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ONLY ESSENTIAL WAR WORK FOR 1917



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A MESSAGE

SINCE the first days of August, 1914, the minds and hearts of the Canadian people have been absorbed in one subject, one subject alone, the terrible War which was then unloosed on the world.

After thirty months of fighting and at the beginning of this New Year, it may not be amiss to cast a retrospective glance upon the varying phases of the contest, since the first awful days, and to measure and define the duties still confronting us.

When in answer to the pressing overtures of Germany, for neutrality in the conflict, Britain declared that though abhorrent of war, she would accept war, and deliberately walked into the furnace, rather than allow the faith of treaties to be contemptuously set aside, and small nations down-trodden with impunity, a thrill of pride passed over this country. The determination was general that Canada must stand behind Britain, and assist with all the strength of her command. General, I have said, unanimous would be a still more appropriate word, for though there were a few discordant voices, those voices became fewer and fewer, as events developed and as the horrors of German warfare made it every day more apparent that the triumph of Germany would be a set back to civilization, a severe and perhaps fatal blow to the freedom of nations.

In this universal determination of the Canadian people, all were not actuated by the same motives.

With many and perhaps the greater number, the cynical disregard of Germany for her own signature on a solemn treaty, the cruel invasion of Belgium, her avowed purpose to crush and again dismember France, and the solemn resolve of Britain to risk all so as to prevent those sinister purposes—these were the impelling motives.

To many the uppermost thought was that in a contest where Germany had expected that the self-governing nations of the British Empire would take occasion where Germany had expected that break off their allegiance, the participation, the voluntary participation of Britain's difficulties to would show a living example to the world, of the potency of freedom as a principle of government.

Nor is this all. We have heard it alleged that Canada should have remained outside a conflict in which she was not immediately interested, since her territory was not actually invaded.

This is the meanest and most selfish view to take of the question. Who is there amongst us, with the long chain of our historic traditions, who would have remained unmoved, indifferent, and passive when Belgium and two Northern Departments of France were subjected to horrors unknown since, and hardly equalled in the days of the barbarian invasions of Europe, and when Britain was coming out from her secure insular position, to help save modern civilization.

Moreover, to say that Canada, though not actually invaded had no interest in this War, is to assert that which is every day demonstrated to be false. In the face of those outrages against nations that the triumph of Germany would mean the unavoidable choice between two alternatives, either submission to German domination, or war with a still more powerful Germany, at no very distant period. The evidence is indeed overwhelming that Germany deliberately provoked this War, believing the moment opportune to strike the blow, with the expectation openly avowed and insolently gloated over, that the campaign would be short, sharp and decisive, so decisive as to make her master of Europe and supreme arbiter of the world.

The Canadian people ranged themselves behind those who held that a contest so waged with such a total disregard of the law of nations, with such an undisguised assumption of ultimate world domination, had to be fought and won now.

After thirty months of warfare, the military situation can be summed up in these two facts. The German plan of a short and triumphant campaign was decisively crushed at the battle of the Marne. The contest has continued ever since with varied successes on either side, until signs are percolating through the serried meshes of German censorship that by mere attrition, the vital forces of the enemy are slowly ebbing away.

The overtures for peace recently made by the German Government seem to be a confirmation of this view, and the answer of the Allied Nations makes it plain that they are ready this day, any day, to negotiate for peace on the basis of the principles for which they are fighting; namely the absolute sacredness of treaties; respect for the integrity of small nations; no annexation of territories without the consent of the people; full indemnity for the wrong done, in so far as indemnity can cover the wrong done, (for outrages were perpetrated by the invading armies of the enemy which are beyond repair or atonement); guarantee against future aggressions.

The arrogant language of the German chancellor, in announcing his peace suggestions against Right, makes it doubtful whether Germany is yet ready to negotiate on any other basis than Might.

Should that unfortunately prove to be the case, there is no alternative for the Allied Nations., but the continuance of the cruel struggle, until force of arms wrings from the foe, that which it will not concede to the claims of human conscience.

And this means further effort on our part. Already the people have nobly responded. If it be said that more could have been done, the obvious answer is that here as elsewhere among

people long accustomed to peace, the first efforts are slow to materialize and to bring forth results. But history attests and this War will again prove that peace loving people, ever slow to anger, when at last roused, are inflexible in purpose and never let go until victory is won, and the goal reached.

So it was, so it is with our own people. All classes have splendidly come forward and those in the field have shown that after one hundred years of peace, when put to the test the blood of the fathers has lost none of its warmth and vigor in the veins of the sons.

Those at home have given freely and generously and are continuing to give with an ever open hand.

Women of all conditions have been incessant in their labors and activities to help the suffering, and the wounded, and to minister comforts to those gallant boys now facing the indescribable miseries of modern warfare.

Reviewing all that has been accomplished during the last thirty months, it is no vain national boast that the Canadian people have far exceeded the expectations laid down at the outset. Yet there is every probability that we are still far from the end, and so long as more has to be done, they have not done enough. Only the all possible will suffice. Industry should be organized with the sole view to victory, with all idea of profit carefully eliminated. For let it ever be remembered that industry is public service. Nothing truer has been said during this War than that the idea is revolting of profits out of the nation's agony.

Let the young and healthy enlist, and those who cannot enlist will serve the country by work in the fields, in the forest, in the mines, on the sea and in the shops. Every individual in the nation can work; every hour of toil is conducive to victory, and work should be specifically directed to that end. All public construction unless necessary and immediately indispensable should be deferred till more auspicious times; all available funds and labor devoted to the production of munitions, food and war necessities and their prompt conveyance where needed. In England and France the women have nobly shared in all the burdens of the men, even assuming tasks hitherto supposed beyond their strength thereby testifying of unsurpassed devotion to the highest ideals. Then all can and must save; all expenditure public or private absolutely restricted to the object in hand.

These suggestions and recommendations are new, and never heard of before in this country. The reason is that we of this generation and of several generations before us never knew what war was—and war means sacrifice.

Canadian fathers, mothers, and wives sacrificed their dear ones, when their dear ones donned the King's uniform; of these, many have given to the cause the last full measure of devotion and now sleep and will forever sleep in the soil of Old France. The rest of us owe it to them that we also make sacrifice, sacrifice of feelings, of prejudice, of comfort, of leisure, of gains. Such sacrifice is a better monument to the fallen and wounded than either bronze or marble, and the best monument of all is the stern determination that their lives and limbs were not given in vain.

While we claim, and with just cause claim to have done much, our efforts pale almost to nothing when compared with the exertions, the almost inconceivable exertions of Great Britain, of France, of Russia and of Italy.

In those countries there has been a constant effort towards concentration in the one object of bringing the War to a triumphant conclusion. This has produced in France especially not only a growing union of all the forces of the nation, but also a union of souls. Antagonisms which before the War seemed irreconcilable have now well nigh disappeared, and opinions, even the most heterogeneous are now embraced in the sacred union.

Let us imitate this noble example. Let us here and now sink passions, prejudices, vain and idle recriminations. Let us when criticism is needed, criticize without bitterness, only by appeals to reason, and above all let us bend all our energies towards making Canada an effective factor in the struggle.

The heart of the nation must beat with one accord and one desire. Thus and thus only can Canada attain the full standard of what she owes to herself and her future and with such an inspiration, the people will rise to a consciousness of national power and national character which will be enduring and permanent for the welfare and grandeur of our Dominion.

Whether victory and peace be near or distant, our resolve will not falter. We will continue to the end, calmly, firmly and grimly determined to do our share so that this terrible scourge of war may forever pass away from us. And there is hope—hope not founded merely on desires and aspirations but on appreciable facts—that victory will bring us measurably near to an era when war will have become so odious, that the nation which would attempt it, would have to face the majesty and combined strength of the whole civilized world.

W. J. L. Laurier

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE WAR.

AT this epochal moment in the history of the world, we recall with some surprise that it was as recently as the Victorian era that Alfred, Lord Tennyson, then poet Laureate of England, wrote:—

“For I dipt into the future, far as human eye
could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the
wonder that would be;

“Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and
there rain’d a ghastly dew
From the nations’ airy navies grappling in
the central blue;

“Far along the world-wide whisper of the
south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging
thro’ the thunder-storm;”

Few prophecies have been as daring in conception, and few have been as speedily fulfilled. The Europe of to-day was strikingly foreshadowed in the poet’s thought; and yet at the time, so unreal was the picture that no one would have said there was other than wild imagination in the poet’s art.

Lord Tennyson was not only a great poet and philosopher, he was also a great Britisher. He loved England, he gloried in her expansion, he revered the Crown, and he helped to further its lustre throughout other lands. He was not afraid of Britain’s greatness, and, in his verse, he gave expression to its source in morals and politics alike. His teachings were based on a wide observation of men and affairs and reflected his intimate association with the best minds in Church and State. At this time, when political philosophers in the Old World and the New are concerning themselves with the future of the British Empire as the most important of the tasks of British statesmen, once the War is won, the thoughts of this illustrious Englishman may not be without the value of inspiration.

If men are to see the destiny of the British Empire as Tennyson foresaw it, there will be little focussing of thought upon hasty alteration in constitutional arrangements. The work of re-construction will look more to the World’s vast horizon without, than to impatient change of what has stood the test of peace and war within. The danger with some of those who are seeking to fashion the Empire anew is not that they are looking too far ahead, it would seem rather to be that their vision is not broad enough. Tennyson had the vision and in his verse it followed immediately the dark prophecy which even to-day is being literally fulfilled. The next two stanzas run:

“Till the war-drum throb’d no longer, and
the battle-flags were furl’d
In the Parliament of man, the Federation
of the world.

“There the common sense of most shall hold
a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in
universal law.”

But, it will be said, this is nothing short of a World Federation, a League of all the Nations to maintain law and order upon the earth! Is it not the essence of Prussian arrogance to assume a future destiny so vast as this? Yet it is this very ideal which the peoples of the British Empire more than any other peoples are entitled to cherish as peculiarly their own, for have they not already achieved this very aim in part?

The Force of Example.

There are two methods by which World conquest looking to World Federation can be attained; the one, the force of arms, the other, the force of example. The former is the Prussian method, the latter, the British. Wonderful as have been the vast achievements of this tremendous war, it is doubtful if it has presented any spectacle comparable to that of a united British people spontaneously rising from their several nationalities, scattered as these are, in all quarters of the globe. Thither have they gone to the fields of Flanders, across continents and seas alike; to Belgium, to Salonika, to Egypt, to Mesopotamia, to wherever the enemy is to be found; gone with full equipment of war, not from the British Isles alone, but from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and Newfoundland, and without a summons, other than Freedom’s call to Duty, in the maintenance of the liberties of smaller nationalities, and to stay the aggressor’s wrong.

Speaking in London on the 1st of November at a gathering of the Associated Chambers of Commerce to honor the Duke of Devonshire on the occasion of His Excellency’s appointment as Governor-General of Canada, the Earl of Derby, His Excellency’s most intimate friend, said:—

“New relations may arise after the War between ourselves and the Dominions, but none can be as strong as those which are binding us now. People talk glibly of a new Constitution. Well I am a Conservative, and the old Constitution is good enough for me when it gives such results as during the present War. Anything that can bind us together more closely, let it be done; but do not let us think that by making a cast-iron constitution for ourselves or the Dominions we are going to increase the affection they have for us.”

Is it surprising that in sending to Canada this portion of the Earl of Derby’s address, the cable despatches referred to it as “felicitous,” and should have mentioned that it was heartily applauded by the large assemblage?

Surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, all concerned with the re-organization of the British Empire will do well to reflect upon the political considerations and conditions which have given the Empire, constituted as it is, the enviable position it occupies in the eyes of the World to-day, they will do well to move cautiously in matters of re-construction where such involve a departure, however

slight, from the course of political evolution which has fashioned so magnificent a result.

"But," it will be eagerly exclaimed, "has not Tennyson in the self-same poem also said:"

"Yet I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns.

"Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change."

True, and nothing could be more meaningful than these very lines as applied to the example the British Empire has given the World.

British versus Prussian Ideals.

What is the fundamental difference between the British Empire and the German Empire which represents an opposite ideal? The German Empire is a centralized Empire, founded on militarism, just as all centralized Empires in the world's history have been. It seeks unity through uniformity, and cohesion through concentration. The British Empire is an Empire of co-operating nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and South African, with dependencies even more varied in race and religion than the peoples of which the outlying Dominions are composed. The British Empire is founded not on militarism, which is superimposed rule; but on self-government, which is just what the words express. The British Empire seeks its unity through diversity of free individual expression, and its consolidation through the cherishing of like ideas and ideals of freedom. The German Empire can hope to bring the rest of the World under the influence of its centralized organization only, as it has in vain attempted, through the force of arms and military domination. The British Empire, on the other hand, need exert only the force of its splendid and unparalleled example to point the path to the closest kind of Federation between Nations, no matter how varied in origin, in size, in race, or in political constitution.

