

DOMINION OF CANADA.

---

FEDERAL ELECTIONS, 1895.

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THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

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Copies of this Pamphlet may be had by Liberal Candidates from

ALEXANDER SMITH,  
Secretary Ontario Liberal Association,  
34 Victoria Street, Toronto.

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TORONTO:  
WARWICK BROS. & RUTTER, PRINTERS, &c., 68 AND 70 FRONT STREET WEST.  
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# THE LEADER AND HIS POLICY.

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The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the Dominion Liberal leader is the central figure in the politics of Canada. Week by week his fame spreads and his influence widens. No man in the Conservative party touches his shoulder. No other man in any party has his splendid popularity, his commanding prestige, his personal and political ascendancy. Forced against his own strenuous remonstrance to accept the first place in a great party organization he has shown a splendid capacity for leadership, for the management of men and the direction of great affairs. In Quebec he is loved, in Ontario he is honored, the great west received him with enthusiasm, the men of the eastern provinces have responded to his persuasive eloquence, and rejoiced in his patriotic zeal for the public well being. The leader of the Liberal party in all the wide scope of his sympathies, knows no province or race or creed. He is simply a strong, clean handed, honest hearted Canadian. Jealous for the reputation of parliament, sensitive to the honor of his country, in close touch with the masses of the people, impatient of the petty trickeries of small politicians, and intolerant of the aggressions of combines and corporations upon the traders and consumers of the country.

In this contest Mr. Laurier asks the people of Canada to declare that government be carried on not for a party but for the country, not for the combines and corporations, but for the plain, unorganized and unsubsidized people. He asks that Government shall not combine to be a mere agency for the creation of places and the distribution of offices. He asks the people to declare their condemnation of the enormous increase in the cost of government since 1878, the wanton waste of public money, the Lachine bridge job, the graving dock scandals, the Langevin block robbery, the Little Rapids extravagance, the Tay canal waste and a hundred other jobs and scandals in all parts of the country. He asks the farmers to say by their votes if they are satisfied that the cost of administration should go up as the prices of their products go down. He asks the workingmen to say if they are satisfied with the policy of making millionaires in a few industries, if they are prospering under the economic system that keeps down wages and keeps up the prices of store goods and household necessities. He asks the manufacturers to say if the value of the tax on their finished product is not more than offset by a limited market, an impoverished people, and heavy taxes on raw material. He asks the fishermen to say if they have received justice under the policy of the Ottawa department. He asks the Canadian people to say if they are satisfied with the lamentable failure of the Government's plans for settling the Northwest, which has cost us so much money. He asks the Canadian people to say that a Government which has wasted the public money and squandered the public patrimony, and a policy which has failed to fulfill one of the promises of its authors, and brought upon the country all the lamentable consequences foretold by its opponents shall be overthrown; Canada rescued from the domination of the combines, agriculture emancipated, progress stimulated and prosperity restored. Never mind how you voted twelve, eight, or four years ago. You are not the chattel of any party leader, or the serf of any political organization. Never mind if you were a protectionist in other days. It is your business now to consider the results of protection as demonstrated in your own experience. When Peel introduced the bill repealing the Corn Laws he answered the taunt of his old protectionist followers thus: "I claim for myself the privilege of yielding to the force of argument and of acting upon the results of enlarged experience. It may be supposed—some evidently take it for granted—that it is humiliating to make such an admission. I feel no humiliation. I do not feel abashed at saying that I have been in error. The question is whether the facts are sufficient to account for the change, and whether the motives for it are pure and disinterested." The man who cannot vote against "his party" for his country is unworthy of the franchise and unfit for citizenship in a free community.

# LIBERAL PLATFORM

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION, OTTAWA, JUNE, 1893.

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We, the Liberal party of Canada, in convention assembled, declare :

### 1.—FREER TRADE—REDUCED TAXATION.

That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service ;

That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been by the Government, as a corrupting agency wherewith to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations :

It has decreased the value of farm and other landed property ;

It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few ;

It has checked immigration ;

It has caused great loss of population ;

It has impeded commerce ;

It has discriminated against Great Britain.

In these and in many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury, all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff system remains in force.

That the highest interests of Canada demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to our people ;

That to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government ;

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessaries of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country, in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

The Government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy, and now profess their willingness to make some changes ; but they say that such changes must be based only on the principle of protection.

We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound, and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labors.

This issue we unhesitatingly accept, and upon it we await with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada.

## 2.—ENLARGED MARKETS—RECIPROCITY.

That, having regard to the prosperity of Canada and the United States as adjoining countries, with many mutual interests, it is desirable that there should be the most friendly relations and broad and liberal trade intercourse between them;

That the interests alike of the Dominion and of the Empire would be materially advanced by the establishing of such relations;

That the period of the old reciprocity treaty was one of marked prosperity to the British North American colonies;

That the pretext under which the Government appealed to the country in 1891 respecting negotiation for a treaty with the United States was misleading and dishonest and intended to deceive the electorate;

That no sincere effort has been made by them to obtain a treaty, but that, on the contrary, it is manifest that the present Government, controlled as they are by monopolies and combines, are not desirous of securing such a treaty;

That the first step towards obtaining the end in view, is to place a party in power who are sincerely desirous of promoting a treaty on terms honorable to both countries;

That a fair and liberal reciprocity treaty would develop the great natural resources of Canada, would enormously increase the trade and commerce between the two countries, would tend to encourage friendly relations between the two peoples, would remove many causes which have in the past provoked irritation and trouble to the Governments of both countries, and would promote those kindly relations between the Empire and the Republic which afford the best guarantee for peace and prosperity;

That the Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with a view to obtaining such a treaty, including a well considered list of manufactured articles, and we are satisfied that any treaty so arranged will receive the assent of Her Majesty's Government, without whose approval no treaty can be made.

## 3.—PURITY OF ADMINISTRATION—CONDEMN CORRUPTION.

That the Convention deplores the gross corruption in the management and expenditure of public moneys which for years past has existed under the rule of the Conservative party, and the revelations of which by the different parliamentary committees of inquiry have brought disgrace upon the fair name of Canada.

The Government, which profited politically by these expenditures of public moneys of which the people have been defrauded, and which, nevertheless, have never punished the guilty parties, must be held responsible for the wrongdoing. We arraign the Government for retaining in office a Minister of the Crown proved to have accepted very large contributions of money for election purposes from the funds of a railway company, which, while paying the political contributions to him, a member of the Government, with one hand, was receiving Government subsidies with the other.

The conduct of the Minister and the approval of his colleagues after the proof became known to them are calculated to degrade Canada in the estimation of the world and deserve the severe condemnation of the people.

#### **4.—DEMAND STRICTEST ECONOMY—DECREASED EXPENDITURE.**

We cannot but view with alarm the large increase of the public debt and of the controllable annual expenditure of the Dominion and the consequent undue taxation of the people under the Governments that have been continuously in power since 1878, and we demand the strictest economy in the administration of the government of the country.

#### **5.—FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.**

That the Convention regrets that by the action of Ministers and their supporters in Parliament, in one case in which serious charges were made against a Minister of the Crown, investigation was altogether refused, while in another case the charges preferred were altered and then referred to a commission appointed upon the advice of the Ministry, contrary to the well settled practice of Parliament; and this Convention affirms:

That it is the ancient and undoubted right of the House of Commons to inquire into all matters of public expenditure, and into all charges of misconduct in office against Ministers of the Crown, and the reference of such matters to royal commissions created upon the advice of the accused is at variance with the due responsibility of Ministers to the House of Commons, and tends to weaken the authority of the House over the Executive Government, and this Convention affirms that the powers of the people's representatives in this regard should on all fitting occasions be upheld.

#### **6.—THE LAND FOR THE SETTLER—NOT FOR THE SPECULATOR.**

That in the opinion of this Convention the sales of public lands of the Dominion should be to actual settlers only, and not to speculators, upon reasonable terms of settlement, and in such areas as can be reasonably occupied and cultivated by the settler.

#### **7.—OPPOSE THE DOMINION FRANCHISE ACT—FAVOR THE PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE.**

That the Franchise Act since its introduction has cost the Dominion Treasury over a million of dollars, besides entailing a heavy expenditure to both political parties;

That each revision involves an additional expenditure of a further quarter of a million;

That this expenditure has prevented an annual revision, as originally intended, in the absence of which young voters entitled to the franchise have, in numerous instances, been prevented from exercising their natural rights;

That it has failed to secure uniformity, which was the principal reason assigned for its introduction;

That it has produced gross abuses by partizan revising barristers appointed by the Government of the day;

That its provisions are less liberal than those already existing in many Provinces of the Dominion, and that in the opinion of this Convention the Act should be repealed, and we should revert to the Provincial Franchise.



**8.—AGAINST THE GERRYMANDER—COUNTY BOUNDARIES SHOULD BE PRESERVED.**

That by the Gerrymander Acts, the electoral divisions for the return of members to the House of Commons have been so made as to prevent a fair expression of the opinion of the country at the general elections, and to secure to the party now in power a strength out of all proportion greater than the number of electors supporting them would warrant. To put an end to this abuse, to make the House of Commons a fair exponent of public opinion, and to preserve the historic continuity of counties, it is desirable that in the formation of electoral divisions, county boundaries should be preserved, and that in no case parts of different counties should be put in one electoral division.

**9.—THE SENATE DEFECTIVE—AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.**

The present constitution of the Senate is inconsistent with the Federal principle in our system of government, and is in other respects defective, as it makes the Senate independent of the people and uncontrolled by the public opinion of the country, and should be so amended as to bring it into harmony with the principles of popular government.

**10.—QUESTION OF PROHIBITION—A DOMINION PLEBISCITE.**

That whereas public attention is at present much directed to the consideration of the admittedly great evils of intemperance, it is desirable that the mind of the people should be clearly ascertained on the question of Prohibition by means of a Dominion Plebiscite.

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# FACTS FOR THE ELECTORS.

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The time is near when the Conservative administration must give the people of Canada an opportunity of passing upon their policy and their public conduct. The Liberals have furnished abundant evidence that the men now in power are unworthy the confidence of the Canadian people, and they believe that the Government has not for years possessed that confidence, though by means now well known, the leaders of the Conservative party have managed to secure the return of a parliamentary majority. Since the last general election, however, their methods have been so thoroughly exposed that the present administration will go to the polls in utter discredit with the public, irrespective of party politics.

In the following pages an attempt is made to set forth facts which support numerous charges brought against the Government, but as the work is necessarily limited in size many matters are merely alluded to in the hope that those who desire to substantiate any particular assertion or enlarge upon particular points will investigate for themselves, with the assistance here given in the way of indicating the sources of information.

## Laurier on Protection.

“There is taken out of the people of Canada over \$20,000,000 every year in customs taxes. If every cent collected through the operations of the protective policy went into the treasury it could be borne, but for every \$1 that goes into the public coffers \$2 or \$3 go into the pockets of the protected manufacturer. ‘I,’ said Mr. Laurier, object to this. (Cheers.) I say that not a cent should be collected beyond what is required to meet the country’s necessities. We will tax for revenue but not one cent for protection. Taxation is an evil that nothing but the requirements of the Government can justify. When we are in power—and I don’t want to sell the skin of the bear until the bear is shot, yet I think the Tory bear is about to be skinned—we will relieve the people of protection, which is a fraud, a delusion and a robbery. For it is robbery to take money from one man and give it to another.”—*Hon. Wilfrid Laurier’s Convention Speech.*

As the price of agricultural products has been reduced to the lowest point, it should be the aim of the tariff to reduce the prices of manufactured goods also to the lowest point.—*Mr. Laurier in the House of Commons.*

## The Issue Defined.

Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, speaking at the great Ottawa Convention of the Liberal party of the Dominion, spoke as follows:

“The Government want a reform of the tariff only to retain the system of protection. I submit to you that the ideal fiscal system is the British system of

free trade. (Cheers.) Sir, my loyalty, as I stated, does not ooze from the pores of my body, but I do want to go for an example to the Mother Country and not to the United States, much as I respect the people on the other side of the line. I say the policy should be a policy of free trade, such as they have in England, but I am sorry to say that the circumstances of the country cannot admit at present of that policy in its entirety, but I propose to you that from this day henceforward it should be the goal to which we aspire. I propose to you from this day, although we cannot adopt the policy itself, to adopt the principle which regulates it, that is to say, that though it should be our misfortune for many years to come to have to raise a revenue by customs duties these duties should be levied only so far as is necessary to carry on the business of the Government. (Cheers.) I submit to you that not a cent should be extracted from the pockets of the people except every cent goes into the treasury of the people and not into the pockets of anybody else. (Cheers.) I submit to you that no duty should be levied for protection's sake but levied altogether and for the purpose of filling the treasury to the limits required. I submit to you that every cent that is levied should be levied, first and foremost, upon the luxuries of the people. I submit to you, therefore, that the system of protection which is to be maintained by the Government, that is to say, of levying tribute upon the people not for the legitimate expenses of the Government but for a private and privileged class, is to be condemned without any qualification. (Cheers.) Let it be well understood then that from this moment we have a distinct issue with the party in power. Their ideal is protection; our ideal is free trade; their immediate object is protection; ours a tariff for revenue and for revenue only. (Cheers.) Upon this issue we engage in battle."

## **The Dissolution Deceit.**

The voters' lists upon which the general elections of 1891 were held were over two years old, and every young man in the country between the ages of 21 and 23 was thereby disfranchised, in addition to thousands of others who, by reason of removal or other cause, were not on the lists. Besides seeking to snatch a verdict from a partially disfranchised people, the Government of the day endeavored to mislead the electors as to the reasons for the premature appeal to them.

First, there was a pledge given to Parliament by the Secretary of State that there would be a revision of the voters' lists before dissolution. In the session of 1890, in giving reasons why there should be no revision during the year 1890, the Secretary of State said: "But is there no other reason why that revision should not take place? We have not yet reached the end of this Parliament. According to law this Parliament will cease in the beginning of 1892. . . . If in July, 1891, the census shows that the representation must be changed, it will become necessary to have new elections soon after the census, and those elections should take place at the beginning of 1892, by the natural death of this Parliament, according to the constitution. There is no reason to doubt that a revision beginning in June, 1891, could be satisfactorily made, and would be ready for the eventuality of elections in 1892."

Here was the pledge of the Crown that a revision of the lists would precede dissolution, and upon that assurance Parliament agreed to the suspension of the revision of 1890.

## The Reciprocity Deceit.

After breaking faith in regard to the revision the Government deliberately deceived the people as to why they should bring on the elections with only a bare four weeks' notice. The writs were issued February 2nd, and polling was fixed for March 5th. The following statement was officially given out for publication :

"It will naturally be asked what are the reasons which have induced the Government to appeal to the country at the present time? It is understood that the Dominion Government have, through Her Majesty's Government, made certain proposals to the United States for negotiations looking to an extension of her commerce with that country. The proposals have been submitted to the President for his consideration, and the Canadian Government is of the opinion that if the negotiations are to result in a treaty, which must be ratified by the Parliament of Canada, it is expedient that the Government should be able to deal with a Parliament fresh from the people rather than with a moribund House."

The following further statement, dictated by the head of the Government, was also published with reference to the alleged negotiations for reciprocity :

"Moreover these propositions were invited and suggested by the Washington authorities. Commissioners from Canada and Great Britain will start for Washington on 4th March, the date of the opening of the new Congress. The result of the Canadian elections will be known on 6th March, the day the Commissioners reach Washington. In order that this Commission may have no uncertain sound the Government has decided to appeal to the people and ask for judgment on these proposals to the Washington authorities."

After dissolution was thus obtained not a word was heard in the subsequent campaign of the pretended object of the appeal to the people. Instead, the leader of the party issued a manifesto in which the following paragraph described the issue as the Government wished it to be understood :

"I commend these issues to your determination, and to the judgment of the whole people of Canada, with an unclouded confidence that you will proclaim to the world"—a desire for freer trade with the United States? Not a bit of it, but—

"Your resolve to show yourselves not unworthy of the proud distinction you enjoy, of being numbered among the most dutiful and loyal subjects of our beloved Queen."

After having given as the sole reason for dissolution an ardent desire to complete a treaty of reciprocity with the United States the Government proceeded in their campaign speeches, and in their press, to declare that it would be fatal to British connection to have anything to do with the United States. The old flag was vigorously waved, and the Government candidate at the Capital distributed small Union Jacks among the audience at the conclusion of his nomination speech. Sir Charles Tupper had subsequently to eat the leek when taken to task by Mr. J. G. Blaine, then Secretary of State for the United States, for publicly asserting that negotiations for a reciprocity treaty had been begun, and that the initiative had been taken by the United States. In a letter, dated April 1st, 1891, written by Mr. Blaine to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, Mr. Blaine said :

"I deem it important, since the matter has been for some weeks open to public remark, to have it settled that the conference was not 'initiated' by me

but, on the contrary, that the private arrangement of which I spoke was but a modification of your proposal, and in no sense an original suggestion from the Government of the United States."

