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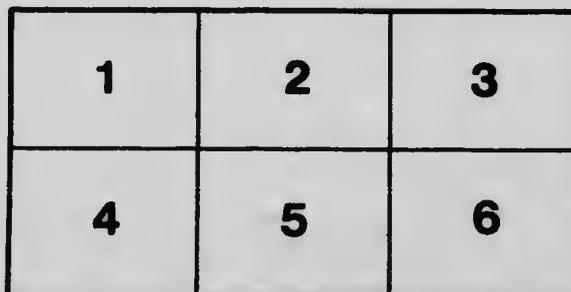
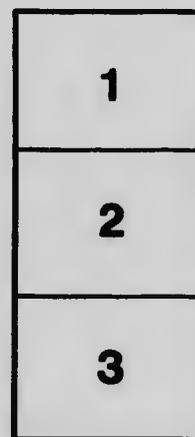
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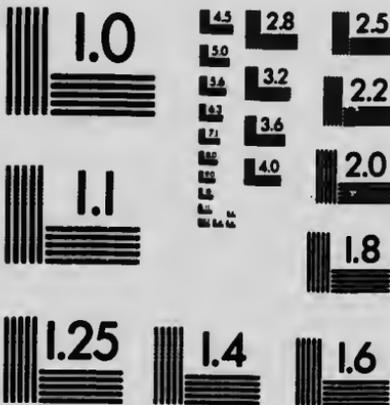
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SIR WILFRID LAURIER



A history of his life,
his last speeches
& tributes to his memory

*Compiled and Edited by the
London Advertiser Publishing Co., London, Canada.*

VC - Nov 1919

37-22

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

*So long he bore, with rare and courtly grace,
His noble part in all our nation's life,
We scarce can deem how empty in his place,
That throbbed with toil and strife.*

*Unveiled by Death, our eyes are quick to see
God's gentleness, that made him truly great,
His eager soul, his patient chivalry,
His heart that mocked at fate.*

*Our great Sir Galahad, upon whose brow
No breath of scandal raised the blush of shame,
Has left the richest gift he could bestow—
A pure, unsullied name.*

*Proud of his Gallic blood, but swift to boast
His fealty to the British Crown and State,
His golden voice bewailed, from coast to coast,
The sin of racial hate.*

*Let bitterness and rancor disappear!—
Meet tribute to our country's honored son—
Saxon and Gaul clasp hands above his bier—
Hearts pledged to beat as one.*

JOHN M. GUNN.

London, Canada, Feb. 22, 1919.

Chronology of Laurier's Life

Events in Career of Liberal Chieftain from Birth to Death

- 1841—Born at St. Lin, Quebec, November 20, of Acadian descent on his mother's side.
- 1847—Went to school in New Glasgow, 1850 to l'Assomption College, and 1857 to McGill University.
- 1860—Became a law student.
- 1864—Took degree bachelor of civil law at McGill. Called to Quebec bar.
- 1866—Served against Fenian raid.
- 1868—Was married to Miss Zoe Lafontaine.
- 1869—Ensign in Arthabasca Infantry Company.
- 1871-4—Member of Quebec Legislatura for Drummond and Arthabasca.
- 1877—Elected to Commons for Drummond and Arthabasca.
- 1877—Sworn in as privy councillor and appointed minister of inland revenue in the Mackenzie cabinet, but was defeated in the by-election.
- 1878—Elected to House of Commons for Quebec East.
- 1880—Made queen's counsel.
- 1887—Elected leader of the Liberal party.
- 1889—Batonnier of the bar (Arthabasca).
- 1889—Spoke in Toronto for the first time.
- 1896—Came into power as premier of Canada.
- 1897—Established the British preference. Knighted at Queen Victoria's jubilee. Visited Washington in the interest of seal fisheries and better trade relations.
- 1898—Member of joint high commission to consider trade with Britain and United States.
- 1899—Made an honorary colonel. Dispatched the Canadian expedition to the South African war.
- 1900—Inaugurated the Western Canada immigration policy.
- 1901—Received the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and accompanied them across Canada.
- 1902—Attended the Colonial Trade Conference.
- 1903—Introduced the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway scheme.
- 1904—Elected member for Wright (also for Quebec East).
- 1905—Established the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.
- 1907—Attended the Imperial Conference.
- 1908—Elected member for Ottawa. Received the Prince of Wales at Quebec Tercentary.
- 1909—Voted with the whole House on the "unanimous resolution" re Canadian navy.
- 1910—Passed the Canadian naval service act.
- 1911—Represented Canada at coronation of King George and Queen Mary. Liberal Government defeated at the polls on question of reciprocity in natural products with the United States.
- 1912—Toured Ontario.
- 1913—Led the Opposition in the "naval blockade" in Parliament.
- 1914—Co-operated with Sir Robert Borden in the "Councils of War."
- 1915—Maintained a parliamentary truce in the House during the war session.
- 1917—Was asked by Sir Robert Borden, after the premier had proposed conscription, to enter a Union Government, but declined.
- Led the Opposition forces in the general election in opposition to the conscription issue. Opposition was defeated, and Union Government elected by a large majority. Sir Wilfrid personally was elected in his old seat of Quebec East, but was defeated in Ottawa.
- 1918—Led the parliamentary Liberal Opposition to the Union Government in the House of Commons. Attended organization of the new Liberal Association in London and Ottawa.

SOME OF THE LAST SPEECHES OF GREAT LIBERAL CHIEFTAIN

The Speeches that follow are reproduced from editions of the Advertiser in which Sir Wilfrid's Addresses always appeared in full. The Manifest which follows was issued by him on November 4th, 1917, in which he fully outlined his policy as to Winning the War.

OTTAWA, Nov. 4.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier has issued his manifesto. In a document addressed "To the Canadian People," the Opposition leader declares his policy and outlines his aims:

On the all-important question of participation in the war, Sir Wilfrid claims that "a fundamental objection to the Government's policy of conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the military service act.

"The first duty of a Laurier administration," says the manifesto, "would be to find the men, money and resources necessary to insure the fullest measure of support to our heroic soldiers at the front, and to enable Canada to continue to the very end to do her splendid part to win the war."

To this Sir Wilfrid adds:

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

As remedies for an economic situation "which is admittedly critical," Sir Wilfrid Laurier promises: "Tariff reform, control of food supplies and prices, and a stop to profiteering."

Remove Excess Tariff

The two increases to the tariff made since the beginning of the war, he would remove. These are 7½ per cent. on all commodities coming into Canada from outside Great Britain, and 5 per cent. on goods coming from Great Britain. He also would remove the duties on agricultural implements and other essentials as demanded by the western farmers.

In connection with the high cost of living, he would "take drastic steps to bring under Government control all food-producing factories, so that food may be sold at a fixed price under the control of the Government." If satisfactory arrangements could not be made with the food-producing factories, Sir Wilfrid declares he would not hesitate to commandeer.

The manifesto proceeds:

End To Profiteering

"One of the most important contributions towards winning the war is to put a stop to profiteering on war supplies. The Government has deliberately encouraged profiteering for the benefit of its partisan followers. A first duty of my administration would be to insure to the country which pays for war supplies, the excess of exorbitant profits being realized by profiteers." If necessary, Sir Wilfrid continues, he would not hesitate to take control of the factories engaged in the manufacture of war materials. Suitable Government shops also, Sir Wilfrid believes, should be turned to the production of war materials at cost prices.

Reopen C. N. R. Case

Sir Wilfrid passes in review alike some of the legislation of the late government and the program of the present. He finds no trace in the manifesto of the Union Government that its Liberal members have influenced their colleagues to the adoption of measures they deemed essential. He refers to "most of the articles" in that manifesto as "stale commonplaces..... resurrected for a new election." He declares of the war-times election act passed last session that "it is a blot upon every instinct of justice," and holds the view that the Canadian Northern Railroad purchase should be adjudicated upon by the new parliament.

A consultation of the people at short and regular periods is the right of a free people. The constitution provides accordingly for a general election every five years. It is undeniable that there has existed a strong desire in the community to avoid an election during the war.

Election Unavoidable

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

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

Stale Commonplaces

Most of the articles in the Government manifesto are merely stale commonplaces extracted from the Conservative program of 1911, forgotten after the election, resurrected for a new election. Such is the promise of economy of public expenditure, and such the promise of civil service reform—two reforms which the Opposition would have been happy to support in the last parliament if the Government had afforded them the opportunity.

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

The C. N. R. Case

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

"One feature of the act of the last session is that the Government becomes the owner of the stock of the company, on the nominal value of sixty million dollars. There never was a dollar paid on the stock. Experts em-

ployed by the Government to appraise the value of the whole enterprise, men of acknowledged ability and experience, themselves have reported that the stock of the company has no value whatever.

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

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

Economic Situation

"It was natural to expect that the reconstructed government would give very serious attention to the economic situation of the country which is admittedly critical. There is no allusion to it except the vague promise of effective measure to prevent combination for the increase of prices, and thus reduce the high cost of living.

"The economic problems have to be grappled with at once, in no such vague, general terms, but in vigorous and concrete proposals.

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

One Important Measure

"No measure to reduce the cost of living can be effective unless and until the tariff is reformed and its pressure removed from those commodities in which there are 'excessive profits,' 'hoarding' and 'combinations for the increase of prices.' Of this obvious, fundamental reform there is not a word in the Government's manifesto. Indeed, members of the present Government have announced that all questions of tariff legislation must be relegated to after the war.

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

"Since the commencement of the war, the Government placed an increase of 7½ per cent. in our tariff on all commodities coming into Canada from outside Great Britain, and an increase of 5 per cent. on the goods coming from Great Britain. I would immediately remove those two disabilities as respects commodities from all countries other than those with which we are at war. *There is no doubt that under existing conditions these increases in the tariff are a hindrance rather than a help to production in Canada, whilst it is certain that in the final resort, the consumer has to pay these extra taxes.*

Unfriendly To Britain

"The increased duty on imports from Great Britain was an unfriendly and an unnecessary action on the part of Canada towards the mother coun-

try at a time when British trade was staggering under the disadvantages incidental to the war.

"In further mitigation of the disadvantages to agricultural production, I would immediately remove the duties on agricultural implements and other essentials, as demanded by the western farmers.

"In connection with the high cost of living, I would take drastic steps to bring under Government control all food-producing factories so that food may be sold at a fixed price under the control of the Government, as has been done in Great Britain. To this end arrangements should be made with the management of the food-producing factories allowing for a fair interest on investment and fair and reasonable net profits, so that food may be obtainable by the ordinary consumer at the best possible prices. Should such arrangements not be possible, I would not hesitate to commandeer all food factories.

"Nor is this all. The Government is invested with powers which they could and should have used to reduce the price of all commodities. These powers they have already exercised in the case of newsprint paper.

"As far back as the month of February last an order-in-council was passed by which it was enacted that 'with a view to insure publishers of Canadian newspapers newsprint paper at reasonable prices,' the minister of customs was 'authorized and empowered to fix the quantity and price of newsprint in sheets and rolls to be furnished by the manufacturers to the publishers of Canada.'

"By virtue of this 'order' the Government has compelled manufacturers of print paper, against the latter's protest, to supply publishers and newspapers at a price which they themselves fixed as reasonable. If they could thus reduce the price of paper to consumers of paper, why did they stop there? Why should the Government not have reduced to the hundreds of thousands of anxious housewives and breadwinners the prices of all those commodities which made the ever-increasing cost of living one of the most insistent and dangerous of all the problems that now confront us?

Profiteering Encouraged

"One of the most important contributions towards winning the war is to put a stop to profiteering on war supplies. The Government has deliberately encouraged profiteering for the benefit of its partisan followers. A first duty of my administration would be to secure to the country, which pays for war supplies, the excess of exorbitant prices being realized by profiteers. Should it be necessary I would not hesitate, in order to immediately stop profiteering, to take control of the factories which are engaged in the supply of war materials, I believe that one of the best methods of providing war supplies, and saving the country from being exploited by profiteers, would be to turn the Government shops which are suitable for such purposes to the production of war materials, ships, etc., for the benefit of the country, at cost price. It cannot be said too often that this war could not have been avoided by the Allies, and that it is a contest for the very existence of civilization. Of this the entrance of the United States into the conflict is further proof, if, indeed, further proof were needed.

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

A Hindrance to War

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

people everywhere that compulsory military services, the bane of continental Europe, had never been thought of in Great Britain, and that even the gigantic struggle against Napoleon had been fought on the purely voluntary system.

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

"Very different was the introduction of conscription in Canada. It came as a complete surprise. It never had been discussed in Parliament, and the voice of the press had been strong against it. In the month of July, 1916, such an important paper as the *Toronto Globe* deprecated the very idea of conscription.

Premier on Conscription

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

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

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

"Throughout the whole campaign of 1910 and 1911, I may recall that the Nationalist-Conservative alliance which opposed the naval policy of the Liberal Government of that time asserted that such a policy meant conscription. Again and again after the outbreak of the present war I insisted that conscription should not be introduced in Canada. Such was my position when the Government reversed its attitude, and, without warning, introduced this military service act.

"To force such a drastic measure upon a people thus unprepared and against repeated assurances to the contrary, was neither wise nor prudent, nor effective. It may bring men to the ranks, but it will not infuse into the whole body of the nation that spirit of enthusiasm and determination which is more than half the battle. It will create and intensify division where unity of purpose is essential.

Persuasion Rather Than Coercion

"I am only too well aware that the views which I here present have not met with universal acceptance, even in the party to which I belong, but even yet I hold that to coerce when persuasion has not been attempted is not sound policy, and in this I appeal to the impartial judgment of all Canadians.

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

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

Weakness of Borden Policy

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

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

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

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

Unite Whole Country

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

"To these views it is no answer to say, as is now often said, that we must have conscription or 'quit.' This statement is falsified by a recent and conclusive example. Australia rejected conscription, and Australia did not 'quit.' Australia is still in the fight under the voluntary system.

Thorough Organization Needed

"Each year has rendered increasingly apparent the necessity of organizing the nation, in order that, so far as may be possible, the resources and population of Canada in their entirety may be made of service in the successful prosecution of the war. To-day, under the exhaustion the war has caused in the old world, Great Britain and her allies are appealing as never before for more food, more ships and more coal. No country has vaster resources than Canada to supply these imperative requirements. What is needed is vigorous efforts to further an unlimited production. To meet this existing need I am prepared in addition to the measures already outlined, to take what further steps may be necessary to increase, double and quadruple the output of all that may be necessary for marching and fighting armies.

"Mr. Crothers, minister of labor, speaking recently at St. Thomas, Ont., declared that if Quebec had done her duty, as the other provinces, we should never have required the military service act.

Where The Blame Lies

"If enlisting in Quebec was not on a par with enlisting in the other provinces, on whom does the responsibility rest? On whom but the Borden Government, whose Quebec members openly, strenuously, and persistently preached the Nationalist doctrine of 'No participation by Canada in Imperial wars, outside her own territory.'

"That doctrine, first put forth in the riding of Drummond-Arthabasca, in the autumn of 1910, by the whole Nationalist body, including two of the present Quebec ministers, won the election for them."

Sir Wilfrid declares that members of the Borden Government, in the general elections of 1911, in their appeals to Quebec on the naval bill, educated "the people to reject any appeal to assist in fighting the battles of the Empire outside the Dominion."

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

"If we but set ourselves resolutely to this task, its accomplishment will be hastened by the hearty co-operation of every man who has been on service overseas."

Care of Soldiers' Dependents

"But there is another duty devolving upon us—the discharge of which should precede that above mentioned. The measures now in force for the maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependents and families are not adequate or equitable."

In an effort to rectify this state of affairs, and to emphasize his policy that "the nation's obligations to the soldier and their dependents must be discharged by the nation, and not through the medium of public benevolence or charity," Sir Wilfrid quotes the resolution introduced by Mr. Copp, member for Westmoreland, at the last session of Parliament, during the consideration of the military service bill.