The Prime Minister of Britain has summoned to common Conference, at this time, the Premiers of the several Dominions to discuss the issues of the present War, the methods of its prosecution, and considerations of which account should be taken when peace is ultimately being established. This Conference will be composed of leading statesmen commanding the confidence of the Governments of their respective countries within the Empire, and as such will be representative according to British ideals. It should make possible a free interchange of views, and afford opportunity for the discussion of plans relative to an ever-widening and increasingly effective co-operation between the different countries of which the British Empire is composed. Let the British Empire expand as it may, no part is too large and none too small to have its voice heard and its opinion regarded at such a gathering. The Cabinet, whether it be of a Ministry

at home, or of any of the sister Dominions beyond the seas, that submits to its Parliament for consideration opinion that finds common expression at such a Conference need have little fear for the consequence of policies thus developed, nor need the Crown expect other than loyal devotion where its acts, thus safeguarded, become "broad based upon a peoples' will." An Empire thus constituted and united is capable of indefinite expansion and need fear no dismemberment.

The Ultimate Triumph.

Broadly viewed, has not the stern necessity of war thrown the allied powers into a relationship, for the time being at least, precisely similar? Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Portugal, and Roumania, are they not to-day a great Federation of Nations, each preserving its individual identity, each sending its separate note to Germany in reply to her communications, and all uniting in a common statement to neutral powers? Have not the Premiers and responsible Ministers of these several Nations met in common Conference? Have they not worked out a common system of defence? Have they not shaped policies of co-operation which, whilst preserving to each of the separate nations the fullest measure of their individual powers, have gained for all the inestimable advantages of unity of action and combined strength? Once the War is ended is co-operation on such a basis and to such noble ends to be allowed to dissolve? The example of the British Empire teaches that it may be maintained and developed. Here, if anywhere, is evidence of the "increasing purpose" that runs through the ages. It should not lessen the belief of Britishers in the wisdom of their present political institutions, to discover that through the maintenance of autonomous communities, and by Conferences, long since the clearing house of British thought, the British Empire has given to the World the one example which at the close of this awful War may help to mitigate its frightful cost, and reveal that, as respects the well-being of humanity, its sacrifices have not been made in vain.

From an Empire composed of widely scattered peoples of many races and tongues, united, in mutual service, through co-operation in times of peace and war, to a League of Nations following a like co-operation under stress of war and perpetuating it upon the advent of peace, it is but another step to the World Federation which is the full realization of the poet's vision. If men of the British Empire doubt the British genius for leadership in a task so great, let them look upon the struggles out of which their own freedom has been evolved, let them remember that what has been accomplished in the small may yet be attained in the large, and that what a portion of the World now enjoys, the whole may some day share. It was in this spirit that Tennyson, stirring the British pride in past achievement, sought to speed it on to nobler efforts in the tasks that lie ahead.

"Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new;
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do."

OUR FINANCIAL SITUATION.

A PART from the prosecution of the War to a successful conclusion, the most important question that should engage the attention of our public men and thinkers is how to regulate and arrange the finances of the country to the best advantage.

There is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that Canada's very proper participation in the War has added enormously to its financial load. Prior to the outbreak of War our net public debt was 336 millions, and at the end of November, 1916, it had increased to 706 millions. We are now spending for War purposes at the rate of 20 millions per month. For many reasons, principally the uncertain duration of the War, it is not possible to make an accurate forecast as to what our public debt will be at the close; but it is, we think, safe to assume that it will easily be in the neighborhood of \$1,500,000,000. In this connection we have in mind the following statements made in the House of Commons by the Finance Minister last Session:

"In a general way, I may say to my hon. friend that the Government of Canada is bearing the entire expense of Canada's participation in the War. There will necessarily be certain accounts which cannot be adjusted until the War is over, or until a later date. Recently I had a conversation with Col. Ward, who is immediately in touch with the situation in London, and I understood from him that the Canadian Government is to-day paying all the expenses connected with the Canadian Expeditionary Force at present in England, and is paying the men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France, and Belgium, but that there will be certain adjustments of accounts necessary between the Government of Canada and the British Government at a later day covering such items as rations, supplies and other equipment for the Canadian troops who are actually on the firing line. That matter is not susceptible of calculation and adjustment from to-day, but the Canadian Government is bearing the entire expense of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

Mr. Pugsley:—That means, of course, all the ammunition, all the guns, all the boots and shoes, and all the clothing used by the Canadian soldiers at the front?

Sir Thomas White:—Our understanding is that the Canadian Government will pay all, but that an adjustment is necessary and will have to take place later.

Mr. W. F. MacLean:—Does that include transportation?

Sir Thomas White:—I speak subject to correction by my right hon. friend the Prime Minister, but I believe that the Canadian Government has agreed to pay all the cost of transportation also; in other words, we desire to pay the entire cost of the Canadian Expeditionary Force abroad."

When we consider also that if the War were to end during the present year there will be large

expenditures during the necessarily protracted period before final disbandment takes place, we think that the sum we have mentioned, namely \$1,500,000,000 may be considered as a low estimate of our public debt at the close of hostilities. Indeed it is reasonably conceivable that his amount may be very much exceeded. Sir Thomas White, himself, has recently mentioned two billion dollars as the debt when every thing arising out of the War is cleaned up.

The annual interest charges will therefore, surely be \$65,000,000 and may possibly be \$90,000,000. Added to that we will necessarily have a very heavy and costly pension list. The spirit and pride of the Canadian people will be to deal with their disabled heroes, and with the families and dependents of their glorious dead, not in any charitable way, but with just generosity. A sum of not less than \$25,000,000 per annum will probably be required for this highly commendable purpose. Then there will be a sinking fund of about ten millions to take care of the greatly increased debt.

The difficult railway situation which to a large extent has been brought about by War conditions may necessitate an annual expenditure of anywhere from five to ten millions for a number of years. There will also be necessity for considerable expenditures towards placing the returned soldiers back in the arts of peace. This will involve vocational training, technical education, land settlement and other means of direct Governmental assistance.

Summed up we will have after the War, for many years, annual fixed charges well over 100 millions, perhaps as high as 150 millions, as compared with similar charges of less than 13 millions before the War. How to raise this huge extra amount equitably and without hampering the development of the country will be Canada's big problem.

It is not in any spirit of criticism, but rather with the object of prompting thought on the subject that we venture the suggestion that the effect of the War on the finances of the country has not yet been fully estimated by any of our public men. We have all been obsessed with the idea of preserving our individual and national freedom to the exclusion of intelligent thought and courageous action towards proper, cautious and sound financing. Two points perfectly clear in our minds are that we are throwing too much of the War burden on the shoulders of posterity, and are not taking advantage of legitimate opportunities for present taxation.

War Profiteers Not Sufficiently Taxed.

When a whole nation, as is our case, is at War the ideal condition would seem to be that there should be concerted action for the general good and without special financial advantage to any one. But apart from the man-power service of our soldiers, our war expenditures and those of Great Britain and her Allies in Canada have gone to swell the coffers of comparatively few firms and individuals. It is, we think, no exaggeration to state that there has come to Canada in payment for Canadian made munitions and supplies as much as Canada has spent herself on the War, and the

enormous profits derived therefrom and from Canadian War expenditures have benefitted a few, while the Dominion has piled up an enormous national debt which the whole people will have to pay. It would be absurd to state that these contractors have been called upon to contribute anything like a fair portion of their profits towards the prosecution of the War. If it is not too late it surely would seem to be quitable that by taxation a very much larger portion of these War profits should be made available to the State. When we see the common stocks—mostly water—of many industrial companies selling at an hundred per cent, and in some cases two and three hundred per cent higher than in peace times, and when we know that these astounding increases are entirely due to War profits, we wonder what has prevented fair taxation of these concerns.

Why Not Compulsory Thrift.

Sir Thomas White we understand is about to institute a campaign towards inculcating thrift and we commend him for it. Such a movement is very necessary. By wise thrift of the Scotch and French peasant type miracles almost might be accomplished in this far too free spending country. But concurrent with that campaign, would it not be wise to make thrift compulsory by taxation measures which would apply to the whole people and which would be abundantly justified by the national financial condition. Is it not good business to pay as much as possible of our way as we go? So far as War taxation goes a great many people in Canada do not know the War is being waged.

Then too, the large stores of accumulated and inherited wealth of the country invested in gilt-edged securities have so far escaped the tax gatherer: so likewise have the men who possess the public domain and national resources and are holding them for the natural increase in value which time and opportunity will create. The truth is we have not commenced to grapple seriously with the taxation problem. The main taxation efforts made so far can only be considered as expedients. The War import tax is unsound because it is protection added to protection and therefore unduly enhances prices. The business profits tax has some merit, but in peace times it may be detrimental to development. Little, if any, effort has been made to apply taxation to the earning power of the individual which is one of the soundest principles of taxation.

System of Taxation Should Be Revised.

In our opinion, all our systems of taxation—Federal and Provincial—should undergo a thorough and complete revision. This War will make all the contending nations go to school again on economic matters. We should guard against patchwork and expediency legislation. Let us take a full, clear-eyed look at the whole situation and start afresh on fundamentally sound lines.

Economize and Retrench.

Obviously it is of vital importance to cut down our ordinary national expenditures to the lowest

possible point consistent with efficiency. Our national watchword must be—to paraphrase Nelson's famous message to his sailors on the eve of the battle of Trafalgar:—

"Canada expects every dollar to do its duty."

Now or in the future there should be no place for the parasitical privilege, contract or job hunter. The patronage evil which is the bane of politicians, the curse of public life and the fruitful cause of extravagance and corruption, should be wiped out, root and branch. Concurrently the entire Civil Service inside and outside should be readjusted and reformed on the basis of rigid economy combined with efficiency. If it were run on business lines the Civil Service would cost the country half what it costs to-day.

The squandering of money in the construction of unnecessary public buildings—particularly in small towns and villages—must stop. Even in our hey-day of prosperity, it was foolish; now it would be criminal.

The political game of favoring one locality with public works at the expense of others must also cease. It always was a petty and more or less disgusting form of politics, and a continuance of it in our time of trial would be nauseating.

It is to be hoped also that the railway subsidy foolishness has seen its day. We have railways enough and to spare for many years to come. We trust steps will be taken to free Parliament from its greatest curse—the professional railway lobbyist.

Reformed Customs Tariff Necessary.

The customs tariff should be thoroughly and scientifically revised. With the addition of the 7½% War tax it is absurdly high and utterly indefensible from an economic standpoint. There is no denying the fact that customs tariffs have a very important bearing upon the prices of articles procured in Canada. They therefore affect every man's pocket and consequently our statesmen must see to it that they know what they are doing when they fix rates of duty. In this respect there has been too much following of precedent, happy-go-lucky and haphazard work in the past. The best tariff ever made contains undue privileges. These should be ruthlessly cut off. The primary consideration must be for years to come the necessities of the revenue. A high tariff is a positive detriment to any manufacturer. What is best for him is a fair moderate tariff under which he can only win out by the best methods of efficiency. Indeed efficiency—and the highest efficiency—in production should be Canada's future motto. With our magnificent natural resources of raw material, with our splendid water powers and virile population there is no reason why we should not become the manufacturing centre of the Empire in 25 years or so. But to reach that goal we must abandon many of our practices and adopt new methods. The pernicious practice of fooling the public through artificial values created by the issue of watered stock should be frowned upon. It is basically dishonest and has corrupted business life. Certainly no Government should grant to any industry such a degree of protection as will enable dividends to be earned on water. In technical education we must immediately be up and doing.

We are far behind European countries in scientific production in many lines, and we must get on their level, at any rate—or fall behind in the race.

Unless our population greatly and quickly increases the revenues from our customs tariff cannot be expected to cope with the abnormally increased expenditures. As a matter of fact a substantial decrease in the present high ratio of customs collections may be expected after the War when prices of commodities will be rapidly lowered. The large increases shown in the customs receipts for the last year or so are largely due to the increases in the values of commodities, and not in any degree to increase in the volume of importations.

Encourage Thrift.

By way of encouraging thrift among those other than the well-to-do, Sir Thomas White we think would be well advised to adopt the English scheme of selling war certificates of small denomination. In England £1 war certificates payable in five years were sold at 15 shilling 6 pence and were sold to the extent of 40 million pounds. A five-dollar certificate payable in five years might be sold in Canada for \$4. That would be interest at the rate of 5%.

Preferential Trade With Allies.

One of our greatest needs when peace arrives will be more population. An important contributory cause to that end would be the making of preferential taxing arrangements between the Allies—

the effect of which would be that United States manufacturers would have to manufacture in Canada to get a share of the Allies foreign trade. There is no limit to the possibilities of the development of Canada if that could be brought about. The United States has grown enormously rich through the agony of the Entente countries, and it is only natural that we should try to get some of those riches back through the introduction of United States capital for productive purposes in Canada.

To conclude we do not view the situation in a pessimistic way. Just as our soldiers have made an undying reputation for themselves at the Front the Canadian people can make an equally high and enduring reputation in the fields of peaceful endeavor if we approach the task in the same determined and unflinching spirit. The War has put a new soul into us. We have the calibre to win and the material with which to win, and it only remains for us to solve our problems intelligently and in a spirit of honesty. Notwithstanding the War, we can make ours the land of great opportunity, not only for our own returned soldiers, but those of other countries and our young men who are now boys at school. We must bear constantly in mind that between 1854 and 1895 we lost through lack of initiative in furnishing opportunities over a million of our best young blood to United States. There must not be a repetition of that. Temptation to the boys to-day at school who will be entering life a few years hence to covet the riches of the neighboring country will be very great and we must set our house in order against it.