Sir Charles Tupper acknowledged that the Canadian Government had caused the British Ambassador at Washington to initiate proposals for reciprocity, and wrote :

"I told Mr. Blaine that I wished at the outset to recognize the accuracy of the statement contained in his letter to Sir Julian Pauncefote, which I had seen, in reference to the initiation of the negotiations regarding reciprocal trade relations between the two countries."

Here was a confession from Sir Charles Tupper himself that he and his colleagues had borne false witness as to the pretended negotiations, which they found it necessary to concoct in order to deceive the Governor-General and the electors.

In Parliament in 1892 the Finance Minister announced that the Government had failed to obtain any kind of reciprocity, and they have abandoned even the pretence of trying to obtain any trade arrangement.

## Expenditure.

The total annual ordinary expenditure for the Dominion in 1878 was .....	\$23,519,000
The total ordinary admitted expenditure in 1894 .....	37,585,000
Excess of expenditure over what it was when Mr. Mackenzie left office .....	14,000,000

In 1874 the total ordinary expenditure was \$23,316,000, and in 1879 it was \$24,455,000. During the Liberal regime, therefore, the increase of expenditure was, during the five years, only a little over a million dollars.

The total taxes collected in 1878 amounted to \$17,841,000, and in 1894 to \$27,579,000. Outside of taxes the revenue between 1878 and 1894 only increased by \$4,262,000. (Page xxxii., Pub. Accts., 1894.)

Civil Government, which cost \$883,685 the first year the Liberals were in office, cost \$823,369 during their last year of office, a decrease in the five years of \$60,000, such was the economy of the administration. At the same time the population of the country was growing at a much greater ratio than it has been since. The cost of Civil Government has, under the Conservative administration, steadily increased, until in 1894 the cost was \$1,402,279.

The Fisheries Department which cost \$93,262 in 1878, cost \$466,750 in 1894. The Indians in 1878 cost \$421,503 ; in 1882 (only four years later) \$1,182,414 ; and in 1894, \$968,552. The number of Indians is steadily decreasing, and the increased expenditure can only be accounted for by an extravagant administration and the maintenance of a horde of officials, double the necessary number.

Militia and defence cost \$618,136 in 1878, when the force was larger than it is now. In 1893 the cost of this department had reached \$1,419,745.

When Mr. Mackenzie took office the expenditure for the militia and defence of Canada was \$1,248,663. Without reducing the force or impairing its efficiency the Liberals reduced the expenditure to \$618,163, an annual saving of \$630,000.

## Comparison in Expenditure, 1878, 1893.

	1878.	1893.
Interest on debt .....	\$ 7,048,883	\$ 9,806,888
Charges on debt .....	189,566	212,690
Justice .....	564,920	736,457
Arts, Agriculture and Statistics .....	92,365	258,635
Civil Government .....	823,369	1,367,570
Fisheries .....	93,262	482,381
Geological Survey .....	96,049	124,512
Immigration.....	154,351	180,677
Indians .....	421,503	956,552
Legislation .....	618,035	867,231
Mail and Steamship subsidies .....	257,534	413,938
Militia and Defence.....	618,136	1,419,745
Miscellaneous .....	62,968	284,678
Mounted Police .....	334,748	615,479
Northwest Government .....	18,199	276,446
Penitentiaries .....	308,101	346,353
Public Works .....	997,469	1,927,832
Superannuation .....	106,588	263,710
Customs .....	714,527	901,946
Excise .....	215,024	387,673
Post Offices .....	1,724,938	3,421,203
Public Works .....	97,123	149,390
Railways and Canals .....	2,375,438	4,086,041

**Total expenditure of all kinds..\$23,503,158 ..... \$36,814,052**

The multiplication of officials is a favored method of the present Government to enable their friends to feed at the public crib. As an example, in the county of Kent, Ont., the senior judge, when asked by the Government if he wanted an assistant, replied that he did not, that he was able to carry on the work better alone; and yet an old hanger-on of the Government was forced on that county, and the country is now paying him \$2,000 a year and \$200 for travelling expenses.

## Expenditure since Confederation.

(ON ACCOUNT OF CONSOLIDATED FUND.)

The total expenditure in each year since 1867 has been as follows:

1868.....	\$13,486,092		1882.....	27,067,103
1869.....	14,038,084		1883.....	28,730,157
1870.....	14,345,500		1884.....	31,107,706
1871.....	15,623,081		1885.....	35,037,060
1872.....	17,589,468		1886.....	39,011,612
1873.....	19,174,647		1887.....	35,657,680
1874.....	23,316,316		1888.....	36,718,494
1875.....	23,713,071		1889.....	36,917,834
1876.....	24,488,372		1890.....	35,994,031
1877.....	23,519,301		1891.....	36,343,567
1878.....	23,563,158		1892.....	36,765,894
1879.....	24,455,381		1893.....	36,814,062
1880.....	24,850,634		1894.....	37,585,025
1881.....	25,502,554			

## Why Has Expenditure Increased ?

The annual expenditure has increased chiefly because of the extravagant and corrupt administration of the men now in power at Ottawa. See chapter devoted to scandals and jobs.

### The Public Debt.

The net public debt of Canada, when Mr. Mackenzie left office in 1878, was \$140,000,000 ; in 1894 it had been swollen to the enormous figure of \$246,000,000, an increase of \$106,000,000. The increase during the year 1894 was \$4,502,000 and the increase for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, will be more than double the increase for 1894. The net debt per head of the population is \$49, while in 1878 it was only \$34, an increase of 45 per cent. The net debt of the United States, Federal and State, in July, 1893, was \$16 a head.

The population of Sweden is the same as Canada, and the net debt of Sweden in 1890 was \$13.73 per head, and Sweden has to support an army and navy, and bear many other burdens from which Canada is exempt.

The following table shows the increase of the public debt from year to year since 1878, as taken from the Public Accounts :

1879 .....	\$ 2,628,117	1887.....	\$4,155,668
1880 .....	9,461,401	1888.....	7,216,582
1881 .....	2,944,191	1889.....	2,998,682
1882 .....	1,734,129	1890.....	3,170
1883 .....	4,805,063	1891.....	275,818
1884 .....	23,695,135	1892.....	3,322,403
1885 .....	14,245,841	1893.....	549,605
1886 .....	26,751,414	1894.....	4,502,000

**Increase under Conservative administration..... \$105,801,851**

### The Debt—Ten Year Periods.

	1872.	1882.	1892.
Net debt.....	\$82,187,000	\$153,661,000	\$241,131,000
Annual interest ....	5,257,000	7,740,000	9,763,000

### Deficits.

It is the fashion to sneer at the Liberal administration of the finances as an "era of deficits," but Liberals have no cause to fear comparisons as to deficits. The fact is that the Conservative administration, which replaced Mr. Mackenzie's, had a larger deficit in one year than the Reform administration had during the whole five years of its existence. The Liberal Government had a surplus both in

1874 and 1875 of \$888,000 and \$935,000 respectively. There were deficits in 1876, 1877 and 1878, amounting in all to \$4,489,000. The Conservative deficits since Mr. Mackenzie's time have been as follows:

1879 .....	\$1,937,999	1886 .....	\$5,834,571
1880 .....	1,543,227	1888 .....	810,031
1885 .....	2,240,058	1894 .....	1,210,332

There is a heavy deficit for 1895, which will probably reach five million dollars, and the Finance Minister was obliged to go to England in October, 1894, and borrow \$12,000,000. This new loan will increase the public debt to a figure representing over \$50 per head of the population.

Net debt of Canada, June 30th, 1894 .....	\$246,163,920
Increase of debt during 1894 .....	4,483,948
Annual charges, interest and management, 1893 ....	10,020,682

It takes one-half of the total customs duties collected in Canada to pay the charges on the debt.

## Other Debts.

Under ordinary circumstances Canada should have developed enormously along with this immense expenditure of borrowed money. Besides the increase in the public debt since 1878 of \$105,000,000, the people are in debt to the loan companies to the extent of \$109,807,356. (See page X, Government blue book, 1893). These loans are all secured by mortgage, given, of course, chiefly by farmers. In 1879, when Mr. Mackenzie left office, the amount of these mortgage debts was only \$34,781,000, or less than one-third of what they were in 1892. In 1892 chattel mortgages in the Province of Ontario numbered, according to official returns, 20,000. One of the saddest features of the returns was that the larger proportion of the total number of chattel mortgages was given by farmers. In addition to the loans of which returns are made to the Dominion Government, there were additional loans made by purely provincial companies in Ontario in 1892, amounting to \$6,031,000. This brings the total loans on mortgages, of which official returns are made, up to \$115,000,000, secured by mortgage on real estate, and \$10,045,000 secured by mortgages on chattels.

A measure of the burdens imposed upon the Canadian people since the inception of the National Policy is seen in the following figures, of liabilities incurred since 1879:

Increase of public debt .....	\$105,000,000
Increase of mortgage debt .....	85,000,000
Debt for railway bonds .....	280,000,000
Total .....	<u>\$470,000,000</u>

In addition to all this, the amount taken from the people by taxation in excess of the requirements of honest and economical government, and for the benefit of private interests, has to be added on, as well as 50,000,000 acres of land disposed of into the hands of corporations.



## Receipts from Taxes.

The following table shows the amount of money collected each year since Confederation in taxes, both customs and excise :

1869 .....	\$11,112,000	1882 .....	\$27,549,000
1870 .....	13,087,000	1883 .....	29,269,000
1871 .....	16,320,000	1884 .....	25,483,000
1872 .....	17,715,000	1885 .....	25,384,000
1873 .....	17,616,000	1886 .....	25,226,000
1874 .....	20,129,000	1887 .....	28,687,000
1875 .....	20,664,000	1888 .....	28,177,000
1876 .....	18,614,000	1889 .....	30,613,000
1877 .....	17,697,000	1890 .....	31,587,000
1878 .....	17,841,000	1891 .....	30,314,000
1879 .....	18,476,000	1892 .....	28,446,000
1880 .....	18,479,000	1893 .....	29,321,000
1881 .....	23,942,000	1894 .....	27,579,000

Taxes collected during last five years.....	\$147,247,423
“ five years Liberal administration....	94,199,083

**Excess Under Conservatives.....\$53,048,340**

This is over \$10,000,000 a year taken from the people in taxation in excess of the requirements of the Liberal regime.

## N. P. Taxes.

Since 1879 the people have paid the following sums in customs duties alone :

1879.....	\$12,939,000	1887.....	\$22,469,000
1880.....	14,138,000	1888.....	22,209,000
1881.....	18,500,000	1889.....	23,784,000
1882.....	21,708,000	1890.....	24,014,000
1883.....	23,172,000	1891.....	23,481,000
1884.....	20,164,000	1892.....	20,550,000
1885.....	19,133,000	1893.....	21,161,000
1886.....	19,488,000	1894.....	19,200,000

Custom taxes last five years.....	\$108,408,000
Custom taxes Liberal five years .....	67,960,000

**Increase under N. P. for period of five years alone..... \$40,448,000**

When Mr. Mackenzie entered office the taxes, customs and excise, collected for the year amounted to \$20,129,000. The taxes collected for the year 1878 amounted to \$17,841,000, a reduction of something like two and a half millions of dollars. Under the N. P. these taxes were increased in fifteen years by \$12,000,000.

In addition to this it is estimated that the people paid several times as much to the protected manufacturers, the trusts and combines, and monopolies, which exist by reason of the tariff, as they do into the national treasury through the customs houses.

## The Question of Revenue.

A favorite argument by Conservative speakers and writers is that the Liberals if they were in power could not relieve the people of burdensome taxation without being at a loss for revenue. Although this has been answered over and over again by Liberal authorities, it is just as well to silence criticism on this point by quoting a Conservative authority. Speaking in the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. McCarthy, in 1894, Dr. Montague, M.P. for Haldimand, Ont., one of the leaders of the Conservative party, said :

“In 1882, I think, the duty was taken off tea, but the revenue bounded up in a very short time. In 1891 \$3,000,000 in duties was taken off sugar. The Minister of Finance acknowledged that there must be a decrease in revenue ; but after one year's decrease in revenue, the improved condition of the people enabled them to purchase more, and the result was that the revenue bounded up again.”

Here is good Conservative proof of the way it works to reduce the taxes. The improved purchasing power of the people increases the consumption of goods, and even when the taxes are thrown off maintains the buoyancy of the revenue.

This fact, taken in connection with the large reductions which would take place, under a Liberal administration, in the public expenditure, is sufficient of itself to justify any man in voting for a reduction of taxes.

The fact is that a high protective tariff prohibits importation, thus reducing revenue, but increasing to the consumers the price of the protected article, whilst under a revenue tariff the customs taxation is reasonable and moderate, allowing importation, on which a revenue is collected for the public treasury, and keeping down the selling price of both the imported and domestic manufactured article.

## The Trade Question.

The following is the text of the tariff resolution adopted by the Liberal Convention at Ottawa in June, 1893 :

That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service ;

That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been by the Government, as a corrupting agency wherewith to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations ;

It has decreased the value of farm and other landed property ;

It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few ;

It has checked immigration ;

It has caused great loss of population ;

It has impeded commerce ;

It has discriminated against Great Britain.

In these and in many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury, all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff system remains in force.

That the highest interests of Canada demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to our people ;

That to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government ;

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessaries of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country, in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

The Government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy, and now profess their willingness to make some changes ; but they say that such changes must be based only on the principle of protection.

We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound, and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labors.

This issue we unhesitatingly accept, and upon it we await with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada.

## **Failure of the National Policy.**

When the trade policy of this country was changed from a tariff for revenue to a protective tariff, the change was based upon a resolution moved by the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, as follows :

"That this House is of opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a national policy, which, by a judicious re-adjustment of the tariff, will benefit and prosper the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion ; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment now denied them at home."

This was the foundation of the National policy, and it made one clear statement, viz., that such policy would retain in Canada her own people. In 1892, in the House of Commons the Hon. T. M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, said : " I do not believe that our fiscal policy has anything to do with our people going to the other side of the line. No amount of talk from hon. gentlemen opposite will convince any reasonable minded man in Canada that the fiscal policy of this Government has had anything to do with the people going to the United States." As the census deprived Mr. Daly of any argument to show that the N. P. had accomplished its object, he simply declares that the N. P. has had nothing to do with it.

The President of the Young Conservative Association of Toronto in 1892, Mr. Richard Armstrong, who received 575 votes to 291 against him, delivered his inaugural address on October 31, in the course of which he said :

"The question as to why thousands are leaving this country every year and going to the United States, should engage our serious attention, and we should try and solve this question, for it is quite evident that the older heads are not going to do so. I am informed on reliable authority that no fewer than four thousand persons have left this city during the past year—left all that is near and dear—and gone into foreign exile. In short, there is no concealing the fact that we are being annexed in job lots every week, and there is not a voice raised against it"

At the same association, at a meeting held during the following month, Mr. J. H. McGhie, a member, said: "The men who were spangled with knighthood sit talking of loyalty in the midst of ruin and desolation. It was from the young men they must expect a new order of things."

Evidence of the failure of the National Policy to accomplish any one of the things promised for it has been accumulating year after year, until at the last general election in 1891, it had scarcely a defender, and was kept out of the campaign as an issue, so far as the Government could do it.

The Industrial Brotherhood of Canada, at a meeting on the 1st October, 1892, passed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, that the fiscal policy of our country is a farce in so far as it purposes to benefit the masses; that it increases the cost of living, decreases the purchasing power of the wage laymen of all classes, is eating the vitals out of the Dominion, scattering the members of every family, so that the fathers and mothers are forced to see their sons and daughters leave home—leave home and kindred—that a few may roll in superabundance; that every lawful means be used to rectify the wrongs created and maintained by the present system."

The farmers, whose interests the National Policy was to protect, were well represented at a great convention of the Patrons of Industry, held in Toronto early in 1894, when the executive committee was requested to submit a petition to the Government in the first paragraph of which they described their own position, as follows:

"That fifteen years' experience of a protective trade policy has shown no improvement in the position of the farmer. Prices of nearly all kinds of farm products have shrunk. Farms have declined in value, until many are unsaleable, and an enormous mortgage debt has been rolled up upon them, in many cases beyond redemption."