The resolution, he continues, was opposed by the Government, and the motion for its adoption was defeated. But the necessity for action still exists, and prompt action must be taken to put the soldiers and dependents beyond any possibility of want after public subscriptions have ceased, and the glamor and excitement of the war have worn away.

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

War-Times Election Act

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

"This act, known as the war-times election act, is a blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play."

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

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

Right Snatched From Women

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

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

The New Liberal Ministers

"The Liberal members of the reconstructed Government have put the mantle of their respectability upon this nefarious act, as well as upon the Canadian Northern Railway act, and upon many others against which they strongly protested, and from which their presence in the Government cannot remove the dangerous and indefensible characters. Such legislation is repugnant to every sense of justice and right. It has for its object and for its effect to discourage and stifle the free expression of the will of the people, and to make parliamentary government a mere name without the reality.

A bold attempt is being made to silence the voice of the people by a systematic elimination of Liberal candidates from the field. It is my duty to appeal to all the friends of political freedom in every constituency to organize at once, in order to defeat such a conspiracy. Let the masses unite and select their own standard-bearers.

A Laurier Cabinet

"Should I be called upon to form a government, I would hope to include in it representatives of business, of labor and agriculture, of the men whose sole object in dealing with the affairs of the country will be to devote the whole resources, wealth and energy of the country to the winning of the war. It can only be done by honest agreement amongst all the different elements and interests of the country. I would hope to have a government representative of the masses of the people, the common people, whose guiding principle should be to defend them against organized privilege, which has heretofore had far too much control over the government of the country. In this election it is my desire that the common people should have opportunity of expressing themselves in a free and untrammelled manner at the polls, so that their views may obtain in the new parliament, and I trust that in every constituency candidates, representatives of this policy, may be nominated so that the people can vote for them.

In The Hands of The People

"These considerations I now place before my fellow-countrymen, of all creeds, and of all origins, for their appreciation and judgment. I have deemed it my duty more than ever, perhaps, in the course of my long public life, to speak frankly and unequivocally upon the problems that now confront us. The obtaining or retaining of office is at all times only a secondary consideration. In this election the supreme end is to assist in the tremendous struggle in which we are engaged, to maintain the unity of the nation, to avoid the divisions and discords, which, for many years kept in check, are now unfortunately again looming up dangerous and threatening, to resolutely

face the economic situation with the view of avoiding and lessening privations and sufferings, which should not exist in a country so richly endowed by nature as our country.

"Whatever may be the verdict at the polls, I will accept it, neither elated by victory, nor downhearted by defeat."

LAURIER RESENTS TORY INNUENDO WITH REFERENCE TO HIS LOYALTY

The following Speech was delivered at Ottawa on November 27, 1917:

OTTAWA, Nov. 27.—For over an hour to-night Sir Wilfrid Laurier addressed a crowd which crammed the Russell Theatre. Outside there was a long queue of people who vainly sought admittance. E. J. Daly, vice-president of the Ottawa Reform Association, in his introductory remarks as chairman, asserted that five thousand had been turned away.

The old chief was at his best, he fairly scintillated.

Sir Wilfrid dealt with charges made against him in reference to recruiting, and with recent disturbances at public meetings. Referring more particularly to the incident at Kitchener, when Sir Robert Borden was unable to speak, Sir Wilfrid expressed sincere regret that it had occurred. "I do not approve," he said, "of an interference with free speech. The gag is the gag, whether it is applied by a turbulent crowd in a public meeting, or whether it is approved in parliament by the obedient majority of a cold-blooded Government."

The Opposition leader dealt at some length with the assertions of the prime minister that Sir Wilfrid has not assisted in recruiting. After reading a list of meetings which he had addressed on behalf of recruiting, Sir Wilfrid said:

"With such a record as this, I think it is very small potatoes on the part of the prime minister of Canada."

The Liberal chieftan warmly repudiated any suggestion that he was dominated by Bourassa.

"I want to say," he emphatically declared, "*That there is no man alive who can dominate Laurier. Mr. Bourassa is an able man. I know all the harm he has done me, and all the good he has done the present Government, but he shall never dominate Laurier.*"

In regard to conscription, Sir Wilfrid held to his position as set forth in previous statements. He declared that if returned to power he would not repeal the military service act, but would put it to a referendum. Sir Wilfrid said that conscription was not a racial question, for it had been rejected by Australia, a purely British country.

Welcomed With Ovation

Sir Wilfrid was received with loud cheering. He spoke of his twenty years' residence in Ottawa, and remarked that when he finally left public life, he would suggest that the Government of the day—whether Grit or Tory—should appoint him to the Ottawa Improvement Commission.

"I do not say that to a Union Government," he remarked, "although I see no difference between Unionism and Conservatism."

He spoke of the pleasure he had in seeing so many returned soldiers present, "men who have borne the heat and the brunt of the war, who have met the enemy face to face and will continue here the battle for freedom they began on the other side."

He then referred to a question put to him by Mr. Frupp (his opponent) a couple of weeks ago, whether Sir Wilfrid approved of the tactics of the crowd at St. Anselme, in Dorchester County, Quebec, when they prevented the Hon. Mr. Sevigny from speaking.

Champion of Free Speech

"I am proud and happy that the question was put to me by Mr. Fripp," Sir Wilfrid went on, "all the more so because the question has been aggravated by what took place three days ago when the prime minister was refused a hearing in the city of Kitchener. He knows my sentiments upon that question. He knows them well. He knows that I am in favor of free speech. He knows that I disapprove of any interference with free speech, and I believe that Mr. Fripp himself disapproves of any interference with free speech when his friends are concerned. But I am not so sure of his sentiments when his opponents are concerned, because Mr. Fripp is one of those who, in the last parliament voted to gag the Opposition, to impose the closure and to interfere with free speech."

Gag Is Gag Anywhere

The audience broke into loud laughter and Sir Wilfrid continued: "I disapprove of any interference with free speech, and I am sorry that the prime minister was not allowed to speak at Kitchener the other day. I want to have given to him every privilege that is due to his rank, due to the position he occupies and due also to the efforts he is making in support of a bad cause. I do not approve of any interference with free speech anywhere. The gag is the gag, whether it is applied by a turbulent crowd in public meeting or whether it is approved in parliament by the obedient majority of a cold-blooded government."

Sir Wilfrid proceeded to contest the claim that the Unionist party was entitled to style itself the "win-the-war" party.

None More Loyal Than He

"I object," he said, "to anyone in the Conservative party, claiming the privilege of alone wanting to win the war. We all want to win the war. I say that there is no one holding the position I occupy in this country—a position which is inherent to the system of Government we have, the position I occupy as leader of the Opposition—I say there is not a man in any one of the belligerent countries who has done more in his position to help his country to win the war than I have." (Applause.)

The Opposition leader reviewed efforts which he made to help the Government in its war policy from the day that war was declared. He had not done it, he said, from any love of the Government, but from love of the cause. He had given the Government every possible support to carry on the defence of the cause of liberty and civilization.

Surprised at Premier

Sir Wilfrid was surprised at the statement made by Sir Robert Borden at Sydney a few days ago that he had been lukewarm or hostile to the cause of recruiting.

"What he could have meant by that is a surprise to me," Sir Wilfrid continued. "But I take his words as I find them. He said I had not shown any zeal at all when he had appealed to me to support him in his efforts for recruiting. When did Sir Robert Borden appeal to me to help him in recruiting? I ask, when did he?"

Sir Wilfrid continued that Sir Robert had asked him to assist in connection with the national service scheme, but he had refused, and he said, for good reasons.

Bedevoiled With Partisanship

Sir Thomas Tait, who was appointed head of that commission, resigned because he found it so bedeviled with partisan interference. It was not, Sir Wilfrid said, until two days after the resignation of Sir Thomas Tait that he was asked to join the commission. He was asked to step in where Sir Thomas Tait had stepped out.

"I would not play that game," Sir Wilfrid added. "I would not join a commission in which there was so much partisanship that the chairman was forced to resign."

What had the national service commission accomplished? It had been a fizzle, although thousands of dollars had been spent in salaries. Turning to the letter from the Hamilton Canadian Club, Sir Wilfrid said:

That Hamilton Letter

"The gentlemen who signed the commission were unknown to me. It is a long standing practice of mine—I receive letters of indorsement on many subjects—it is a long standing habit of mine never to indorse anything until I know the parties who make the application. I did not know the gentlemen. I presume they were respectable men. The object they had in view was perfectly satisfactory to me, but I wanted to know more before I gave an affirmative answer. I asked to be excused for the moment, and asked for some delay. Upon this the prime minister of Canada, who knows what I have done in the past, throws a doubt on my sincerity in advocating the war. It may not have been a very 'inspiring answer,' I admit.

The Order to "Go Slow"

"But I think it was just as inspiring as the answer given to General Sir Sam Hughes when the latter wanted to go recruiting and was told to go slow on the matter."

Sir Wilfrid detailed the meetings he had addressed in various parts of the country since the declaration of the war.

"With such a record as this," he said, "I think this is a very small potatoes on the part of the prime minister of Canada."

Replies to Guthrie

Referring to his attitude on conscription, Sir Wilfrid said he felt bound to differ with the Government on its policy, and said so with all frankness. Referring to a statement recently made by Hugh Guthrie that there was "Quebec in Australia," he said: "There is no Quebec in Australia. It is a purely British country. There is not one of its inhabitants who has not come from the British Isles, yet that country, composed of races of the British Isles, deliberately rejected conscription. If Australia, which has no Quebec, which is all British, has rejected conscription, then it is not a racial question, as is affirmed by so many papers in this country. There must be in Australia some other reason than the race question to induce the loyal people to reject the system of compulsory enlistment. It is because Australia has remained true to the principles prevalent in all British countries, prevalent in Great Britain, in its dependencies from time to time up till three years ago, that the British people will do their duty without being compelled to do it, and will come forward like men to defend their country."

The Fault With Quebec

Sir Wilfrid then turned to the question of recruiting in the province of Quebec. He admitted that Quebec had not done her part as fully as the English-speaking provinces, but who, he asked, was responsible for this? The responsibility must rest upon the shoulders of the Government. The Conservatives had formed an alliance with the Nationalists of Quebec.

"We know," said Sir Wilfrid, "that there was an alliance between the Nationalists and the Tories. We have proof of this from the statements made by Mr. Bourassa himself."

Sir Wilfrid declared that Sir Robert's declaration with regard to the falling off of recruiting was absolutely falsified by the records of his own minister of militia.

Giving his reasons for asking that a referendum be taken, Sir Wilfrid stated that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada had requested that this be done, and for the sake of the working classes who are most directly interested in the law, he felt that it should have been done. There was also, he said, a feeling in the province of Quebec to be considered. This feeling had been raised by the Tories and Nationalists, but he had felt that

if the matter was properly put before the people, the province of Quebec would have responded. The Government had refused his request for a referendum, and the bill was passed.

Will Not Repeal Act

After it became law he had been asked whether if returned to power he would repeal it. His answer was that he would not, but that he would insist on a referendum. It was a matter for the people themselves to decide.

"The Conservatives," said Sir Wilfrid, "have started the Nationalist cry. They say that I have formed an alliance with Bourassa. I would like to say that there is no man alive who can dominate Laurier. Mr. Bourassa is an able man. I know all the harm he has done me and all the good he has done the present Government, but he shall never dominate Laurier. In fact he has been opposed to our participation in this war. I, on the contrary, want to win this war, and I appeal to everyone to rise up and do their duty. The war is the great issue of the present time. But I have already stated my attitude on the war, and I stand or fall for my principles."

Dabbling With Food Issue

Turning to the efforts of the present Government to control profiteering in food and other staple commodities, Sir Wilfrid said that the present administration was merely dabbling with the question. It had, he admitted, appointed a food controller, and he said, he was a good man. Mr. Hanna was constantly giving good advice. He established meatless days, but the price of meat continued to soar, and the Government did nothing. The United States had succeeded in effecting reductions in food prices. Slaughter houses were now controlled by the United States Government, and since that country entered the war the price of meat had gone down three cents a pound. In all countries there were profiteers, but in England, France and the United States they had been forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains.

Must Review C. N. R. Deal

Referring to the Canadian Northern Railway purchase, Sir Wilfrid said: "I denounce the whole transaction and insist that it is the duty of Parliament to review it."

Sir Wilfrid characterized the new franchise act as an iniquitous measure. The Government, he said, had manufactured a franchise law to suit itself, although the former one was perfectly satisfactory. In provinces where the women had the right to vote, he contended that these women were also entitled to vote in the Dominion elections. The Hon. C. J. Doherty had done his best to prove that they were not entitled to vote, on the ground that a woman was not a "person."

Sir Wilfrid concluded by appealing for the support of all present, but only if they felt that he was right. He made a strong plea for unity and said that if returned to power he would try to give Canada a strong government, such as when formerly in power.

LIBERAL CHIEFTAIN WAS OUT HEART AND SOUL TO WIN WAR

Speech Delivered on December 3rd, 1917

ARNPRIOR, Dec. 3.—A crowded hall welcomed Sir Wilfrid Laurier in South Renfrew this afternoon, and the Liberal leader was greeted with wild enthusiasm. He drew a salvo of applause when he repeated his emphatic denunciation of Bourassa, and repudiated the attempts his opponents were making to fasten the Nationalists upon him.

Sir Robert Borden had fastened himself upon the Nationalists, and the unholy alliance was still working overtime in an effort to defeat Liberalism, as was done in 1911.

"As to Armand Lavergne," Sir Wilfrid added, "he is a candidate in Montmagny County in opposition to the Liberal. I have made no alliance with either Bourassa or Lavergne. I have made no alliance with anyone. I stand on the record of my convictions."

Sir Wilfrid declared that the Government had taken away the vote from the women in Ontario. "The ladies of Ontario," he said in reference to those present, "can take an interest in politics, but that is all they can take. They have no vote. For that they have to thank Sir Robert Borden and his Government."

Women Especially Concerned

Public affairs, Sir Wilfrid went on, concerned women especially. The present war was brought about by foreign powers which had harbored the evil thought of dominating the world. When Germany broke her pledge, England, true to her faith, came forward to the defence of Belgium, Sir Wilfrid related how on the declaration of war he had given his support to the Government.

"I say," he declared, "that not a day has passed since that I have not been behind the Government in support of all reasonable measures for the prosecution of the war." (Applause.)

Sir Wilfrid did not regard conscription as the supreme issue in the country. But if the Government wanted to make it the supreme issue he was willing to meet them on their own ground. The Opposition leader reviewed in some detail statements made by the prime minister prior to last June that conscription was not contemplated by the Government.

"He changed his mind," Sir Wilfrid commented. "I did not change mine."

The Unholy Alliance

The example of Australia, he continued, went to show that conscription was not a racial question. If volunteers did not come from Quebec as they came from other provinces, it was the fault of members of Sir Robert Borden's cabinet who in 1911 had made an alliance with the Nationalists in Quebec and the program of the Nationalists was that under no consideration should Canada fight for the British Empire outside of Canadian territory.

Sir Wilfrid added that he made no sectional appeal. "I stand here," he said, "a Canadian. My platform is Canada. If I cannot win on that platform, I don't win at all."

He continued that on the word of Mr. Bourassa himself, there was an alliance with the Nationalists in 1911. It had been shown that copies of *Le Devoir* (Bourassa's paper) were circulated at the expense of Conservative funds.

"They created a public opinion then in the province of Quebec," Sir Wilfrid added. "Now they want to use force and violence to eradicate the doctrine they taught themselves."

"I want us to do our duty in the war, but coercion is not the way. I am certain I can do it by appealing to the soul of my fellow-countrymen."

The plea of the Government, Sir Wilfrid proceeded, was that conscription was necessary because voluntary recruiting had broken down. Quoting statistics, Sir Wilfrid claimed there was no justification for such a claim. According to the minister of militia, there were 116,000 men in England and 35,000 in Canada. If voluntary recruiting was abandoned, Sir Wilfrid said, and conscription forced on the people, it could not be for the reason given by Sir Robert Borden.