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF CONSOLIDATED FUND.	Month of December, 1915.	Total to 31st December, 1915.	Month of December, 1916.	Total to 31st December, 1916.
REVENUE:				
Customs.....	\$ 9,060,181 55	\$ 69,216,140 83	\$ 10,932,850 62	\$ 97,332,210 47
Excise.....	2,302,211 53	16,464,091 78	2,321,493 44	18,452,361 06
Post Office.....	1,846,560 26	12,796,339 91	2,200,000 00	14,150,000 00
Public Works, including Railways and Canals.....	2,912,919 57	16,017,220 08	2,132,341 58	19,793,911 06
Miscellaneous.....	1,149,643 72	7,534,029 28	4,357,089 66	17,127,866 51
Total.....	17,271,516 63	122,027,821 88	21,943,775 30	166,856,349 10
EXPENDITURE.....	9,123,952 53	74,469,455 56	12,128,931 16	81,696,505 10
EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT, ETC.				
War.....	19,233,943 04	85,748,898 42	23,702,217 94	170,229,748 99
Public Works, including Railways and Canals.....	2,158,858 78	26,151,882 05	2,612,368 08	18,610,157 36
Railway Subsidies.....	250,000 00	1,217,910 71		363,478 64
Total.....	21,642,801 82	113,118,691 18	26,314,586 02	189,203,384 99

THE HONOURABLE SIR FREDERICK BORDEN, K.C.M.G.

Service to Canada and the Empire.

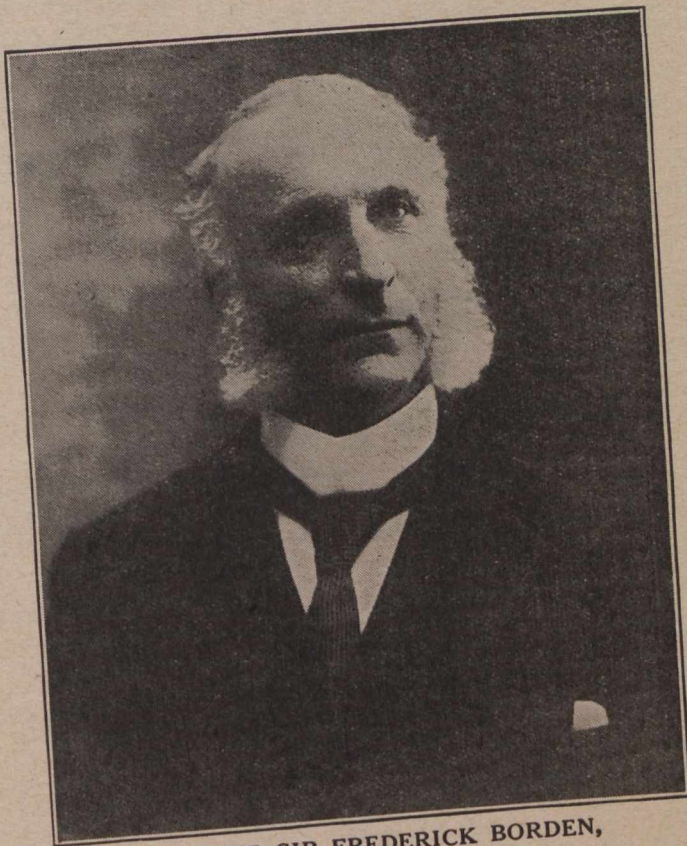
In no particular has the status of Canada been more clearly marked than in the relations which have existed between the Home and Canadian authorities with respect to matters of defence. When Sir Frederick became Minister, Canada had not emerged from the Colonial stage. British regiments were still stationed at Halifax and Esquimaux in accordance with the slowly dying tradition that the Colonies could not be trusted to manage their own affairs, and that to withdraw all military power from a British possession was to invite its secession from the British Crown. Sir Frederick Borden had a sounder view of British loyalty and of the British genius for Government, and it was based on his adherence to Liberal principles. Sir Frederick was a thorough-bred Liberal. He saw that the maintenance of this Colonial status in military affairs, when, in practically all else, complete self-government had been attained, was an anomaly; he saw further that it was mischievous, and that it threatened friction instead of closer relations between Canada and the Motherland. He set about to substitute an effective co-operation for this semblance of coercion, and he succeeded in a large way. Championing with vigor and unanswerable argument the cause of complete autonomy for the self-

governing Dominions, he was able as one of Canada's representatives at the Imperial Conferences in London in 1907 and in 1911, and at the Imperial Defence Conference in 1909, and also as a Member of the Imperial Council of Defence, to work out in conjunction with the Home authorities and the representatives of the other British Dominions, the scheme of co-ordination and co-operation of the British Defence forces, which has been of such vast service to the British Empire and the Allies in the present War.

It is not detracting from the achievements of his successors in the Department of Militia and Defence to recall that, when the War commenced, they had at hand the splendid organization which had been developed by Sir Frederick Borden

THE death of the Honourable Sir Frederick Borden at Canning, N.S., on the 6th of January, recalls the circle of distinguished men with whom Sir Wilfrid Laurier surrounded himself, when as Prime Minister he formed the Liberal Cabinet that administered the Government of Canada from 1896 till 1911. Of the Ministers who took Office with Sir Wilfrid a few remained members of his Government from the beginning of the Administration to its close. Sir Frederick Borden was one of this group. But Sir Frederick's association with Sir

Wilfrid in the public life of Canada had yet another intimate bond. Both entered Parliament in the same year, and, excepting the years 1882-87, during which time Sir Frederick was not in Parliament, both sat continuously in the House of Commons from 1874 to 1911. During this association of 32 years, Sir Frederick represented King's County, N.S. as Liberal member for that constituency. It is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to character and friendship that the confidence of the Liberal leader in the ability and worth of his colleague remained unbroken over this entire period, and that it was reciprocated by an unwavering loyalty in all the relations of public life and an unflinching personal devotion.



THE LATE SIR FREDERICK BORDEN, K. C. M. G.

Minister of Militia and Defence from 1896 to 1911 in the Government of the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Sir Frederick Borden was worthy of the high place held in the regard of Sir Wilfrid who knew him more intimately than anyone else, for he possessed those qualities which endear one man to another and which when combined with large achievement entitle their possessor to the rank of statesman. Sir Frederick had vision and far-sighted judgment, he had plenty of common-sense and splendid executive ability. He was broad-minded, generous natured, genial, and, above all else, staunch and courageous. It will take time for Canadians to appreciate the measure of the service he rendered Canada and the British Empire during the 15 years he held office as a Minister of the Crown. The Department of Militia and Defence was a small affair when Sir Frederick became its political head; he left it a branch of the Canadian Administration in which even his political adversaries were eager to take pride.

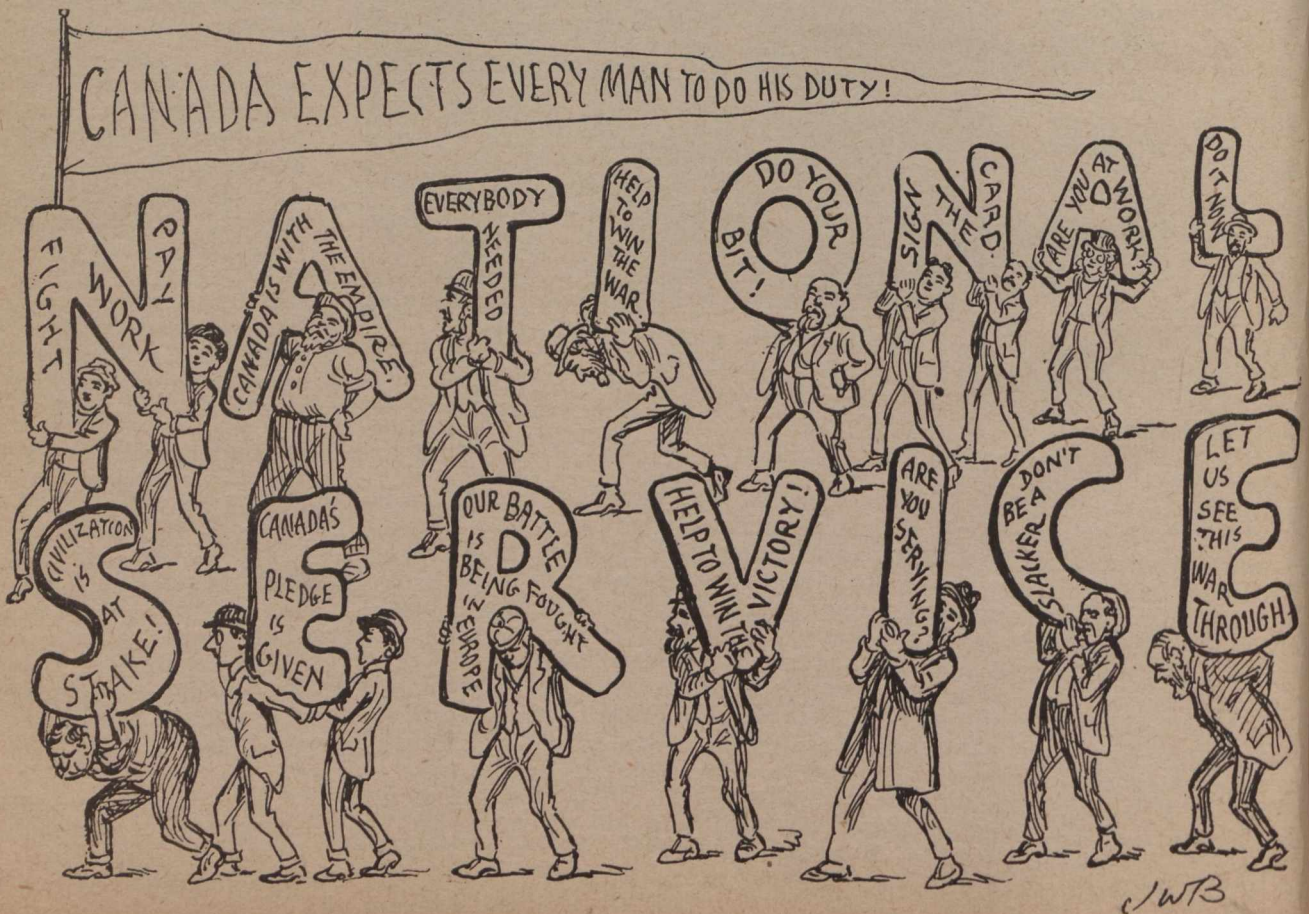
during and subsequent to the South African War; and that as respects the spontaneous response of the Dominions in the call to arms under the voluntary systems of Canada, Australia and South Africa, very much is owing to the far-sighted statesmanship which helped to give a wise autonomy in military matters and to preserve from a well-meaning but fatal return to a centralized control, the aspirations and the accomplishments of this phase of Canadian national life.

Incidents of a Distinguished Career.

Sir Frederick had the distinction of raising and despatching in 1899 the first organized expedition of Canadian troops that ever left the Dominion to fight beyond the seas. But like other statesmen of the British Empire who, in the present War, have given of their families, as well as of personal service, he, too, was drawn into the mystic brotherhood of those who know it is at the cost of life that hard-won liberties are maintained. In the South African War he lost his only son, who was killed in action.

Sir Frederick was in his 70th year, having been born in Cornwallis, N.S. on May 14th, 1847. He was educated at King's College, Windsor, N.S. and at the Harvard Medical School from which he obtained

the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1868. He practised his profession at Canning during a part of his public life, but, while in the Ministry, practically the whole of his time and thought were given to public affairs. He joined the Militia during the Fenian Raid and was appointed Assistant Surgeon to the 68th regiment in 1869. It was five years later he entered Parliament. In 1893, he was appointed Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel, and on August 1st, 1901 was appointed Honorary Colonel of the Army Medical Corps. In 1896 the Laurier Administration was formed and Sir Frederick entered the Cabinet as Minister of Militia and Defence. In 1911, he was appointed an Honorary Surgeon-General in the British Army. He was created a K. C. M. G., on the occasion of the Coronation of his Majesty, King Edward, in London in 1902, and at a later date, a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. These are but the mile-stones, and the ornaments, of a career that was eminently useful and distinguished. It was not by what he received, but by what he gave that Sir Frederick will be remembered. It is not too much to say that the best of life itself was given in long and honourable service to his country, and in helping to shape, broad and firm, the foundations of the British Empire, in the hope that its liberties might be maintained, and its power for freedom rendered more potent throughout the world.



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MORE FOOD

WITH the opening of the New Year there seems a crisis in the great war. The enemy have offered deceptive peace proposals. The Allies have given an answer, dignified and firm. The two messages are so wide apart as to leave but little hope of peace. The enemy have flung further defiance and declared that they will never submit to defeat. All the peoples as well as the Governments of the Allies are one in thought and word that their terms must be accepted or the struggle must go on to ensure freedom and happiness in peace and security not only to the people of the countries at war but to all the World. This is the stand of Canada.