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., has made a remarkable confession in connection with the adoption of the National Policy by the Conservative Party in 1878. In an address delivered at St. Mary's, October 22, 1893, speaking of the period when Mr. Mackenzie was in power, he said:

"No doubt in the world that we were out of power and by going in for the N. P., and taking the wind out of Mr. Mackenzie's sails, we got into power. We became identified with the protective policy, and if Mr. Mackenzie had adopted the protective policy we would have been free traders. I am willing to make this confession, if Mr. Mackenzie had been a protectionist there would have been nothing left for us but to be free traders. . . . We adopted the N. P., and we told you, at least I did, because I was very young and simple at the time, that we were going to make everybody rich."

The Manitoba Legislature, in adopting a resolution in February, 1894, made the following declaration:

"Whereas the so-called National Policy brought into effect in 1879 when the protective tariff was adopted, and under which the duties on imports have since

been increased, thus enhancing prices and prospering combines, has had the effect of placing further excessive burdens upon our settlers, thus rendering agricultural pursuits unprofitable, it is desirable that articles necessary to the prosecution of agriculture be placed upon the free list, and on all other articles a tariff imposed for revenue."

During the visit of the Hon. George E. Foster to Winnipeg, the council of the Board of Trade of that city presented a memorial, setting forth the grievances of the people, in the following manner:

"The council respectfully submit:

"That the customs duties on goods coming into Canada should be reduced to the lowest point, consistent with a revenue tariff.

"That all specific rates of duty be abolished, and that all duties be levied on an ad valorem basis.

"That the Government be empowered, upon evidence given of the existence of a combine to maintain or increase prices, to lower or abolish by order-in-council the import duty on articles affected by such combine.

"The council maintains that the increased importations at lower rates of duty than now prevail would tend rather to increase than diminish the revenue derived by the Dominion; many of the duties now in force are absolutely prohibitive and, therefore, no revenue now accrues to the Government.

"The council submits that manufacturers of many lines of staple goods in Canada have formed combines, and based their prices, not on the cost of manufacture plus a fair profit but on the value which similar goods from abroad cost laid down in Canada, duty paid. This being the case the consumer pays an excessive price for his goods, and the Government does not secure a revenue; the manufacturer being the only gainer."

At the annual meeting of the Dominion Grange in 1892, Master Workman Goffatt said: "Nearly every important interest in the country is enjoying the benefit of helpful legislation, whilst the farmer is handicapped and discriminated against by railway monopolies and by AN UNJUST SYSTEM OF TAXATION."

During the session of 1893 representatives of the Patrons of Industry waited upon the Government to urge consideration of grievances set forth in a petition presented to the House, signed by 27,000 Patrons of Industry, which commenced as follows:

"That the agricultural interests of the country are not in as prosperous condition as we would desire; that tariff legislation for the purpose of assisting the manufacturing interests of the country has been taken advantage of by such manufacturing interests so as to unduly enhance the prices of many such articles as are indispensably necessary to farmers in carrying on their business."

The Central Farmers' Institute, at its annual meeting in Toronto, on February 9th, 1893, adopted a series of resolutions, including the following:

"That whereas the farmers of Canada during the last thirteen years have largely supported a protective policy for the purpose of establishing and building up the manufacturing interests of this country; and whereas such manufacturing industries as are suitable for the country have received such assistance for a period long enough to enable them now to withstand fair and open competition; and whereas the Canadian Manufacturers' Association at its annual meeting held in Toronto, February 7th, declares and re-affirms its determination to support and perpetuate the high-tariff policy; be it therefore resolved, that this meeting here-

by declares and affirms that to continue and perpetuate such a high tariff would be detrimental to the vital interests of the agricultural community."

The following picture of the results of the N. P. and the misguided policy of the Conservative Government was drawn by the Hon. Edward Blake, in his farewell letter to the electors of West Durham in 1891 :

"The Canadian Conservative policy has failed to accomplish the predictions of its promoters.

"Its real tendency has been, as foretold twelve years ago, towards disintegration and annexation, instead of consolidation and the maintenance of that British connection of which they claim to be the special guardians.

It has left us with a small population, a scanty immigration and a North-west empty still ; with enormous additions to our public debt and yearly charge, an extravagant system of expenditure, and an unjust and oppressive tariff ; with unlimited markets for our needs, whether to buy or to sell, and all the host of evils (greatly intensified by our special condition) thence arising ; with trade diverted from its natural into forced and therefore less profitable channels, and with unfriendly relations and frowning tariff walls, ever more and more estranging us from the mighty English speaking nation to the south, our neighbors and relations, with whom we ought to be, as it was promised that it should be, living in generous amity and liberal intercourse.

"Worse ; far worse ! It has left us with lowered standards of public virtue and a death-like apathy in public opinion ; with racial, religious and provincial animosities rather inflamed than soothed ; with a subservient Parliament, an autocratic Executive, debauched constituencies and corrupted and corrupting classes ; with lessened self-reliance and increased dependence on the public chest and on legislative aids, and possessed withal by a boastful jingo spirit far enough removed from true manliness, loudly proclaiming unreal conditions and exaggerated sentiments, while actual facts and genuine opinions are suppressed.

"It has left us with our hands tied, our future compromised, and in such a plight that, whether we stand or move, we must run some risks which else we might have either declined or encountered with greater promise of success.

"Yet let us never despair of our country ! It is a goodly land ; endowed with great recuperative powers and vast resources as yet almost undeveloped ; inhabited by populations moral and religious, sober and industrious, virtuous and thrifty, capable and instructed—the descendants of a choice immigration, of men of mark and courage, energy and enterprise, in the breasts of whose children still should glow the sparks of those ancestral fires."

Mr. Blake, however, is in accord with the Liberal policy, as witness the letter by him written to Mr. Younie, then Secretary of the West Durham Reform Association, as follows : "May I be permitted to say how glad I am to think that the Reciprocity resolution of the late Reform Convention (held at Ottawa, June, 1893) has ended the difference which led to the severance of my connection with the riding, and that, though no longer to be associated with them as their representative, I am no longer to be divided from them in opinion."

## **Revolt Within the Ranks.**

The most strenuous opposition to the protective policy of the Government comes from within the ranks of the Conservative party. For instance Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., speaking at Creemore, July 20th, 1894, said : "I was, as you all know, a National Policy man, and now I tell you that I am for as much free trade

as we can get. We would be all the better if we could have it as it is in England. But that is impossible, and so I say that what this country needs now is to get down to a tariff for revenue."

Senator Boulton, of Manitoba, who was not very long ago in good standing as a member of the Conservative party is now the most pronounced free trader.

Rev. Principal Grant of Queen's University, Kingston, was in Sir John Macdonald's time always a strong and pronounced ally of the Conservative party. In 1893, however, he spoke as follows: "The right principle is free trade, modified only by revenue requirements or national conditions. We, however, have fostered protection until it has become a virus in the blood. It must be purged away."

In a series of political papers written in November, 1893, Principal Grant wrote as follows:

"A low tariff means increased imports as well as steady and normal trade, and in all probability there would be no deficit. . . . There are certain lines of manufactures for which Canada is fitted and these would be benefited. We have given all others plenty of time to get on their feet, and those that are still unable to stand had better stand from under."

Hon. Peter Mitchell, who was once a member of a Conservative Cabinet, is to-day sternly opposed to the trade policy of the present Government. Mr. Calvin, the Conservative member for Frontenac, Ont., voted in the House of Commons in 1893 for Sir Richard Cartwright's amendment to the Government's budget. Col. O'Brien, M.P., a well known Conservative is strongly opposed to the protective policy, which he formerly as strongly supported.

Many other names might be mentioned, and as an instance of how the rank and file of the Conservative party feel, the following resolution of the Conservative Association of Chester, in the riding of East York, Ont., passed in 1893, is given:

"In view of the prolonged commercial depression throughout Canada, and on account of the heavy duties upon imports, reducing the purchasing power of our currency by nearly forty per cent., as a matter of principle we object to such high taxation made solely in order that we should be compelled to purchase at the highest price the, for the most part, very inferior manufactures of this country to the exclusion of cheaper and superior goods manufactured in Great Britain, and on the principle that Canadian manufactures, if any good, can easily stand upon their merits, and need not therefore fear a rivalry that has to come a matter of 3,000 miles to compete with them, while on the other hand if they are not good enough for that, then they are not worth bolstering up by an exceedingly high tariff."

At a meeting of the Vancouver, B. C., Trades and Labor Council, held December 11th, 1893, a strongly worded resolution was passed unanimously condemning the existing tariff as oppressive to the masses, and declaring in their opinion that the principle of protection was unsound and unjust to the masses, and that the highest interests of the country demanded its repeal.

## A Distinct Issue.

The state of things referred to in the preceding pages exists in Canada to-day, and a far worse state, as will presently be seen, and the question arises, what is the remedy? Protection has been tried and found wanting. The liberals offer a policy of free trade, limited only by the necessities of the revenue required for

honest and economical administration of the government. The ninth section of the platform of the Patrons of Industry reads as follows: "Tariff for revenue only, and so adjusted as to fall as far as possible upon the luxuries and not upon the necessaries of life."

As against the policy of the Liberals the Government adhere to the old policy. In proof of this see Mr. Foster's budget speech of 1894, in presenting the revised tariff to the House, when he spoke as follows:

"The arrangement of a tariff and the principle which is to be adopted has two aspects—it looks to the revenue which is required in a country, and it looks as well to the general trade and development of a country. I wish, at this early stage of my remarks upon this subject, to say that, so far as the revenue aspect is concerned, it is of infinitely less importance than the effect of the principle and the details of the tariff upon the trade and development of the country."

Here is a plain declaration from the Finance Minister that the first duty of the Government is to protect certain private interests, and not simply to raise a revenue.

In a speech at Fredericton, N.B., on August 15th, 1893, delivered by Hon. G. E. Foster, Minister of Finance, he declared that the Conservative policy was firmly based on the principle of protection, and if it required fifty per cent. to maintain our industries that would be put on.

It is easy to understand how the tariff revision of 1894 was in no sense tariff reform, as will presently be shown.

## The Trade Figures.

The evidences of the failure of the policy of protection are abundant, and it is easy to convince any intelligent man that the commercial life of the country was healthier during the period of a revenue tariff than it has been since.

It must be born in mind always that the population of the country has increased during the last fifteen years—not anything like what it should have done, but nevertheless there has been a small increase, amounting to about 750,000 souls since the inauguration of the National Policy; and consequently the consumption of goods and products, both natural and manufactured of Canada should have increased correspondingly. To say, therefore, that the total volume of our trade in 1894 was greater than in 1878 is equivalent to stating that these 750,000 persons must be fed and clothed and would produce something for export.

The real question is whether the total trade per head of the population has increased. Is the foreign trade of Canada greater to-day per head of the population than it was in 1878?

## Trade Per Head.

(Page 397, Year Book, '93)

According to the figures officially published the total volume of trade per head in 1873 was \$59.37, and 1893, \$49.41, or a decrease in twenty years of about \$10 a head, equal to a total decrease for the Dominion of \$50,000,000. The total trade per head in 1874 when Mr. Mackenzie was in power was \$56.88. Compared with 1874 Canada's foreign trade was less, after fifteen years of protection, by \$7 per head, or a total decline of \$35,000,000.

The reply to this always is that the home market consumes more now than it formerly did, and thus accounts for the decrease in foreign trade. If so the imports from foreign countries will be less, whereas the fact is that the imports per head are greater to-day than in 1878 and the volume of imports for the 10 years, 1883-1892, inclusive is greater than during the period 1873 to 1882 inclu-



sive, by \$82,000,000. In other words Canadians have consumed more foreign goods during the N. P. period than they did under a tariff for revenue. In 1878 the value of dutiable goods imported for home consumption was \$59,773,000; in 1883 it was \$91,588,000; in 1888 it was \$69,945,000; and in 1893 it was \$69,160,000, so that it will be seen more foreign goods have been imported by far under the National Policy than before it; yet the declared object of the N.P. was to diminish importation. It has therefore failed of its object in this important particular.

## From Whom We Buy.

This increase of imports has not been from the Mother country, but altogether from the United States.

Total imports from Great Britain, 10 years ending 1882,	\$469,319,462
" " " "	1892, 430,843,001
	_____

Decline of imports from Great Britain in 10 years, \$38,476,461

Our total trade in 1893 with Great Britain—that is to say our imports and exports combined—was less than it was in 1874.

Total imports from United States, 10 years ending 1882,	\$456,918,342
" " " "	1892, 501,775,955
	_____

Increase of imports from the United States. . . . . \$ 44,857,613

## Some Exports.

Here are some other tests of the working of the N. P. on our foreign commerce. The calculations have been made from the blue book, where the returns begin with the year 1873, and include two ten-year periods, the first being nearly altogether a tariff for revenue period, and the second a full-fledged high-tariff National Policy period.

	Exports, 1873-1882.	Exports, 1883-1892.
France . . . . .	\$ 5,370,530	\$ 3,819,696
West Indies . . . . .	35,778,834	27,726,275
Italy . . . . .	1,668,192	1,283,686
Newfoundland . . . . .	19,029,253	16,483,863
Holland . . . . .	928,897	674,901
	_____	_____
Totals . . . . .	\$62,775,706	\$49,988,421

Here are five countries, the trade of which is very important to Canada, where the N. P. has ignominiously failed to increase our exports, the task which it was set to do. In these ten years' exports to the West Indies, a near market we ought to command, have fallen off by no less than \$8,000,000, notwithstanding the establishing of subsidized steam communication. To restore that \$8,000,000 would pay Canada better than to spend money in establishing a line of steamers to Australia, which country only took during the same period \$4,426,000 of total goods. At the same time our exports to the West Indies were falling off by double that sum.

Our exports to the West Indies were greater in 1875 than they are to-day.

1875 .....	\$3,945,000
1893 .....	3,145,000

From the above figures these propositions are evident:

The N. P. has borne heavily on trade with Great Britain.

The N. P. has failed to decrease importations.

The N. P. has failed in most important instances to even maintain a volume of exports up to the standard of Mr. Mackenzie's time.

Take the commerce of the Maritime Provinces. In Nova Scotia, in 1873, the imports were \$11,000,000; in 1893 they were \$9,256,565. The exports of Nova Scotia in 1873 were \$7,372,000, and in 1893, \$10,308,628, an increase represented by the trade brought from the west by the railways.

In 1873 New Brunswick imported \$10,849,000; in 1878, \$8,500,000, and in 1893, \$5,763,884. The exports from New Brunswick in 1873 were \$6,487,000; in 1878, \$6,208,000, and in 1892, \$6,183,000.

### Diminished Agricultural Exports.

If the Conservative policy were the means of developing the natural resources of the country, then the exports of these natural resources would prove it.

The total exports of all agricultural products (the greatest source of our wealth) during the ten-year periods before quoted were:

1873-1882 .....	\$249,855,184
1883-1892 .....	216,384,141

or a decline of three and a quarter millions a year during the last ten years.

In the blue book, from which these figures are taken, the exports called "agricultural products" do not include "animals and their products," which are classified under a separate head.

### Exports of Manufactures.

One would think that if the N. P. stimulated anything at all it would be the exports of manufactures, yet the figures for the same periods of exports of manufactures are, according to the blue book, as follows:

1873-1882 .....	\$41,328,587
1883-1892 .....	49,530,211

At this rate of progress the exports of manufactures from Canada would in about two hundred years equal the exports of agricultural products.

Taking the number of employees in manufacturing establishments as given by the industrial census the result would be as follows:

Production for export, 1881, per man .....	\$162
"                    "          1891,          " .....	134

The largest item of manufactures appearing in the last schedule is settlers' effects. A commentary indeed upon the N. P., in regard to the export of manufactures.

If it is believed that there is an increase in the number of employees of industrial establishments of 112,000 it must also be believed either that these men worked three-quarter time in the last ten years as compared with full time under Mr. Mackenzie's Government or that the capacity for producing goods is very much less in the artisan of to-day than in the artisan of Mr. Mackenzie's period.

It cannot be that the home market has consumed more manufactured articles because, as before pointed out, the importations from abroad have increased instead of diminished.

### Total Foreign Trade.

The total foreign trade of Canada, on the basis of goods entered for consumption and exported, years 1874 and 1893 :

	1874.	1893.
Great Britain .....	\$108,083,642	\$107,228,906
United States .....	90,524,060	102,144,986
Total for all countries.....	216,756,097	240,269,382

The National Policy was ostensibly aimed at the United States, but it struck the Mother country hardest, as the above figures show.

In 1888 our total trade with foreign countries, on the same basis of goods entered for consumption and exported, amounted to \$193,050,100, compared with \$216,756,097 in 1874, a decline during the fourteen years of \$23,000,000.