Referring to the charges that he had made an alliance with Bourassa, Sir Wilfrid said:

"How happy, how proud the Tories would be—they who made an alliance with Bourassa in 1911—to see Laurier make an alliance with Bourassa in 1917. They can say it; they cannot prove it. There is no truth in it. I am not in alliance with Bourassa; I am not in alliance with Lavergne. Mr. Bourassa and I are upon variance upon many questions, as he has set forth in his paper, *Le Devoir*."

In War to the End

"He says in his paper, for instance, that we have done enough in the war. *I am in the war to the end.* While there is no alliance between Bourassa and me, I do not abuse him. I never abuse anybody, but I am the very antithesis of Mr. Bourassa. We have quarreled. Mr. Bourassa is a very able man. No one knows that better than I do. I have suffered from his blows, and the Tories have profited by the same blows. I have no alliance either with Bourassa or Lavergne. I have no alliance with anyone. I stand on the record of my own convictions."

Hon. Charles-Murphy declared that the attitude of the Union Government was "Please don't remember. We humbly beseech you to forget."

But, Mr. Murphy added, the electors would not forget the Ross rifle, rotten boots and "cast-off horses, fit only for the glue factory."

Mr. Murphy declared that the charges made by Sir Sam Hughes to the prime minister had remained unanswered. "Charges which, if true, constitute a crime against the men at the front." The official Liberal party, Mr. Murphy concluded, was the party led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

26,000 PEOPLE HEAR LAURIER AT BIG WINNIPEG GATHERING

Speech Delivered on December 10th, 1917

WINNIPEG, Dec. 10.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, surrounded by 10,000 Winnipeg citizens packed into the Industrial Bureau Building here to-night, delivered an address which many of his close friends who hear him often describe as one of the greatest speeches of his career. Sir Wilfrid came to Winnipeg with the feeling that a great effort was needed to defeat the Clifford Sifton-Norris combination, and he set himself to make that great effort. He will leave Winnipeg to-morrow with the feeling that Manitoba is right and that the conspiracy to treat his war policy as disloyal has failed.

Gigantic Meetings

Two overflow meetings had to be arranged to meet the demands of Winnipeg citizens. The three meetings were a revelation. People stood outside the Industrial Bureau on Main street for several blocks waiting two hours in the intense cold, twenty below zero, for the doors to open, and the same experience marked the overflow meetings in the Alhambra Theatre and the Liberal Club. In the main building a band playing patriotic airs kept the large crowd in good humor pending the arrival of Sir Wilfrid. The Union Jack and the Tricolor were entwined on the platform and in different parts of the buildings.

15,000 Unable to Enter

Even after the hall had been packed to capacity it was estimated that 15,000 people were standing outside clamoring for admission. Ushers were shouting through megaphones advising the people to go to the two overflow meetings. The meeting opened with the playing of the National Anthem. The crowd rose and bareheaded sang the chorus. After the first verse the women sang "God Save Our Splendid Men. Send them safe home again."

The closest attention was paid throughout the hour and a quarter address. Hundreds of returned soldiers were present. Not the slightest interruption, except the cheering, occurred.

Sir Wilfrid spoke out strongly against the method of conscription in Canada. His reasoning was lengthy, and was given the closest attention. The disfranchisement of women and the foreign people was also effectively dealt with, and received sympathetic reception.

His declaration that he was as earnest and as desirous of winning the war as the so-called "win-the-war" party, that he was as loyal and true to

Britain as any in the Borden Government was cheered in such a manner as to rouse the blood of every Britisher present. And they cheered him until the roof vibrated.

Smiles The Bourassa Alliance

The alliance of Bourassa with the Tory party at the 1911 election had, he claimed, driven Quebec into an attitude to some extent unsympathetic with the war. He was sorry recruiting from that province had not been larger; he knew it was not what it should be, "but who is to blame?" he asked. "The Government which allied itself with Bourassa contained the Nationalists who preached the doctrine and non-participation in the wars of Britain, and whose leaders have been rewarded by seats in the cabinet."

But Quebec, Sir Wilfrid claimed, could do better, and would under a united campaign of persuasion. It could not be done in any other way. He knew Quebec better than anyone, and was convinced that, properly appealed to, the showing would be gratifying to all Canada.

Addresses Overflow Meeting

At the close the cheering was prolonged and unstinted. Sir Wilfrid addressed an overflow meeting later on at the Coliseum, the largest dancing hall in Western Canada, which was also filled. Another overflow meeting was held. Other speakers at the two meetings were Hon. A. G. Mackay of Edmonton, former Liberal leader in Ontario, and Hartley Dewart.

When he was leaving the hall, a rush was made for the platform to shake his hand. Chairs were overturned and broken by the eager ones in an effort to greet the great Liberal chieftan.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his party leave at 8 a. m. Tuesday for Regina, where he speaks to-morrow. He will be heard at Calgary Wednesday and at Vancouver on Friday. He will receive Canada's verdict after passing triumphantly through the so-called "hostile" West.

Among those on the platform supporting Sir Wilfrid were H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., Toronto Senator Casgrain, Hon. Walter Mitchell of Quebec, Hon. A. G. Mackay and Hon. C. W. Cross of Alberta, Hon. W. H. Motherwell of Saskatchewan.

6,000 Pack Inclosure

The meeting was held in the assembly hall of the Industrial Bureau, and long before the advertised hour it was filled to its seating capacity of 6,000, admittance being by ticket only.

Notwithstanding the temperature registered 20 degrees below, the crowd hovered about the entrances, but finally dispersed to two big overflow meetings.

J. D. Baskerville, as chairman, introduced Sir Wilfrid "as the greatest statesman Canada ever had," a remark which was greeted with applause.

Hon. A. G. Mackay spoke first, for half an hour reviewing the formation of the Union Government, from what he described as the discordant elements it contained. He scored the four western premiers, and Messrs. Calder and Crerar, who he stated, four months before had indorsed the resolution he had had the honor to move on the same platform, indorsing the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Act Wrongly Administered

He went on to criticize the military service act, which, he said, had been sprung on the country in the face of Sir Robert Borden's assurance to the contrary. It was unnecessary. With 260,000 enlistments, Australia was supporting four divisions, while Sir Robert Borden said that with 450,000 enlisted men, Canada could not support five divisions.

The act, said the speaker, was being administered unfairly, and from a partisan standpoint. In Alberta 22 per cent. of the farmers have been conscripted, but in more favored parts of Canada, particularly in the ridings of Sir Herbert Ames and Hon. C. J. Doherty, only 7 per cent. of the farmers have been conscripted."

Mr. Mackay characterized as a slander the statement of the Union Government that Sir Wilfrid Laurier would quit the war. He closed with a passionate arraignment of the act disfranchising the foreign-born voter, who was denied both the right to vote and the right to serve."

Sir Wilfrid's Speech

Sir Wilfrid's appearance, both in the doorway and on the platform, was the signal for wild applause that made what few Tories there were in the building quiver. When complete silence had been restored he began, and without interruption he delivered this message not only to Winnipeg, but to the whole of Canada.

"It was my privilege to stand upon this platform, not recently, as my friend, Mr. Mackay says, but seven years ago. To-day I come before you again, but under different circumstances. Since that time there has been a change in the Government of Canada. I don't believe that anybody can pretend that the change which took place in 1911 was a change for the better.

"The situation of the country is also very much different from what it was then. Upon the occasion of my former visit I was accompanied by friends whose presence I highly valued and whose absence to-day I deeply regret. I regret it all the more because the reason they are not here upon this platform as they were seven years ago is that they and I do not see eye to eye upon the questions which to-day are foremost in the minds of the Canadian people. They have given their allegiance to and put their confidence in a Government which calls itself a Union Government, whereas I cling to the old traditions and to the experience of mankind. I don't believe that an infusion of new blood, however great an infusion it may be, can ever change the Ethiopian's skin or the spots of the leopard.

Liberal Era Was Progressive

"Years ago, I appeared before you as the prime minister of Canada. The day was not far distant, however, when the administration I then presided over was soon to be overcome, defeated, after a period of 15 years of Government which was acknowledged then and now, and will continue to be acknowledged, as the most progressive, the most prosperous period the Canadian people ever enjoyed in any part of their history. (Cheers.)

After that period of Government we were defeated by the forces of reaction and the cry, "Leave well enough alone." We would not let well enough alone. We wanted to do better and we were met with the cry "No truck and trade with the Yankees." Was there ever a more silly and unpatriotic cry than that one. Are the Yankees not our neighbors? Are they not one of the richest countries in the world? Are they not a democratic country such as we are? What reason was there why we should not enter negotiations?

A Foolish Cry

"You know as well as I do that the reason given was that it was disloyal to England to trade with the United States, and that it was treason to Canada and to the Empire. Well, we were defeated, and if ever there was a Government that had a glorious fall it was ours, because you may search the annals of history and you will not find a government which had the reproach made to it by its opponents that it had done so well, that it should not do better. Well, we fell, and to-day standing as I do under the shadow of that defeat I am prouder of my fall than the men who defeated me can be proud of their victory." (Cheers.)

"I will confess that I am only human and the revenge is sweet. The revenge was not slow in coming, because the very men who had succeeded upon the cry of no truck or trade with the Yankees were in Washington within three months to obtain from the interstate commission a lower tariff to allow Canadian wheat to go to Minneapolis. That was not all. A few years had only passed when the same men who in their pride and in their loyalty had disdained to trade with the Yankees were at New York to borrow hundreds of millions from the same people with whom they would not formerly trade.

Free Wheat

"Even that was not all. Not later than last April those same men who would not trade with the Yankees accepted at last a standing offer of the American Government to allow free wheat to be exchanged between the two countries. And to-day these same despised Yankees with whom we would not trade are sending their men to France to take their places by the side of the soldiers of France, by the side of the soldiers of Britain, and by the side of our own Canadian boys, in the fight for the cause of liberty and freedom. (Loud cheers.)

Liberal Party Vindicated

"I contend that our policy had been more than vindicated. We have fallen. They have the sweets of office. Let them enjoy them. I don't care for that, because we have to-day what we wanted to have in 1911.

"But now we are at war. In the month of August, 1914, after ten years of peace, all of a sudden we were thrown into the vortex and into the hell of war. And the war has been with us ever since, and it is the subject of all subjects which is to-day engaging the attention of the Canadian people in the present election. The people have to decide as to the methods which have been used by the Canadian Government bearing our share of the war. They have to decide as to the methods they want the Canadian Government to adopt in carrying out our share of the war.

Unionist Claims

"The present Government, so-called Union Government, claim themselves to be the win-the-war party, I don't object that they should adopt that title if they want it. The only objection I have is this: they have no right to claim the monopoly of being the win-the-war party. I am as much as they are of the win-the-war party. (Loud cheers). Everyone who is a Liberal and opposed to the present Government belongs to a win-the-war party. I defy any man to say that there is any man in any of the belligerent countries now engaged in war occupying the position I do as leader of the Opposition who has given more loyal and frank support to the Government than the support I have given the Government of Sir Robert Borden. The very day that war was declared I made a statement from my office and I repeated it on the floor of the House of Commons a few days afterwards that I would be behind the Government to the finish of this war, and I have been behind it until the present time.

Not a Slave

"But while I am in the war to the finish—and I repeat it here to my fellow-citizens of Winnipeg—I will not give to any government, however meritorious, a slavish support. I give it the support of a free man and free British subject. I may differ from them on some of their policies, and because I do differ from them to-day, I am traduced as a traitor to my country and a traitor to the Empire. (A voice: "Shame!")

Accustomed to Insults

"Don't be excited I am accustomed to these accusations. (Laughter). I have been in public life for 30 years as the head of the Liberal party, and I don't believe there ever was a year which ever passed unless I was accused of being a traitor for something or somebody. In my own province of Quebec I was accused of being a traitor to my religion and to my race, and now I am accused of being a traitor to my country and to the Empire. There is as much truth in one as in the other. (Cheers). I have been a traitor to nobody; neither to my race nor to my religion; neither to Canada nor to the Empire. I have been true upon all occasions to the cause of Canada, and to British institutions as I understand them. (Renewed cheers.)

Is Government Honest?

"The Government say they want to win the war. Very well, let us see if they are honest and sincere in these intentions. We must have soldiers,

it is true, but we must have toilers behind the soldiers also. We must have toilers to feed the soldiers, to clothe them, to equip them, to supply them with all the wants and requirements of a marching army. We must have toilers, not only to feed the fighting men but also to support in comfort and ease the wives and orphans of those who have given their lives for their country, not support them merely in cold charity, private or public, by the charity of the patriotic fund, but it must be done as a debt due to them by the people of this Dominion. (Cheers). But it should be the first charge on the revenue of Canada. (Renewed cheers).

The Economic Question

"War is an expensive game, as we all know to our sorrow. The first duty of the Government is not only to look into the military question but to look also into the economic question. How will you provide the revenue? That is something the Government must take into account. I took issue with the Government on their measures to provide revenue because the measure proposed by the Government was to increase the tariff that we already had which many thought already too high, and which was thought too high in this part of the Dominion.

The Tariff

"Especially the measure proposed by the Government to raise the tariff by an additional tax of 7½ per cent, on everything which came from England to whom we give a special preference in the tariff was to have an additional burden of 5 per cent. Does anyone amongst you here, whether he be a supporter of the Government or an opponent of the Government, believe such a method of raising revenue was calculated to help win the war? (A voice: "No.")

"I did not believe it was, and for my part I moved this amendment: This House is ready to provide for the exigencies of the present situation and to vote all necessary ways and means to that end, but it regrets that in the measure under consideration duties are imposed which must be oppressive on the people whilst yielding little or no revenue, and that the said measure is particularly objectionable in the fact that instead of favoring it is placing extra barriers against Great Britain's trade with Canada at a moment when the mother country is under a war strain unparalleled in history.

Helped the Profiteers

"Where is the man in this audience who would vote against this motion? Was not this motion better calculated than the policy of the Government to help win the war? Everybody realizes the tariff increases the price of an article and nobody realizes more than the mothers of families who have to provision the table and who have to pay extra prices. That extra price did not go into the public treasury except in a small way, but it went like a stream of millions into the pockets of the privileged classes. In fact, this tax was not put on for the benefit of the public treasury, it was intended for the benefit of the privileged classes. They had long been asking for it; at last they got it and they put it upon the war which was the occasion for it. The Canadian poet explains it in this way:

"The favored few are growing rich,
The masses growing poor.'
A most regretful circumstance,
But, 'blame it on the war.'

Not Win-War Policy

"I claim that this policy was not intended to win the war; it was intended for the profiteer and privileged classes, who, indeed, for the last three years have been profiting by it. (Loud cheers.)

"But you will tell me that was the old government and that now we have a Union Government. Yes; we have a Union Government and if I mistake not the minister of agriculture (Mr. Crerar) has stated here or else-

where recently that it was understood that during the war there would be no change in tariff. The conclusion, therefore, is that here is a tax which was intended to win the war, which was intended for the benefit of the privileged classes and it will continue to remain until the end of the war.

Germany's Desire

"Do you think that the alteration of the British preference was calculated to help England win the war by putting a tax upon her trade? You all know as well as I do, it is a matter of history, that of all countries which Germany wishes to humiliate she wishes to humiliate Great Britain the most. They say the wish of every German in Germany is 'Gott strafe England,' not France, not Italy and not the United States, but 'Gott strafe England.'

The Submarine

"The method by which the German people hope to bring England to her knees was to destroy the commerce of England, and for this purpose she has instituted the policy of submarine warfare. She declared not later than the first of January last, to the president of the United States that every ship that left the United States for Great Britain would be sunk by her submarines. She has surrounded the British isles with her submarines and, as you know, she is taking a heavy toll upon the trade of Great Britain. Our own boys have been heroes of whom we cannot be too proud, but if anybody has excelled in heroism it is the men of the merchant navy. Every week three thousand ships are leaving the shores of Great Britain to carry the trade of Great Britain upon the seven seas of the world; every week three thousand ships come and go from the harbors of England, all loaded with precious cargoes, because the trade of Great Britain is the life of Great Britain. These ships go in and go out and many of them unarmed, knowing that they are watched by an insidious and invisible enemy, who will not fight in the open, but who will take his chance to sink them; many of them are unprotected and unarmed.