A Supreme Effort.

What does this mean? A supreme effort greater than yet made is needed now to back up the Allies' answer and prove our assertion. Not idle phrases about "our last man, our last dollar." but an earnest spirit of determination translated into works—a will to sacrifice, a capacity to work work effectively for the War—no feeling that "we have done enough" but a searching of hearts as to what more we can do, how and at what work we can each and every one contribute,—not money, but ourselves. The crisis is so great that all else should give place to the War needs.

Our young men have enlisted, our industry has organized to supply munitions, clothing, boots, etc., our railways and shipping are absorbed in transport of men and munitions and supplies. Let us examine a little how Canadian agriculture should and can respond to this call.

Difficulties to be Surmounted.

Farming in Canada has suffered in the near past from three main insufficiencies.—Lack of capital, lack of labor, lack of business management. We have no lack of natural resources,—a super-abundance of fertile lands, a good temperate climate suitable to the production of the best forms of food, the most nutritious grains and vegetables, the best pastures, a super-abundance of pure water and varied winter food for live stock, and all the conditions to produce healthy, vigorous animals and their products. So Canada can in great measure, full and running over, supply the food needed in the War. The soldiers must be fed and well fed to beat the stalwart, vigorous foe, the sailors of the fleets must be fed and well fed to hold that absolute command of the sea so essential to final victory,—the workers in the ship-yards, in the shell factories, in the gun-making sheds, the men and women in the uniform factories, in the boot and shoe factories must be fed and well fed to stand the strain of prolonged and continuous calls for more, more, more. The railroad men, the porters and draymen, the stevedores and dock laborers, the sailors of the merchant marine,—must all be fed and well fed to enable the giant organization of transport to meet the demands on it. It is the farmers of the allied countries who must respond to this necessity and meet the demand and supply

the food. Canada has boasted she is the "granary of the Empire." She must take a lead in this work.

Needs of Agriculture.

What is needed for this? Capital! There is a super-abundance of money in the country, the overflowing coffers of our banks, the way in which our domestic loan was taken up, the free way in which all classes in the country are spending in their shopping and style of living, chiefly on luxuries, frivolity and extravagance; prove this. There is a cry against the high cost of living but judging by appearances there are a great many if not the majority, who are not denying themselves or have not cut down any part of their expenses. The farmers are like the rest. They have plenty of money for all sorts of expenditure. As a contribution to help to victory in the War, let some of this money, thus expended on all sorts of things quite unrelated to War work, be diverted into investment to increase food production, not only the surplus money of the farmers but of other patriots who want to contribute to the War efficiency of our Dominion. Let the banks make special efforts to meet the requirements of agriculture towards increase of production.

Labor.

Many of the workers on Canadian farms have enlisted and gone to fight. That is right. The War needs all the able-bodied, fine young men that can be got hold of to do the fighting, the first essential factor to victory, but there are many who for one reason or another, good or indifferent, have not seen their way to enlist. These can make greater exertion to supply food to the fighters and thus help in no inconsiderable way. Some of these are oldish men who have laid down the hoe or the fork and are taking their well earned ease after years of successful farm toil. These can come back to their work and do yeoman service to King and Country. Others have left the farm and gone into various walks of life not essential in this Empire's struggle. These can return to their boyhood's work, and help to feed the army, the navy, the munition workers and the transportation hands. There are old men and boys who can do more than they have done, and then there are the women. These cannot enlist, all are not fitted or haven't the opportunity to nurse or do other hospital work. Many are engaged in munition and clothing and boot and shoe factories and they are doing excellent and useful work for the War. Hundreds, nay thousands who do not care for or have not the opportunity for these forms of assistance could easily take up and succeed in farm work of many kinds, dairy work, poultry keeping, bee-keeping, fruit growing are all suitable for women workers and these could quite well replace the men who have left for the front in such kinds of work and perhaps show superiority in their successful application to them.

The Women May Help.

The care of stock and the lighter kinds of harvest work also they can do. We have the example in

France and England of what heavy farm work women, many of them delicately brought up, who never did a hands turn of any kind of work in their pampered lives, are now doing so well. There is a story of a group of English and American reporters discussing the various wonderful things they had seen at the front. They gave many instances of heroism and sacrifice. One man was silent but was appealed to for the most notable thing he had seen in the War. He said, "**The most wonderful triumph I have seen in the War is the harvest of 1915, in France, sowed, cared for and garnered almost entirely by the women of that country.**" In the motherland thousands of women who never worked on a farm are to-day taking care of live stock, hoeing, weeding and harvesting in the fields. They have shown great facility and skill and have been able to prevent that decrease in food production which was expected from the enormous drain of the yoemen into the army. **Such determination, such devotion to the cause may well be emulated here and if Canada is to do her full share in the great struggle it will have to be.**

We know that there begins to be felt a shortage of food in the Old Land. We know of the extremes to which our enemy have come in the lack of food in besieged Germany. We believe the final victory will result more from starvation in that land than from victory on the battlefield. We then must see to it that the allied peoples and armies are well fed and have this advantage over the foe. There are many men and women in Canada who are either at leisure or are doing non-essential work. Let us appeal to these to come to the aid of food production, come out into the open onto the land and in doing this good work for King and Country get health and vigour of mind and body such as luxury and idleness can never bring.

Thrift and Business Management.

Business management in farming is needed, needed more than ever if we are to utilize some of this unskilled, unaccustomed labor, which we are calling for. It is true that farm work requires a proportion of skilled labor, highly skilled in a greater variety of ways than any other business, men to plough, to handle the teams, to run the reaper and mower, to manage the live stock, etc., etc.—but with this skilled labor, a proportion too of absolutely ignorant and unskilled labor can be utilized to great advantage if the manager will apply business management with a little patience towards these individuals and will spend some time in instruction and explanation. The time and effort of the skilled farm hands can be saved and utilized to greater effect if they have the assistance of unskilled attendants in many of their operations, and with a little guidance the willing, ignorant helper can soon do much of the hand labor and simpler processes of farm work. The owners of farms can often more profitably employ their time in directing a gang of even unskilled helpers than in doing one man's work even if they are themselves highly skilled in that. This kind of management is often conspicuously needed

on our Canadian farms.

Two great needs are evident in our farm production for immediate improvement. One is more intensive farming, more labor concentrated on smaller areas, more attention to the little details by which waste may be eliminated, the best land to be utilized to the full and all the fertility of the soil to be turned into useful crop instead of being as is now so largely the case allowed to feed useless weeds,—all the fodder carefully saved for the food of the animals and put most skilfully and completely into the animals that can use it to the best advantage for the production of beef, mutton or pork, milk, butter or cheese or eggs or wool. This requires business management. Another form of management which may in this crisis be profitably adopted is to more greatly utilize our best, most improved and most easily tilled fields, even if to do so the best rotation of crop may have to be disturbed. We hope that a couple of years will see us back to normal conditions. Then we can return to the rotation and work for the future can be resumed. This year we want a crop for the present and the special crops which will with the least delay supply the greatest amount of human nutrition.

Keep Only Big Producer.

In our live stock management then we must keep those animals which give the most product of milk, of young stock, those hens which give the greatest number of eggs, those sheep which give the greatest amount of wool. These products are greatly needed and needed now. In dairying almost any cow can be forced by care and judicious feeding to increase her flow, while to-day practically none ought to be killed unless for some very special reason. Our calves ought to be kept and made into veal or raised until they are beef, and so on; common sense and thorough business-like management applied for great and immediate delivery of the greatest possible amount of food. There is, no doubt, much easy-going-slip-shod management applied to our farming. A little patriotism felt, a little determination to help evinced, a little thought and consideration given to the situation and Canadian farmers may do largely greater work for the War than they did last year or the year before.

Now is the time for supreme effort. Now the enemy are weakening, but still defiant, now the Allies are imbued with the one determination to win what they fight for. A great effort will avail and Canada as a Nation, every Canadian as an individual must rise to the occasion, must make greater and greater effort, leaving what is not useful for the prosecution of the War and apply themselves with intelligence, activity and earnestness only to those things which go to make our contribution to the final victory. And the farmers must do their share.

Canada's 1917, Motto.

More Men,
More Food,
More Munitions.

THE WAR'S AFTERMATH.

Improved Industrial Conditions for the World's Workers.

TWO purposes underlie the War so far as the British people are concerned. It is waged for the principle that weak nations have the right to exist. It is waged also for the overthrow of the monstrous inhuman theory that the State is above all moral laws and obligations and the rights and happiness of the human beings who compose it may be sacrificed for its extension and glory.

Thus we in Canada who are in the War as has been promised to our "last man and last dollar" have the stimulus to our energies and the justification to our consciences that the issues are of immense consequence not alone to the Empire to which we owe fealty but, more important still, to the progress of a civilized world.

The real meaning for us of this terrible conflict should be that it is to secure to weaker peoples, whether they be nations or portions of nations, the right to live their lives free from the shadow of enslavement. It will not be enough to save the Belgians from political enslavement under the militarism of Germany if when we have done that, the weaker peoples in Great Britain and in Canada will be obliged to remain under social conditions which for many millions of souls are little if any better than industrial slavery.

Conditions Before the War.

Lest it be thought that slavery is too strong a word to use to describe conditions which preceded the War as they affected large numbers of working people in countries under British institutions let us look at some of the statements which may be found in official reports and economic writings in the mother-land in recent years. Here is a striking one: A third of all the people in Great Britain were living in absolute poverty at the outbreak of the War. Here is another: In five towns of England which were investigated one quarter to one third of the adult workers earned less than six dollars a week. In 1911 out of 45 million of a population nineteen millions of the twenty million workers did not reach the income tax limit of £160 a year. Thirty-nine million of the 45 million were drawing only one half the national income while 13.3 per cent of the people draw the other 50 per cent.

But of all the tests by which poverty may be estimated none equals that which is furnished by a high rate of infant mortality. In England we are told there are many towns where 200 out of every 1,000 children die within 12 months of birth. What poverty means to child life is further strikingly shown by the statement that a child born in working-class Southwark has on an average 14 years less of life ahead of it than a child born in prosperous Hampstead.

Nor does our modern industrial regime make a creditable showing when its results are studied in the United States. It is not alone in old countries that the workers fare badly. If that were the case the condition of American workers as compared with those in older countries would not leave so little to choose between them.

How Workers Fare in the Western States.

In the Immigration Commission Report to Congress in 1909 we find the statement that one third of the families whose wage earners were engaged in manufacturing and mining in the United States had incomes less than \$10 a week. Not that they earn this small weekly wage all the year round, for we are told that in the basic industries the workers are unemployed on the average one fifth of every year. The average size of these families is 5.6 members and elaborate studies of the cost of living made in all parts of that country at the same time showed that a family of five persons require at least \$700 a year to maintain it on a decent standard of living. The significance of this is seen when it is remembered that one-third of all the families have less than \$500 a year. A conservative statistician has estimated the distribution of wealth in the United States. He distributes it as follows:—

"The Rich" who constitute 2 per cent of the population own 60 per cent of all the wealth.

"The Middle Class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth.

Lastly, "The Poor," 65 per cent of the people own only 5 per cent of the country's wealth.

Less than two million of people were thought to own 20% more than the other 90 millions.

Children Pay the Terrible Price.

On this continent it is the same as everywhere—poverty kills. The destruction of the poor is their poverty. An investigation in Johnstown, Pa., which was made by the Federal Children's Bureau adds further proof that the children of the poor pay the terrible price. It was found that in the families where the father's income was \$10 a week or less 256 infants in every 1,000 born died within 12 months. Of the infants born in families whose fathers earned \$25 a week or more only 84 of every 1,000 died within the year. One in four of the children of the poor died as compared with one in twelve of the better-to-do. Between the worst and best conditioned homes in Johnstown the deaths were as 271 is to 50 in every thousand babies. These babies were not born to an equal opportunity to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As for those who do live through the hardships that threaten their earliest years they find life one long futile struggle with no escape through the doors of the imprisonment in which their early environment confines them.

"The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand
Wedged by the pressing of Trade's hand
Against an inward-opening door
Which pressure tightens evermore."

If it be asked whether the workers' conditions are growing as much better as they ought with the passage of years the answer must be, they are not. The distribution of wealth grows more unequal rather than less. Labor obtains a diminishing rather

than an increased proportion of its product. From 1890 to 1912 wealth in the United States increased 188 per cent while the incomes of the workers engaged in manufacturing, mining and transportation increased only 95 per cent. The wage earners' share of the products of manufacturing and mining after subtracting the cost of materials was 45 per cent in 1889 whereas ten years later it was only 40.2 per cent.

How Is It in Canada?