In 1891, twelve years after the introduction of the N. P., our total foreign trade was \$211,762,420, or \$5,000,000 less than it was in 1874.

Question.—If the effect of the National Policy was to make the total foreign trade for 1894 greater than it was in 1878, what was it that made the total foreign trade in 1888 and in 1891 less than it was in 1874 when Mr. Mackenzie was in power ?

### The Tariff.

#### Compare the Promises of the Conservatives in 1878 with their Performances.

The Conservative pledge in 1878 was that the tariff should not be increased but merely readjusted, yet the blue book shows that the customs taxation has increased from \$3.13 per head in 1874 to \$4.84 in 1891, the date of the census. The duty on some articles was made considerably over 100 per cent., and to-day the duty on coal oil is 93 per cent. (Sept., 1894, imports), and the duty on common window glass was made as high as the duty on manufactures of gold and silver. The duties on iron manufactures, woollen manufactures, cottons and all the necessaries of life were increased from 17½ per cent. to 30, 40, 50 and 60 per cent.

### The Revised Tariff of 1894.

The revised tariff, which is the law to-day, was introduced in the House of Commons March 27, 1894. Since that a member of the Cabinet has claimed that it reduced taxation and relieved the people of many of the burdens under which

they labored between 1879 and 1894. Though the Government calmly imposed during all these years many unjust and unnecessary burdens they are now to be forgiven because they have mitigated the injustice by about two per cent. An examination of the new tariff, however, would show that the new tariff is fully as burdensome and as unjust, if not more so, than the old one.

In the first place more than one-half the total number of dutiable articles remained unchanged, and the changes that were made were not always, or even often, in the direction of a reduction. A number of reductions were certainly made in the changes as announced in the budget speech, but the Government subsequently changed about one hundred items, in nearly every case increasing the duty on them, and in a great many instances the universally condemned specific duties were restored. The Government had gone a step forward in the direction of public opinion but they were speedily pulled back by the beneficiaries of the tariff.

### Character of Revised Tariff.

Calculations can easily be made by anybody to show that the revised tariff of 1894 retains most of the follies and every one of the injustices of the old tariff. It is on the whole quite as high a tariff, and in some instances higher, while in a very few cases there are reductions of any moment. In a large number of cases the reductions are from 35 per cent. to  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and in others from 30 to  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. An idea of the increases made will be found in subsequent pages.

The character of the revised tariff is described by Mr. Dalton McCarthy in his speech in the House of Commons, April 11, 1894, as follows:

"Now, sir, what do these tariff amendments mean? If I have grasped their meaning at all, I would venture to say—and, in fact, it is not seriously questioned—that the tariff is still to be regarded as a tariff in the interest of the manufacturing classes. That is the keynote of the changes which have been made—that the tariff is still a protective tariff, and that those changes are in the interest, not of the great consuming masses, but of those who are recognized as the protected classes. . . . Speaking of the tariff as a whole, I think I may characterize it as an ad valorem tariff of from 30 to 35 per cent."

Col. O'Brien, M.P., in the House of Commons budget debate:

"Now, sir, let this tariff go. I do not consider these reductions—and I do not believe they will be considered by the people—as of value. I do not consider that anyone can say that a tariff of 35 per cent. is a farmers' tariff or anything but a manufacturers' tariff. Yet the hon. gentleman has the audacity to ask us to pay \$750,000 a year for a fast line of steamers in order to promote a foreign trade. Well, I think the hon. gentleman has to learn the A B C of political economy if he thinks he can have a foreign trade and a protective system combined."

In order that there may be no mistake as to the action of such a prominent Conservative—because Col. O'Brien always has been and still is a strong Conservative—here is another quotation from his speech:

"Under these circumstances, also taking into account the speech of the honorable gentleman (Mr. Foster)—fearing that if I supported this tariff I would be committing myself to the principle of protection, which I never have and do not accept—I certainly cannot support the Government in the tariff they now suggest. . . . I can tell the Hon. Finance Minister that he will find at the next general election that there are thousands of Conservatives in the Dominion of Canada who will not accept his protectionist doctrines."

## Higher than the U. S. Tariff.

The Canadian tariff of to-day is higher than the tariff of the United States, taking it all round, and there are many important differences. Agricultural implements under the United States tariff are free, while here they are taxed one-fifth of their value, and, under the Administration of the Act, 25 per cent. is exacted instead of 20 per cent. Besides this many agricultural implements are dutiable under the Canadian tariff at 35 per cent.

## The Pockets of the People.

When on the stump the Minister of Finance asserts that no one need pay any taxes at all by the simple method of purchasing home-made articles, but here is what he said in the House of Commons budget of 1894:

“The aggregate amount of taxation remitted since 1883 on the articles I have enumerated amounted to \$29,500,000, or an average of about \$2,500,000 a year. In 1892-3, when I had the honor of announcing to Parliament that we had a surplus of \$1,354,000 had we kept the taxation on these articles—taxation which was imposed upon them when the National Policy had its inception or in its first year—I should have had to add to that surplus the sum of \$5,600,000, which would have represented so much more taken from the pockets of the people.”

So taxes when imposed may be easily avoided by patronizing home industries, but when these taxes are remitted or taken off they represent so much which would otherwise have been taken from the pockets of the people.

## Average Rate of Duty.

If Mr. Foster, as he says, took off \$30,000,000 of taxes between 1882 and 1893, it would follow that the average rate of taxation would be much lower now than it was when all these extra taxes were being collected. In fact the average rate is higher if Mr. Foster is to be believed. Speaking in the House of Commons, budget, 1894, he said:

“If you take the average of the ad valorem duty paid on all dutiable goods imported into this country for home consumption from 1879 to 1893 you will find in no year has the average rate exceeded 31 per cent., and that the average of those years has been 28½ per cent.”

Therefore, after reducing the duties between 1882 and 1893 by taking off, Mr. Foster says, \$29,000,000, and after revising the tariff of 1894, ostensibly making further reductions, one would think that the tariff taxation would be certainly very much less than it was in 1882-1893, when it averaged, Mr. Foster says, 28½ per cent.; but the monthly returns of importations for home consumption as published in the *Canada Gazette* during the last half of 1894, show that the operation of the new tariff imposes an average of about 30 per cent. on dutiable goods. Mr. Foster has proved too much.

Mr. Foster says, as quoted above, that his Government has taken off \$30,000,000 from the taxation imposed in 1879, or an average of about \$2,500,000 a year; yet the people who paid \$14,138,000 in 1880, paid \$18,500,000 in 1881, and \$21,161,000 in 1893 in customs duties. The fact is, Mr. Foster omitted to mention the constant imposition of new duties, which have been imposed upon the people nearly every year since 1879. The amount of duties collected by the customs in 1879 was \$3.12, and in 1880 \$3.35, and in 1893 \$4.27, or an increase per head as compared with 1880 of nearly a dollar.

The per capita tax of customs duties in the United States in 1893 was \$3.08, or \$1.19 more in Canada than in the United States, a difference of 35 per cent., and under the Wilson Bill the United States figures will be very greatly reduced.

The only reductions calculated to be of any benefit to the general consumer ever made by the party in power were the taking of duty off anthracite coal and the reduction in the sugar duties, in 1891. If, then, as Mr. Foster says, the change in the sugar duties save the people \$3,500,000 a year he has by his own confession extracted about \$48,000,000 from the people unnecessarily and unjustly during the twelve years preceding the reduction. As everyone knows, the Government was forced to make the reduction by the action of the United States.

The official figures show that the Liberal Government of Mr. Mackenzie instead of increasing the taxes reduced them. They found the per capita customs duties paid in 1874 \$3.74, and when they went out of power in 1878 this amount had been reduced to \$3.13. This figure had been increased to \$5.02 in 1889.

Taking the average population for the fourteen years from 1878 to 1892 it will be found that \$50,000,000 have been taken out of the pockets of the people of Canada in taxes more than would have been taken out if the National Policy had never been introduced.

### Special Class Favors.

The larger portion of the taxes remitted about which Messrs. Foster and Sir Mackenzie Bowell have talked and claimed credit for have been remitted to the manufacturers, and the manufacturers only. Speaking in Toronto Sir Mackenzie Bowell boasted, and repeated it in the Senate, that the Government had placed one hundred and thirteen articles on the free list for the benefit of the manufacturers, and added: "That is what I call tariff reform." The Hon. Mr. Angers, Minister of Agriculture, in the Senate, in 1893, speaking of articles used in the manufacture of goods, which articles were not produced in Canada, said that of this class of imports there was admitted free in the period of 1879 to 1883 an average of \$8,240,000 a year; and between 1884 and 1888 an average of \$9,560,000; and in the period of 1889 to 1892 an average of \$13,167,000. Here is a sum, according to a Minister of the Crown, of over \$13,000,000 a year in taxes taken off the shoulders of the manufacturers and transferred to the farmer and general consumer. From 1879 to 1893 the Government can name no article that was made free for the benefit of the farmer, the artisan or the general consumer.

Under a new order-in-council—because these things are done by the Cabinet and not by Parliament—passed in November, 1894, manufacturers were empowered to import free all the materials used in the manufacture of their goods for export, whether such material was of a class produced in Canada or not. In other words, manufacturers are not now compelled to patronize home industries for their raw material, and are enabled to sell cheaper to foreigners than to Canadians. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government during the past sixteen years the total export of manufactures is a paltry six or seven millions of dollars.

Why should the Government become a working partner with the manufacturers, and year after year heap favor upon favor on them, while at the same time telling the farmers, who comprise so large a percentage of the workers of Canada, that they are helpless to assist them in getting more than half a dollar for their wheat or in paying off the mortgage. It should be borne in mind that those employed in industries benefited by the tariff do not comprise more than 7 or 8 per cent. of all those in the Dominion having occupations.

## Drawbacks.

Up to 1894, manufacturers of goods for export were allowed a rebate of 90 per cent. of the duty paid upon imported raw material, provided such material was not of a kind produced in Canada. Of customs refunds and drawbacks there were paid in 1893, \$190,000. The Massey-Harris Manufacturing Co., Toronto, received \$10,000 in 1893, being the amount refunded to them in duties. This, however, did not prove sufficient, and in October, 1894, an order-in-council was passed granting a drawback of 99 per cent. of the duty paid upon all raw material imported for manufacturing purposes, whether such material was of a kind produced in Canada or not; provided the manufactures are for export abroad. In other words, if a farming implement or machine is sold to a farmer in Canada the duty paid on the raw material is added to the price; but the same implement or machine sold abroad has the benefit of free raw material entering into its manufacture. The duty is paid back by the Canadian Government and the foreign purchaser of an implement or machine gets the benefit of it. There is no such favor shown the home purchaser, but the Canadian farmer or artisan is compelled to pay full duty upon everything in the article he buys, and thus to pay more than his foreign rival for implements of trade. There may be no reason why the manufacturer of agricultural implements should not get his raw material free, as the cotton manufacturer does, but why should the implements sold in the Canadian market not be as lightly taxed as those sold in the foreign markets? To relieve the foreign consumer at the cost of the farmers of Canada is now part and parcel of the tariff policy of the Government.

To encourage the production of pig iron in Canada a bounty of \$2 a ton is paid by the Government upon every ton produced, and a duty of \$4 a ton is levied by the customs upon imported pig iron, and now all foreign pig iron required in manufactures for export is to be admitted free of duty. This is a glaring inconsistency.

## Free Agricultural Implements.

By placing agricultural implements on the free list the Government would have enabled Canadian manufacturers of those implements to send them free into the markets of the United States, the United States tariff having placed them on the free list when imported from a country levying no import duty on like articles imported from the United States. This free exchange of agricultural implements and machines would have benefited Canada in two ways: by giving the farmers the immense benefit of competition in the manufacture of those implements, and the consequent saving in price; and it would have given the Canadian manufacturer what he badly needs, an extended market in the neighboring Republic. The Government, while professing constantly to be willing to enlarge the trade with the United States, prove their utter insincerity by rejecting an important offer made by the United States. The Minister of Militia, Mr. J. C. Patterson, when speaking at the bye-election of 1892, told the farmers as an inducement to them to elect him, that the Government would take the duty off agricultural implements and binder twine. They have done neither. The farmers of the United States, however, have no duty on agricultural implements.

## Agricultural Implements.

The Conservatives are circulating campaign literature containing misrepresentations and false figures. For instance in a campaign sheet entitled "The Trade Question Debated" there is a list of pretended reductions made in the tariff during the revision of 1894. It says:

"Agricultural implements, mowers, reapers, binders, and all sorts of such implements, used by the farmer, have been reduced from 35 to 20 per cent."

This is not true. All sorts of such implements have not been reduced. The reduction applies only to eight articles, named in the tariff as follows: mowing machines, harvesters, reapers, ploughs, harrows, cultivators, seed drills and horse-rakes. Compare this list with a list in the trade and navigation returns for 1893 (page 63), of what are termed "agricultural implements." "Binding attachments, drills, pronged forks, harrows, harvesters, hoes, hay knives, mowing machines, ploughs, rakes, reapers, scythes, spades, shovels—fourteen articles, whereas the reduction in the new tariff applies only to eight specified articles. In the new tariff, pumps and windmills are 30 per cent; curry combs, locks, butts, hinges, saws, and other hardware used by farmers every day are taxed 32½ per cent. Shovels and spades, axes, scythes, hoes, hay knives, picks and tools, pronged forks and garden rakes are all taxed 35 per cent.

Item 283 of the tariff of 1894, reads as follows:

"Axes of all kinds, scythes, hay knives, lawn mowers, pronged forks, rakes, n.e.s., and hoes, and other agricultural tools or implements, n.e.s., 35 per cent.

## More Misrepresentations.

The same sheet entitled the "Trade Questions Debated," says:

"The duties on cottons of every description ranged from 40 to 60 per cent. in the old tariff; now average 25 per cent., a very material reduction."

Aside from the audacity of the assertion that they have been taxing the people on such necessities of life as cottons, from 40 to 60 per cent., the fact is that the average duty on cotton goods under the new tariff is, according to the actual returns, a little over 30 per cent. As against the assertions of the Conservative campaign sheet place the evidence of Sir Hibbert Tupper in his speech at North Bay as published in the *Toronto Empire*, October, 1894, where he claimed that the cotton duties were now "not over 30 per cent." The returns of imports published monthly in the *Canada Gazette* for the first nine months after the new tariff went into operation show that the average duty on cottons is as high as before revision, and in particular instances very much higher.

The same sheet says: "Starch—corn starch, old rate, 2c. per lb.; new rate, ½c. per lb."

As a matter of fact the new rate is 1½c.

Here is another extract to show that facts and the assertions in Conservative campaign literature have no relation:

"White and common soap, reduced from 1½c. to 1c. per lb."

White soap is actually 2c. per lb. in the new tariff (item 24, customs tariff 1894).



## The Coal Oil Duty.

Up to the session of 1894 the duty on coal oil imported was 7 1-5c. per gallon. As American coal oil was delivered in Canada in tank cars during 1893 at 3½c. per gallon by the car load the duty was about 200 per cent., and in addition there was an inspection fee and other costs and charges which ran the protection up to a still greater extent. At that time the better quality of American oil was retailed from house to house in the United States at a figure equal to from 8 to 10c. per imperial gallon. The same oil was sold in Ottawa at 30 and 35c. a gallon.

In the session of 1894 the Government grudgingly reduced the duty on coal oil from 7 and one-fifth cts. per gallon to 6c. a gallon, so that the protection given by customs duty on imported coal oil is not now more than 95 to 100 per cent. at the valuation given in the official return; though at the prices that good American coal oil can be laid down in Canada in tank cars the protection is much higher. Here is a statement of the coal oil imported and entered for consumption in Canada during the month of September, 1894:

Value of coal oil.....	\$40,517
Duty collected thereon .....	37,752

A simple calculation will show that this was a duty of over 93 per cent., and remember that September, 1894, is under the operation of the revised tariff.

Value of coal oil imported during 1892.....	\$471,690
Duty paid thereon.....	405,873
Number of gallons imported .....	5,638,000
Value of coal oil imported during 1893.....	437,692
Duty paid thereon .....	430,564

This was merely the customs duty, in addition to which there was a duty of 40c. on the barrel and an inspection fee of 2c, bringing the protection considerably above 100 per cent. The price of American coal oil, like the price of everything produced in the world, is less each succeeding year, so that the protection is at 6c. a gallon, proportionately greater to-day than it was a few years ago at 7 1-5c.

The refiners take every advantage of the very high duty. They do produce an oil which is sold as low as 15c. a gallon, but it is not a refined oil, and numerous cases of explosions have proved it unfit for use, not to speak of the dirt and foul smell from it. The best Canadian oil with which a comparison with American oil is possible sells to-day in Ottawa at 25c. a gallon, as compared with 8c. a gallon in the United States.