Kaiser for Borden

"The soldier on the battlefield, the sailor in the royal navy, both can defend themselves; they can give blow for blow; they experience the joy of battle. The sailor of the merchant navy has no such choice. Many of these 3,000 ships go out and meet the enemy unprepared as they are and when they meet him and are hit by the fatal torpedo, they go to the bottom still cheering for old England, and if they are lucky enough to save their cargo, to bring it over to Canada, then the Canadian Government pounces upon it and draws a heavy toll from it. You hear every day the question asked: it is on the placards of your streets: 'If the Kaiser were here for whom would he vote?' (A voice: "Borden.")

"The answer is easy, because the Canadian Government is doing its level best to destroy the English commerce that has been saved from the submarines.

The Nationalists

"Control over our militia and military colleges in time of war as in time of peace and for the defences of our territory exclusively.

"Refusal to grant leave of absence to any militia officer in order that he may take part in any Imperial war.

"This doctrine was preached in the last election by all the Nationalists. Here you fought the election on reciprocity, but in Quebec the election was fought upon the participation of Canada in the wars of Great Britain, and every man who was opposed to the Laurier Government preached the doctrines I have just described. There was a union between the Nationalists and the Conservatives. My witness will be Bourassa upon that question.

The Pact With Bourassa

"In his paper *Le Devoir* of May 3, 1915, he said: 'As elections drew nearer we had ample proof that Conservative leaders were quite satisfied

with the situation which the Nationalist campaign had forced upon them. The Tory general committee allotted the autonomist party most of the ridings in the Province of Quebec, retaining to themselves the English-speaking counties of the Eastern Townships, besides Pontiac, Argenteuil and three Montreal divisions, St. Antoine, St. Anne and St. Laurent. The Conservative party made use of its funds and indirectly fostered the chances of such candidates as had declared themselves opposed to both policies.

Bourassa's Expose

"When Sir George Foster himself was asked for his support he answered: 'Anything to defeat Laurier,' and so the Nationalists were to work with the Conservatives and the Nationalist doctrine was circulated throughout Quebec and was subsidized by the funds of the Conservative party. Mr. Bourassa in *Le Devoir* on June 2, 1913, said: 'There came to our office one of the most prominent members of the Conservative party, carrying under his arm the voters' lists of all the eastern ridings. He raid into our hands subscriptions to *Le Devoir* for thousands and thousands of electors. We asked nothing but the regular subscription price, deducting therefrom the ordinary commission paid to agents. We thus enjoyed the satisfaction of using Tory money to circulate the good Nationalist gossip everywhere.'

Conscription Abhorrent

"Now, why have we conscription? You know as well as I do that conscription has always been abhorrent to all British countries. There never was conscription in Great Britain until three years ago, and Great Britain has been engaged in many wars. Great Britain fought Napoleon for 20 years; Napoleon had conscription, Great Britain always depended on the voluntary system. In Australia, a country very much like our own, the question of conscription was put before the people and they defeated it, and Australia is still in the war upon the voluntary system.

Borden's Promises

"In Canada the Government of Sir Robert Borden has declared again and again that there would be no conscription in Canada. When Sir Robert Borden declared on the 1st of January, 1916, that our troops would be increased to 500,000, I immediately asked him the question if that meant conscription and his answer was that he had already declared himself more than once against conscription, and he repeated with emphasis that we would have no conscription. But on the 18th of May, 1917, he declared that he had made up his mind to introduce conscription. What was the reason then given? It was that the voluntary system in this country had fallen down.

Recruiting Figures

"I take issue with the prime minister upon that statement (*A Voice*: "It was true"). I have here the words of the minister of militia which I will read to prove that it was not true.

(Sir Wilfrid here read the recruiting figures from the month of August, 1916, onwards to show that recruiting had not diminished. These were the official figures: August, 7,267; September, 6,357; October, 6,035; November, 6,548; December, 5,003; January, 7,721; February, 7,644; March, 6,670; April, 5,270; May, 6,520).

Hitting at Quebec

"The figures show that although during twelve months there was a variation of 1,000 there was no decrease whatever during the months of winter or summer. The official figures given by the minister of militia have not been contradicted by anyone. But the reason why conscription was introduced was not given by the prime minister, it was given by the minister of labor, Hon. Mr. Crothers, a few months ago, when he said that conscription was introduced because the province of Quebec had not done its share.

Where the Blame Lies

"If it hasn't let us see where the blame is. I have been too long in public life not to state facts as they are. I wish the facts were otherwise. I am from Quebec. I wish my countrymen had enlisted as others. They have not, but who is to blame if they have not enlisted. Again, I speak by the book, and I will give you chapter and verse as to who is to blame if the enlistments in the province of Quebec have not been on a par with enlistments in the other provinces. The blame is on the members of the Borden Government. (Cheers). That is a serious charge, but I have the evidence, and I will give it to you. Members of the present Government, then in Opposition and now in office, have educated the province of Quebec to the doctrine that they were not bound, and that Canada should not participate in the wars of Great Britain. The members of the present Government from the province of Quebec were recruited from the Nationalist party, and what was the doctrine of the Nationalist party

"It was:

- (a) No participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory.
- (b) To spurn any attempt at recruiting for British troops.
- (c) To oppose the establishment in Canada of a naval school with the help and for the benefit of imperial authorities.

Degrading Tactics

"The people of Quebec were educated to that doctrine out of the funds of the Conservative party never to fight for Great Britain. Is there any wonder, therefore, that there was not as much enthusiasm for Englishmen in Quebec as there was in the other provinces. The men who created that condition of things are the men whom to-day are in office, and who, to obtain themselves in office, did not scruple to degrade themselves to the level I have shown.

"Who were the members of the Borden Government, who preached recruiting in the province of Quebec? There was one man only, the late Thomas Chase Casgrain, the late postmaster-general, who upon one occasion addressed a recruiting meeting in Montreal with me. Now they are trying to force upon the people of Quebec the very reverse of the doctrine which they paid to inculcate into them. These are not my methods of government.

Persuasion The Right Way

"They say they want to make the Frenchmen fight. Well, sir, I want to make them fight also, but I don't want to do it by compulsion. I want to do it by persuasion. The Government has played upon the passions and prejudices of the people. The Liberal method is to undo the wrong and to appeal to the hearts and to the sentiments of all Canadians. You are told that the people of Quebec would not enlist. I deny it altogether. I know that the people of Quebec and results can be better obtained by appealing to my fellow-countrymen and results can be better obtained by appealing to their hearts, to their sentiment and to their honor than appealing to their passions and to their prejudices. If the Province of Quebec has not enlisted it can enlist, and it should be properly appealed to.

Referendum Needed

"When the policy was introduced in Parliament I did not oppose conscription ipso facto. I said: 'If that is your policy consult the people by means of a referendum.' There must have been some reason for a referendum, and the reason was that not only did the Province of Quebec seem to be against conscription, but a large number of laboring classes of this dominion seemed opposed. The Trades and Labor Congress passed a resolution demanding that at all events that if a system of conscription was to be introduced it should be submitted to the people by means of a referendum. Sir Robert Borden said he would enforce it upon the people whether they wanted it or not, but the true Liberal doctrine is to consult the people. We must come to the level of the people. Even in Quebec, the Nationalists have declared that if conscription was carried on a referendum they would be the first to abide by the will of the majority. This is what would have

been gained by a referendum. We are a democratic country, and if democracy means anything it means that these people must rule and govern. (Cheers.)

Ample Reinforcements

"But we are told that if there was a referendum the reinforcements would be kept back by the delays and that there could not be a referendum until June. The minister of militia, Gen. Mewburn, himself admitted a few days ago, when he spoke on the same platform as myself on behalf of the Victory Loan, that we have to-day at the front in France, 143,000 men, and that we have in England 116,000 men, and in Canada 35,000 men. Don't you think, then, that there is ample provision for reinforcements pending the taking of a referendum on this important question? It seems to me that the referendum is the best and wisest way out of the difficulty, and I say this because I want to do my share in the war and because I am in the war to the finish. (Cheers.)

No Alliance With Bourassa

"They tell you that there is an alliance between Laurier and Bourassa. There is no such alliance. I do not adapt the methods of the Borden Government, and I have no alliance with Mr. Bourassa."

Sir Wilfrid said that the refutation lay in the fact that one of its leaders, Armand Lavergne, was running in this election against an official Liberal candidate. The party that had in 1911 allied itself with Bourassa now sought to fasten on him such an alliance, and from that supposition to convict him of disloyalty.

The War Elections Act

Sir Wilfrid proceeded to criticize the war elections act, reiterating the arguments he had used on eastern platforms. He spoke of the action of the late Government in deciding that the women of Canada might not exercise their vote, because a woman was not a "person."

"Well," said Sir Wilfrid, "why could not we have enacted that a woman was a person under the law, and permitted her to vote under the law?"

"If we win—and I think we shall—I will resume the good work where it was left off. There is a crisis, almost an alarming crisis, and we must fight on as fought the pioneers of the early days in Canada; the strong, stern men who kept in sight their goal of Canada's best interests against all difficulties and obstacles. Let our motto be the same as theirs—"Fortitude in distress." There are breakers ahead, but we shall reach the shore if we fight on. We can bring to pass in Canada what was prophesied by a distinguished American once—that the twentieth century would be the century of Canada. Whatever the issue let our aim be to protect our Liberal principles and to advance the common good."

THOUSANDS IN REGINA ACCLAIM BRILLIANT LIBERAL STATESMAN

Speech of December 11, 1917

REGINA, SASK., Dec. 11.—It took four of the largest halls in the city of Regina to house the thousands who wanted to hear Sir Wilfrid Laurier explain his policy of winning the war here to-night. The Metropolitan Methodist Church, the city hall, the Westminster Church and the First Baptist Church, were all crowded to their fullest capacity, and though the Winnipeg meeting of Monday was a success for the Liberal chief it was eclipsed fourfold by the meeting in this capital city of Saskatchewan.

Many people wanted to know what Sir Wilfrid felt regarding the reinforcement of our soldiers at the front, and he based his main speech upon his war policy, which, he said, would produce better results not only in

Quebec, which he admitted was behind in recruiting, but also in the other provinces, than could be obtained by methods of coercion and the blunders of administration which have marked the recruiting campaign of the Borden Government.

"To those who say it is too late to get recruits from the Province of Quebec," Sir Wilfrid declared, "I say it is not too late, and I will repeat it elsewhere, that it is possible yet to have all the soldiers we want from the Province of Quebec, and I make bold to undertake it if the time comes for me to do so." He said he would not consider it judicious, if he was prime minister of Canada, to appoint as chief recruiting officer for the Province of Quebec a man who, although possessing many excellent qualities, was not even able to appeal to prospective recruits in their own language. He said if he had been in office such recruiting methods would not have been adopted.

Same Old Government

Sir Wilfrid described the Union Government as "the same old Conservative party with some veneration upon it." He said it had no right to claim a monopoly of patriotic sentiment, and he declared solemnly that his object was just as much to win the war as his opponent.

Dealing with economic questions, he said: "In my judgment the revenue could be raised by direct taxation, and above all things by taxing the profiteers." (Cheers.) He showed that the money produced by the tariff in Canada only went as a small rivulet into the public treasury in comparison to the large stream of millions which went into the pockets of the profiteer and privileged classes.

As To Quebec

Sir Wilfrid devoted the large part of his address to the situation in Quebec, admitting to his own personal regret, coming from Quebec as he himself did, that in proportion to its numbers it had not produced the same recruiting results as the other provinces of confederation.

He proved that the Nationalists, assisted and financed by Tory money, had spread the doctrine through Quebec that under no circumstances Canada should participate in the wars of the Empire and that the Borden Government itself had produced the sentiment against recruiting by its National alliance now injurious to recruiting in that province. He explained that no man in Canada had done more to defeat the Liberal party in 1911 than Henri Bourassa, and that there was no man whom the Tories owed more gratitude to than him because he was a man who had placed them in power.

In War to Finish

He declared with vehemence, "neither Mr. Bourassa or anyone else will ever dominate Laurier. Mr. Bourassa has his views, but his views are not mine. I am in this war to a finish. Mr. Bourassa is against me upon this. To those who answer the 'Nationalists are with you,' I answer the Nationalists are the same as they were and I am the same as I was in 1911."

Urging his plea for a referendum, Sir Wilfrid Laurier emphasized the fact that if we are to have unity in this country, and we must and shall have it, he said, amid cheers, then we must understand the temper of all people and endeavor by persuasion to appeal to the soul of the nation on the broad question of the Canadian nation.

Passion and Prejudice

"Harm has been done by passion and prejudice," said Sir Wilfrid. "There is only one way to repair it, and that is to appeal to the reason and to the sentiment, to the mind and to the heart of the people, and with such appeals I have every confidence we shall succeed. If you want to have government by coercion, you may have an automaton, but you will not have a living soul and it is the living soul I rely upon to carry on the war to a triumph."

Immediate Referendum

In answer to the argument of delay against the referendum, Sir Wilfrid declared that if a Liberal Government was returned he would have a referendum within sixty days after the meeting of Parliament.

Hon. Geo. Langley, minister of municipal affairs in the Martin Government, who was chairman at the main meeting, declared that there had been more machine politics pulled off by the Unionist Government in Regina during the past few weeks to prevent the people from speaking than ever before in Regina's history.

At all four meetings, Sir Wilfrid's principal speakers were Hon. W. G. Mitchell, provincial treasurer of Quebec, and Mr. Hartley Dewart, M.P.P., of Toronto.

Too Witty For Hecklers

The Metropolitan Church where Sir Wilfrid spoke first, was packed to its utmost capacity. Only two men tried to heckle the speaker. His witty sally was too much for them, and they subsided into silence. Sir Wilfrid said:

"Last night I was in the capital city of Manitoba; to-night I am in the capital city of Saskatchewan, and to-morrow I shall be seen in the largest city of Alberta, then I shall go to the coast, where I will speak in Vancouver. Do you know why I have come all this distance? It is a long distance, you will admit. It is a long way to Tipperary, and just so it is a long distance from Ottawa to Regina.

Answers Traitor Cry

"I have come here to Regina to give answer to some accusation which have been hurled at me from press and platform. My foes say that if Laurier is elected Canada will quit the war. Some of the men who have so nobly stood behind me have answered this statement, but I came myself to tell you more, for it has always been my principle to be in the thick of the fray. You know it does not frighten me to be called a traitor. I have been in the Canadian public life upwards of 40 years, and this epithet has been hurled at me from all quarters of Canada. Six years ago I was denounced as a traitor to my race and religion. To-day I am a traitor to Canada and the Empire. One is as true as the other," said Sir Wilfrid, and the crowd laughed approval.

Same Old Party Veneered

"Dealing with the Union Government, Sir Wilfrid said that it was the "same old Conservative party with some veneer upon it."

"I do not object to them saying they are 'Unionists,' but I do strenuously object to their filching the title 'win the war.' I also want to win the war. To win this war it is not an easy matter. We need the soldiers, it is true. But behind the soldiers we need the toilers and we must take care of the widows and orphans not by the cold charity of the patriotic fund, but by the Government."

Dealing with the conscription problem, Sir Wilfrid said that England had defeated the greatest colossus of all, Napoleon, with voluntary enlistment. He charged the Borden Government with being responsible for Quebec failing to send its men and said that not a single Conservative minister, with the exception of the late Mr. Casgrain, had ever made a recruiting speech in Quebec, while, on the other hand, he said, he himself and other Liberals had done so.

Continuing, the speaker drew applause when he said: "Above all of party or creed I am a Canadian."

"If Canada wants to succeed we must have unity of all races," he said. "We must make people who come to us study the public questions from the broad basis of Canadians. The election in 1911 was won by appeals to passion and prejudice. To-night I am appealing to reason and sentiment."