But, it may be said all this has to do with the workers in Great Britain and the United States. How about Canadian wage-earners? Surely they are better off. Unfortunately we have very little statistical information relating to our own workers. We have not studied their conditions and interests as their importance deserves. Some few facts there are in official reports, enough I think to warrant the statement that the industrial conditions in this country generally speaking are practically identical with those across the line. We have not as extreme contrasts between poverty and riches. But our industrial system is the same and it is producing very undesirable contrasts under the development of our enormous resources. One fact we can extract from our last census, that the average wage of all the workers in manufacturing was \$416.63. What the average wage of adult workers was we do not know and so it is not possible to contrast the average family income with the needed income of \$722.80 a year which the Labor Department estimates a family in Canada requires to maintain it on a proper standard of living. Nor do we know what proportion of our workers fall below that minimum standard. Such statistics are one of our first needs after the War.

Applying to Canadian conditions one of the tests we have applied to the United States in order to discover whether as the years pass they are getting more or less of the product of their labor we find from our census that they are getting less. Between 1900 and 1910 the net value of the product of all manufacturing, after subtracting cost of materials, increased 163 per cent whereas the wages and salaries paid increased only 103 per cent.

The Pall of Poverty.

Then too how is it with our workers judged by that terribly impressive test—our infant mortality. Surely some may say we make a better showing in that respect than our neighbors or our motherland. Again we are met by the consequences of our neglect and ignorance. There are no mortality statistics of any kind for the whole Dominion and not even a collection of statistics for a "registration area" such as there is in the United States. "In this matter," to quote one Medical Health Officer, "Canada is still in the semi-barbarous state." Such fragmentary records as there are show that we have cities in Canada where the infant mortality was as high in 1914 as 196 to the 1,000 and even 240 to the 1,000.

We must rid our minds of the fallacy that Canada is free from the pall of poverty which darkens the lives of a portion of the inhabitants of all large cities. We must study the problems which have been proved to be inseparable from the modern industrial regime.

And we must enact those legislative measures which elsewhere are being studied and applied for the mitigation of conditions until it is practicable to remove the cause of them. It appears to be unthinkable that any men who see the black brood of evils which poverty produces—disease, ignorance and crime—can postpone to some distant day to deal with them in whatever manner may be practicable at the time.

The Silver Lining.

Having said this much about the workers' conditions let us now turn to the silver lining of these clouds. What is being done to improve them? No doubt the greatest single reform that could be brought about would be to increase the wages of the worst paid workers. But this is not practicable. The workers through their organizations would themselves strongly oppose any attempt to fix wages by legislation. What must be done therefore must be done in other ways. And one way which legislatures in all the Anglo-Saxon countries are taking is to spread over society as a whole the risks attendant upon those human contingencies which bring loss, want and suffering to large classes of workers and which neither industry nor foresight can elude. Risks which are inescapable in a society organized as ours is.

Old age pensions, workmen's accident and incapacity compensation; maternity allowances on the occasion of the birth of children; pensions to widows with young children so that they may be properly cared for; sickness and health insurance which logically carries one step further the principle underlying accident compensation laws; insurance against unemployment which Great Britain has successfully instituted.

It is impossible here to do more than to give the list of these measures. They constitute what is called Social Insurance. They are justified on three grounds—humanity, justice and efficiency. They are an answer to the appeal to humanity. They offer a measure of justice in that they lessen the inequality of opportunity under which millions of souls are condemned to live their lives. They are also justified, if any man seeks further sanction, by the increased efficiency which these measures have been proved to bring to industry itself.

Let Canada Not Lag Behind.

The War has brought a great forward movement of opinion in Great Britain along these lines. Let us not lag behind. Our soldiers have shown themselves to be as brave as their comrades in the British army. It remains for our statesmen and leaders of opinion to be not less willing than British legislators to recognize the obligation under which society has been placed by the workers from whose ranks our army is so largely drawn. It is fitting that whereas

What an infinite pity it will be if we allow the other parts of the Empire to leave us behind in the march of progress. Have our soldiers not earned this reward, that their heroism shall open wider the doors of opportunity—those inward-opening doors against which the very poor have pressed in helpless misery.

THE PARIS ECONOMIC CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS versus the FREE TRADE POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

WE QUOTE HEREWITH RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIES HELD AT PARIS IN JUNE, 1916, also

COPY OF A LETTER AND MEMORANDUM SIGNED BY INFLUENTIAL FREE TRADERS OF GREAT BRITAIN RECORDING THEIR OPINION THAT NO REASON EXISTS FOR CHANGING THE BRITISH FISCAL FREE TRADE POLICY.

ON June 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th, 1916, representatives of the Allied Governments met in Paris, France, under the Presidency of M. Clementel, French Minister of Commerce, when the following declaration was passed:—

“In face of so grave a peril the Representatives of the Allied Governments consider that it has become their duty, on grounds of necessary and legitimate defence, to adopt and realize from now onward all the measures requisite on the one hand to secure for themselves and for the whole of the markets of neutral countries full economic independence and respect for sound commercial practice, and on the other hand to facilitate the organization on a permanent basis of their economic alliance.”

Following this the representatives of the Allied Governments decided to submit for the approval of their respective Governments the following resolutions:—

Transitory Measures for the Period of Commercial Industrial, Agricultural and Maritime Reconstruction of the Allied Countries.

I.

The Allies declare their common determination to ensure the re-establishment of the countries suffering from acts of destruction, spoliation and unjust requisition, and decided to join in devising means to secure the restoration to those countries, as a prior claim, of their raw materials, industrial and agricultural plant, stock and mercantile fleet, or to assist to re-equip themselves in these respects.

II.

Whereas the War has put an end to all the treaties of commerce between the Allies and the Enemy Powers, and whereas it is of essential importance that, during the period of economic reconstruction which will follow the cessation of hostilities, the liberty of none of the Allies should be hampered by any claim put forward by the Enemy Powers to most-favoured-nation treatment, the Allies agree that the benefit of this treatment shall not be granted to those Powers during a number of years to be fixed by mutual agreement among themselves.

During this number of years the Allies undertake to assure to each other so far as possible compensatory outlets for trade in case consequences detrimental to

their commerce result from the application of the undertaking referred to in the preceding paragraph.

III.

The Allies declare themselves agreed to conserve for the Allied countries, before all others, their natural resources during the whole period of commercial, industrial, agricultural and maritime reconstruction, and for this purpose they undertake to establish special arrangements to facilitate the interchange of these resources.

IV.

In order to defend their commerce, their industry, their agriculture and their navigation against economic aggression resulting from dumping or any other mode of unfair competition the Allies decide to fix by agreement a period of time during which the commerce of the enemy powers shall be submitted to special treatment and the goods originating in their countries shall be subjected either to prohibitions or to a special regime of an effective character.

The Allies will determine by agreement through diplomatic channels the special conditions to be imposed during the above-mentioned period on the ships of the enemy powers.

V.

The Allies will devise the measures to be taken jointly or severally for preventing enemy subjects from exercising, in their territories, certain industries or professions which concern national defence or economic independence.

Permanent Measures of Mutual Assistance and Collaboration among the Allies.

I.

The Allies decided to take the necessary steps without delay to render themselves independent of the enemy countries in so far as regards the raw materials and manufactured articles essential to the normal development of their economic activities.

These steps should be directed to assuring the independence of the Allies not only so far as concerns their sources of supply, but also as regards their financial, commercial and maritime organization.

The Allies will adopt the methods which seem to them most suitable for the carrying out of this resolution, according to the nature of the commodities and having regard to the principles which govern their economic policy.

They may, for example, have recourse either to enterprises subsidised, directed or controlled by the Governments themselves, or to the grant of financial assistance for the encouragement of scientific and technical research and the development of national industries and resources, to customs duties or prohibitions of a temporary or permanent character; or to a combination of these different methods.

Whatever may be the methods adopted, the object aimed at by the Allies is to increase production within their territories as a whole to a sufficient extent to enable them to maintain and develop their economic position and independence in relation to enemy countries.

II.

In order to permit the interchange of their products, the Allies undertake to adopt measures for facilitating their mutual trade relations both by the establishment of direct and rapid land and sea transport services at low rates, and by the extension and improvement of postal, telegraphic and other communications.

III.

The Allies undertake to convene a meeting of technical delegates to draw up measures for the assimilation, so far as may be possible, of their laws governing patents, indications of origin and trade marks.

In regard to patents, trade marks and literary and artistic copyright which have come into existence during the War in enemy countries, the Allies will adopt, so far as possible an identical procedure, to be applied as soon as hostilities cease.

This procedure will be elaborated by the technical delegates of the Allies.

Whereas for the purposes of their common defence against the enemy the Allied Powers have agreed to adopt a common economic policy, on the lines laid down in the Resolutions which have been passed, and whereas it is recognized that the effectiveness of this policy depends absolutely upon these Resolutions being put into operation forthwith, the Representatives of the Allied Governments undertake to recommend their respective Governments to take without delay all the measures, whether temporary or permanent requisite for giving full and complete effect to this policy forthwith, and, to communicate to each other the decisions arrived at to attain that object.

THE FREE TRADE FISCAL POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Immediately the resolutions above referred to were made public, influential Free Traders of Great Britain took steps to prepare a letter and memorandum for submission to the Government recording their opinion that no reason exists for changing the British Fiscal policy.

We quote herewith the letter and also give the names of the gentlemen signing it. It is as follows:—

The Paris Resolutions and Free-Trade.

Sir,—In view of the danger to our Free-trade system threatened by the adhesion of the representatives of his Majesty's Government to the Resolutions passed at the Economic Conference of the Allies in Paris, we desire to record emphatically our opinion that no reason exists for changing our fiscal policy.

We reject as wholly false and dishonest the plea that either economic laws, or the rules of arithmetic and common-sense, are altered by circumstances—that trade after the War will be something quite different from what it was before, and that henceforth bureaucracy and red tape will become good substitutes for the industrial energy and business ability by which our wealth and commerce have been built up in the past.

This War has proved the strength of Free-trade and the weakness of Protection at home and abroad. After the War Free-trade will be more needful than ever to Great Britain and the British Empire; for it is only by returning to cheap production and unfettered intercourse with all nations that we shall be able to resume our commercial and manufacturing superiority, and to find from our incomes the huge revenue necessary to pay pensions to the victims of war and interest on a dead-weight debt of unexampled magnitude.

The above points are further developed in a

memorandum which we attach.—Yours, &c.,

(Sgd.) S. Arnold.	(Sgd.) A. G. C. Harvey.
“ Ashton of Hyde.	“ F. W. Hirst.
“ John E. Barlow.	“ Richard D. Holt.
“ Beauchamp.	“ Edw. T. John.
“ Hugh Bell.	“ R. C. Lambert.
“ Brassey.	“ Leif Jones.
“ J. F. L. Brunner.	“ Loreburn.
“ Bryce.	“ H. W. Massingham.
“ John Burns.	“ P. A. Molteno.
“ T. Burt.	“ Muir Mackenzie.
“ Godfrey Collins.	“ Philip Morrell.
“ Courtney of Penwith.	“ John Simon.
“ W. H. Dickinson.	“ Swire Smith.
“ Eversley.	“ Weardale.
“ Farrer.	“ Francis Webster.
“ C. Fenwick.	“ Aneurin Williams.

It will be seen from the above that the letter was extensively signed by independent Members of the House of Lords and by the House of Commons and by business men of high reputation.

Memorandum on Free Trade.

The memorandum accompanying this letter which was suppressed by all of the London newspapers and appeared only occasionally in abbreviated form in the Provincial press of Great Britain was as follows:—

During some twelve years previous to the outbreak of War a continuous attack was being made upon the system of Free-trade, which had been adopted by the United Kingdom in the middle of the nineteenth century, after long discussion and a very unsatisfactory experience of the Protectionist system, including colonial preference.

This attack was completely repulsed—and the Tariff Reform agitation was palpably weakening.

The advantages claimed for the Free-trade system may be placed in four categories—

(1) THE PURELY ECONOMIC.—The total material result obtained will be the greatest by allowing every person to carry on that trade in which his personal taste or abilities, or the physical circumstances of the country in which he lives, give him the best prospect of success. It is for this reason that as between individuals division of labor is practised.

From this it follows that the material circumstances of life for the individual will be as favorable as possible, and, in fact, wages were higher in proportion to the cost of living in the United Kingdom than elsewhere in Europe. It also follows that the country will be able to support the greatest possible population, which is the foundation of national strength.

It is quite certain that the present population of the United Kingdom could not be supported on food produced in the United Kingdom—it can only exist by producing other commodities and exchanging them for food

produced elsewhere. The need for large importations of food and of raw materials for our industries has led to the organisation of the means for making these importations, i.e., banking, insurance and merchant shipping, in which industries it is not denied that our country is pre-eminent.

Furthermore, the fact that we have been willing to buy from anyone who gave the best value for our money has caused the whole world to be ready to sell to us; the largest area of supply has been at our service, and we have had the organisation necessary to draw from it.

The fact that our wheat supply came in differently from such various sources as Russia, India, Australia, Argentine, North America, has been a great protection against failure of supply, natural or artificial. The same is true to a less striking degree of other articles.

Our industry, being freely exposed to competition, has had to be efficient in order to survive. Many cases could be given where an industry, having grown fat and lethargic on prosperity, has been the subject of foreign competition, and of this competition succeeding until the home industry, finding no help forthcoming from outside, has reformed itself and regained its prosperity by recovering its lost efficiency. The boot trade some years ago will illustrate this.

