresent for party ends the position of a political opponent.

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ELECTION CAMPAIGN, 1935

PROMISES OF W. L. MACKENZIE KING

IN ONTARIO:

RADIO BROADCASTS FROM OTTAWA

1. JULY 31, 1935

"I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I intend to test all policies and all measures by the simple method of asking, whither they tend? If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them."

2. AUGUST 2, 1935

Repeats Liberal Platform - as stated February 27, 1933

3. AUGUST 5, 1935

Repeats paragraph "Unemployment of First Concern"

"This situation (Unemployment and Relief) the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavoured to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such."

Promises provincial co-operation in the task - promises essential public works, building and municipal improvements - a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements - all to be worked out by a National Commission to be set up to deal with Unemployment.

4. AT KINGSTON, ONTARIO, AUGUST 7, 1935

Reported in Toronto Globe, August 8, 1935

"One of the first acts of the Liberal Government headed by Rt. Hon. W.L. MacKenzie King will be to inquire into the administration of penitentiaries and endeavour to effect some reform."
The rest of the speech was devoted to the theme of dictatorship and responsible government.

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5. At Woodstock, Ont. August 13th, 1935
As reported in LONDON ADVERTISER, August 14th, 1935

"We would seek, in a word, trade with all nations of the world believing that only in that way we can bring about prosperity to this and all the nations of the world".

6. At Wingham, Ont. August 14th, 1935
As reported in Toronto Globe, August 15, 1935
"The Liberal Party would place compulsory regulations contained in the Marketing Act under the jurisdiction of Parliament and relieve Marketing Boards of any authority to regulate trade, fix prices, or punish violaters of the act."

7. At London, Ontario, August 15th, 1935
As reported in LONDON ADVERTISER, August 16, 1935

"If you want unemployment insurance, health insurance, and other social measures, I ask you to join with the Liberal Party in its effort to bring back our trade, to restore work on our railways and bring about improvement in business by trade expansion. Those ar e sound foundations that our house needs. When we have those we can go about to improve the upper part of the house. That is the way we will proceed, said Mr. King."

8. At Port Arthur, Ont. October 3, 1935
As reported in OTTAWA CITIZEN, OCTOBER 4, 1935

"A Liberal Government would deal with unemployment not by turning it over to one cabinet minister as Mr. Bennett had done, but by appointing a representative national commission to mobilize all forces and agencies in Canada which dould make a contribution."

9. At Barrie, Ont. OCTOBER 5, 1935
As reported in TORONTO GLOBE, October 7th, 1935

1. Promised to summon Dominion and Provincial conference for adoption of uniform measures throughout Canada dealing with serious financial problems of the country.

2. Appoint a nation-wide commission to study and supervise grave problem of unemployment.

3. Reduce the tariff: 4. Remove or reduce sales tax on many necessaries of life: 5. Extend British preference and seek a lowering of tariff barriers throughout the Empire: 6. Despatch trade missions to all the important countries of the world."

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BARRIE (Continued)

"Moreover if we are returned to power, the Liberal Government will tell Japan that we are ready to resume trading with her, and we can do this without a single industry in Canada being adversely affected."

10. At Toronto, October 8, 1935
As reported in TORONTO DAILY STAR, October 9, 1935

Repeated promise for a nation-wide commission to investigate and deal with unemployment - also for Dominion-Provincial conference

"We will seek to solve not only unemployment but all the other problems facing the government."

"When I come into power I will take up with Mr. Baldwin at once the revision of tariffs to get for the Canadian consumers needed goods they cannot get now with prohibitive tariffs as they are."

"You will see a new prosperity arise when the Liberal Party comes into power". Mr. King predicted. The problems of the Canadian National Railways would be solved, he added."

"I don't believe, " he said, "that you can ever settle the labor problem until you are prepared to give to the employees the same rights and privileges, the same say in the management as you give to the capitalist. I believe that employees should be represented on the boards of directors of our great industries. I believe labor, capital, management and the community should all be represented on these boards of directors."

11. At Niagara Falls, Ont. October 9, 1935
As reported in Hamilton Herald, October 10, 1935

Declaring that many manufacturers had threatened their employees that the Liberal tariff policies would put them out of a job, Mr. King said that , if returned, the Liberals would form an industrial commission to investigate all such threats. It would also investigate the operations of industries behind the Conservative tariff protection to make sure protected industries were dealing fairly with its employees. If need be, he stated, the govennment would take over such industries and operate them for a while to ascertain how much protection they really needed."