In concluding his speech Sir Wilfrid told the people that Monday would be verdict day, he said:

"I do not care personally for the result. I care because I believe the

principles I advocate are the best. Whatever the electors decide my conduct will be the same. If I win, I will not be elated; if I lose I will not be disheartened. I will be proud to fight as a general or as a private in the grand army of freedom."

STRICKEN WITH PARALYSIS WHILE DRESSING FOR CHURCH

OTTAWA, Feb. 16.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier was taken suddenly ill this morning at his home here while dressing for church. As a result the Opposition leader will probably not take part in the opening of Parliament on Thursday.

Sir Wilfrid has enjoyed good health for the past year, and was eagerly looking forward to the coming session. On Saturday he attended the meeting of the Canadian Club and seemed to be quite well. Last night, however, he complained of a slight faintness before retiring.

To-day he was stricken with a slight stroke of paralysis.

His family physician stated late to-night that Sir Wilfrid was resting easily, and that his condition could not be described as critical, but it will be necessary for the veteran leader to take a prolonged rest.

In Seventy-Eighth Year

Sir Wilfrid is in his 78th year, and owing to his advanced age his condition is causing some concern.

Should Sir Wilfrid not be present at the opening of the session it will be the first he has missed in 40 years.

"There is no immediate cause for anxiety," stated J. L. Giguere, his private secretary at 10 o'clock tonight. "Sir Wilfrid's condition is not critical, and for the present there is every hope. He is quite conscious and his heart is strong."

The seizure came shortly before 11 o'clock this morning. Sir Wilfrid was dressing at his home to go to church, when he suddenly became unconscious and fell to the floor. A maid in an adjoining room, hearing the noise, hastened to his assistance and gave the alarm. Sir Wilfrid was carried to bed, and shortly afterwards his medical adviser, Dr. R. Chevrier, was in attendance.

Regains His Speech

It was a couple of hours later that Sir Wilfrid began to show signs of recovery. His condition gradually improved and he regained speech.

That Sir Wilfrid had a stroke yesterday is emphatically denied. He attended the Canadian Club luncheon and in the afternoon was at his office in the museum, preparing for the session, until 5 o'clock. So well did the Opposition leader feel that he went home in a street car, instead of his automobile. Yet there is no doubt the strain of the last few weeks has told on Sir Wilfrid's strength. There have been interviews and discussions galore. Anxious to play his full part in the session which opens on Thursday, Sir Wilfrid has not spared himself. There had further been much work to be done, too, in the organization of the Ontario Liberal conventions.

Last Public Appearance

Indeed, it was in this connection that Sir Wilfrid made his last public appearance. The occasion was the Eastern Ontario convention of a month ago. Sir Wilfrid then addressed the delegates at the evening meeting in St. Patrick's Hall, Ottawa. He spoke for almost an hour, and there was no sign of imminent collapse. The voice was strong, and as Sir Wilfrid outlined the Liberal platform there was every evidence of the mental vigor which in him appeared to me the faster of time.

"If I have but one regret," he then declared, "it is that I am not twenty years younger, that I might throw more vigor into the fight. Our horizon is broadening. Every man must do his part." And, as keen as ever to

play his part on the floor of the House, Sir Wilfrid had given freely of the strength left to a man of 78 years.

In Government circles word of Sir Wilfrid's illness is received with the deepest regret. Although differing from him on political issues, members of the Government have always held Sir Wilfrid in high personal regard.

At 11 o'clock tonight Dr. Chevrier said: "Sir Wilfrid is now quite conscious, although still slightly affected. His heart is fairly strong and condition hopeful. I do not think there is at present any cause for grave anxiety, but at Sir Wilfrid's age such an attack must necessarily give rise to concern."

Two nurses are in attendance on Sir Wilfrid.

DEATH OF GRAND OLD LEADER OCCURRED FEBRUARY 17, 1920

The following are despatches reproduced from the Advertiser at the time of Sir Wilfrid's critical illness, death and funeral.

Ottawa, February 17.—Sir Wilfrid died at 2.50 p. m.

At the bedside when Sir Wilfrid died were Lady Laurier, Madam A. N. Brodeur, sister-in-law, Madame L. P. Brodeur, Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Coutu, Robert Laurier, nephew, Rev. Father La Jeune, Hon. N. A. Belcourt, Hon. Chas. Murphy, James Robb, M. P., chief Liberal whip, the two nurses, Sister Maricline and Miss Aeost, and Luciene Gigeur, private secretary.

It is a year ago since Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier celebrated their golden wedding. To-day, Lady Laurier is in a condition of practical collapse and very helpless indeed. She is terribly depressed, and this shock has been tremendous. For several years Lady Laurier has suffered from impaired eyesight, and it was Sir Wilfrid who escorted her to her seat at the table. Now the strong old heart is stilled and Lady Laurier is herself badly broken by the blow.

Will Be State Funeral

There will be a state funeral for Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Parliament will meet on Thursday as announced, but out of respect to the memory of the Liberal leader there will be adjournment over the week-end. In both Houses on Thursday references will be made to the loss which the Dominion has sustained.

Orders have been issued that all flags on public buildings shall be flown at half-mast.

Tentative arrangements for the state funeral have been completed, and will be confirmed at a meeting of the cabinet tomorrow afternoon. They provide for the removal of the body from his late residence on Laurier avenue to the House of Commons chamber in the Victoria Museum next Thursday afternoon at 5 o'clock. There it will lie in state until Saturday morning. The public will be admitted to the chamber from 6 o'clock on Thursday evening until 10 o'clock on Saturday morning.

Archbishop to Officiate

At half-past ten o'clock on Saturday morning the funeral cortege will proceed from the Victoria Museum building to the Sacred Heart Church, where mass will be celebrated. Archbishop Mathieu, of Regina, an old personal friend of the late Liberal leader, who is at present in Montreal, has been asked to officiate at the mass, and though no definite word has been received from him, it is expected that he will do so.

After the celebration of mass in the Sacred Heart Church the cortege will proceed to Notre Dame Cemetery, where interment will take place. The Government has charge of all the funeral arrangements.

The death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has made a profound impression in the

capital, and on every side may be heard expressions of regret at the passing of this great statesman. As a mark of respect the city council postponed its regular meeting for a week.

Great Loss to Nation

The general feeling, not only among his political friends and supporters, but among those who were opposed to him in politics, appears to be that the country has sustained a great loss in the death of one of its most famous and worthy sons. Flags in the city are flying at half-mast, and in every quarter the passing of the revered Liberal leader is being respectfully discussed.

SOME TRIBUTES TO MEMORY OF CANADA'S GREATEST LIBERAL

OTTAWA, Feb. 17.—Referring to the death of Sir Wilfrid, Sir Thomas White, acting premier, said this afternoon:

"I am deeply shocked and grieved at the sad news. The sudden and lamented death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier removes a great historic figure from Canadian public life, and most distinguished and commanding personality from the deliberations of parliament. I shall reserve for expression in the House my opinion of his political career and of his achievements as a statesman.

Rare Personal Charm

"Personally, Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a man of high intellectual gifts and rare social charm with a singularly attractive winsomeness of disposition and manner which endeared him to countless admirers throughout the Dominion and made warm personal friends of strong political opponents. His long political experience, the prestige of the high office of prime minister which he held for so many years, his authority and influence as leader of the Opposition, with his wide knowledge of affairs and his great oratorical gifts made him a conspicuous and outstanding figure in the House, where he was always heard with the deepest interest and attention. A certain stateliness of bearing and a dignified courtesy belonging to a generation now almost passed away, added to the attraction which he had for those who knew him or were brought into contact with him. All the members of the Government deeply regret his death and extend to his widow and the other members of his family circle their most sincere and heartfelt sympathy. Every possible mark of respect will be paid in honor of his long and distinguished public career and services."

Almost Idolized

Hon. P. E. Blondin, postmaster-general, paid the following tribute to the dead Liberal chieftain:

"The news is a stupefaction to everybody. Who could believe that a man still so active who even on Saturday could be seen going from a Canadian Club meeting to his office, there to work for a few hours, would be dead to-day?"

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier, so admired and almost idolized by his friends, had the esteem of everyone. If the violence of our political struggles brought him some ardent opponents he never had an enemy. Politically, as well as socially he was a charmer by his exquisite courtesy of form and manners. He excelled in the art of making one forget the blows he was giving. The course of events made him a power in the country, but in the House, by the sole force of his extraordinary facility of assimilation and the unquestionable quality of his eloquence he was always a master. The same may be said of his political strategy. The place he leaves in the Canadian Parliament can not be filled in a day.

Looms Large in History

"As to his political deeds, so much discussed, time alone will discern perfectly their merits and demerits. One thing is sure, he will loom large in the political history of the last 40 years. Cartier and Macdonald excepted, no one enjoyed at a given moment a prestige equal to his own in all parts of the country. He often said that his dominant aim was to secure harmony of races in Canada. If he did not succeed in the measure he hoped, it is not because he did not give to it the fullness of his great talents and an undying perseverance.

"With Sir Wilfrid Laurier disappears one of the last of those who entered public life at the time of Confederation. He has lived to witness its expansion, and has certainly done much to assure its development. It is proper that his death be considered as a national mourning.

"Lady Laurier has the deep affection of all those who have been in a position to appreciate her noble virtues and in her bereavement she may count on their sympathy."

Carvell's Tribute

Hon. F. B. Carvell, minister of public works, paid the following tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

"I followed him loyally for fourteen years, and I always found his judgment good. He was honest and upright, and was actuated at all times by the highest ideals and what he honestly believed to be in the best interests of Canada. He was accorded a loyalty by his followers that few political leaders have ever been favored with, and when, in 1917, many of his followers could not agree with him on his attitude towards the big question, their political friendship for him never ceased."

Hard to Realize His Death, Says Lemieux

QUEBEC, Feb. 17.—Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who was in Quebec to-day commented as follows on the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

"The Canadian people will realize with difficulty the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He has been for such a long time an essential part of our national life. His disappearance will leave the sensation of a vote. He will long be mourned by all Canadians, but particularly by those of his own race, whose idol and glory he always was. Laurier was, in fact, one of the grandest, the purest, the noblest and the most glorious figures of our history. He easily takes a place beside Lafontaine and Cartier. As a statesman he was the equal of Sir John Macdonald.

PRESS TRIBUTES TO MEMORY OF DEAD LIBERAL LEADER

LONDON, Feb. 18.—Commenting on the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Daily Telegraph opens a column editorial by declaring that not Canada alone, but the United Kingdom and the British Empire will deplore the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It bears testimony to his great love of Canada as the motive of all his policies. The explanation of his action in regard to participation by Canada in wars abroad is that he was a Whig by temperament, believing in moderation as a guiding principle of policy and a devoted follower of the men whom in the political world he most admired, Charles James Fox and William E. Gladstone.

"Greatest Statesman of Greater Britain," Says Windsor Paper

WINDSOR, Feb. 18.—The Border Cities Star (Ind.) says, in the course of a lengthy editorial tribute to the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier: "Friend and foe, adherent and opponent, throughout the whole Dominion, will unite in

deeply lamenting the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, loyal leader of His Majesty's Opposition and the "greatest statesman of Greater Britain."

"He was still the outstanding figure of Parliament, despite the fact that the Opposition was pitifully small in comparison with the Government side of the House. But, be we adherent or opponent, we all now think of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the man—to think that there was always about him that fire, that sparkle, that charm and distinction which made him seem spiritual kin to the courtiers of the court of Louis XVI. rather than a political leader of the 20th century."

British Newspapers Regard Laurier As Greatest Canadian

LONDON, Feb. 18.—All papers publish long obituaries and warm tributes to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The Times says: "Canada loses in Laurier one of the most famous of her sons, a man who left his mark on her life more for his own conspicuous qualities than for any political structure of his building or for any executive achievement that he fathered. He was a great Canadian, not less great because his personality, his convictions and his methods were all constantly provocative of controversy."

The Daily Chronicle says: "Laurier's name will be permanently associated with some of the most important phases in the development of the British commonwealth. Not only will Canada always rank him among the great builders of her nationhood, but he will hold his niche in the temple of world history."

The Daily Graphic: "Laurier was without question one of the most distinguished premiers any British dominion has yet produced. Throughout his career he upheld clearly two ideals—the nationhood of Canada and the unity of the Empire."

The Daily News: "No man had a more delicate political path to traverse or walked that difficult path with more circumspect statesmanship and wisdom. He was loyal both to his British connection and to his own people, and if his dual loyalty laid him open sometimes to misunderstanding, it was always sincere and inspired by his disinterested passion for his country."

Laurier's Government Was Best That Canada Ever Had

BRANTFORD Feb. 18.—The Brantford Expositor editorially has the following tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier: "As premier of Canada he gained a world-wide reputation as a statesman and leader, and under his government, one of the best the Dominion has ever had, this young country bloomed into full manhood and gained a prominent place among the foremost nations of the universe. The fifteen years of his premiership were epoch-making in Canada's history, and formed a period of great national prosperity. He performed the greatest service in promoting unity between the two railways in Canada, and by his policy of moderation and conciliation he created a feeling of mutual good understanding which removed many serious obstacles to Canada's progress."

Triumphed By Sheer Ability and Character

WINNIPEG, Feb. 18.—The Manitoba Free Press says: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier will rank in history as one of Canada's greatest representatives. * * He occupied, owing to his racial and religious sympathies, a position of peculiar difficulty and danger to his success in public life. Over these he triumphed by sheer ability, strength of character and charm of nature. * * * At this sad moment, every citizen of this Dominion, regardless of race, creed, party or personal predilection, will join in recognition of the loss which Canada has sustained in the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier."

Death Removes From Public Life Last of The Old School

MONTREAL, Feb. 18.—Commenting on the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Gazette says:

"Sir Wilfrid possessed in high degree the art of the politician, using the

phrase in no disparaging sense. His grace of manner, his striking figure, his genial ways and his ready adaptability to his surroundings quickly won the sympathy of his audiences, who were often more impressed by the manner than the matter of his addresses.

"His death removes from public life the last of the old school, and this generation cannot hope to look upon his like again. His policies, his principles, his methods of government, may more appropriately be left to the review of the historian. In the awful and sudden visitation of the angel of death, it is of the lovable man all minds will think, and all sincere sympathy go out to his life companion, Lady Laurier, in the irreparable loss she has sustained."

No Public Man Did As Much As Laurier

The New York Times—Not as of "the painful warrior famous for fight, after a thousand victories, once foiled," will tolerant memories, softened by death, recall the engaging and brilliant figure of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. For the extension of Canadian transportation, commerce, agriculture, for the development of Canadian national sentiment with an indefinite but strong imperial scope no other public man in Canada did so much.

Laurier's Death Calls Forth Many Personal Tributes.

OTTAWA Feb. 18.—Hon. W. S. Fielding, Sir Wilfrid's colleague and now mentioned as a prospective Liberal leader, to-day paid the following tribute to his departed chief:

"The news of the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier comes as a shock to everybody, and particularly to those who had seen him but recently. In earlier life he was not a strong man, but as the years rolled on he seemed to grow in health. When I last saw him at his house a few days ago he seemed so well and was so cheerful that I complimented him on his robust appearance. Often when spoken to in that way he would reply: 'Yes I feel, but remember that the books say I am an old man.' He grew old in such a young and cheery way that I fear he was often led to undertake more work than was prudent for one of his years.

Pleaded For Unity

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier's services to Canada and the Empire were of the highest value. If he had one wish above others, it was that he might be useful in promoting the best relations between the peoples of the two races in Canada, and uniting them in service of the state. Every incident that afforded either reason or excuse for anything like a racial cleavage he viewed with the utmost sorrow. It was this aspect of the differences that arose between him and some of his followers, a few months ago, that caused him the deepest regret. His hope, I know, was that these differences were passing away, and that those who had participated in them would be reunited.

"The man who served under him in his cabinets will remember with pleasure the very happy relations that almost invariably prevailed between them and their chief. While he could be firm in adhering to his views, when occasion required, he was happiest when his relations with his ministers were those of comradeship and when he could support them cordially in the policies they presented.