(2) **REVENUE.**—A Protectionist tariff—like all systems of taxation based upon consumption—causes the taxpayer to pay in proportion to his necessities of expenditure rather than in accordance with his ability to contribute. Moreover, when the whole of the articles consumed are subject to taxation, the State receives all that the consumer pays. But when only a portion is so taxed the State receives only a portion of the consumer's payments, the balance going into private pockets either to swell the profits of the producer or to induce him to carry on a business which he cannot do as efficiently as somebody abroad.

The effect of this is to diminish the solvency of the State, and that precisely in proportion as the tariff is successful in its Protectionist object.

(3) **POLITICAL HONESTY.**—The power by a tariff of granting artificial prosperity to individuals or localities is an obvious source of political corruption which in practice is an almost invariable concomitant of the Protectionist system. This great evil Free-trade avoids.

(4) **INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL.**—The grant to foreigners of free liberty to trade to foreigners removes one cause of international ill-will.

Many think that the aggressive militarism of Germany has been stimulated by the extreme Protectionism (almost amounting to exclusion) of the French colonial system, and by the threat of loss of valuable trade contained in the proposals of preferential trading between the various parts of the British Empire. In this connection, it must be observed that the adoption of a Protectionist system by the

United Kingdom would deprive us of our justification for requiring India to practise Free-trade, and that the adoption of Protection by India and the Crown Colonies would cause the rest of the world to accept less willingly the fact that British domination extends over so large a part of the world. It would also mean that the defence of the Empire could only be secured by a much enhanced expenditure.

It is now suggested that in consequence of something learnt during the War the Free-trade system ought to be abandoned or modified.

Which of the four main foundations of the Free-trade argument has been weakened by our experiences?

NO. 4 INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL.—The horrors of this War have surely strengthened the argument in favor of avoiding any policy likely to inflame international ill-will in future. No person unfit for a lunatic asylum can wish that human beings should be deprived of any honorable reason for desiring peace on earth. The value of the goodwill of neutrals must be equally manifest to all.

NO. 3. POLITICAL HONESTY.—Nothing that has happened during the War can make anyone less anxious to protect statesmen and legislators from temptation in this respect.

NO. 2. REVENUE.—The United Kingdom—the only Free-trader—is the most solvent of the Entente Powers, and is now supporting the whole edifice on its financial side. An amazing revenue has been raised with comparatively little discontent. On the other hand, the Protectionist countries have been obliged to abandon their protection to a considerable extent in order to obtain goods urgently required, while such discontent as exists in the United Kingdom is due mainly to the rise in the price of commodities brought about by natural causes which could only have been further accentuated by a Protectionist tariff.

NO. 1 ECONOMIC.—Free-trade has been nobly vindicated by the War. Compare the positions of France and the United Kingdom.

By the enemy's occupation of the principal manufacturing districts, and the withdrawal of the bulk of the active male population for fighting, France has been obliged to import from overseas on credit.

As her Protectionist policy had prevented the development of her mercantile marine or her ports, this would have been physically impossible but for the assistance of the United Kingdom; as it is, it has been difficult, and has placed a great strain on a mercantile marine containing half the world's tonnage.

Had the United Kingdom been an unfriendly neutral, France and Italy must have collapsed for economic reasons.

The fact that the United Kingdom has by its Free-trade policy kept the door open to all the products of the world has enabled us to draw on all the resources of the world in our own and our Allies' time of necessity. To this we

owe our staying power and the means of organising and equipping a gigantic army.

What reasons have been given for abandoning Free-trade?

Mainly hatred of Prussianism and a desire to punish the German people for the conduct of their Government in provoking hostilities and for its methods of warfare.

These are, of course, natural feelings, which nearly 1,900 years of Christian teaching have not eradicated, but will indulgence in them be of any real advantage to us or our Allies after the War?

In the first place, the world, and especially the belligerents, will be much poorer, and there will be every reason why we should maintain a maximum of production, for which Free-trade and free imports are necessary.

Then if we punish Germany in such a manner we make her poorer, and therefore less able to make material restitution to those whom she has wronged; while by closing the avenues of international trade to Germany, she would be thrown back into brooding on herself and her grievances, and to the organisation of more militarism as the only means of escape from a position intolerable to her civil population.

This would be the blackest future for the whole world.

Then it is suggested that the Entente might be further cemented by a system of tariffs and preferential trading. Is this probable in itself, having regard to the complicated interests involved? The strongest argument used by Free-traders in the past has been that under Colonial Preference nothing like approximately equal benefits could be given to each colony, and that in any case the benefits would go to certain sets of producers, while the losses would go to the consumers, including all the non-favored producers.

If the Allies are brought in, the problem becomes far more difficult. In the production of food supplies Russia is the greatest competitor of Australia and Canada, except the two neutrals—the Argentine and the U.S.A.

—whose friendliness in this War has been invaluable to us.

Russia, moreover, declares she cannot lose the German market except on terms which she thinks it inconceivable that her Allies will give. France already realises that a Protectionist system in England must be injurious to her peculiar export trade in luxuries.

Then we are told that Germany has obtained a monopoly of certain trades which we cannot do without, and the instances usually given are dyes and glass.

The dye trade—invented in England—was lost by want of energy, and, it is said, by the difficulties made by the revenue authorities in the use of alcohol for manufacture.

Both these can be remedied without fiscal changes. No doubt the shortage of dyes—common to the whole world except blockaded Germany—has caused much inconvenience and loss to certain trade to which it is a legitimate cause for anxiety; but it does not materially diminish our capacity for conducting war, at the conclusion of which dyes will again be procurable.

There was a shortage of optical instruments at first, but this has been got over, though, no doubt, at a greatly increased price. There is, however, no reason to believe that any of the belligerent countries were by reason of their Protectionist system less dependent upon foreign countries for important supplies of raw materials or manufactured articles than was the United Kingdom.

No one can expect under any fiscal system to be perfectly prepared for such a gigantic cataclysm as this War. But surely our country has stood the shock best.

Free-trade has been tested in peace—it was the best system. It has now been tested in war, and has again proved the best system.

Do not let us abandon it; do not let us, in the late Lord Goschen's memorable words, lightly gamble with the food of the people.

June 20th, 1916.

CANADA'S PUBLIC DEBT.

Total Net Debt, September, 1911.....	\$323,938,768.74	Total Net Debt, March, 1916.....	\$555,027,542.73
“ “ “ September, 1915.....	484,841,633.73	“ “ “ April, 1916.....	573,213,386.11
“ “ “ November, 1915.....	501,668,167.71	“ “ “ May, 1916.....	577,896,690.85
“ “ “ December, 1915.....	515,144,019.37	“ “ “ June, 1916.....	593,910,637.81
“ “ “ January, 1916.....	527,488,999.94	“ “ “ October, 1916.....	695,778,516.55
“ “ “ February, 1916.....	537,530,696.21	“ “ “ November, 1916.....	706,128,082.14
		“ “ “ December 31, 1916	722,111,449.67

THE CONSCRIPTION REFERENDUM IN AUSTRALIA.

DETAILS of the conscription campaign in Australia launched by Premier Hughes on his return from England, and of the defeat of the proposal by popular referendum, are now coming to Canada through the medium of the newspapers of the Commonwealth. They point an interesting moral, and teach a valuable lesson. An effort, little short of actual compulsion, was made to ensure a vote favorable to conscription. The strongest possible outside influences were brought to bear apparently through the instigation of Premier Hughes. But the free and democratic people of Australia, who under voluntary enlistment had shown the strongest loyalty to the cause of the Allies and the Empire, refused to sanction conscription, in spite of all these influences.

When Premier Hughes returned to Australia from England on August 7th last, it was generally anticipated, from his utterances while in England, that he would at once put conscription into effect, in the Commonwealth. Instead he decided upon a conscription referendum, and in the following terms in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on August 30th, outlined the policy of his government:—

"In view of certain urgent and grave communications from the War Council of Great Britain, and of the present state of the War, and the duty of Australia in regard thereto, and as a result of long and earnest deliberation the Government has arrived at the conclusion that the voluntary system of recruiting cannot be relied upon to supply that steady stream of reinforcements necessary to maintain the Australian Expeditionary Forces at their full strength. As the Government is very strongly of the opinion that it is the plain duty of Australia to do this, and as it believes that their opinion is one which is held by the country generally, it has formulated a policy which it believes to be at once adequate to meet the gravity of our circumstances and compatible with the principles of democratic government under which it is our privilege to live. . . .

"People's Voice Must Be Heard."

"But this is a country where the people rule; and in this crisis—in which their future is concerned—their voice must be heard. The will of the nation must be ascertained. Autocracy forces its decrees upon the people—democracy ascertains and then carries out the wishes of the people. In these circumstances the Government considers that there is but one course to pursue, namely, to ask the electors for their authority to make up the deficiency by compulsion. Set out briefly, the policy of the Government is to take a referendum of the people at the earliest possible moment upon the question whether they approve of compulsory overseas service to the extent necessary to keep our Expeditionary Forces at their full strength. If the majority of the people approve, compulsion will be applied to the extent that voluntaryism fails. Otherwise it will not."

The Conscription Manifesto.

Later, on September 18th, when the details for the referendum on conscription had been completed, Premier Hughes issued a manifesto to the citizens of Australia appealing for support and requesting the electors of Australia to vote in favor of conscription, thus backing up the government in its efforts to secure additional recruits for the prosecution of the War. Extracts from the manifesto are herewith quoted:—

tion of the War. Extracts from the manifesto are herewith quoted:—

September 18th, 1916.

Fellow-citizens,—

"After more than two years of the most dreadful War the world has known, Australia is called upon to face the test of manhood. We, boasting our freedom, are called upon to prove ourselves worthy to be free.

"Though Europe has been drenched with blood, innocent non-combatants foully murdered or subjected to unspeakable outrages, millions of helpless men, women, and little children driven from their homes, their beloved country ravaged by fire and sword, not the faintest breath of such horrors has touched these favored shores. Though many of our brave soldiers have died on the battlefield, this nation in its own home has pursued its peaceful way as though War did not exist, secure and prosperous. But we, too, must now face the dread realities of War. We have made many sacrifices, but we know nothing of the agonies which France, Belgium, Russia, and Serbia have endured.

"Now is the hour Australia is called upon to gird up her loins and make her great effort. Now is the hour in which, if we but obey the call to duty, the enemy can be crushed, the War shortened, and triumphant victory and lasting peace ensured.

"Our duty and our interests alike point the way we must go. I appeal to every individual citizen of Australia to sweep aside the mists of indifference, error, and misunderstanding and face the great realities of the hour.

A Supreme Effort—The Price of Victory.

"This is a War to the death, a fight to the finish. The future of Australia and the hopes of Australian democracy hang upon victory. We are called upon to do our share in the great offensive against our victory. We are not called upon to do more than our share, but our share we must do. As the strain becomes greater, so we must endure more and endeavor more.

"The Empire and its Allies are making a supreme effort to crush the enemy. Britain is calling up more men. New Zealand is calling up more men. Canada is calling up more men. Upon us rests the same burden; we, too, must make the same sacrifice.

Australia Must Do Her Share.

"What we are expected to do in this great hour has been stated in precise terms. We are to keep our five divisions up to their full strength. . . . For September of this year 32,500 men are required, and for each subsequent month 16,500 men, to maintain our five divisions in the field. . . . Up to date we have sent over 220,000 men overseas, and have 44,000 in camp. . . . If Australia had done as well as Britain she would have an army of over 500,000 instead of one under 300,000.

We Must Get the Men.

"We must supply the men asked for. It is the price we are asked to pay for our national existence and our liberties. We must get the men; so much is certain. The question then is, how shall we get them? It is, unfortunately, only too apparent that the voluntary system of recruiting our armies does not ensure them. For many months, indeed, the numbers of volunteers have been steadily diminishing. In June, July, and August less than one-third of the number required have enrolled. If voluntaryism fails, is the nation to fail, where to fail is to perish? No patriot can deny the necessity of reinforcements; no democrat can impugn the right of the nation to demand this duty from its citizens.

"Abraham Lincoln, defending the Conscription Act

passed by Congress to reinforce by compulsion the Northern army during the American Civil War, when voluntarism had failed, said:—"Men can be had only voluntarily or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription.

The Turning-Point.

"The compulsory draft was the turning point in the great Civil War. It proved to the South and to the world that the Northern States were determined to conquer. Lincoln's belief in his fellow-countrymen was justified. .

"As it was in the Northern States in Lincoln's time, so it is with us to-day. Like them, we fight in the cause of liberty. Voluntarism has failed us as it failed them. And we, like them—unless we confess ourselves degenerate—must tread the path they trod, along which they strode resistlessly to victory.

Voluntarism and the Government Proposals.

"The proposals of the Government do not destroy voluntarism—rather do they stimulate it to nobler effort. If it prove itself worthy, then the need for compulsion ceases. But we must get the men. Australia must play her part in this great struggle. The proposals of the Government ensure this.

The Call to Duty.