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12. At Ottawa, October 12th, 1935
As reported in THE OTTAWA CITIZEN, OCTOBER 14, 1935

"I will tell you about the relief camps. When the Liberal party comes back into power the unfortunates in those camps will be made to feel that they are human beings like everyone else, not lost souls placed out of the way in remote places. An agency such as the Department of National Defence, a department established solely for the administration of military affairs and warfare, will not be placed in charge of these men!"

Repeated promises re Unemployment commission and lowering of tariffs.

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4. AT EDMONTON, September 25th, 1935
As reported in Edmonton Bulletin, Sept.26, 1935

" He pledged his party to'an immediate and substantial reduction in tariffs on the instruments of production and an immediate and substantial reduction in the tariffs on the necessaries of life'".

" He wanted a National Bank, not another private bank. Instead of money control by private bankers, we want bank control vested in Parliament. The great questions of today are all financial ones".

5. AT JASPER, September 6th, 1935
As reported in TORONTO DAILY STAR September 27th, 1935

"The Liberal Party is absolutely opposed to the handing over of the C.N.R. to private interests and to the creation of a monoply. It is equally opposed to the creation of a monoply under public ownership. Solution of the railway question will not be reached in that way. We believe in healthy competition based on healthy trade as the real and lasting remedy. Healthy trade conditions can be restored by sweeping away indefensible barriers to trade that now exist in tariffs and regulations and by seeking with goodwill, instead of with a club, trade agreements with other countries of the world".

6. AT VICTORIA, September 27th, 1935
As reported in the DAILY COLONIST, September 28th, 1935
"Reduction of tariffs; expansion of trade; appointment of national commission on unemployment; Dominion-Provincial conference on financial matters.

7. At VANCOUVER, September 28th, 1935
As reported in VANCOUVER DAILY PROVINCE, September 30, 1935

"What mining requires is a national policy known to all the world..... Mr. King explained that with eight of the nine provinces now under Liberal rule, he proposed calling a conference of all the premiers, if elected, to assure uniformity of taxation .....And what applied to mining applied to agriculture, lumbering and the other basic industries. Mr. King devoted the greater part of his speech to trade matters, going over the same ground that he covered in his Victoria address.
"Mr. King struck a popular note when he declared that if elected he will abolish relief camps. He said he would put men in these camps at work on social service employment at pay, remembering there would be a difference in wages for men on emergency work and those engaged in industry. He added that the forces that had been marshalled to meet war contingencies could also be applied in dealing with unemployment".
"The Liberal Leader dealt with two subjects of interest to Vancouver, when he answered questions concerning the Canadian National Hotel and Lions Gate Bridge ..... he declared that under the Liberal policy there would be such a revival of business that all the railways and its hotels could operate under the increased business that would ensue.
" As to the First Narrows Bridge, he explained that ANYTHING THAT MR. BENNETT TURNED DOWN HE WAS GOING TO TURN UP".

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8. AT CALGARY, September 30, 1935
As reported in MONTREAL STAR, October 1, 1935

"Farmers were just as much entitled to fixed prices as for their products as labour was for fixed minimum wages. Mr. King said he believed in fixing these levels for the purpose of maintaining standards of living. But everything that was done for labour should be done equally for the farmer .....
" I am just as strong as anyone in this country for a more equi table distribution of wealth -

Trade promises,
tariff reductions
Unemployment Commission

9. AT REGINA, October 1, 1935
As reported in Regina Daily Star, October 2, 1935

"Winding up with promises to do things 'without the loss of an hour' that would cure all the evils that beset Canada and would even make the whole world a better place to live and trade in, Rt.Hon.Mackenzie King addressed an audience of 5,000 people in the Armouries, Tuesday night.
" He promised to renew a trade treaty with Japan, negotiate one with the United States and many other countries; to restore to the people - working through Parliamentwith the National bank as agent - the right to issue currency and control credit ..... The Liberal leader definitely declared he would, if returned to power, see to it Parliament would rule and would not permit a hostile Senate to prevent passage of legislation that would entirely change the complexion of the Bank of Canada, making that institution politically controlled."

10. AT WINNIPEG, October 2, 1935
As reported in WINNIPEG FREE PRESS, October 3, 1935

" As for so-called National Government, Mr. King said .... I have never yet united with any other party, and I never shall..... The Hyndman report dealing with the claims of war veterans would be implemented in full -'so far as financial conditions permitted', - and there was a similar promise for pensions for the blind".
" The Liberal Part, he declared, ... was submitting an honest programme as laid down in the Liberal platform, endorsed and supported by Liberals all over the country".
" Mr. King further declared that if he returned to power he would call a conference of provincial premiers and give them an opportunity of cooperating in the formulating of policies that would be of immense benefit to the whole country".