For particulars on this subject of oil see speech by Dr. Macdonald of Huron, House of Commons *Hansard*, 1893, page 529, on motion of Mr. Cleveland, Conservative, to place coal oil on the free list.

On a calculation there could be paid out of the public exchequer, \$10,000 a year to each of the refiners in the country, \$450 a year to each of the employees, \$516,000 for the machinery or a total of about \$835,000, and still have a clear saving of \$635,000, not to speak of saving the employees' labor, the only effect of which is to enable a score of refiners to extract nearly a million and a half a year by reason of unjust taxation.

It would clearly pay the people to close up every refinery in the country and pension off at a handsome figure everyone connected with them.

A bushel of wheat at the prices ruling in 1894 would only buy two gallons, at the outside, of good oil; without the duty the same bushel of wheat would have purchased seven gallons of the best oil.

## The Combines.

"There is not a manufacturing industry in this country in which there is not an understanding between the men engaged in it by which they regulate the output and fix the prices, and there is virtually no competition. What is the result? The result is that you are paying an enormous tax on what you bring into the country; that goes into the treasury. The duty that your merchant pays to the customs house officers goes into the treasury. He adds it to the price of his goods, his profit to that and it comes out of the pockets of the people; but if you deal with the home manufacturer you pay him the same price as if he had paid duty, when he has not paid anything, and the 35 per cent. goes into his pocket and not into the treasury at all. I came to the conclusion a year ago that I was no longer going to remain an advocate of the N. P. I saw what was going on. I could not, unless I was blind, help seeing it, I knew of all these combinations and trusts, and I saw from the public documents the enormous output of these manufacturers."—*Dalton McCarthy, Q. C., M. P.*

"The Government appealed to the people in 1878 and the people sustained them. But soon afterwards these refiners and the grocers' guild, as it is called, entered into a combination to raise the price of sugar. The people find fault with the refiners that they should have entered into this unholy alliance. They were not satisfied with the protection they had under the National Policy. They were getting rich, but they wanted to squeeze a little more out of the people. That is proved by the sworn testimony taken before the committee on combines in the House of Commons. I say this to the sugar lords, the coal lords, the cotton lords, and all the other lords in this House who are forming combinations against the people of this country, that the people who gave them protection can take it away from them. The people are their masters. There are combinations, of course. For what? For the benefit of the consumers in this country? No; combinations of the rich, in order that they might put more money into their own pockets. Do you imagine for one moment that the people in this country are going to stand it? When they adopted the National Policy it was to give the manufacturers an opportunity to make a fair profit, but the moment you combine against the people they will kick. They will not stand it.

If you do not check them now in the bud they will ruin this country yet, in my opinion."—*Senator McCallum, (Conservative,) in the Senate of Canada.*

There is no blinking the fact that the protective policy inaugurated in 1879 has produced combinations in restraint of trade and for the purpose of increasing the prices of the various products controlled by the combines. In addition to the testimony quoted above, given in the one instance by the most prominent Conservative in the House of Commons, and in the other by a Conservative Senator, who was once a strong advocate of the protective policy, there is proof

that the rank and file of the party are seized of the situation. In an address presented by the Conservatives of Lucan, Ontario, October 2nd, 1893, to Sir John Thompson and his colleagues the following passage occurred :

"We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the National Policy has been and is now much abused by those whom it was more immediately designed to benefit. We cherish the hope that the government will at an early day initiate such legislation and take such powers as they may deem necessary to prevent all forms amalgamations, or otherwise, that are calculated to unduly oppress any class of our people."

Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Trade and Commerce, in the course of a speech delivered in Kingston in April, 1893, said :

"Whenever the price of any article was inflated by means of trade combinations it has either been put upon the free list, or the duty lowered to a point which rendered the abuse of the protection impossible."

Mr. Bowell here admitted in the plainest and most positive manner, that combines can only exist under a high duty and that they can be dissolved by lowering the duty or placing the articles on the free list.

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, a Conservative, who supported the N. P. in 1878, and who by reason of his business comes into contact with business interests and commercial speculations every day, has this further to say on the subject :

"I venture to say that there is hardly an industry, certainly not one of the great industries, so to speak, which have not been fostered by the protective policy that is not now in one way or another in a combination and in which, in other words, there is not a practical monopoly."

In the House of Commons during the session of 1894 Mr. Forbes quoted a form of bond entered into between dealers, in which the following paragraph occurred :

"That no goods have been sold by me, nor, to the best of my knowledge and belief, by any other person as aforesaid (except to members of the said association) at any less price than that fixed by the said associations, and that no rebates, discounts, (except as provided for in the said agreement,) drawbacks, allowances or inducement whatever have been made or allowed by me."

This bond was signed by those who dealt with combines, and under it combines were operating in paints, wire nails, tacks, cut nails, screws, horseshoes, pressed wrought spikes and bar iron. Combines also exist in many other lines, such as wall papers, sugars, cottons, wrapping paper, plate glass, binder twine, agricultural implements and so on.

In 1891 Mr. Mulock showed in the House of Commons that a cordage company had acquired all the binding twine factories in Canada, that it had a capital of \$3,000,000, and a directorate of half a dozen persons, three of whom are American capitalists, and the president of the combine being Mr. Stairs, Tory M. P. for Halifax. The government refused relief and to escape from this oppression the farmers started the Brantford Twine Factory, and the Ontario Government also a Twine Factory, which has effected to the farmers a saving of about 8 cents a pound.

Mr. Charles Raymond, a large manufacturer, at Guelph, Ont., made the following statement during the revision of the tariff in 1894, concerning the exactions of the screw combine, or Canadian Screw Company: "At one time they were content with a fair price, but another concern started, the two pooled their output, prices were jumped one-third higher, but still a shade lower than the high duty and freight added to the American price. The Government should put the product of such combines on the free list to bring them to their senses."

## The Cotton Combine.

Competition was an essential condition of the National Policy, and one of the many grounds why it has lost favor is that combination among the manufacturers has entirely destroyed that competition, and to-day the price of every article manufactured in this country, speaking in general terms, is raised just as high as the tariff will permit.—*Col. O'Brien, M.P.*, (Conservative), House of Commons, April 5, 1894.

The nature and extent of the cotton combine in Canada was thoroughly exposed by Mr. Edgar, M.P., in his speeches on the subject in the House of Commons. On a subsequent page it is shown that the duties on cotton goods in the revised tariff are, on the average, higher than in the old tariff. On the morning of the day on which the Finance Minister announced his tariff changes, March 27, 1894, buyers were offering 118½ for cotton stocks in Montreal. On April 6, ten days later, Montreal cotton stocks were sold at 132. This is full proof that the changes made in the cotton schedule of the tariff were made in the interest of the combine and not in the interest of the general consumer.

On April 14, 1893, a report was given out of the annual meeting of the Dominion Cotton Company, at which the president, Mr. A. F. Gault, stated that the earnings for the year were about 20 per cent. on a capital of \$3,000,000. On the last \$1,500,000 of this stock of \$3,000,000, however, the shareholders had only paid up 10 per cent. and 20 per cent. on \$1,500,000 represented exactly an earning, or rather a robbery, of 200 per cent. on the \$150,000 paid in to buy the \$1,500,000 of stock.

This watered stock was quoted on the market the day before the announcement of the tariff changes, at 115, and on the 6th April, ten days after the budget, it was 122½, so that the effect of the tariff changes in the cotton duties was to appreciate even the watered stock.

At least \$13,000,000 worth of cottons are manufactured by the companies controlling the output in Canada. Dr. Montague, M.P., in the Session of 1893 put the working expenses of all the mills, from data supplied to him, at \$8,000,000. This would leave a margin for profit of \$5,000,000 a year.

The same report of Mr. A. F. Gault's speech at the annual meeting, April 13, 1893, reported Mr. Gault to have spoken as follows regarding the cotton mills within the control of the Dominion Cotton Company, which controls all the white cotton mills in the country :

“The most modern machinery is employed, and even if the Government should come back to the tariff that was enforced during the Mackenzie regime, the company would be in a position to compete with the whole world, not even excepting England.”

Mr. Gault afterwards denied that he made these statements, but they were reported along with other and admitted statements.

As it is, the cotton manufacturers in Canada export annually about \$300,000 worth of product and sell it as far away as China in open competition with the world. Why cannot they compete in the home market? It may well be believed that the industry would earn good profits under a tariff for revenue only, as it did before the National Policy was introduced.

To show that the Government in arranging the new tariff consulted the combine and satisfied Mr. Gault and his colleagues beforehand that they would not be hurt, the following extract is given from a letter written by Mr. Gault to

the *Montreal Star*, April 21st, 1894: "There would be doubtless some changes (in the tariff) but it was hoped they would be of such a light nature that this company (the combine with eleven mills) would be able to go on as heretofore paying its usually quarterly dividend." This is what Mr. Gault himself says he told the shareholders at the meeting. He prophesied that the changes would be of a light nature, and that the cotton combine would not be prevented from paying its "usually quarterly dividend." That prophecy came true, as the following list will show:

### Comparisons in Cottons.

	Old tariff.	Revised tariff.
Sewing thread . . . . .	25 per cent.	25 per cent.
Mosquito nettings . . . . .	25 "	30 "
Braids and cords . . . . .	30 "	30 "
Corsets . . . . .	35 "	32½ "
Crapes . . . . .	20 "	20 "
Elastic webbing . . . . .	25 "	20 "
Non-elastic webbing . . . . .	20 "	20 "
Cotton twine . . . . .	25 " and 1 c. lb.	25 "
Unbleached sheetings . . . . .	24 "	22½ "
Ginghams and plaids . . . . .	34 "	30 "
Flannellettes and colored cottonades . .	31 "	30 "
Printed or dyed fabrics . . . . .	32½ "	30 "
Clothing . . . . .	35 "	32½ "
Hosiery . . . . .	42 " (average).	35 "
Shirts . . . . .	47 "	25 & 50 p. c.
Ladies collars . . . . .	130 (24c. doz. & and 25 p.c.)	125 "
Cordage of all kinds . . . . .	23 per cent.	23 "
Drills and ducks . . . . .	24 "	25 "
Colored fabrics dyed . . . . .	25 "	30 "
Velveteens, cotton velvets . . . . .	20 "	30 "
Handkerchiefs . . . . .	25 "	30 "
Winceys . . . . .	22½ "	32½ "
All manufactures of cotton not specified . . . . .	20 "	32½ "

To make this last unjustifiable increase more monstrous still, there are very many more articles not specified in the revised schedule than in the old tariff. In the old tariff 45 different articles of cotton were specified; in the new tariff there are not more than about 20.

(For interesting example of how the cotton combine deals with the working-men, see chapter devoted to wages.)

(Also see chapter on industrial census for number of employees in cotton mills.)

### The Sugar Combine.

When the Government in 1891 reduced the duty on sugar they made all sugars above number 14 Dutch standard in color and refined sugars of all kinds bear a specific duty of  $\frac{8}{10}$  of a cent a pound. Mr. Paterson of Brant, moved an

amendment that all sugars under number 16 Dutch standard should be admitted free of duty, and all over that be reduced to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a cent a pound. Mr. Paterson's motion, which was supported by every Liberal in Parliament, was voted down, but Mr. Paterson had the satisfaction of seeing the Government adopt his resolution with a slight variation in 1894. On his motion Mr. Stairs, M.P., for Halifax, whose company has a monopoly of the sugar industry in the maritime provinces, controlling three factories which were formerly independent, said :

"The Canadian refiners, I believe, can refine sugar as cheaply as American refiners ; at least so near it that the difference does not affect the calculation at all. But why is it that they want a little more protection ? It is because the market of Canada is not so large."

The whole iniquity of the protection system is confessed in these half-dozen lines by one of its chief beneficiaries.

Another sugar baron, Senator Drummond, stated in his place in the Senate as follows :

"Now as a manufacturer, I say that my preference is distinctly to be placed in the position of the manufacturer of cotton and have my raw material duty free. If that were so, I honestly believe that I could supply the trade and the country with sugar as cheaply as in England ; but as a manufacturer it is perhaps stepping out of my province to suggest."

Well, Mr. Drummond has his raw sugar admitted free of duty and his finished product protected to the extent of over six-tenths of a cent per pound. Under this arrangement the refiners make about \$1,500,000 annually over and above a fair profit. Under the old tariff refined sugar up to No. 14 Dutch standard came in free, and when the price of low grade sugars went up too high in Canada, Scotch refined, grading less than 14, was imported and this to some extent kept down the price of low grade sugars. Under the new tariff of 1894 refined sugars up to No. 16 Dutch standard are dutiable, and to this extent the refiners are benefited by the change.

In the discussion on admitting duty free raw sugars up to No. 16, Mr. Stairs who is closely connected with the West India trade in sugars, said in the House of Commons : "The consumers will have refined sugar because we cannot get any considerable quantity of raw sugar of a suitable character from the West Indies." He also said that raw sugar up to No. 16 was so dirty they would not be able to import it from the West Indies for direct consumption.

It is well known that the manufacturers try to frighten the people when they are threatened with a reduction of their protection by telling the people that if the protection is reduced they will have to close up their factories, and the workmen will be thrown out of employment. In speaking in the House of Commons against the motion by Wm. Paterson, Liberal M.P., South Brant to reduce the duty to five-tenths a cent a pound, Mr. Stairs said : "The refineries, therefore, would have to shut down and the classes to whom I have referred as being benefited by this industry would be thrown out of work." The Liberal Opposition and the public demand brought such pressure to bear that a reduction was made, but the refineries have not closed up, simply because the protection is still very high, very much higher than in the United States, even under the McKinley Bill. The following is a table which was read to the House of Commons, giving the prices as to refineries, to the wholesale trade, of granulated sugar in London, New York and Montreal. The London quotations were taken from

the "Daily Telegraph," the New York quotations from the "Tribune," and the Montreal quotations from the "Gazette," of the respective dates. The quotations are per hundred pounds:

Date.	London, Eng.	New York.	Montreal.
Jan. 5, 1894.....	\$3 58	\$3 81 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$4 25
Jan. 12 " .....	3 58	4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 25
Jan. 19 " .....	3 52	4 18 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jan. 26 " .....	3 52	4 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb. 2 " .....	3 52	4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb. 9 " .....	3 64	4 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb. 16 " .....	3 58	4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 50
Feb. 23 " .....	3 58	4 25	4 50
Mar. 2 " .....	3 58	4 25	4 50
Mar. 9 " .....	3 58	4 25	4 50
Mar. 16 " .....	3 58	4 25	4 50
Mar. 23 " .....	3 58	4 06 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 weeks .....	42 84	49 50	52 87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Average .....	3 57	4 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 40 $\frac{1}{2}$

Here we have refined sugar, of which we use 250,000,000 lbs. every year, sold here at an advance on the price in London, deducting \$5.50 per ton for freight, amounting to \$1,625,000. It is thus clearly shown that the refiners in Canada took \$1,500,000 of unearned profits in a single year from the people of Canada. For all that the revenue in 1893 only received \$10,000 from the sugar duties, owing to all raw sugars for refiners' use being admitted free.

Speaking in the House, Mr. Haggart said: "To-day we are getting sugar of a finer quality for half the money we had to pay for it in the years from 1874 to 1878." The question is if sugar is as cheap as it would be without the protection of the tariff, and if it is, or was at the time Mr. Haggart spoke, half the price, why did the Government reduce the duty on sugar? There are hundreds of things not costing half the money they did twenty years ago, but improved machinery, cheaper raw material and the progress of the age are responsible, and not the tariff.

### Paper Combine.

A combine exists among the white and manilla paper makers, and not long ago the owners of the ten mills in the Dominion manufacturing wrapping papers combined to limit production and fix prices at a paying figure. They met at the Queen's Hotel, Toronto, adopted a price list, and the basis of the combination. There was one mill in Canada not represented at the meeting and steps were taken to procure the co-operation of this remaining mill, so that competition would be entirely killed as far as prices were concerned. Some of the leading firms represented in the combine are the E. B. Eddy Co., of Hull, J. C. Wilson & Co., of Montreal and Lachute, Taylor Bros., Toronto, The Canada Paper Co., Toronto, and the Lincoln Paper Mills Co., of Merritton.

### Millionaires and Paupers.

Mr. George Taylor, the Government Whip in the House of Commons, used the following language in the budget debate of 1894:

"I do not think we have in Canada, all told, over 20 men who are worth a million dollars and upwards, and I do not know of a millionaire engaged in the business of manufacturing."