"Fellow-citizens, your kinsmen and your Allies across the sea look to you to do your duty. Your comrades in the Australian armies whose glorious valour has covered the name of Australia with undying lustre, call to you to come and stand by their side. Were Australia to fail on October 28th, Democracy and Labor would have failed. But Australia must not fail. In the name of Australian Democracy, I adjure every man and woman in the Commonwealth to vote "YES."

Both Political Parties United.

Considerable surprise was expressed by the Leaders of the Opposition party both in the House of Representatives and Senate and by leading newspapers at Premier Hughes' referendum on conscription instead of direct conscription but all stated publicly that they would give his policy of a referendum their hearty support.

The referendum campaign was launched and Premier Hughes and his conscriptionist followers held meetings in every city, town and village in Australia. The anti-conscriptionists were also busy holding meetings and were enthusiastically received.

The referendum was to be taken on the following question:

The Referendum Question.

"Are you in favor of the Government having, in this grave emergency, the same compulsory powers over citizens in regard to requiring their military service, for the term of the War, outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?"

Conscription Slogan.

The slogans of the conscriptionist party were many, and striking.

"Vote:

"Yes, for Australia.

"No, for the Kaiser,"

was one.

Another was:

"Australia wants Yes.

"The Kaiser wants No."

Still another was:

"Vote:

"Yes, and succor the Anzacs.

"No, and abandon them."

The posters of the anti-conscriptionists were quite as effective. One in particular depicted a woman with woe on her face, condemning her son and the sons of others to die by placing her vote in favor of conscription in the ballot box. In the background, in the shadow, was a caricature of Premier Hughes, with a strong resemblance to His Satanic Majesty. This poster which was widely circulated is said to have had a tremendous effect upon the voting, especially among the women.

Outside Interference.

As the campaign proceeded Premier Hughes' appeals were supplemented by the receipt on the part of the Premier of many telegraphic communications from British statesmen, and high officers in the European armies, including Mr. Bonar Law, Arthur Henderson, M.P., John Hodge, M.P., General Sir Douglas Haig, General Joffre and others, urging the Australian electorate to vote for conscription. These messages were all pretty well in the same tone. The following are quotations from samples received:—

British Statesmen Sent Messages.

To the Premier of Australia from MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P., ex-Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor party, and then a Minister and Labor adviser of the Government, dated Oct. 20th, as follows:—

"We are watching with interest the efforts you are making to assist in supplying the army with more men, which at the present moment is the supreme need of the Empire. . . .

"More men are needed to defend our liberty and to assert national rights—in fact, all that is best in civilization, democracy, and freedom breaks down. In these circumstances I say to the workers of Australia, as I said to the trades unionists of the Mother Country:—Between the issue of compulsion and defeat there can be no room for doubt; we applied compulsion to extend trade unionism, to secure more drastic social re-organization, to improve the health of the people, to secure greater equality in the distribution of wealth; we must not object to use the same means to save not only our nation or Empire but small nations everywhere, from the brutal domination of the

most highly organized military power.

"The men of Australia, having from the commencement of the War realized its menacing possibilities, will, I feel confident, support their Government, and continue to display that 'Imperial unity' which hitherto has proved so beneficial to us and our allies and by which alone final, complete victory can be made secure."

From MR. JOHN HODGE, British M.P., ex-Chairman of the Parliamentary party, as follows:—

"I have been reading with great interest of the campaign in Australia. I have no desire to interfere in Australian politics, but it seems to me great misapprehension prevails in respect to the application of conscription in this country. Speaking as secretary of an organization of 40,000 men, we have had none of the troubles which have been suggested, and the great volume of opinion has been that it is the only fair method to adopt, as there was no sense in the willing going to make sacrifices for those who were unwilling to do anything for the maintenance of freedom and liberty. There can be no doubt that more men are needed, not only to keep up the strength of the Australian divisions but throughout the army, and the chances are that we shall have to extend the age to 45.

From MR. GEORGE N. BARNES, of Blackfriars, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, as follows:—

"There need be no misunderstanding as to the working of compulsion in this country. There has been practically no effort to foist industrial conscription on us, and as long as trades unionism does its duty as protector of labor there can be none.

"Do not believe for one moment that conscription will be continued after the War; and its enforcement during the War for the saving of the nation has not contributed to make it permanent. Unionism has had no reason to regret it."

On October 23rd, the Premier, Mr. Hughes received from MR. BONAR LAW, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the following cable:—

"I gather that statements have been made in Australia to the effect that arrangements are in contemplation here for the introduction of colored or cheap labor into Australia to take the place of men sent to the front. If so, I request that your Government will issue an immediate and categorical denial. It is absolutely untrue that any such intention or desire exists on the part of His Majesty's Government, the Government of India, or the Governments of any British possessions."

Statesmen from France send Messages urging Conscription

On October 22nd, the Prime Minister, Mr.

Hughes, received a cable from M. ARISTIDE BRIAND, Prime Minister of France, the following message:—

"The whole French nation is watching with intense sympathy your efforts to maintain the strength of the Australian forces in the fighting on our front. We here not only feel deeply grateful to those gallant comrades in arms who have come from such distant parts to fight side by side with us in defence of our invaded territory; but we also feel the liveliest admiration for such magnificent soldiers, who are fully equal to the greatest of the present and all time. I have seen them at the front, and I shall never forget the impression they made on me. The warm popular feeling towards them in France is enough to show that my impression is shared by the whole nation.

"We French people attribute so much importance to the invaluable help of the Commonwealth of Australia, we admire so much what she has done for our great common cause, that we cannot do otherwise than wish to see her fully prepared to go with us to the end."

Publicity was also given to a declaration made by M. THOMAS, French Minister for Munitions. The declaration was as follows:—

"There must be no confusion about the serious question of compulsory service. Its opponents in Australia cannot invoke any opposition to compulsory military service on the part of French Socialists. What French Socialists discussed with other parties was especially the duration of the period of service in barracks; they discussed the number and the length of periods of training which citizens should undergo, but as regards the question itself there can be no doubt whatever that so long as nations are relied upon to defend themselves, so long as they need an army, there can be no other conception than that of compulsory service. In France the idea of compulsory service is closely bound up with the democratic movement; it is a consequence of the idea of equality between all citizens."

Commanding Officers of the European Armies urged Conscription upon the Electorate.

On Saturday, October 21st, the Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, received the following message from GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces on the Western front:—

"Australian divisions in France are far below strength, and drafts are not arriving in sufficient numbers. The divisions have fought splendidly, and their heroic efforts will live in history, but they cannot continue to achieve results unless their strength is kept up. Successes of past few months justify absolute confidence in power to win final victory. But it is not yet won. To complete our work and

ensure a future enduring peace utmost efforts of Empire and Allies are required for long time yet. I hope strong drafts for your divisions will be dispatched and their strength maintained."

General Joffre's Message.

GENERAL JOFFRE (Generalissimo of the French Armies) made the following reply to an Australian press representative visiting the West front when asked for a statement on Oct. 24th.—

"Say that we are in the decisive phase of the War. This phase will continue for some time, and its duration can be shortened only by bringing into full motion the whole of the resources of the Allied Nations.

"We have fought for more than two years. May I then say that these magnificent soldiers of Anzac can become an important factor in the final victory, and in hastening its arrival, if Australia, whence they spring, works without delay to ensure the keeping up of their effectives and the increase of their units. France has borne from the outset a great part of the weight of the common war. She has willingly endured great sacrifices, but she has resolved to consecrate to the very end her living and material forces to the great task. I am convinced, for my part, that your fellow-countrymen will follow her example without hesitation, that they will not like to leave to others the task and the glory of avenging their dead, and that they will be eager to take every part that belongs to them in the final triumph."

On Saturday, October 21st, the Mayor of Kalgoorlie, in response to a request, received a message from General Birdwood, Commander of the Australian army in France, as follows:—

"The Anzacs feel sure that Australia will see that the sacrifices already made are not in vain, which may be the case unless we are well assured that men will be forthcoming to keep effective and maintain at full strength the magnificent battalions, batteries, and companies which have made history, and have established tradition."

The Churches and Conscription.

All the various denominational churches of Australia made an appeal to the electors. The Anglican General Synod of the Church of England, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Archbishop Clune of the Roman Catholic Church, the Annual Session of the Conference of the Congregational Union of the Congregational Church, the Baptist Union of the Baptist Church, all passed resolutions strongly supporting conscription. The Methodist Church read from their pulpits a circular letter endorsing conscription.

The Final Appeal.

On the last day of the campaign, October 27th the following special appeals were made by Mr. Hughes, the Premier, and by Mr. Joseph Cook, Leader of the Opposition. Mr. Hughes' message was:—

"I want to warn the electors of Australia against the methods of the anti-conscriptionist party. They will resort to every device to delude and confuse the electors who are going to vote 'Yes.' The most outrageous statements and the grossest misrepresentations will be made to influence the electors. I appeal to the electors to treat those statements with the contempt they deserve. Let them do their duty to the country. Vote 'Yes,' and fear not."

Mr. Cook's message was:—

"After a very hard month's campaigning I am leaving for home. My firm opinion is that Australia will vote 'Yes.' She will swing into line with Great Britain on this matter. We shall feel once more the thrill of those lines of Burns:

"Be Briton still to Britain true,
Among ourselves united,
For never but by British hands
Must British wrongs be righted."

Another final message was handed out by Mr. Hughes late Friday night, October 27th, as follows:—

"Australia expects that every man and women this day will do their duty and vote 'YES.'"

The Resignation of Three Ministers.

One of the sensations of the campaign was the resignation of three of Mr. Hughes' Ministers on the day before the polling was to take place. Those who resigned were: Mr. W. G. Higgs, Treasurer, Mr. Albert Gardiner, Vice-President of the Executive Council and Assistant Minister for Defence, and Senator E. J. Russell, Assistant Minister.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, was the Leader of a Ministry which included five anti-conscriptionists and three besides himself who supported his policy for a referendum on conscription.

The reason for the resignation of these Ministers was an action of the Prime Minister's in issuing just before polling day regulations under the War Precautions Act providing that military questions should be put to voters in the polling booth.

The Vote.

The vote was taken and the final recording was as follows:—

The number of votes cast "Yes" or in favor of conscription was.....1,084,918
 The number of votes cast "No" or against conscription was.....1,146,198
 Thus it will be seen that a majority was recorded against conscription of..... 61,280

Probably in no country, and on no issue was ever such tremendous influence brought to bear upon the electorate, as was exerted in this Australian referendum on conscription. The leaders of both political parties were in favor of the principle. The churches irrespective of creed, united in their appeals for it. And yet the measure was defeated decisively. Comment, or reflection upon the people's decision is unnecessary.

Considering what Australia has done to assist in this great War, in supplying ships, equipping and sending forward her soldiers, the sacrifices at Gallipoli and in France, contributing her money for all necessary purposes, nobody can think for a moment

that her decision in this matter of conscription is due to indifference to the cause for which she, the Empire, and the Allies are fighting.

In view of the efforts that were made, of the pressure that was exerted by the political Leaders of the Commonwealth, and from outside by outstanding personalities, it is evident that the instinctive feeling of democracy against compulsion must have a tremendous hold upon the people there.

There is no more democratic country in the world than Australia. The people cherish free British institutions under which their Constitution is formed. They are a thinking people who reason and decide for themselves. When they rejected conscription they did so, because they felt it was the proper action to take in a free democratic country. They may also have resented what might well be considered as outside interference.

The whole Empire can well take a lesson from their decision.

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

October, 1916.