Era of Prosperity Due to Laurier's Wise Direction

LONDON, Feb. 18.—Col. Pelletier from Quebec, writing to the *Daily Express*, pays an eloquent tribute to the greatness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's work for Canada, and his constant devotion to her best interests, and attributes largely to his wise direction the wonderful era of prosperity which Canada has known for the past twenty years.

Conservative Leader in B. C.—Creates a Gap Hard to Fill

VICTORIA, B. C., Feb. 18.—W. G. Bowser, K.C., leader of the Conservative Opposition in the Legislature, pays the following tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

"No political belief of mine could divorce me from my unbounded admiration for Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He was a great Canadian, a man of fearless action, a statesman of tremendous attainments, and one whose passing creates in the ranks of Canada's foremost public men a gap that will be very difficult to fill."

Death of Chieftain a Tremendous Loss, Says Premier Stewart

EDMONTON, Feb. 18.—Premier Stewart said last night:

"The death of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is a tremendous loss to Canada and the Empire. The honorable public career and the exemplary private life of our great chieftain will long be an inspiration to public men in Canada."

Ex-President of U. S. Pays Glowing Tribute

PORTLAND, ORE., Feb. 18.—When apprised yesterday by the Associated Press of the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, ex-President William Howard Taft expressed keen regret. "I am very sorry to learn that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has passed away," said Mr. Taft.

"He was a very remarkable man. At the head of the Canadian Government for fifteen years, he performed the task of maintaining a solid party of French and British Canadians under the Liberal banner, and did much for the advancement of Canada. He had a capacity of attracting to him friends who followed him with intense loyalty and with the greatest admiration. He will be greatly mourned, not only in Canada, but everywhere."

FUNERAL WAS THE GREATEST THAT DOMINION EVER SEEN

OTTAWA, Feb. 22.—Canada's capital to-day honored its great dead in worthy fashion. There was a tremendous dignity and solemnity in the funeral cortege of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which formed a fitting climax to a life which would have been noble in any of the great nations of the world, ancient or modern.

This dignity made itself manifest, not so much in the formal arrangements, which had been made for a state funeral, but in the grand, spontaneity with which the people flocked in thousands to pay a last tribute. Unquestionably this was the largest funeral, the grandest and the noblest, that Canada had ever seen.

40,000 View Remains

During the eve of the funeral, when the body was lying in state in the Chamber of the Parliament, in which the great tribune had won his noblest triumphs for the people, nearly 40,000 people filed past the catafalque. It was late in the night before the last of the long line could be admitted, and from the earliest dawn this morning thousands more streamed down to the Victoria Museum. The doors, however, had to be kept closed so that the preliminaries for the funeral procession to the Roman Catholic Basilica on Sussex street, a mile and a half away, could be adequately arranged.

Thousands Line Route

Soon after 8 o'clock great numbers of spectators had assembled along the line of route, taking advantage of every position which would give them an unobstructed view. The city had filled with visitors as if by magic overnight, special trains running from distant points and at times congesting the large railway station. The mayor of Ottawa had to issue an appeal for those with rooms to offer accommodation, and a central bureau for this work was opened at the city hall. Almost every window and balcony in the spacious square wherein the Victoria Museum is situated was filled with onlookers. Promptly at 10 o'clock the arrangements for the departure of the cortege was completed, despite the complexity of having to make up a

procession composed of horse-drawn sleighs (for the streets in Ottawa are deep in snow), and of scores of dignitaries of state, national societies, returned soldiers' societies and political bodies, closing with a vast unclassified stream of simple citizens from nearly all parts of the Dominion.

These of course were in addition to the specially-invited state guests, including the governor-general and staff Gen. Gwatkin (representing H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught) the lieutenant-governors, archbishops and bishops, members of the Cabinet, the speaker of the Senate and senators, and speakers and members of the House of Commons, with whom the members of the Parliamentary press gallery walked.

Honorary Pallbearers

The following gentlemen acted as honorary pallbearers: The Hon. Sir Thomas White, Hon. Sir James Loughheed, Hon. Sir William Muloch, Hon. Sidney Fisher, Hon. Senator Balcourt, Hon. Senator Aylesworth, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. Charles Murphy, Hon. R. A. Dandurand, Hon. Senator Edwards, Hon. L. O. David, Jacques Bureau, Esq., M.P. J. A. Robb, Esq., M.P. Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin. Monsignor Dimaria, representative of the Pope in Canada, officiated at the church, assisted by other high dignitaries of the church. Mgr. Routhier was assistant priest. Canons Campeau and Pladin, deacons of honor, and Father Myrand of St. Anne's deacon of office. In the sanctuary were several archbishops and bishops and representatives of all the religious communities. A touching requiem mass composed by the Abbe Perosi was rendered by the choir, and at the conclusion eloquent eulogies of the dead are to be pronounced in French by Archbishop Mathieu of Regina and in English by Rev. Father John Burke, Paulist of Toronto, son of the late Mr. Denis Burke of Ottawa.

Interred in Notre Dame

After the final absolution, the body was taken to its last resting-place in Notre Dame Cemetery. At the grave the last rites were performed by Father Lajeune of the Juniorate of the Sacred Heart.

Throughout it was necessary to restrict admission strictly to ticket-holders, but the fullness, and indeed the grandeur of the nation's tribute was seen more especially in the vast concourse of those who did not wait for ticket of invitation to show their admiration for "the grand old man." This was the dominant note of Sir Wilfrid's funeral.

From the Victoria Museum up the broad residential maple-lined avenue of Metcalfe street, into the heart of the city of Ottawa, the procession slowly wound its way. Every intersecting street was densely packed for yards away with those who had poured in to view the last rites. Across Sparks street, which is the capital's business chief thoroughfare, the cortege wound, and slowly and with magnificent dignity into Wellington street facing the now almost complete new parliaments on Parliament Hill, where for nearly 45 years the late Sir Wilfrid had been a familiar and honored figure.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CAREER OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER

The Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born in St. Lin, Quebec, November 20, 1841, the son of Carolus Laurier, P.L.S., and Marcelle Martineau. After passing through the local schools and l'Assomption College he entered the office of Hon. R. Lafamme in 1860 as a student at law. In 1864 he received the degree of B.C.L. from McGill University, and the same year was called to the bar. He became a queen's counsel in 1880. As head of the law firm of Laurier & Lavergne he practiced his profession with distinction, taking an interest in public affairs, which led him in the earlier years of his practice to edit and contribute to several publications. In May, 1868, he married Miss Zoe Lafontaine.

It was in 1871 that the brilliant lawyer decided to give his services to his country. In that year he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Quebec for Drummond and Arthabaska. Three years later he entered the larger field, successfully contesting the same riding for the House of Commons, where his magnetic personality, his brilliant oratory and his astuteness in statecraft soon won him recognition.

Member of Privy Council

In 1877 he was sworn in as a member of the privy council, and appointed minister of inland revenue in the Mackenzie administration, but on going back to his constituency for re-election was defeated by D. O. Bourbeau, who had a majority of forty. I. Thibaudeau, member for Quebec East, resigned his seat, and Mr. Laurier was elected in his place.

This was the beginning of the long and notable career at Ottawa which has just been terminated. He was re-elected for Quebec East at the general elections in 1878 and subsequent years. When the Mackenzie government resigned in 1878 he became a member of a vigorous opposition, of which he was chosen leader in 1881.

Premier in 1896

Upon the defeat of the Tupper ministry at the general elections of 1896 he was called upon by Lord Aberdeen to form a ministry. He was sworn in as president of the privy council July 11, and two days later formed his ministry, remaining in power until October, 1911, when his government was defeated at the polls.

He was a member of the sub-committee of the privy council appointed to arrange a settlement of the school question, which at that time was a bone of contention in Manitoba. A settlement was reached on a basis which did not please Roman Catholics, but in a way which Mr. Laurier considered in the general interests of the country, the viewpoint which he always took on public questions.

He represented Canada at the celebration of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee at London in June, 1897, and on that occasion was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Received by The Queen

He was received in audience by the Queen, and given a leading place in the great state procession of the colonial dignitaries. This honor he always referred to as a tribute to Canada, but the other dignitaries present regarded it as a tribute to the most notable of overseas statesmen. Oxford and Cambridge universities conferred on him the honorary degree of D.C.L. He was sworn in as a member of the imperial privy council, was made an honorary member of the Cobden Club, and received from it a gold medal in recognition of his services in behalf of international free exchange.

During his trip abroad he was presented by the president of France with the star of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, the highest rank but one of the national honor.

Binding the Empire

While in England he conferred with other representatives of British dominions and colonies, and wielded a tremendous influence among them, in behalf of a closer union of the British Empire. One of his most important acts on that occasion was directed toward securing closer trade relations between Canada and the mother country, and as a direct result of his efforts the British Government gave notice to Germany and Belgium of denunciation of the commercial treaties with those countries which stood in the way of Canada's new tariff extending a preference to the United Kingdom.

The Colonial Conference

At that time and in 1902, when he attended the coronation of King Edward VII., and participated in the colonial conference in London, as well as at later conferences, his voice was constantly heard in an endeavor to bet-

ter the Empire as a unit, and much of the good-will at present existing between the component parts of the Empire is attributed to his influence.

Upon his return from the jubilee celebration, Sir Wilfrid was accorded public receptions at Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, as fitting recognition of the important part he had played as the representative of Canada. Toronto and Queen's universities presented him with the honorary degree of LL.D. When he returned from the coronation celebration he was also extended a public welcome at the capital.

Mission to Washington

In November, 1897, Sir Wilfrid went to Washington in the interest of better relations between the two countries. He was a member of the joint-high commission which met at Quebec, August 23, 1898, to discuss questions affecting the relations of Great Britain, Canada and the United States. He welcomed the Duke of Cornwall and York to Canada in 1901, and accompanied the party on its tour of Canada. In 1904 he was presented with the Fenian raid medal by the governor-general, having served the country in that conflict. He attended the imperial conferences at London in 1907 and 1911, and in the latter year represented Canada at the coronation of King George V. and Queen Mary. In the same year his party suffered defeat at the polls on the reciprocity question, and since then Sir Wilfrid has been leader of the Opposition.

Sir Wilfrid's Message to Young Canadians

"My young friends, go out into the world to service. Make the highest thought of service your inspiration. Problems there are—big problems. To-morrow, the day after to-morrow, it will be your turn to grapple with them. Serve God and your country. Be firm in the right as God gives you to see the right. You may not always succeed. Progress is often punctuated with reverses. You may meet reverses—but the following day stand up again and renew the conflict, for truth and justice shall triumph in the end."—Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the Students of the University of Toronto in 1913.

SIR WILFRID'S ONE AIM WAS TO BRING PEOPLES TOGETHER

Unity of Canadians His Great Desire, Says Hon. C. S. Hyman

Having been notified by The Advertiser of the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. C. S. Hyman wires his regrets from Coronado, California, in the following words:

"Deeply shocked at news of Sir Wilfrid's death. Many years of closest personal and political intercourse bring the assurance that his one great life's desire was to bring about a better understanding between the two predominating Canadian peoples, firmly believing that there lay the true foundation of Canadian progress and prosperity.

"C. S. HYMAN."

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER—1

*A Series of Articles Taken From Professor Skelton's Latest Book
"The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier."*

The one grown-up history worthy of the name that we have of Canada's development since 1870 is Professor O. D. Skelton's "The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier," in the series "The Chronicles of Canada," edited by Professor Wrong and Mr. Langton, of Toronto University. There have been many so-called Canadian "histories," some of them sawdust grinds, some nursery pap, some mere chatter or puerile nondescript. But Mr. Skelton's book has life, dignity, perspective and proper craftsmanship. No clumsy amateurism here, but solid information, plus an ordered and lively expression.

It is The Advertiser's purpose to quote, in a series of articles, what this master of Canadian history tells us of Laurier. The reader will see what Laurier has done for Canada and the Empire, soberly and authoritatively set down by a great historical scholar, not in any heat of election argument, but in the non-partisan quietness of scientific judgment. You will get glimpses of Laurier, not as an election expert like Robert Rogers might represent him, nor as one loving the great leader not wisely but too well might overpraise him, but as an historical expert sees the career of Sir Wilfrid in its Canadian and imperial setting, steadily and whole.

One thing that Mr. Skelton brings out in especial salience is the moderation, fairness and calmness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He has been ever the mediator, peacemaker and unifier of the two Canadian races. He early took up, also, and has maintained a political position between the anti-clerical Liberalism of continental Europe and a weak-backed Liberalism that in Quebec should fear to assert the full right of individual independence in deciding on political affairs. This position he has always held to be that of British Liberalism, viz., to stand for individual freedom and toleration but to avoid a conflict of church and state. When the Church in Quebec has seemed intolerant, or inclined to exert undue influence upon the voter or too interfering with secular affairs, Laurier has been its opponent.

To quote from Mr. Skelton:

"The understanding and the intolerance and good-will which understanding brings, were destined to abide for life. It was not without reason that the ruling motive of the young schoolboy's future career was to be the awakening of sympathy and harmony between the two races." (p. 6.)

Laurier is still striving to hold Canada together. He fought in 1911 and fights in 1917 against those who would disrupt the Dominion built by Sir John Macdonald and himself. Mr. Skelton says again (p. 11) of Laurier's valedictory address on his graduation in law at McGill University (1864), that it stated "the need of racial harmony, the true meaning of liberty, the call for straightforward justice." The historian refers (p. 12) to Laurier's "cool, discriminating moderation," "the strength of brain and the poise and balance of temper which the years had brought him." (p. 17.)

From 1863 to 1866 Laurier, then a young man of 22-25 years, was a member of the Institut Canadien at Montreal, a society persecuted by the reactionist French clergy. Toleration was the motto of these young French-Canadian Liberals and toleration was a sin in the eyes of the hostile clergy. It was Laurier's mission to teach the needlessness of clerical and political antagonism. When elected later to the Quebec Legislature (1871), Laurier opened up his parliamentary career by "scoring the Government for its backward educational policy, urging active steps to check the exodus of French-Canadians to the mills of New England, praising the ideals of British Liberalism, and calling for a truce in racial and religious quarrels." He was doing good service from the start to his province, to Canada and to the Empire: He was a light to lighten the habitants, a harmonizer of the races and a peacemaker between church and state. Further quotations will show how Laurier is still the light of Canada, the safe guide in the storm.

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER--2

As a young man of 25 Sir Wilfrid Laurier showed his courage and the strength of his convictions in undertaking the editorship of the Rouge organ "Le Defricheur" (The Pioneer). This task he carried on at Arthabaska-ville for six months in the teeth of the religious authorities of the district who did not perceive, as Professor Skelton says, that the editor's "quarrel was with ecclesiastical pretensions, not with religion." Laurier's paper flickered out under persecution, and thus was lost, and yet not altogether lost, his first bout with bigotry. The grand struggle was to come in the following decade.

In 1871 the ultramontane party dominating the Quebec Church issued "The Catholic Programme." "It sought," says Mr. Skelton, "to lay down a policy to govern all good Catholics in the coming elections. The doctrine of the separation of Church and State, the document declared, was impious and absurd. On the contrary, the authorities of the state, and the electors who chose them, must act in perfect accord with the teachings of the Church, and endeavor to safeguard its interests by making such changes in the laws as the bishops might demand. To secure this end the Conservative party must be supported . . . The right of the clergy to intervene in politics was upheld."

So Laurier, then a candidate for the Quebec Legislature, was branded for his Liberalism, for his championship of individual liberty, as "impious and absurd." And the ultramontanes found in 1871, as in 1911 and since, their natural allies in the Conservative party. History repeats itself.