Let us see what a much better authority than Mr. Taylor had to say on the subject three years before. Speaking in the Senate, 1891, the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, then Premier of Canada, and Mr. Taylor's leader, said, in a debate on the salaries of judges :

"I remember when a man could live in this country for one-half the amount he can live on now—when the fortunes which judges, in the attempt to maintain their social rank, had to compete with were not one-tenth or one-hundredth part of what they are now. It is not so long ago when the sight of a millionaire would have attracted crowds in the streets ; now there is not a town in the country where you could not find men who are several times millionaires. The cost of living is greater."

Which argument do the Conservatives wish the people to believe? The tariff certainly has not made any of the farmers millionaires, nor has it distributed wealth among the general consuming population. Sir John Abbott knew well that the effect of the policy which he and his colleagues adhered to was to make certain persons in the cities and towns rich at the expense of ninety-nine-hundredths of the people. His testimony that the cost of living is pretty well twice as great now as it was under a tariff for revenue is valuable, because Sir John Abbott was in a position to know, and on finding himself advocating a question which was non-political, viz., the increase in the salaries of the judges, he stated facts, which every man in this country can confirm from his own experience.

One of the latest examples of how the new tariff still affords temptations to combine is found in the following news dispatch sent out from Montreal :

Montreal, Jan. 11, 1895.—"Another nail combine has been formed here, with the result that the base price of cut nails has been advanced 50 cents per keg. To-day the mills quote \$2.10 as the base price."

## The Rice Monopoly.

For the benefit of the owners of one single mill engaged in cleaning or hulling rice in Canada the duty upon hulled rice was fixed at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cents a pound, equal to fifty-five per cent., while the uncleaned rice was admitted at  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This duty of fifty-five per cent. upon cleaned rice was not imposed for purposes of revenue but to enable the owner of the rice-cleaning mill to compel the people to purchase the product of his factory at a price fixed by himself.

There are now two rice-cleaning factories, one in Victoria, B.C., and the other in Montreal. According to a statement by the Finance Minister in the House of Commons these mills employ a total of 75 men. According to the facts and figures contained in House of Commons Hansard, April 20, 1894, these two mills employing 75 hands cost the people of Canada under the new tariff \$200,000 at least, a year, on the basis of an importation of 25,000,000 lbs. as in 1893. The very lowest figure of what this tax lays upon the people is \$150,000 a year.

The duty on cleaned rice in the new tariff is the same as in the old,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  c. a pound.

Every man having employment in the rice-cleaning mills could be pensioned off at \$2,000 a year paid out of the public exchequer, and the people would not be a penny worse off.

In the budget speech Mr. Foster announced a reduction of duty on cleaned rice from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  c. a pound to 1 c., but three weeks later at the request not of the people or their representatives, but at the request of the parties interested, the duty was put back at the old figure.



A practical illustration of how the duty on rice works was given by Messrs. John Pinder & Co., of Montreal, dealers in rice, over their own signature, in a letter dated May 24th, 1894, as follows :

Invoice cost of 1,500 hundred bags imported rice, 360,452 pounds at  $1\frac{3}{4}$  c. a pound = \$5,857; duty thereon,  $\frac{1}{4}$  c. per pound, \$4,405; duty on bags at 20 per cent, \$60; freight to Montreal, \$542; insurance \$117, or a total in duty and freight of \$5,236, making the total cost to the importer for the \$5,857 worth of rice of \$11,083.

Mr. Pinder further says: "This makes the cost of the rice a fraction over three cents a pound laid down in Montreal, and gives the rice mill a protection of 80 per cent on the first cost of the rice, or nearly 100 per cent if the freight and other charges are added. The Rice Milling Co., who employ from 50 to 75 men (some assert that they do not employ more than 20 hands), enjoy a protection of 1 c. per pound, or equal to \$243,184 per annum. No one pretends that we can grow rice in this country, and the present duty is simply downright robbery. The Government gets scarcely any revenue from what is milled here, and the consumer is obliged to buy the lowest grade produced in order that the rice mill may make a fortune every year."

The tax is one out of which the Government receives \$1 and the rice-cleaner \$4.

The only compensation to the Government for maintaining an odious monopoly in such a wholesome article of general consumption as rice, is the handsome contribution to their election fund which the rice milling company doubtless gives.

## Wall Paper Duties.

Wall paper is another article in general use which is unjustly taxed for the benefit of the few, the specific duty being used to conceal the heavy nature of the tax. Under the old tariff brown and white blanks were taxed 51 per cent; white and grounded papers, 57 per cent; print and colored bronzes, 71 per cent; embossed bronzes, 50 per cent; colored borders 61 per cent; bronze and embossed borders, 70 per cent. On paper costing 2 cts. a roll the duty was 2 cts. a roll.

Under the new tariff wall paper was divided into two schedules, first, wall paper on plain ungrounded paper, 35 per cent; all other papers  $1\frac{1}{2}$  c. per roll and 25 per cent.

## A Duty of 70 Per Cent.

The duty on syrups and molasses, the product of the sugar cane or beet root and all other syrups and molasses is, in the new tariff, half a cent a pound. In the old tariff it was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  c. per gallon, which on the lower grades, worth about 10 c. a gallon, amounted to about 15 per cent. In a gallon there are 14 lbs. and at  $\frac{1}{2}$  c. a pound the duty will be equal to 7 c. a gallon, and on syrup worth 10 c. per gallon this is equivalent to a duty of 70 per cent. This is a very fair sample of the iniquity of specific duties, which press with the greatest weight on the poorer people. This is also a fair sample of some of the changes made in the tariff.

Speaking on the tariff in the House of Commons in 1894, Mr. W. F. Maclean, Tory M.P., for East York, said: "I take no stock in tariff reform or tariff revision. And in regard to what is called closer trade relations with the United States, in regard to reciprocal trade with the United States, I must say that I take no stock in that, at present."

It is true that there are some reductions in the new tariff, and, insignificant though they be, prove the strength of the movement in favor of a real tariff reform. Moreover, the concessions, such as they are, were wrung from the Government by the opposition, backed up by the force of public opinion.

## How the Farmer is Taxed.

The object of a protective tariff in its initial stages is to give a vantage ground, and in giving it I frankly admit that in the initial stages the price will be raised to a certain degree. . . . I say that in the initial years of the National Policy with a protective principle in it that it will have the effect of enhancing the cost of goods, and that at the first the cost of goods will be very closely up to the measure of the protection which was given. If it does not have that effect why should it ever be adopted at all, and what is the good of it?—*Hon. George Foster, in budget speech, March 27, 1894, Hansard, page 210.*

This admission, from the highest authority in the country, that the manufacturer takes advantage of the duty almost to the full extent by adding it on to the price of his goods, should be borne in mind.

Under the revised tariff of 1894 the following articles, necessities of the farmer, are taxed as follows:

Threshing machines . . . . .	30 p.cent	Chopping axes . . . . .	35 p.cent.
Lubricating oil . . . . .	6c. a gal.	Coal oil . . . . .	85 to 95 "
Axle grease . . . . .	25 p.cent.	Window glass . . . . .	20 "
Drain tiles . . . . .	20 "	Hats and caps . . . . .	30 "
Leather belting . . . . .	20 "	Mitts . . . . .	35 "
Harness . . . . .	30 "	Firearms . . . . .	20 "
Cut nails (75c. per 100 pounds)	70 "	Umbrellas and parasols . . . . .	35 "
Scythes, etc. . . . .	35 "	Woollens . . . . .	30 "
Shovels and spades . . . . .	35 "	Cottons . . . . .	32½ "
Pumps and windmills . . . . .	30 "	Furniture . . . . .	30 "
Wire fencing (¾c. lb.) . . . . .	30 "	Carpets . . . . .	30 "
Pails and tubs . . . . .	20 "	Flour . . . . .	75c. brl.
Waggons . . . . .	25 "	Ready-made clothing . . . . .	35 p.cent.
Buggies . . . . .	35 "	Rice . . . . .	60 to 70 "
Binder-twine . . . . .	12½ "	Jugs, crocks and churns,	
Horse blankets . . . . .	32½ "	(2c. a gal) . . . . .	45 "
Fertilizers . . . . .	10 "	Stoves . . . . .	30 "
Builders' hardware . . . . .	32½ "	Sewing machines . . . . .	30 "
Rope . . . . .	30 "	Woollen socks . . . . .	35 "
Iron . . . . .	45 "	Children's clothing . . . . .	32½ "
Tools . . . . .	30 & 25 "		

What does the free list contain for the farmer? It contains thoroughbred stock and fowls, tea and coffee, timber, corn for ensilage and some kinds of lumber partly manufactured. There is nothing else in the three hundred articles on the free list which can be construed as of any benefit at all to the farmer. Compare this with the free list for the benefit of the manufacturers. Mr. Bowell stated in a speech delivered January 13, 1893, at Toronto: "No less than 113 articles have been put on the free list, and many of them placed upon the free list for the express purpose of aiding the manufacturing industries of the country. This is a practical specimen of what I consider to be tariff reform."

## Articles Free or Lightly Taxed.

Lest it should be said that all the articles on the free list are not for the express benefit of the manufacturers the following list of other articles is given :

Moss and seaweed .....	Free.	Arsenic.....	Free.
Musk .....	"	Dragon's blood.....	"
Oil or water color paintings, copies old masters .....	"	Curling stones.....	"
Phosphorus .....	"	Ice .....	"
Precious stones in the rough..	"	Hair .....	"
Quicksilver .....	"	Ivory tusks.....	"
Quills .....	"	Leeches .....	"
Rags .....	"	Skeletons.....	"
Roots .....	"	Collections of coin .....	"
Sand.....	"	Crude bones.....	"
Sausage skins .....	"	Collections of postage stamps	"
Mother of pearl shells.....	"	Unset diamonds .....	"
Silver in sheet.....	"	Palms, orchids, cacti .....	"
Skins of birds.....	"	Imported labor .....	"
Tails, undressed .....	"	Yankee protection theories ..	"
Tobacco, unmanufactured ....	"	American gerrymanders.....	"
Turtles .....	"	Watch movements .....	10 p. c.
Horse hair .....	"	French pomades .....	15 "
Sawdust .....	"	Precious stones.....	10 "
Grass .....	"	Manufactures of gold and silver	20 "

## Is the Revised Tariff an Improvement ?

The following is a list of some 70 articles with the duties as under the old tariff and as under the new tariff of 1894 :

Article.	New N. P. Tariff.	Old.
Living animals.....	20 per cent.	30 per cent.
Canned meats .....	25 "	30 "
Extracts of meat .....	25 "	25 "
Mutton and lamb.....	35 "	42 "
Lard and stearine.....	2 cts. lb.	2c. lb.
Beeswax .....	10 per cent.	20 per cent.
Tallow candles.....	25 "	18 "
Common or laundry soap....	20 "	30 "
Castile or white soap .....	40 "	40 "
Eggs .....	5 cts. doz.	5c. doz.
Butter .....	4 cts. lb.	4c. lb.
Cheese .....	3 "	3c. lb.
Condensed milk .....	3 "	35 per cent.
Oatmeal.....	20 per cent.	15 "
Cleaned rice .....	60 "	60 "
Mustard .....	25 "	25 "

Article.	New N. P. Tariff.	Old.
Pickles .....	35 per cent.	35 per cent.
Blank books .....	35 "	35 "
Patent medicines, pills, etc .....	50 "	50 "
Coal oil (Sep. 1894 imports) .....	93 "	98 "
Varnishes, etc. ....	36 "	36 "
Common window glass .....	20 "	20 "
Cement .....	40 cts. brl.	40c. brl.
Slate pencils .....	25 per cent.	25 per cent.
School slates .....	30 "	65 "
Roofing slate .....	30 "	20 "
Caps and hats .....	30 "	25 "
Harness and saddlery .....	30 "	35 "
Whips .....	35 "	45 "
Boots and shoes .....	25 "	25 "
Waterproof clothing .....	35 "	35 "
Axles and springs .....	20 per cent. and 1 c. lb.	50 "
Nails and spikes, wrought .....	30 "	35 "
Wire nails .....	66 "	1½c. lb.
Screws .....	35 "	25, 35 and 20.
Iron .....	35 "	45 per cent.
Cutlery .....	25 "	25 "
Picks, hoes and tools .....	35 "	40 "
Axes of all kinds .....	35 "	35 "
Scythes, hay knives, etc. ....	35 "	50 "
Shovels and spades .....	35 "	43 "
Files .....	35 "	35 "
Builders' and cabinetmakers' ware. ....	32½ "	35 "
Saws .....	32½ "	35 "
Table cutlery .....	32½ "	25 "
Weigh scales .....	30 "	35 "
Sewing machines .....	30 "	33 "
Pumps and windmills .....	30 "	35 "
Barbed wire fencing .....	¾ c. lb.	1½c. lb.
Pins .....	30 per cent.	30 per cent.
Firearms .....	20 "	20 "
Tinware .....	25 "	25 "
Granite or agateware .....	35 "	35 "
Plated table knives .....	35 "	25 "
Dolls and children's toys .....	35 "	35 "
Furniture .....	30 "	35 "
Baby carriages .....	35 "	35 "
Knitted goods .....	35 "	33 "
Carpets and mats .....	30 "	25 "
Cotton carpets .....	40 to 50 per cent.	25 "
Two and three-ply carpets .....	5 c. yd. and 25 per cent.	25 "
Window shades .....	35 per cent.	30 "
Gloves and mitts .....	35 "	35 "
Suspenders or braces .....	35 "	35 "
Ready-made clothing of wool .....	35 "	33 "
Combs for toilet .....	35 "	35 "
Tobacco pipes .....	35 "	35 "
Trunks and valises .....	30 "	30 "
Curry combs .....	32½ "	35 "

## The New Tariff Higher.

It will be noticed that the old tariff was in some cases, such as school slates, so extraordinarily high that a reduction could not be avoided. As the French Minister at Paris wrote Sir Charles Tupper when negotiating the French Treaty, Canada had "A Unique Tariff." The slight reductions made are offset by the increases, and on the average the new tariff is fully as high as the old one. This is shown by the official returns.

The total imported dutiable goods for the month of July, 1894, was \$4,574,610, and the duty thereon \$1,372,000, or about 30 per cent. The returns for the same month in 1893, when the old tariff was in force gave the same average, 30 per cent.

The imports of manufactures of cottons in July, 1893, amounted to \$306,395, on which there was collected a duty of \$82,067, or about 26½ per cent., as against imports of manufactures of cotton in July, 1894, of \$294,169, with a duty of \$71,216, or 28½ per cent., an increase in the average duty on cottons under the new tariff as compared with the old of 2 per cent.

The returns for the same months in the woolens class as compared with the same month in 1893, were as follows:

	Imports.	Duty.	Per cent.
1893.....	\$1,154,483	\$254,801	22
1894.....	873,228	280,367	32

According to these official returns woolens were taxed in that month 10 per cent. higher than under the old tariff. It is not true that this was caused by an increase in the free importations, because the percentage of free goods imported that month was smaller than under the old tariff.

According to the October, 1894, returns of imports the value of rice imported was \$9,550, and the duty paid thereon \$5,622, or about 60 per cent. according to the October valuations (see official *Gazette*, page 796.)

The value of sparkling wines imported for the same month was \$12,445, upon which duty amounting to \$7,073 was collected, or equal to 57 per cent.; so that sparkling wines were taxed less than the wholesome and necessary article of diet, rice.

The value of coal oil imported during October, 1894, was \$74,270, and the duty paid thereon \$64,918, or 87 per cent.

## The Iron Duties.

The Conservatives are always predicting great results to flow from their policy. Not being able to point to any present results of permanent value they conjure up visions of great things which are to occur either to-morrow or next year, or within a few years. In 1887 Sir Charles Tupper introduced the new iron duties which were a heavy increase on the duties existing up to that time and kept the House of Commons hanging upon his large predictions of the great prosperity which was to flow from the increased duties. Blast furnaces were to

be established in every province in the Dominion and in the Territories as well. He even specified places. One was to be opened up at Carleton, N.B., at Cobourg, Ont., Weller's Bay, Ont., and Kingston, Ont. Sir Charles proceeded as follows:

"Now, sir, the result is that by the adoption of this policy you will give permanent employment to an army of men, numbering at least 20,000, increasing our population from 80,000 to a hundred thousand souls, and affording a means of supporting them in comfort and prosperity. . . . Were we to manufacture castings and forgings, cutlery and edged tools, hardware, machinery or engines and steel rails, and there is no reason we should not steadily progress to that point, the population I have mentioned of one hundred thousand souls would be no less than trebled."

Under the influence of these arguments Parliament submitted to the increased taxes, which since then have ranged at nearly a million dollars a year.