- October.
 - 1 HON. E. L. PATENAUDE at Conservative rally at Berthierville, Que. Other speakers were SENATOR BEAUBIEN, J. A. BARRETTE, M.P. (Berthier), and A. BELLEMARE, M.P. (Maskinonge).
 - HON. P. E. BLONDIN at Ste. Genevieve de Batiscan, Que. Farewell meeting to P. E. LAMARCHE at Nicolet, Que. Addresses by Mr. Lamarche and H. Bourassa.
 - 2 Meeting in interests of Roch Lanctot, M.P., at St. Remi.
 - 3 NORTH TORONTO CONSERVATIVES elect officers.
 - 3 HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX addressed recruiting meeting for Jewish Company at Montreal.
 - 5 VANCOUVER, B.C. LIBERALS annual meeting addressed by Joseph Martin, M.P.
 - SIR SAM HUGHES arrived at Halifax from England.
 - 8 Meeting at Drummondville, Que., addressed by SENATOR BEAUBIEN and others.
 - Meeting at Quebec addressed by HON. T. C. CASGRAIN.
 - Meeting at L'Assomption, Que., addressed by Oscar Gladu, P. A. Seguin, M.P. and others.
 - 10 SIR GEORGE FOSTER at banquet in his honor at Winnipeg.
 - 11 LIBERAL CLUB FEDERATION OF ONTARIO annual banquet at London. Addresses by SIR WILFRID LAURIER, N. W. ROWELL, K.C., HON. GEO. P. GRAHAM, S. W. JACOBS, K.C. and HON. T. C. NORRIS.
 - 12 SIR WILFRID LAURIER addressed Women's Canadian Club, London, Ont.
 - 13 Organization meeting of VERDUN (Que.) CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION, addressed by HON. C. J. DOHERTY and HON. E. L. PATENAUDE.
 - 14 REFORM CLUB OF MONTREAL luncheon in honor of HON. SYDNEY FISHER, addressed by MR. FISHER, HON. T. C. NORRIS, HON. W. S. FIELDING.
 - 15 Meeting at Ottawa ("Education and Patriotism") presided over by SIR WILFRID LAURIER.
 - Meeting at BEAUHARNOIS (Que.), addressed by HON. E. L. PATENAUDE.
 - Liberal rally at Vercheres, Que., addressed by J. L. Perron, K.C., Mr. Thibaudeau, K.C., A. Beaudry, M.L.A., and Oscar Gladu.
 - Liberals at Vaudreuil (Que.) addressed by G. BOYER, M.P., L. J. GAUTHIER, M.P., JOS. DEMERS, M.P. and others.
 - 16 HON. WALTER SCOTT resigned Premiership of Saskatchewan. Meeting at L'Isle Bizard, Que., addressed by J. S. A. Ashby, M.P.P., D. A. Lafortune, K.C. and others.
 - 18 HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX before University Club, Ottawa.
 - 19 W. M. MARTIN, M.P. accepted Premiership of Saskatchewan.
 - 20 MOOSE JAW (Sask.) LIBERALS in annual meeting, addressed by W. E. KNOWLES, M.P., HON. G. A. LANGLEY and HON. W. F. A. TURGEON.
 - HOCHELAGA (Que.) LIBERALS form association at Ste. Cune-gonde. Addresses by Oscar Gladu and Severin Letourneau, M.P.P.
 - 21 COL. HUGH CLARK, M.P. (North Bruce), appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary for External Affairs.
 - 22 HON. P. E. BLONDIN at Grand Mere, Que.
 - Meeting at Valleyfield (Que.) addressed by L. J. Papineau, M.P. (Beauharnois), Jos. Demers, M.P. (St. Johns), and Mr. Oscar Gladu.
 - 24 SIR THOS. WHITE addressed Halifax Board of Trade.
 - WESTMOUNT (Que.) CONSERVATIVES annual meeting.
 - 26 OTTAWA REFORM ASSOCIATION, annual meeting, addressed by HON. SYDNEY FISHER, H. B. MCGIVERIN, ex-M.P., C. M. GODDARD and AUGUSTE LEMIEUX, K.C.
 - 27 HUGH CLARK, M.P. (North Bruce), sworn in as Parliamentary Under-Secretary for External Affairs.
 - 28 MONTREAL REFORM CLUB addressed by MR. F. B. CARVELL, M.P.
 - LIBERALS of united counties of Montcalm-Assomption and of

- Two Mountains-Laval met at St. Jacques l'achigan and chose Federa candidates: P. A. SEGUIN, M.P. (Assomption) for former, and J. A. C. ETHIER, M.P. (Two Mountains) for latter.
- Meeting at St. Eustache (Que.), addressed by G. BOYER, M.P. (Vaudreuil) and others.
- 29 SIR GEORGE FOSTER addressed congregation St. James Methodist Church, Montreal.
- Conservative meeting at Vercheres (Que.), addressed by J. H. RAINVILLE, M.P., HON. T. C. CASGRAIN and HON. E. L. PATENAUDE.
- 30 SIR GEORGE FOSTER addressed Canadian Club, Montreal.
- LACHINE (Que.) LIBERALS rally in honor of J. H. Ashby, M.L.A. Speeches by SENATOR CASGRAIN, SENATOR BOYER, D. A. LAFORTUNE, M.P. and J. A. C. ETHIER, M.P.

November, 1916

- November.
 - 1 SIR WILFRID LAURIER addressed meeting at Convocation Hall, Toronto.
 - SIR GEORGE PERLEY appointed Canadian Overseas Minister of Militia.
 - 2 TODMORDEN (Ont.) CONSERVATIVES annual meeting.
 - 3 HON. A. E. KEMP at Ward I, Conservative Association, Toronto.
 - 5 HON. E. L. PATENAUDE addressed meeting at St. Jean Chrysostome, Que.
 - 6 SIR GEORGE FOSTER addressed Canadian Club, Toronto.
 - HON. J. D. HAZEN addressed Board of Trade, St. John, N.B.
 - 7 QUEBEC LEGISLATURE OPENED SESSION.
 - SIR GEORGE FOSTER at Empire Club, Toronto.
 - HON. ROBERT ROGERS addressed meeting for Jewish Company, Montreal.
 - 9 SIR SAM HUGHES addressed meetings in Metropolitan Church and the Empire Club, Toronto.
 - 10 SIR SAM HUGHES addressed Ward Three Conservative Association, Toronto.
 - 11 Conservative Association of Montreal, addressed by HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN, HON. C. J. DOHERTY and HON. E. L. PATENAUDE.
 - THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE arrived at Halifax.
 - 12 HON. E. L. PATENAUDE addressed meeting at Ste. Rose, Que.
 - SIR GEORGE FOSTER addressed meeting at St. John, N.B.
 - 13 HON. W. J. ROCHE addressed Canadian Club, Cleveland, Ohio.

(Continued on next page)

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- SIR SAM HUGHES resigned as Minister of Militia.
W. F. MacLEAN, M.P., addressed Canadian Club, Toronto.
Meeting at Halifax, addressed by HON. G. MURRAY, SIR GEO. FOSTER and G. S. CAMPBELL.
- 15 WEST ELGIN (Ont.) LIBERALS in convention at Dutton select Wm. Tolmie as Federal candidate. Speeches by F. F. PARDEE, M.P. and others.
- 16 Eastern Ontario Liberals in convention at Ottawa, addressed by HON. W. S. FIELDING, HON. G. P. GRAHAM, H. B. McGIVERIN and others.
Liberal banquet at Ottawa addressed by SIR WILFRID LAURIER, SENATOR BELCOURT, HON. G. P. GRAHAM, HON. CHAS. MURPHY, HON. A. C. HARDY and others.
EAST ELGIN (Ont.) LIBERALS convene at Aylmer to choose candidate for local legislature.
Conservative meeting at Montreal addressed by HON. E. L. PATENAUDE and others.
- 17 Hon. James S. Duff, Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, died at Alliston.
KINGSTON (Ont.) LIBERALS annual meeting.
SOUTH OXFORD (Ont.) LIBERALS convene at Tillsonburg.
- 18 SIR ROBERT BORDEN addressed Lawyers' Club, New York. South-West Toronto Liberals addressed by H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.P.
New dredge launched at Montreal. Addresses by HON. J. D. HAZEN, E. M. MacDONALD, M.P. and others.
- 19 Conservative meeting at Fraserville, Que., addressed by HON. T. C. CASGRAIN and HON. E. L. PATENAUDE.
- 20 SIR GEORGE FOSTER addressed Women's Canadian Club, Ottawa.
SIR WILFRID LAURIER celebrated his 75th birthday.
HON. ROBERT ROGERS addressed Canadian Club of Montreal.
HON. A. E. KEMP addressed Ward Two Conservatives, Toronto.
- 21 PARRY SOUND (Ont.) LIBERALS in convention at Elmsdale, choose Mr. N. Hawkin as Federal candidate. Speech by F. F. PARDEE, M.P.
- 23 SIR WILFRID LAURIER addressed Civil Engineers at Ottawa. HON. A. E. KEMP sworn in at Ottawa as Minister of Militia. Liberal government in British Columbia installed.
- 24 Twelfth annual meeting General Reform Association of Toronto. Speeches by HON. GEO. P. GRAHAM, N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.P., SIR ALLAN AYLESWORTH, E. M. MacDONALD, M.P., and others.
Red Cross Society meeting at Ottawa addressed by HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, SIR WILFRID LAURIER, SIR ROBERT BORDEN and others.
- 25 Reform Club of Montreal addressed by A. VERVILLE, M.P., (Maisonneuve).
- 28 Halifax, N.S., Conservatives annual meeting.
- 29 Liberal meeting at St. Henry (Que.), addressed by S. LETOURNEAU, K.C., M.P.P., L. J. GAUTHIER, M.P. (Ste. Hyacinthe), and others.
- 30 HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX addressed American Women's Club of Montreal.
Canadian Club of Orangeville (Ont.), addressed by COL. CURRIE, M.P.
- December, 1916
- December.
- 1 HON. GEO. P. GRAHAM addressed Caledonian Society of Montreal.
EAST LAMBTON (Ont.) LIBERALS met at Watford. Speeches by F. F. PARDEE, M.P., and others.
- 2 MONTREAL REFORM CLUB addressed by SENATOR N. A. BELCOURT.
NORTH OXFORD (Ont.) LIBERALS annual meeting at Woodstock. Speeches by E. W. NESBITT, M.P. and N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.P.
- 4 SENATOR J. K. KERR, K.C., died at Toronto.
Red Cross meeting at Chesterville (Ont.), addressed by HON. A. BRODER, M.P., HON. T. W. McGARRY and others.
WESTMORELAND (N.B.) LIBERALS in convention at Moncton, chose A. B. COPP, M.P., as next Federal candidate.
WESTMORELAND (N.B.) CONSERVATIVES convened at Dorchester chose Dr. C. B. Price as next Federal candidate.
- 5 HALIFAX COUNTY (N.S.) LIBERALS annual meeting at Halifax. Speeches by HON. A. K. MacLEAN, M.P., HON. F. H. ARMSTRONG and others.
GRENVILLE (Ont.) CONSERVATIVES annual meeting at Spencerville.
- 6 National Service campaign opened at Montreal. Speeches by SIR ROBERT BORDEN, R. B. BENNETT, M.P., HON. E. L. PATENAUDE, and others.
Central Ontario Liberals convene at Belleville. Addresses by HON. GEO. P. GRAHAM, N. W. ROWELL, M.P.P., and others.
- 7 National Service meeting at Quebec, addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN, SIR LOMER GOUIN and HON. T. C. CASGRAIN.
Halifax Board of Trade addressed by A. K. MacLEAN, M.P.
- 8 Recruiting meeting at Quebec addressed by SIR WILFRID LAURIER.
- 9 SIR GEORGE FOSTER addressed Pennsylvania Society, New York.
NORTH SIMCOE (Ont.) LIBERALS in convention at Stayner, chose E. C. Drury as Federal candidate. Speech by HON. G. P. GRAHAM.
Reform Club of Montreal addressed by E. F. B. Johnston, K.C.
- 11 National Service meetings in Winnipeg, addressed by PREMIER NORRIS, SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.

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- 12 HON. J. D. HAZEN addressed Hamilton Canadian Club. Wm. Gray, M.P. for London (Ont.) died.
National Service meeting at Saskatoon addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
- 13 EAST NIPISSING (Ont.) LIBERALS convene at North Bay.
National Service meetings at Edmonton addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
- 14 HON. A. E. KEMP, Minister of Militia, elected by acclamation in East Toronto.
Montreal Conservatives addressed by HON. ROBERT ROGERS.
WEST SIMCOE (Ont.) CONSERVATIVES convene at Allistown.
- 15 National Service meetings at Vancouver addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
Liberal convention at Limerick (Sask.), form association and elect officers.
- 16 Banquet to Hon. A. E. Kemp at Toronto. Speeches by HON. A. E. KEMP, PREMIER HEARST and others.
National Service meeting at Victoria, B.C., addressed by PREMIER BREWSTER, SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
Canadian Club, Ottawa, addressed by J. W. Flavelle, Imperial Munitions Board.
- 18 SOUTH YORK (Ont.) CONSERVATIVES annual meeting in Toronto addressed by W. F. MacLEAN, M.P., and others.
Montreal Reform Club addressed by Mr. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P.
- 18 HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX addressed Lemieux Club, Montreal
SIR THOS. WHITE addressed meeting in Massey Hall, Toronto.
National Service meetings at Calgary, addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN, MICHAEL CLARK, M.P. and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
Resignation announced of Col. J. Stanfield, M.P.
Toronto Canadian Club addressed by J. W. Flavelle, M.P.
- 19 Hon. W. J. Hanna, Ontario Provincial Secretary, resigns.
Senator Robert Mackay died at Montreal.
National Service meeting at Moose Jaw addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
- 20 National Service meeting at Regina addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN, HON. J. A. CALDER and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
Reception to returned soldiers at Ottawa addressed by HON. T. W. CROthers, A. E. FRIPP, M.P. and others.
National Service meeting at Brandon addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN and R. B. BENNETT, M.P.
- 22 BRANDON (Man.) LIBERALS organize and elect officers.
Addresses by PREMIER NORRIS and W. E. KNOWLES, M.P.
National Service meeting at Toronto addressed by SIR ROBERT BORDEN, F. F. PARDEE, M.P., R. B. BENNETT, M.P. and N. W. ROWELL, M.P.P.
- 24 SIR SAM HUGHES addresses meeting at Lindsay, Ont.
- 28 HON. T. C. CASGRAIN died at Ottawa.
WEST SIMCOE (Ont.) (Prov.) LIBERALS convene at Allistown.
National Service meeting of Halifax Conservative Club addressed by C. JAMESON, M.P., and E. N. RHODES.