The Liberals in Quebec had a hard fight against clerical intolerance and interference. In 1873 and 1875 the bishops issued pastorals, and priests interfered improperly in elections both provincial and federal, in support of "The Catholic Programme," and against Liberals or Liberalism. Priests threatened voters with eternal punishment if they went Liberal. If Liberal candidates announced themselves as not anti-clerical but merely opposed to such undue clerical pressure, if they called themselves "moderate Liberals" in order to mollify the wrath ecclesiastic, a Chambly priest was ready to say that "moderate is only another term for liar." Another priest, referring to the colors of the two parties, blue (Conservative) and rouge (Liberal), declared with French or fanatic vivacity that "The sky of heaven is blue, the fire of hell is rouge." Elections of Conservatives in Quebec being contested as brought about by these illegal tactics, one witness testified in court that he "was afraid if he voted for Tremblay he should be damned." The voiding of some of these elections by the Supreme Court put a damper on the fires of bigotry. "The sturdy fight of the Liberals of Quebec for the most elementary rights of a free people had its effect." But bitterness had reached such a pitch in 1877 that all "the vigor and moderation, the grace and flair" (Skelton, p. 34) of Laurier, from 1874 the leader of Quebec Liberalism, was still needed to calm a dangerous ferment and complete the victory won for his cause in the courts by a masterpiece of statesmanly and epoch-making oratory.

It was in June, 1877, that Laurier in a speech to "Le Club Canadien" of Quebec City:

"Came forward to do for his province and his country a service which could be accomplished only by a man of rarely balanced judgment, of firm grasp of essential principles, of wide reading and familiarity with the political ideals of other lands, and, above all, of matchless courage. Rarely, if ever, has there been delivered in Canada a speech of such momentous importance, or one so firmly based on the first principles with which Canadian statesmen too rarely concern themselves."

It is noticeable that here (p. 48) and elsewhere in his history, Professor Skelton emphasizes the principle and consistency of Laurier. Again and again this is brought out. Finally, summing up (p. 325-330), the historian says:

"With rare consistency and steadfast courage these ends were held in view. Ever an opportunist as to means, Wilfrid Laurier has never been an

opportunist as to ends. . . . A wise opportunism, that met each issue as it arose and dealt with it in the light of long-held principles, kept the nation advancing steadily and advancing abreast."

That is, Laurier has aimed to keep the two Canadian races abreast and harmonious. He is still working at that, and still meets the issue as it arises, with a judicious application of rock-bottom principle. What serious historian will praise the principle and the consistency of Sir Robert Borden? Mr. Robert Rogers may earn condemnation if not praise for "principle" and consistency.

But to return to the great oration of June, 1877. The subject was "Political Liberalism," with particular reference to the question agitated in Quebec of the relation between the Church and the State.

"No true Liberal wished to deny the Church's officers the right which every citizen enjoyed of taking a part in his country's politics; Liberals had opposed, and would continue to oppose, every attempt of politicians in clerical garb to crush freedom of speech by spiritual terrorism. . . . On individual freedom alone could a sound national political system be built up. just as on colonial freedom alone had it been possible to build up a lasting imperial system." (p. 49-50.)

Mr. Skelton recognizes the uniformity of Laurier's imperialism with his Liberalism. Individual freedom as the basis of freer and fuller social or racial co-operation is the central and unifying principle. But of that and other matters more anon. In 1877 Laurier finished the victory for Liberalism in Quebec against ecclesiastical persecution. As Mr. Skelton says, (p. 50), the speech "was a master-stroke, both for freedom and for harmony."

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER--3

Closing his history of Canada since Confederation, Professor Skelton says (p. 325): "In Sir Wilfrid Laurier's career four goals of endeavor have been steadily kept in view—individual liberty, collective prosperity, racial and religious harmony and growth to nationhood. With rare consistency and steadfast courage these ends were held in view." We have seen how he battled against priest and prelate for the voter's independence. He has been as eager to secure the prosperity of the Dominion through the freedom of the individual. It is true that he has always been a moderate protectionist, though looking to free trade as an ideal, strongly favoring reciprocity with the United States as both parties in this country did until 1911 and an advocate of commercial union with Great Britain or still more with the British Dominions as more feasible. He pronounced against commercial union with the United States as early as 1887, leading the Liberal party with him (p. 112). He criticized especially in the 1880's the stupidities of the tariff as in its details it hampered the enterprise and welfare of the individual (pp. 41, 57, 111-112, 151-152). After his return to power in 1896 his government speedily corrected some of the stupidities. As Mr. Skelton says (p. 174), "In the revision of the old tariff beneficent changes were effected such as abolition of the duties on binder twine, barbed wire and Indian corn, substantial reductions on flour and sugar the substitution of ad valorem for specific duties and a provision for reducing the duty on goods controlled by trusts or combines. The duties on iron and steel were reduced, but increased bounties were given on their production in Canada. More important, however, than such specific changes was the adoption of the principle of a minimum and maximum tariff."

The next step towards freeing the Canadian community of impediments to prosperity a step also towards commercial unity of the Empire and towards an imperial solidarity based on national independence of the dominions and their closer trade relations was the British preference. Blocking the way to this were found certain old treaties made by Great Britain with Belgium and Germany, "strange bed-fellows." Sir Charles Tupper leading the Opposition declared that this difficulty could not be overcome (p. 175.) Sir Wilfrid overcame it and later punished Germany for tariff reprisals.

"So ended one of the few instances of successful retaliation in all the chequered annals of tariff history," says Mr. Skelton (p. 252). Thus at one stroke the Canadian people was benefitted in a material way, the Ottawa government made a beginning of autonomy in foreign affairs and at the same time "Canada made a distinct advance towards closer imperial union along the line of trade," (p. 184). "The British preference increased imperial sentiment" (p. 187). "It was a real bond of imperial unity simply because it was a free-will offering, given from motives of sentiment, not of profit. (p. 281.)"

But Laurier did much more for Canada's prosperity. When in opposition during the 1880's he supported the C. P. R. project, but "criticized the large land grant and the exemption from taxation" (p. 59). Laurier always is for the common people against the avarice of corporations and combines. Had the C. P. R. policy been different he declared that "there might have been fewer millionaires in this country, but there would have been many more happy and contented homes." His criticism of the C.P.R. policy in the 1880's has been justified by the subsequent history of Canada. "The land grant was of least value to the company when most needed—in the early years. The freedom of the company to select land where they pleased gave them a mortgage on the West and power to deter possible rival roads. The exemption from taxation of the company's lands for twenty years after the issue of the patents and of its capital stock and equipment forever, threw unfair burdens upon the straggling settlers," (p. 60). Sir Wilfrid followed quite another policy in regard to railroads from the land-granting and exempting of the boodling 1880's or the high financing of the Borden-Rogers era.

"No more land-grants were given and when cash subsidies were bestowed the companies so aided were required to carry free government mails, materials and men, up to three per cent. of the subsidy. . . . The Laurier Government refused to take any share in the responsibility or cost of building the expensive and premature section (of the C. N. R.) through the Rockies. The Borden Government and the Province of British Columbia however, gave the aid desired for this venture. Another important development was the establishment, in 1903, with the results of the Dominion Railway Commission, to mediate between railway shipper or traveler," (p. 229-230.)

Prosperity came at last to a declining, famishing and obscure Canada, after the return of Laurier in 1896. In the elections of 1900, says Mr. Skelton, "The country as a whole evidently approved the Government's policy in the (Boer) war, and was not unmindful of the long-sought prosperity which was coming under a vigorous and many-sided policy for the development of the West and of all Canada. The preferential tariff and the prime minister's European tour admirably prepared the way. The British people now regarded Canada with lively interest and for the first time the people of the Continent began to realize the potentialities of this new northern land. The general impression thus created was followed up by more pacific measures aiming to bring in men and capital to extend and cheapen transportation and to facilitate production.

Sir Wilfrid had promised in the early nineties, referring to some dubious statistics used to prove that all was well with the country, that "when I am premier, you will not have to look up figures to find out whether you are prosperous, you will know by feeling in your pockets."

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER--4

What Laurier did in 15 years for the material prosperity of Canada is and will be incalculable. Professor Skelton's praise of his railway policy and the British preference has already been quoted. The personal magnetism of the great orator and statesman was itself an advertisement for Canada to force the obscure, struggling, debt-ridden, Tory-ridden colony for the first time upon the interested attention of the United Kingdom, Continental

Europe and the United States, and to draw such an influx of settlers and capital as made the ex-boodlers of 1878-1896 sick with envy and their unsatisfied greed.

Canada was in a bad way from 1885 to 1896. As Professor Skelton says in his dispassionate survey (pp. 93 ff.): "The Canada of 1887 in which Wilfrid Laurier was induced to accept the leadership of the Liberal party, was a Canada very different from the land of promise familiar to young Canadians of the present generation. It was a Canada seething with restlessness and discontent. The high hopes of the fathers of confederation had turned to ashes. On every hand men were saying that federation had failed. Canada remained unappreciated and unknown; in Great Britain it was simply ignored, alike in official and in private circles. It was a country of gerrymanders and political trickery, of red parlor funds and electoral bribery. The whole political life of the country sank to low and stagnant levels, for it appeared that the people had openly condoned corruption in high places, and that lavish promises and 'glad hand' were a surer road to success than honest and efficient administration."

No, reader, this is not old "blue-ruin," Sir Richard Cartwright railing irresponsibly, as the glad handers said, at his political opponents. It is the considered judgment of a consummate historian writing in the cool, after lapse of thirty years. Mr. Skelton goes on:

"Sectional discontent prevailed. The Toronto Mail declared it better to 'smash confederation into its original fragments' than yield to French dictation (p. 90), and that it would be smashed seemed not beyond possibility. A racial and religious feud rent Ontario and Quebec. In 1886 the Nova Scotia Legislature had expressed the prevalent discontent by flatly demanding the repeal of the union. Economic depression prevailed, especially in Manitoba, where the Dominion had disallowed every provincial act seeking to charter railways. Foreign trade, which had reached a total of \$217,000,000 in 1873, was only \$247,000,000 in 1893. Homestead entries had risen to nearly 7,500 in 1882, but up to the middle nineties averaged fewer than 3,000 a year in the whole vast west. By 1896 the number had fallen to 1,800 (p. 129). Canadians themselves seemed to have lost faith in the west, for in this year the applicants for homesteads included only 570 settlers from the older Canada. The stock of the railway which had been built with such national effort had fallen to 50. In the phrase of a western Conservative paper, 'The trails from Manitoba to the States were worn bare and brown by the wagon wheels of departing settlers.'

The west grew only from 180,000 in 1881 to 250,000 in 1891, whereas Dakota alone grew from 135,000 to 510,000 in the same period (p. 99). In the Dominion as a whole one of every four of the native-born of Canada had been compelled to seek a home in the Republic, and three out of every four immigrants to Canada had followed the same well-beaten trail. There were in 1890 more than one-third as many people of Canadian birth and descent in the United States as in Canada itself. Never in the world's history, save in the case of crowded, famine-stricken, mis-governed Ireland, had there been such a leakage of the brain and brawn of any country."

Such was the state of our affairs when Laurier came in. Canada bore thus three marked resemblances to Ireland, in (1) misgovernment, (2) racial and religious discord, (3) a wholesale exodus. We were not "crowded" nor should have been "famine-stricken!" Let us have Mr. Skelton's summary of the methods by which the Laurier regime brought prosperity out of that ruin, national confidence out of national despair.

"Never had there been so systematic, thorough and successful a campaign for immigrants as that which was launched and directed by the minister of the interior, Mr., now Sir Clifford Sifton, (p. 221). He knew the needs and the possibilities of the west at first hand. . . . Among the western Americans he spread his glad tidings of the Canadian plains. Agents were appointed for each likely state, with sub-agents who were paid a commission for every settler who came. The land of promise was pictured in attractive, compelling booklets, and in advertisements inserted in seven or eight thousand farm and weekly papers. All inquiries were systematically followed up. Free trips were arranged for parties of farmers and for press

associations to give the personal touch needed to vitalize the campaign. State and county fairs were utilized to keep Canada to the fore. . . . Mr. Sifton next turned to the United Kingdom. The immigration campaign there was lifted out of the routine and dry rot into which it had fallen. Advertisements of a kind new to British readers were inserted in the press, the schools were filled with attractive literature, and patriotic and philanthropic agencies were brought into service. . . . Australia soon followed Canada's example, with the result that whereas in 1900 only one of every three emigrants, who left the British Isles, remained under the flag, a dozen years later the proportions had grown to four out of every five. This was empire-building of the most practical kind. . . . During the fifteen years of Liberal administration the total immigration to Canada exceeded two millions, of whom 38 per cent. came from the British Isles, 34 from the United States."

This was Sifton's work? Laurier picked his man, the right man for the right job. He did the same sort of thing in the department of agriculture. "For the first time a farmer, Mr. Sidney A. Fisher, took charge of the department." (p. 233). Laurier did not play politics with the public services, as his predecessors and successors have done. Following extracts will show some other reasons for Canada's prosperity after 1896. It was no more chance. Amidst the awful depression of the nineties Laurier's promise that when he was premier the people "would know they were prosperous by feeling in their pockets" seemed then like an empty boast. He fulfilled it to the letter. He gave honest government. He did not play politics with everything. He and the men under him worked for Canada.

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER--5

British preference improved railway policy, vigorous advertising and immigration methods, these were only a few of the necessary steps to prosperity taken by Laurier after 1896. His own fascination personality impressed the mind of the world as much as anything. Colonial and imperial conferences came to be important after 1896. "For the first time in my experience," declared an American observer, "England and the English are regarding the Dominion with affectionate enthusiasm." No wonder, as not only did Laurier make friends for his country by a King Edward-like tact and diplomacy, but the "preference which had been increased to 33-1-3 per cent. and made to apply specifically to Great Britain and to such other parts of the Empire as would reciprocate, had led to a substantial growth in imports from Great Britain.

A better land policy was adopted for settlers. The procedure of homesteading was simplified, fees were lowered and greater privileges given to the settler. "No more land was tied up in railway grants, and in 1908 the odd sections, previously reserved for railway grants, and sales were opened to homesteaders. . . . The entries were 1,800 in 1896, 44,000 in 1911." This was Laurier rule.

For agriculture much was done. "Marketing received equal attention. For the fruit and dairy industries, refrigerator-car services and cold-storage facilities on ocean ships were provided." "The conservation commission was established in 1909 with wide duties of investigation and recommendation."

"In the field of social legislation the Laurier Government within its limited jurisdiction achieved some notable results. It put down sweating and made compulsory the payment of fair wages by government contractors. It set up a department of labor making it possible to secure much useful information hitherto inaccessible and to guard workmen's interests in many relations. Later in the Laurier regime a commission was appointed to study the question of technical education. The most distinctive innovation, however, was the Lemiux act, drawn up by W. L. M. King, the first deputy minister of labor. It proved a long step towards industrial peace,

and was one of the few Canadian legislative experiments which have awakened world-wide interest and investigation."

The labor department established by Laurier and so brilliantly inaugurated, has been an extinct volcano since 1911, except for the payment of the salaries. Does it appear that Canada prospered merely by chance between 1896 and 1911? Sir Charles Tupper and other prophets of woe were sure that the British preference and such things were going to ruin Canada, as though we weren't about ruined already under the pre-Laurier botchers and loafers. Is it likely that now Laurier is promising to mitigate the cost of living, he will not be as good as his word? He promised before 1896 to make the people of Canada sure of their prosperity by feeling in their pockets. Did he not keep his word? And why? Because he governed for Canada, not for a horde of grafters and leeches. He was not the pilot-fish of the profiteering shark. His record is clear from first to last, in a country used to crooked politics. In word and action, he has always been vigorous, frank, moderate, consistent and square. He has always "told Toronto exactly what he told Montreal."

One thing that at the very outset of his administration showed his wonderful skill in negotiation, his value as a harmonizer of our racial and religious life, and greatly helped to smoothe the way to prosperity through the upbuilding of the West, was the settlement of the perilous Manitoba school question. In this issue were involved "his deepest feelings, his passion for liberty and straightforward justice, his keen realization of the need of harmony between French and English, a harmony that must be rooted in sympathy and understanding." The attempt of the Conservative Government to coerce Manitoba and force separate schools on a rebellious province made a difficult situation for the leader of the opposition. As a Roman Catholic he sympathized with the religious school. But Laurier had always been a zealous champion of provincial rights of harmony and conciliation, of the Liberal idea. He had earlier braved the wrath of Quebec in supporting Ontario in her boundary dispute with Manitoba and the Dominion Government. "The Conservative party had pandered to religious prejudices in both provinces with a rigid Protestant face turning towards the west and a devout Catholic face turning towards the east; it had at the same time proclaimed the right to disallow any provincial act." Laurier "took in Ontario and Quebec alike the firm, moderate position he had taken in the House of Commons."