Of one thing Sir Charles was certain, that under his new policy all the pig iron needed in Canada would be produced in Canada. Four years later the production of pig iron in Canada was not one-third what it was in 1887, and in 1892 it was a little more than one-half. The importation of pig iron, which the new policy was to cut off was 45,000 tons in 1887, the year of the new policy. In 1892 the importations were 68,918 tons, and in 1893 they amounted to 56,584, or an increase of 11,000 tons above 1887, when they were to utterly cease; but somehow or other the only effect of the Government's great iron policy was to accomplish exactly the opposite of what was predicted. The importations of iron manufactures have continued to increase, until in 1893 the value of the total importations of iron and steel was \$10,140,050 compared with \$9,746,667 in 1887, and the duty paid rose from \$2,168,392 in 1887 to \$2,878,368 in 1893.

The explanation of all this is that not a single blast furnace has been established in Canada since 1887, and instead of the increased taxes furnishing support for a hundred thousand souls they only furnished an additional load of taxation for the already over-burdened taxpayers to bear.

The changes in the duties on iron made in the revision of 1894 were to reduce the duty on bar iron from \$13 to \$10, and the duties on puddled bar from \$9 per ton to \$4 per ton, and to increase the duty on scrap iron from \$2 to \$4, and a bounty of \$2 per ton given upon puddled bar and what corresponds to that in steel, to run for five years. The duty of \$4 per ton on pig iron and the bounty of \$2 per ton upon all pig iron produced in Canada, making a net production of \$6 per ton on pig were left as they were under the old tariff.

In these changes the owners of the rolling mills of Canada were hit by the increase of the duty on scrap iron of 100 per cent., and on the other hand the producers of pig iron in Canada for whose benefit the duty on scrap was doubled, were hit by the reduction of the duty on puddled bar, and the manufacturers and consumers of iron as a whole were displeased with the shuffle which on the whole enhanced the cost of their raw material. Pig iron and scrap iron formed the raw material of the manufacturers, and while the very high duty of \$4 a ton was left on pig iron the duty on scrap was doubled. The government will claim credit for reducing the duty on bar iron from \$13 to \$10 a ton, and while this is in the right direction as far as that one article is concerned, the question is why should the duty be as high as \$10 a ton. The government declare themselves in favor of a cheapening of raw materials, but deliberately tinker the tariff in regard to the most important raw material, iron, and leave the duties so high that the manufacturers all over the country using iron protested against the changes.

Mr. Chesley, the member for St. John, N.B., a practical iron manufacturer, stated from his place in the House, speaking of the effect of the new duties on the rolling mills, that "the inevitable result must follow, that they must all pay more

for their raw material in consequence of this additional duty (on scrap), and the price of iron must be increased to the consumer. . . . Scrap iron will continue to be used here and puddled bars will not be made."

The following table shows the production of pig iron from the inception of the bounty system down to the present time :

	No. of tons claimed upon	Amount of bounty paid.
1884.....	29,388	\$44,089
1885.....	25,769	38,654
1886.....	26,179	39,259
1887.....	39,717	59,576
1888.....	22,209	33,314
1889.....	24,822	37,333
1890.....	24,373	25,697
1891.....	20,153	20,153
1892.....	30,289	30,294
1893.....	35,268	67,590
1894.....	.....	.....

Taking the duties and bounties together the cost of the Government's attempt to "develop" the country by taxing the people has cost the people of Canada since 1884 \$10,000,000. In other words, the people are that much poorer and the owners of iron mines no better off. Notwithstanding that we have in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime provinces unrivalled deposits of iron, this great wealth still lies concealed beneath the surface.

The official figures show that the production of pig iron instead of being encouraged by the increased iron duties of 1887 began to diminish from that year, and it took seven years for this industry to recover from the blow. The facts are so plain that the *Toronto Empire*, the Government organ, speaking of the then pending tariff revision, said :

"The iron duties were imposed in 1887, and if development has not been as satisfactory as was hoped that fact can hardly be wondered at."

## The Price of Wheat.

The farmer was promised higher prices under the N. P. for everything he produced, especially wheat. During the campaign of 1878 he was told over and over again from every platform and by every Tory newspaper in the Dominion that the N. P. would give him a home market, and that the occupants of the factories which the N. P. was to create would purchase everything he had to sell at big prices.

Nevertheless Mr. Masson, Tory M.P., speaking at Owen Sound, October 4, 1893, said, "If any person had told the people that in Canada by adopting the N. P. the farmers would get \$1 per bushel for their wheat when it was worth only 70c. in New York and Liverpool, it would not have been believed by any one. Such a statement would never have misled people." Mr. Masson, who was not in public life at the time, cannot believe that the farmers were credulous enough to believe the fine promises made by his leaders and his friends.

The average price of wheat during the five years Mr. Mackenzie was in office was \$1.11 per bushel, and in 1878 it was \$1.25. In 1894 the best wheat in the world sold in Manitoba at 36c. a bushel, although Manitoba No. 1 hard went as high as 42c. a bushel. It actually cost more than that to carry it to market.

## Specific Duties.

Hon Mr. Foster, in his budget speech of 1894, when bringing down the revised tariff, condemned specific duties "where they act so as to raise the rate upon the cheaper though good articles, thus discriminating against a class of consumers in the country." Notwithstanding this, in a score of cases the first draft of the new tariff was changed from ad valorem back to specific duties. The Conservative campaign sheet, "The Trade Question Discussed," defends this lapse into the old evil ways by saying that the people—that is the interested people—asked for the change and adds: "The Government have changed the duties back to specific; they listen to the people and take the people's judgment." The Government had a year and more in which to prepare their revised tariff, being engaged, as they said, in obtaining the opinion of the people throughout the country. Notwithstanding this they subsequently made a hundred changes in response to small deputations of interested parties, and on each occasion the change was against the wishes and interests of the people at large.

## The Dry Goods Trade.

The Dry Goods Association of Montreal declared itself in favor of ad valorem system of duties and opposed to all specific duties.

Mr. E. B. Greenshields, Vice-President of the Association, in summarizing the effect of the revised tariff upon the dry goods trade, said the Government had increased the duty on tapestry and Brussels carpets by 20 per cent., and the increase of duties on woolen and union dress goods was 20 per cent. The duties under the old tariff upon these last named goods were, according to cost price, 22½ per cent., 25 and 27½, an average duty of 25 per cent. Under the new tariff they are put with imported woolen goods and taxed 30 per cent. Velveteens were increased by 50 per cent. and shawls after the same fashion. The dry goods importers and the manufacturers of ladies' cotton goods agreed that the rate of duty on cottons should not be more than 20 per cent. ad valorem.

## The Coal Duty.

Sir Henry Tyler, chairman of the board of directors of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, at the annual meeting in October, 1893, dwelt upon the importance of abolishing the duty on bituminous coal, which is 60c. a ton, because it meant a saving to the company of about \$400,000 a year. There is not a manufacturer in the country west of Montreal who does not loudly complain of the duty on coal, which is his raw material. Sir John Thompson and his Government promised to take the duty off coal altogether provided the United States did the same. The United States cut their duty in two, bringing it down to 40c. a ton, but the Canadian duty remains unmoved at 60c. Every manufacturer and every consumer in the Dominion would be greatly benefited by the removal of the duty on coal, as manufacturers have been benefited by the removal in 1894 of the Canadian duty on coke.



## Playing Different Tunes.

Mr. W. K. McNaught, president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in the course of his annual address, January 15, 1892, as published in the *Empire* of the following day, said :

"A favorite fallacy of free traders is that the imports and exports, in other words, the foreign trade of any country, must be taken as the measure of its prosperity. The absurdity of this contention becomes apparent when we consider that nations, like individuals, sell only the surplus products which cannot be consumed at home, and that as a rule the prices obtained at the home market are at least equal to the best prices obtained abroad."

Editorially the *Empire* pronounced Mr. McNaught's address as "the best antidote to the flood of silly talk from persons not qualified to judge of national business interests."

The *Empire*, however, in 1893, commenced a leading article on foreign trade as follows :

"Exports afford a most valuable indication of a country's prosperity. If increasing they prove that production is being added to and that enterprise is an increasing factor in popular progress. They show that more of the products of home labor are leaving the country, and more money coming back in payment."

An address which describes the *Empire's* arguments in favor of the N. P. as absurd is said by the *Empire* to be "the best antidote to a flood of silly talk."

But in its issue of February 19, 1894, the *Empire* has forgotten that "exports afford a most valuable indication of a country's prosperity," and declares : "It would be misleading to base national prosperity on foreign trade, as the free traders are prone to do."

These quotations are given in order to show how very much at sea the Conservative party are on the trade question, how they vary their arguments to suit the circumstances of the moment, and how entirely they lack any guiding principle. One Conservative dubs an argument absurd and attributes it to the free traders, when along comes the chief Conservative organ and appropriates the argument as a fundamental proof of the success of protection, and a few months later the same organ swallows its own words and describes its own arguments as "misleading" free trade arguments.

## No Principle and No Policy.

"There is scarcely a page of our tariff from which illustrations could not be drawn to show that our tariff discourages industry, or that it is constructed not so much in the general interest as in that of some particular person or company that has managed to get the ear of the Finance Minister.—*Principal Grant, Queen's University, Kingston.*

Speaking in the House of Commons in April, 1892, Hon. George E. Foster, Minister of Finance, said : "If I read public opinion in the old country aright I believe that the free trade sentiment pure and simple is founded upon what was thought to be irrefutable principles, almost divine in their origin. . . . It is coming to be felt that there is no such thing as a divine principle underlying trade, and that tariff conditions are simply expedients, which must vary from age to age and from day to day, and from circumstance to circumstance."

Every business man who carries on his trade on certain well-defined lines and follows certain trading principles will dissent from Mr. Foster's lack of principle in dealing with the tariff. If every tariff item is to be regulated only by a thorough knowledge of the ins and outs of the particular trade, how is it possible for the Finance Minister to know what he is doing? At best he is taking the advice of interested parties, and practically passing a statute for each particular trade. The Liberals hold that the duty of the Government is confined to the enactment of legislation in the general interest of the whole people.

The Government and the Conservative party are without a policy. Not a member of the party can point to the platform of the party. Even the general principle of protection to home industries has been abandoned in particular instances, so that they have not left even "the old policy."

## **The Balance of Trade.**

When the Liberals were in power the Conservatives held it to be nothing short of a crime to have "the balance of trade" against us; that is, that Canada should import more than she exports. The N. P. was to redress that dreadful state of affairs. The gentlemen now in power told us through the mouth of their Finance Minister that it was utterly impossible for the country to prosper with the balance of trade against us. If we bought more than we sold we were ruined; if we received greater value than we gave we were being impoverished.

How has the balance of trade been since the N. P. was inaugurated? From 1879 to 1893 inclusive, fifteen years, the balance of trade has been against Canada to the tune of over \$200,000,000 in round figures. In this, as in everything else, the N. P. has failed to accomplish its object.

The exploded theory of the balance of trade, adopted by the Canadian Conservatives in common with the cast-off trade arguments of other countries, was founded on the good protectionist doctrine that to import goods from abroad is a disaster, and that if the equivalent is not exported the balance must be paid in gold and that much money sent out of the country. A lesson in this doctrine may be learned by the experience of the United States, where the protectionists industriously propagated the above idea. In 1890, with the balance of trade in their favor of \$69,000,000, they exported \$18,000,000 in gold and silver; in 1891, when there was a balance due them on the above theory of \$40,000,000, they exported \$73,000,000 gold and silver; and in 1893, with an excess of exports over imports of merchandise amounting to \$203,000,000, instead of receiving foreign gold in settlement of this large trade balance, they exported an excess of gold and silver amounting to \$13,500,000.

The government do not like to hear anything about the "adverse" balance of trade, which was \$14,000,000 in 1878, \$17,000,000 in 1882, \$34,000,000 in 1883 and \$11,000,000 in 1893, on the basis of total exports and total imports.

## **Running Down the Country.**

Numerous examples have been given of how the Conservatives, when in opposition, entertained theories and propounded remedies which utterly failed when in power. When Mr. Mackenzie was in power, nothing was too vile for Conservatives to say about Canada and its condition. Sir John Macdonald, speaking in the House, March 7th, 1878, said:

" We have no manufactures here ; we have no work people ; our work people have gone to the United States. . . . Our work people are suffering from want of employment. Have not their cries risen to heaven ? . . . Why, the fact is notorious that the Government of Quebec have been taking steps to bring back their people ; has established agencies to induce these people to come back and settle in their own province, and have failed in its endeavors. . . . Who denies that depression exists ? Look at the number of insolvencies in Montreal, at the daily accounts of bankruptcies in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and other places."

Mr. John Haggart, speaking at the same time, in the same place, said :

" In Carleton Place, where there are large manufactures, and in other places, working men look with longing eyes at brother working men who chance to be carrying home a bag of flour."

Now-a-days, if the depression existing in the country is alluded to, or the largely increased number of failures, or the enormous exodus to the United States, members of the opposition are described as croakers, blue ruin orators, and men with no faith in their country. It was different in 1878 when nothing but patriotism inspired the utterances of the Conservative Opposition in decrying the country.

It will be noticed, that while the leader of the party, with the usual party adherence to the facts, said, " we have no manufactures here ; we have no work people here," Mr. Haggart referred to Carleton Place, (a small town), as a place where there were " large manufactures." Not content with running down the country, in 1878 they ran it down from two points of view : one that there were no manufactures, and the other that there were many large manufactures, and many workmen, some with bags of flour, and others none.

## A Free Breakfast Table.

It is made the boast of the present Government, that under the N. P., there is a " free breakfast table." The trade and navigation returns for 1893 show the number of articles used on the tables, which are taxed. The following list includes only those articles which are not produced in Canada, and which we are obliged to import, with one or two exceptions :

Baking powder and soda.....	\$34,986
Yeast.....	12,522
Mustard.....	17,350
Spices.....	28,827
Rice.....	100,000
Tapioca and arrowroot.....	6,697
Currants.....	53,630
Figs.....	9,227
Prunes.....	12,592

Dates .....	9,537
Raisins.....	126,553
Tea (indirect importation).....	8,861
Coffee .....	9,654
Molasses .....	61,821
Salt ..	15,306
Cocoa .....	26,504
Dishes.....	149,244
Table cutlery.....	71,000

And this list does not embrace all the articles of this class; but as it is, it represents three-quarters of a million of dollars per annum of taxes, and if the table linen and other articles not included in the above list, such as sugar, are counted, it will be found that the National Policy imposes a tax of over two million a year upon "the free breakfast table."

## The Question of Prices.

It would be extraordinary if the prices of various commodities were not lower now than seventeen years ago, considering the progress of the age in labor-saving machinery and improved appliances for cheap production. To say, therefore, that prices are lower now than before the introduction of the N. P. in Canada, would, if true, be a worthless argument. Prices of manufactured goods are very much less to-day the world over than twenty years ago, or even ten years ago.

Calculations based upon the exports and imports of Great Britain, which are not disturbed by tariff changes or questions of currency, have been made, with regard to the cheapening of the prices of commodities. Here are some of the results:

In 1874, 14,000,000 hundredweights of raw cotton are valued among British imports at \$255,000,000, while last year 16,000,000 hundredweights count for only \$165,000,000. The imports of wool were 180,000,000 pounds more last year than in 1884, but cost \$6,600,000 less.

Great Britain received \$25,000,000 less for the cotton fabrics she exported in 1894 than she did for those exported in 1874, but nevertheless sent out 1,700,000,000 yards more.

In 1874 Great Britain received \$155,000,000 for her exports of iron and steel manufactures; in 1894 she only received about \$93,000,000, although the exports in tons were somewhat larger.

These facts show that the question is, are prices in Canada to-day 50 per cent. less than they were twenty years ago? If not, they are higher in proportion to cost.

## Trade Amendment.

Year after year the Liberals have pressed for a reduction of taxation and lightening of the burdens of the people.

Amendment moved by Mr. Laurier, House of Commons, 1893, to the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne :

“That the following words be added to the address : We feel bound to represent to Your Excellency that in the present condition of the people of Canada, substantial reduction should be made in taxation, which presses so heavily upon the great mass of the community, and we regret that in the Speech graciously delivered from the Throne, Your Excellency was not advised to hold out promises of reduction in the oppressive duties now imposed.”

This was voted down.

On the 17th July, 1894, the policy of the Government was challenged by the Liberals by the moving by Mr. Charlton on the floor of the House, of the following amendment to the motion to go into Supply :

“That all the words after the word ‘That’ be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof : “the amount of taxation by customs duties in Canada was \$12,782,824 in 1878, and was \$20,954,003 in 1893, an increase of \$8,171,179.