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C116525

Poake

BARRIE

1. Constituencies represented:

   North Simcoe, East Simcoe, Simcoe-Dufferin

2. Place of Meeting:

   Arena

3. Time:

   7.30 p.m.

4. Chairman:

   Hon. Dr. Simpson, Minister of Education.

5. Radio:

   None

6. Speakers:

   Duncan McCuaig, candidate for North Simcoe

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. Sitting Members:

   North Simcoe - J. T. Simpson, Conservative

   East Simcoe - A. B. Thompson, Conservative (appointed to Farm Loan Board)

   Dufferin-Simcoe - W. Earl Rowe, Conservative

8. Candidates:

   North Simcoe - Duncan McCuaig

   East Simcoe - George McLean

   Dufferin-Simcoe - William Poake

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C116526

BARRIE

1. **Constituencies represented:**

   North Simcoe, East Simcoe, Simcoe-Dufferin

2. **Place of Meeting:**

   Arena

3. **Time:**

   7.30 p.m.

4. **Chairman:**

   Hon. Dr. Simpson, Minister of Education.

5. **Radio:**

   None

6. **Speakers:**

   Duncan McCuaig, candidate for North Simcoe

   Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

7. **Sitting Members:**

   North Simcoe - Duncan Simpson, Conservative

   East Simcoe - A; B. Thompson, Conservative (appointed to Farm Loan Board)

   Dufferin-Simcoe - W. Earl Rowe, Conservative

8. **Candidates:**

   North Simcoe - Duncan McCuaig

   East Simcoe - George McLean

   Dufferin-Simcoe - William Peake

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9. Notes on Candidates:

Duncan McCuaig, North Simcoe - Practising law in Barrie 15 years. King's Counsel.

Seven years in City Council including four years mayor of Barrie

Kryston Extra Strong

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WLMK.

SEPT. 1935

C116528

Trade U.S.

TRADE

Mr. King

Sept. 1935.

In his radio addresses, Mr. Bennett has made some important admissions, which it will be well for all of us to keep in mind. They will help to indicate in how far he and I, and the parties which respectively represent, are in agreement, and just wherein the difference lies between us and the extent of that difference.

The most important, perhaps, of all Mr. Bennett's admissions, is the fact that trade is necessary for the payment of Canada's debt; that, without trade, we cannot meet our obligations abroad, which would mean, of course, that, without trade, we could not meet our obligations at home. For, as Mr. Bennett rightly contends, unless we are able to meet our foreign obligations, the country's credit is gone, and once the country's credit is gone, all begin to suffer.

Another important admission is that, in the last analysis, all foreign debts must be paid in goods and services, and, as a corrolary to this, that no country "can eat its cake and have it". In other words, it cannot sell to other countries without also buying from them. Or, in other words, that trade cannot be all one way. Trade, whether on a large or a small scale, is in the nature of exchange.

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The next important admission is that Canada's trade with Great Britain, and Canada's trade with the United States, are far and away the most important,

Great Britain being

United States "

Perhaps the most significant of all the admissions made is that, in matters of trade, a reciprocal agreement with the United States is greatly to be desired and much in the interests of both countries. Everything said and done, this, as regards the Conservative party, is a very different attitude towards reciprocal agreement with the United States than that which has heretofore existed.

I do not propose to review what was said by the Conservative party in 1911 against reciprocity in trade with the United States more than to mention that the cry of "no truck or trade with the Yankees", and Canada's being at the parting of the ways, were loud enough in 1911 to be remembered for all their lives by those who had any participation in that campaign. No one fought the Taft-Fielding agreement of 1911 more strenuously than Mr. Bennett himself. The fact that the opposition to it was alleged to be on the score that the agreement was not for a term of years, but might, upon due notice, be altered or cancelled by either of the parties,

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should it not prove to be of mutual advantage, can scarcely serve as a pretext for the defeat of the agreement, and can hardly be taken seriously. Had the agreement been made binding on both countries for a period of years, the same persons would have argued that to bind Canada for a term of years to any agreement, especially an agreement with the United States, would be to fetter and shackle the freedom of Canada in the matter of its trade.

(Secure copy of the Act authorizing the United States President to negotiate treaties, and see what the Act contains about the length of time they can be made binding. My impression is the President is given power to make agreements only between certain dates, and agreements only to bind for period of his term of office. Should this be so, something should be said here somewhat as follows).

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