He believed that the constitutional rights of the Catholics of Manitoba had been violated by the provincial legislation and that the Dominion Government had the constitutional power to maintain those rights "yet he kept a close grip on fact. He saw clearly that any attempt by the Dominion to set up a separate school system which would have to be operated by a sullen and hostile province, was doomed to failure." "The issue was: Could these rights be restored by coercion? The Conservatives and the Quebec church said Yes. True to his political faith, Mr. Laurier said No. Up and down the province of Quebec he was denounced by the ultramontane leaders. Bishop La Fleche declared that "no Catholic could without sin vote for the chief of a party who had formulated publicly such error."

So Laurier fought his old enemies in Quebec over again as he had to fight them once more in the Armageddon of 1911. Some absurd people pretend to believe that the hierarchs were or are secretly with Laurier while openly opposing him! But elections of Conservatives were voided in Quebec, because of improper interference by the anti-Liberal clergy. Laurier knows his foes, the extremes that meet in dislike of his moderate, British principles, the bigot of Ontario and the ultramontane Nationalist whose leader is Mr. Bourassa. Strange bed-fellows are these against whom Laurier must fight.

He was challenged in the campaign of 1896 to say how the "situation in Manitoba could be cleared up except by "remedial legislation." "Conciliation" was his answer, and he stuck to this, refusing to enter into details of the settlement he proposed, if returned to power to negotiate with Manitoba. In the same way at the present time it is alleged that Laurier's proposal to reinforce the armies in France without recourse to coercion can end

in nothing but failure. Did he fail with conciliation in 1896? Mr. Skelton says:

"Amendments to the provincial law were effected which removed the more serious grievances of the minority. . . . The settlement was

accepted generally in the country as a reasonable ending of the strife—as the best that could be done in the circumstances. Edward Blake, counsel for the Catholic minority declared it more advantageous than any legislation which could have been secured by coercion. . . . By the Catholic authorities, however, the compromise was not accepted. Voters in by-election were told that they had to choose between Christ and Satan. The leading Liberal newspaper of Quebec City, L'Electeur, was formally interdicted."

Finally, however, a papal envoy came to Quebec and stopped this folly for the time. But it is evident that Laurier has over and over again shown courage in his own province. He settled interprovincial antagonisms by reasonable compromise, and we may trust him to play fair in our present military difficulties. He is always as good as his word. He says now, "I am for voluntary service."

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER—6

Previous extracts have shown Professor Skelton's high commendation of Laurier's Liberalism, his function as a conciliator and harmonizer of race and religion in Canada, and his magnificent work as the builder of our national prosperity. But Laurier built not only a material prosperity in this country. He raised the national dignity of Canada.

Having secured the denunciation by Great Britain of the Belgian and German treaties which blocked the way to British preference and the complete control by Canada of her tariff policy, Laurier took that action in the Boer War which laid the foundation stone of the new imperialism of co-operation. "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own." wrote Kipling of Canada about that time, approving the trend of Laurier's policy. As the Canadian premier said in a reply to attacks by Bourassa on his participation in the Boer war, "on that day (of Paardeburg) it was revealed to the world that a new power had arisen in the west." And that power was British, a daughter nation. Laurier urged, further, that the English and French-Canadians fighting side by side in Africa would be drawn into a closer unity (p. 192). He must feel the same, only more so, about the present, greater war. He wants his French-Canadians to be beside their English brothers in the trenches, and they will go there for the old chief.

After the Alaskan boundary award, Sir Wilfrid "contended that the lesson was that Canada should have independent treaty-making power. 'It is important,' he said, 'that we should ask the British Parliament for more extensive powers, so that if ever we have to deal with matters of a similar nature again, we shall deal with them in our own way, in our own fashion, according to the best light we have.' The demand was not pressed. The change desired, at least in respect to the United States, did come in fact a few years later, though as usual in British countries, much of the old forms remained."

"In 1909, following Australia's example, Canada established a department of external affairs, for 'the conduct and management of international or intercolonial negotiations, so far as they may appertain to the government of Canada.' In introducing this measure Sir Wilfrid declared: 'All governments have found it necessary to have a department whose only business will be to deal with relations with foreign countries. . . . We have now reached a standard as a nation which necessitates the establishment of a department of external affairs. On Sir Robert Borden's accession to power one of his first steps was to increase the importance of this department by giving it a minister as well as a deputy, attaching the portfolio to

the office of the prime minister. For other purposes special envoys were sent, as when Mr. Fielding negotiated trade relations in France and in the United States, or Mr. Lemieux arranged a compromise with the Government of Japan upon the immigration issue. In these cases the British ambassador was nominally associated with the Canadian envoy. Even this formal limitation was lacking in the case of the conventions effected with France, Germany, Holland, Belgium and Italy in 1900-1910, by negotiation with their consuls in Ottawa. Finally in the waterways treaty with the United States, the international status of Canada was for the first time formally recognized in the provision that the decision to submit to arbitration matters other than those regarding boundary waters should be made on the one hand by the president and Senate of the United States, and on the other by the governor-general-in-council, the Cabinet of the Dominion.

"At the close of the Laurier period, then, every phase of our foreign relations so far as they concerned the United States, and an increasingly large share of our foreign relations with other powers, were under Canadian control. It remained true, however, that Canada had no voice in determining peace and war. In other words, it was with Britain's neighbors, rather than with Canada's neighbors, that any serious war was most likely to come. Diplomatic policy and the momentous issue of peace or war in Europe or Asia were determined by the British Cabinet. In this field alone equality was as yet to seek. The consistent upholder of Dominion autonomy contended that here, too, power and responsibility would come in the same measure as military and naval preparation and participation in British wars. Just as Canada secured a voice in her foreign commercial relations as soon as her trade interests and industrial development gave her commercial weight, so a share in the last word of diplomacy might be expected to come almost automatically as Dominion and Commonwealth (Australia) built up military and naval forces, or took part in overseas wars." (pp. 286-288.)

Mr. Skelton warmly approves the Australian and Laurier plan of dominion navies. As Laurier built up the Canadian militia, spending on it in 1911 over six times as much as in 1890, and asserted the complete Canadian control of it, so he tried to establish a Canadian navy to parallel that of Australia, but was somewhat ahead of his time in this country, certainly ahead of opinion in his own province as exploited in 1911 by Sir Robert Borden and his friends. He made a nation of this Dominion, as far as he could in the time allotted him, and at the same time made it a more vital and integral part of the Empire. He fell from power for a time in 1911 because he was too true a Canadian and too British for the Borden-Bourassa combination.

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER--7

The commanding part played by Laurier in the enhancement of Canada's national dignity has involved the greatest possible contribution to the political cementing of the British Race and to the realization of a practical and original imperialism. The British Empire of the present and future as Laurier has built it from the Canadian side, is no resuscitation of an antiquated centralization, but the logical development of Great Britain's wise instinct in leaving the colonies to govern themselves. Mr. Skelton says: "Alike in the motherland and in the colonies men had stumbled upon the secret of empire—freedom. Expecting the end to come soon, the governing powers in London had ruled with a light rein, consenting to one colonial demand after another for self-governing. In these years of salutary neglect the two-fold roots of imperial connection had a chance to grow. The colonies rose to national consciousness and yet in very truth because of their freedom and the absence of the friction a centralizing policy would have entailed they retained their affection and their sympathy for the land of

the ancestors. Thus the way was prepared for the equal partnership which it has been the task of these later years to work out."

Sir Wilfrid has been the main builder on the foundation laid by Sir John Macdonald in this matter of a rational imperialism arising out of national growths. "Both in act and in word Sir John oftentimes lapsed from this statesmanlike into the prevalent colonialism, but he did much to make his vision of a 'Kingdom of Canada' a reality." Laurier, like Edward Blake, has with the utmost consistency kept his eye and his purpose on the glorious plan of an empire of sister nations acting in permanent co-operation. Mr. Skelton quotes from a speech of Blake in the British House of Commons in 1900.

"For many years I for my part have looked to conference to delegations to correspondence, to negotiation, to quasi-diplomatic methods, subject always to the action of free parliaments here and elsewhere, as the only feasible way of working the quasi-federal union between the Empire and the sister nations of Canada and Australia. A quarter of a century past I dreamed the dream of imperial parliamentary federation, but many years ago I came to the conclusion that we had passed the turning that could lead to that terminus. If ever indeed there was a practical road. Never forget that the goodwill on which you depend is due to local freedom, and would not survive its limitation."

At the colonial conferences of 1902 and 1907, Sir Wilfrid firmly opposed any proposals leading towards centralization. "The conference was established more firmly than ever on a basis of equality." Laurier's understanding of British policy in well recognized and accompanies an instinctive and educated sympathy with British traditions and institutions. He said in 1905 against a theatrical proposal of Sir Sam Hughes of parliamentary federation: "It is not in accordance with the traditions of British history, it is not in accordance with the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race, to make any change in their institutions until these institutions have been proved insufficient or defective in some way. . . . The British Empire of to-day is composed of nations all bearing allegiance to the same sovereign." It was this "strong commonsense and frank loyalty" that won response from similar qualities in Louis Botha and clinched his devotion to the Empire.

At the conference in 1911 "upon the Australian premier's demand that the dominions should be consulted in international agreements, such as the Declaration of London and the conventions of The Hague Conference, it was agreed unanimously that this would be done when time and subject-matter permitted. Sir Wilfrid Laurier agreed with this proposal, though stating his view that in such negotiations the United Kingdom should be given a free hand."

He has been the greatest force in the overseas dominions for that racial unity which has shown such fruits since 1914. His energetic trade and preference policy has brought about more common interest, the sure ground of political co-operation. In urging at the Colonial Conference of 1907 the proposal for an All-Red line of steamers on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with joint subsidies, he said that the best way to bind the Empire together was to facilitate intercourse. His development of Canada had made her able and willing to do a big bit in the present struggle. What could the pitiful depopulated Canada of 1896 have done? He made Louis Botha sure for British connection. He built up the independent and self-confident militia of Canada, and in the Boer War paved the way for Ypres and Vimy Ridge. "His policy as to political and defence relations at the conference of 1902 was not once called in question by the leader of the Opposition when Parliament next met. He had faithfully voiced the prevailing will of the people of Canada." His navy policy truly national and imperialist in one, was similarly approved by all except some malcontents in Quebec, until Borden-Bourassa politics interfered.

If the dominions were to become an integral part of an Empire of permanently allied nations of one British sentiment, they must possess some greater share in the foreign policy of such an empire. And if they are securing it "along the line now so long pursued of independence in what was overwhelmingly the prime concern of each separate state, plus co-operation

in what was distinctly of common interest," it is Sir Wilfrid Laurier who has done far the most towards that end. He played his part in developing the entente cordiale of Great Britain and France. "He struggled hard to bring Quebec into harmony with the rest of the Dominion on imperial issues, and particularly on naval question."

"When the history of the upbuilding of the unique political achievement which we call the British Empire comes to be written, it may well be that the names of Baldwin and La Fontaine and Howe, of Brown and Galt of Tupper and Blake, of Macdonald and Laurier, will stand in this regard higher than those of Peel and Disraeli, Gladstone and Salisbury and even Durham and Elgin. It fell to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's lot to carry out the traditional Canadian policy of self-government through an exceptionally critical era of development."

Thus through national assertion Sir Wilfrid led this Dominion and some others with it into the higher imperialism which has signalized itself in the great war. "Freedom is justified of her children, and the British Empire proved its right to exist by its very difference from the Prussian Empire." But Sir Wilfrid is waging right now a last fight against the forces of Prussianism and profiteering that would throttle his native land and ruin the noble work of his life.

THE LIFE OF SIR WILFRID LAURIER--8

We have seen Professor Skelton's quiet admiration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's solid and British Liberalism, of his work as harmonizer of racial and religious friction, as upbuilder of Canadian prosperity, and of his statesman-like imperialism. He brings out in a clear light the sincerity and singleness of purpose of the old chief in contrast to the duplicity practiced by his opponents time and time again. On page 118 he says:

"(The Conservative) party had pandered to religious prejudices in both provinces, 'with a rigid Protestant face turning towards the West and a devout Catholic face, turning towards the East'."

Writing of the election of 1900 he says (p. 193):

"Even the veteran leader of the Opposition, Sir Charles Tupper, played a double role. 'Sir Wilfrid Laurier is too English for me,' he declared in Quebec, and inveighed against the prime minister, whom he characterized as an advocate of imperialism. But at Toronto some time later, he strove to explain away these words and to convince his hearers that Sir Wilfrid was 'not half British enough.'"

As regards reciprocity in 1911:

"Every important leader of the Conservative party was on record as favoring such an arrangement. Yet it was received first with hesitation, then more and more freely denounced, and finally overwhelmed." (pp. 263-4).

Since 1911 the Borden Government has carried out many provisions of the proposed agreement which its members had denounced. As for the naval policy:

"Conservatives formed a close working alliance with the Nationalists, who attacked the prime minister as a tool of the English imperialists, and pictured to the habitants the horrors of conscription and the press-gang." (p. 310).

With this duplicity of his opponents at practically every stage, their stupid insistence upon and pandering to the elements of division in our country, contrast the frank straightforwardness and consistency of Laurier at all times, his determination to recognize only one united people in Canada.

When he supported Ontario's boundary claim in 1878 he said: "I do not fear the appeal that will be made against me in my own province. The jealous consideration that the great province of Ontario may be made greater altogether lay aside as unfair, unfriendly and unjust." (p. 68). "He had faced a hostile Quebec, and was to face it again, in defence of the rights of the

English-speaking provinces. Now (1885, re Riel), he faced a hostile Ontario, and told Toronto exactly what he told Montreal" (pp. 82-3). "It was ten years later that with courage and statesmanship he again faced the anger of his church and people in Quebec by his stand on the Manitoba school question." A strenuous campaign followed. Mr. Laurier took, in Ontario and Quebec alike, the firm, moderate position he had taken in the House of Commons." It was the same thing with the navy question in 1911, and it is the same now with the question of the war and reinforcements. Laurier is never two-faced. He is a man to trust. He is true to certain fixed principles of Liberalism "With rare consistency and steadfast courage his four great ends of individual liberty, collective prosperity, racial and religious harmony, and growth to nationhood, were held in view." (p. 325).

Laurier's Liberalism is very well indicated by some extracts made in Professor Skelton's book (p. 282), from a speech of Mr. Asquith (1909):

"As regards the Empire, to secure full unity by allowing the greatest diversity and the fullest liberty of self-government in all its parts.

"As regards property, to make it secure by divesting it of injustice.

"As regards political authority, to make it stable by resting it on the broadest possible basis of popular responsibility.

"As regards religion, to remove it from the odium of alliance with political disabilities."

Such is Laurier's political faith. There never was a time when it needed applying more than now. When was there before in the history of Canada more injustice associated with property? Laurier, the Liberal, will put the profiteers under wholesome control. "It is impossible," says Mr. Skelton (p. 325) "to imagine what different course the Dominion would have taken had there been no Macdonald or no Laurier at the helm." He has been the principal maker of Canada.

"A tariff marked by stability and by moderate advances towards freedom of trade, a railway policy reflecting the new-found faith of Canada in its future, an immigration campaign that opened up the West, and laid the foundation for mounting prosperity, and for a new place in the world's regard, and aid to farmer and fisherman and miner—these were the outstanding features of the Canadian administration after 1896."

Plunder has been the watchword since 1911, under the sinister rule of Borden and Rogers, our unamalgamated Jekyll and Hyde. Canada has need of the restorer. Let Laurier reunite, remake and win the war.

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