“That the expenditure of Canada on account of Consolidated Fund was \$23,503,158 in 1878, and was \$36,814,052 in 1893, an increase of \$13,310,894.

“That the expenditure on account of Administration of Justice, Arts, Agriculture and Statistics, Fisheries, Quarantine, Indians, Legislation, Militia and Defence, Public Works, Superannuation, Excise, North-West Territories Government, Mail Subsidies and Steamship Subventions, Civil Government, Adulteration of Food, Miscellaneous and Mounted Police, amounted to \$5,256,424 in 1878, and to \$10,384,272 in 1893, an increase of \$5,127,846, or 97 per cent.

“That while the increase of the population of Canada from July 1st, 1878, to July 1st, 1893, did not exceed 20 per cent., the increase of Customs taxation for the same period was 63 per cent., and the increase of expenditure for the same period was 56 per cent.

“That this House expresses regret that the increase of Customs taxation and of expenditure should have been permitted to reach a ratio three times greater than the increase of population since 1878 ; that the controllable expenditure should have been permitted to reach a still higher ratio of increase, and that no inconsiderable portion of the annual expenditure has been absorbed by grants made for party or political purposes, and not in the public interest ; and that this House expresses the opinion that the enormous annual expenditure places a burden upon Canada so serious in amount that strict honesty and rigid economy in the future management of the finances of the Dominion should be practised, with a view to lessening the public burdens.”

Voted down by 87 to 42.

## An Anti-British Tariff.

I say the policy should be a policy of free trade, such as they have in England, but I am sorry to say that the circumstances of the country cannot admit, at present, of that policy in its entirety. But I propose to you that from this day henceforward it should be the goal to which we aspire.—*Hon. Wilfrid Laurier.*

It is clear to me that our policy should follow henceforth the British rather than the United States system.—*Principal Grant.*

The N. P. since its introduction has been the means of diminishing our trade with Great Britain. It has always taxed British goods higher than American goods, and the consequence is that while our purchases from Great Britain amounted to very much less in 1894 than they did in 1874, our imports from the United States were in 1893 \$12,000,000 in excess of what they were in 1874, and we returned to the United States \$7,000,000 in excess of what we exported in 1874. Our total trade with England as has been shown by ten year periods was greater under a tariff for revenue than under the N. P.

An official book was printed by the Ottawa Government to show how much higher the tariff was on British goods than on goods from the United States. That statement, prepared for the private information of the government, fell into the hands of their opponents and gives the following as the ad valorem rates paid upon woollens imported into Canada during 1892 :

	From Great Britain.	From United States.
Blankets.....	55 per cent.	37 per cent.
Cashmères .....	34 “	26 “
Coatings .....	36 “	27 “
Felt cloth.....	30 “	29 “
Flannels .....	34 “	31 “
Other cloths .....	33 “	28 “
Woolen cloaks.....	32 “	29 “
Coats and vests .....	34 “	30 “
Shirts and drawers.....	38 “	32 “
Horse clothing, shaped.....	42 “	33 “
Other clothing.....	32 “	29 “
Woolen socks .....	39 “	38 “

The following is a continuation of the list on other articles :

	From Great Britain.	From United States.
Cotton shirts.....	48 per cent.	44 per cent.
Cuffs .....	62½ “	48½ “
Cotton stockings.....	42 “	41 “
Hoes.....	52 “	47 “
Axles .....	61 “	44½ “
Bar iron .....	38¾ “	27½ “

	From Great Britain.	From United States.
Boiler and sheet iron.....	41 per cent.	23½ per cent.
Cast iron pipe.....	52 "	43¾ "
Cut tacks and brads.....	133½ "	39 "
Iron in slabs, blooms, etc.....	53 "	42 "
Iron bridges.....	42 "	37 "
Railway fish plates.....	41 "	30½ "
Rolled iron.....	45¾ "	29¾ "
Iron or steel screws.....	64 "	37 "
Show cases.....	76 "	52 "
Buggies costing under \$100....	52 "	44 "
Other buggies.....	47 "	35 "
Pianofortes.....	41 "	33 "
Sauces in bulk.....	107 "	97½ "
Slate for roofing.....	65 "	31 "

These are a few of the many examples which might be given to show that British goods pay a much heavier duty than goods from the United States. Why it does so is easily explained. Ostensibly the tariff is the same as against all countries, but it is the practical operation of the specific duty which makes the tariff fall heaviest upon the low priced articles, and British manufacturers export to Canada very low priced goods in large quantities. A duty of \$10 a ton on bar iron would be the same on a ton of iron from Great Britain costing \$5 less than a ton of the same iron from the United States, and the same principle would apply to hoop iron, pig iron or any other article.

Although many of the duties have been changed the new tariff discriminates against British goods to quite as great an extent as did the old.

Indeed, there is easy proof that the Conservatives knew well when they adopted their protective policy that it would inevitably discriminate against Great Britain, and hence the celebrated Tory phrase "So much the worse for British connection." But further proof was afforded in the following admission by Sir Charles Tupper, when Finance Minister, in a speech delivered on the floor of the House of Commons, April 27, 1888:

"When we took up this question of fostering our native industries many parties in England attacked me in reference to it, and asked 'What do you mean by turning your back upon the English free trade policy and taking up the United States protective policy?'"

According to the official trade returns for 1893 the duties levied upon British goods were 8 per cent. higher on the average than the impost on goods from the United States. Eliminating all free goods from both countries, imported for the benefit of the manufacturers, it is found that \$9,500,000 in duties were levied upon \$32,000,000 of British goods, or 30 per cent., and that \$7,600,000 were collected in duty upon \$28,500,000 worth of goods imported from the United States, or 27 per cent., leaving a straight discrimination against trade with Great Britain.

The Conservative argument in explanation of the above facts is that we obtain most of our raw materials, which are free, they say, from the United States, and that the goods which we import from England are largely luxuries. This was the argument adopted by the Hon. Mr. Wood, Controller of Inland Revenue, in a speech at Orangeville, June, 1893. But it is difficult to get them in any particular spot on the tariff question. Just three days before Mr. Wood

delivered his speech the newspaper organ of his party, the *Toronto Empire*, was trying to explain the same difficulty, namely, the way the tariff discriminates against the Mother Country, and did so in the following manner :

“ We have more than double the imports from Britain coming in free. Our free imports from the United States are actually less than in 1878. Canada is importing a much larger amount of free goods, proportionately, than in 1878, but Great Britain and not the United States is getting the benefit of the change.”—*Toronto Empire, May 29th, 1893.*

The Controller explains the discrimination by saying that most of the free goods come from the United States, and the *Empire* explains it by saying that our free imports from the United States are less than in 1878, and that we have more than double the imports coming in free from Great Britain.

The “luxuries” coming from Great Britain consist of iron goods, woollen goods, cotton goods, common window glass, spool thread, earthenware, umbrellas. Among the “luxuries” from Europe which, according to Mr. Wood, are highly taxed are “oil paintings and copies of the old masters,” purchased only by the rich, and which in that year were imported to the value of \$362,000, and yet they are on the free list, even in the revised tariff. Indeed if there is one feature of the tariff more prominent than another it is that the highest tax falls on the low priced article. Silk is taxed 30 per cent., and cotton shirts 35 per cent.; silk velvet is taxed 30 per cent. and rice 60 per cent. Manufactures of gold and silver are taxed 25 per cent., while coal oil is taxed between 80 and 90 per cent.

Whatever explanation is given of the harshness of the operation of the tariff towards the Mother Country, the fact that the tariff does discriminate in this way is admitted and further testimony of this fact is found in the following from a paper written by Principal Grant, November 6, 1894 :

“ We must get into the British or the American system. At present we are copying the United States and, without intending it, discriminating against our best customers. Let us take the other tack now. The British system is right.”

## **Crying Down England.**

In order to support the protectionist theories it is necessary to show that free trade has been a bad thing for England and the Canadian Conservatives are actively and constantly engaged in that propaganda. For example, Mr. McNeill, Conservative M.P. for North Bruce, speaking in the House of Commons, April 5, 1892, of the condition of England, said :

“ We find that the condition of things is most serious with regard to the manufacturing industries of England to-day. We find that this inroad of foreign goods is attacking the very staples of her industry. . . . The silk looms of Coventry are standing idle, and the foreigner poured into England last year £11,000,000 sterling worth of silk manufactured goods. . . . I wonder that the hon. gentleman should require any proof of the statement that the markets of France, Germany, Russia and the United States, and all the great civilized countries of the world are being closed against England at the present time, and the products of these foreign countries are being poured on the open markets of England.”

This is not the only statement emanating from Canadian Conservatives to produce the idea that England's great free trade policy is confining the sale of her goods abroad to uncivilized countries and barbarous nations. In the session



of 1894 Mr. Laurier thought it his duty to take a Cabinet Minister to task for the same mendacious and slanderous statement. Sir Hibbert Tupper, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, made use of the following language, in respect to England :

“Driven from the civilized markets of the world, steadily and every year finding their output to those markets decreasing, they spend millions on their navy, and millions on their army, to force their wares, and their goods, and their merchandise into the uncivilized markets of the world.”

Mr. Laurier indignantly declared that he had never yet heard the fair name of the great English nation so slandered and insulted, and that, too, by a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada.

England since the adoption of free trade in 1846 has reduced her national debt by \$900,000,000, and at the same time increased her aggregate foreign trade by \$100,000,000.

Canada since the adoption of the protective policy, which was cast away by England fifty years ago, has increased her national debt by over \$100,000,000, and her aggregate foreign trade (exports and imports for consumption) by only \$23,000,000, over what it was in 1873.

Mulhall, the great authority, says :

“The progress made by the United Kingdom during the last fifty years is wholly unprecedented in our annals, and has not been approached by any other nation in Europe. We may divide the whole period into two almost equal portions, the first terminating in 1860, the second coming down to 1886, and a comparison of the statistics bearing upon principal points of national welfare will show that the relative progress has been as follows :

	1837-40.	1860.	1886.
Population .....	100	110	142
Wealth .....	100	134	224
Trade .....	100	265	572
Shipping .....	100	175	683

In speaking of the great increase in wealth, which has more than doubled since the adoption of free trade, Mulhall says :

“The ordinary accumulation is £150,000,000 yearly, or about half a million daily ; nor does this wealth become congested among a small number of people ; on the contrary the rich grow less rich and more numerous every year, the poor become fewer in ratio to population.”

Official returns, showing England's commerce may be found in *The Statesman's Year Book*.

## Trade with Great Britain.

Mr. McNeill's resolution in the House of Commons, April, 1892 :

“That if and when the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland admits Canadian products to the markets of the United Kingdom upon more favorable terms than it accords to the products of foreign countries, the Parliament of Canada will be prepared to accord corresponding advantages by a reduction in the duties it imposes upon British manufactured goods.”

In supporting this resolution Mr. McNeill, Tory M.P., labored to show that England's trade was going to decay, and that if they imposed customs duties upon food products from all the world except Canada, it would furnish a remedy.

Mr. Foster, the Finance Minister and Mr. McNeill's leader, pointed out the many and insuperable difficulties in the way of carrying any such resolution into effect. He pointed out that we would first have to overcome the free trade sentiment of England; that the other nations of the world would retaliate and raise their tariffs against British and Colonial products; that England was bound by treaties not to do anything of the kind; that there were difficulties even in Canada, such as the doctrine that it inures to our benefit to keep out British manufactures, and the revenue difficulty.

Hon. L. H. Davies, Liberal M.P., moved in amendment the following :

"Inasmuch as Great Britain admits the products of Canada into her ports free of duty, this House is of the opinion that the present scale of duties exacted on goods mainly imported from Great Britain should be reduced."

The following members voted for Mr. Davies' proposition :

Allen, Armstrong, Bain (Wentworth), Béchard, Beith, Bourassa, Bowers, Bowman, Brodeur, Brown, Bruneau, Campbell, Carrol, Cartwright (Sir Richard) Casey, Charlton, Choquette, Christie, Colter, Davies, Dawson, Delisle, Devlin-Edgar, Edwards, Featherston, Flint, Forbes, Frémont, Gaüthier, Geoffrion, Gillmor, Godbout, Guay, Langelier, Laurier, Lavergne, Leduc, Legris, Lister, Livingston, Macdonald (Huron), McGregor, McMillan (Huron), McMullen, Mignault, Mills (Bothwell), Monet, Mulock, Murray, Paterson (Brant), Perry, Proulx, Rider, Rinfret, Rowand, Sanborn, Semple, Somerville, Sutherland, Vaillancourt, Watson, Welsh and Yeo.—64.

The following members voted against Mr. Davies' motion :

Amyot, Bain (Soulanges), Baker, Barnard, Bennet, Bergeron, Bergin, Bowell, Boyle, Cameron, Carignan, Carling, Caron (Sir Adolphe), Corbould, Curran, Davin, Davis, Denison, Desaulniers, Desjardins (Hochelaga), Desjardins (L'Islet), Dewdney, Dickey, Dugas, Dupont, Dyer, Earle, Fairbairn, Foster, Fréchette, Gillies, Girouard (Two Mountains), Gordon, Grandbois, Guillet, Hazen, Henderson, Hodgins, Hughes, Hutchins, Ives, Kaulbach, Kenny, Kirkpatrick, LaRivière, Lépine, Lippé, Macdonald (King's), Macdonald (Winnipeg), Macdonell (Algoma), Mackintosh, McAlister, McCarthy, McDonald (Victoria), McDougald (Pictou), McDougall (Cape Breton), McKay, McLean, McLennan, McLeod, McMillan (Vaudreuil), McNeill, Madill, Mara, Miller, Mills (Annapolis), Moncrieff, O'Brien, Ouimet, Patterson (Colchester), Patterson (Huron), Pelletier, Pridham, Prior, Putnam, Reid, Robillard, Roope, Rosamond, Ross (Dundas), Savard, Simard, Skinner, Smith (Ontario), Stairs, Taylor, Temple, Thompson (Sir John), Tisdale, Tupper, Turcotte, Tyrwhitt, Wallace, White (Cardwell), White (Shelburne) Wilmot, Wilson and Wood (Brockville).—98.

## Manufactures in 1878.

The advocates of the N.P. talk in such a way as to try to lead those who do not know, especially younger men who are not old enough to remember, to believe that manufactures did not exist at all in Canada prior to the N.P.

The fact is that all the great manufacturing industries of the country at the present time were then in existence and doing well. Proof of this is furnished by the exhibit Canadian manufacturers made at the World's Fair in Philadelphia in 1876, when the manufactured products of Canada challenged the admiration of the world. Under the stimulus of that exhibit, aided by the Mackenzie Government, the Canadian manufacturers obtained entrance into foreign markets, and in 1878 were exporting \$4,000,000 worth of manufactured goods, in addition

to supplying the demand at home. The annual average export of manufactures for the first ten years of the N.P., or for that matter of the last ten years of the N.P. has not exceeded the figure of 1878, \$4,000,000.

Before the N.P. existed manufacturers were shipping the products of their factories to the following countries: Great Britain, United States, Newfoundland, British West Indies, Australia, Norway and Sweden, Germany, New Zealand, South America, Spanish West Indies, Hayti, British Guiana, Mexico, St. Pierre, Central America, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, Africa, East Indies and the Falkland Islands.

The following were among the lines of manufactured goods exported in 1878: Agricultural implements, carriages, clothing, cordage, ropes and twines, cottons and furs, glass and glassware, grinding stones, ground plaster, hats and caps, India rubber manufactures, iron castings and stoves, pig iron, machinery, sewing machines, iron and hardware generally, leather, soled and upper, boots and shoes, harness and saddlery, other manufactures of leather, organs, pianos, oil cake, soap, starch, steel and manufactures of steel, wrought stone, manufactures of tobacco, vinegar, woolens and manufactures of wood, and some others.

For further reference to industries see chapter on industrial census and wages.

## **Attitude of the Liberals Towards Manufacturers.**

"It is frequently stated, or perhaps rather insinuated, that this side of the House is inimical to manufacturers. No statement can be more untrue, no statement can be more without foundation in fact. I must fully recognize, we all recognize, the enormous importance of manufactures in every country. We all desire every possible good to all honest manufacturers who are willing to pit their brains and their capital and their energy against the brains, the capital and the energy of other people, either here or elsewhere."—*Sir Richard Cartwright, House of Commons, March 28th, 1894.*

Mr. John McMillan, Liberal M.P., in the House of Commons, April 18th, 1894:

"It has been said that the farmers are not willing that the manufacturers of this country should have a chance. Let me say as a farmer, and giving expression here to the views of the farmers, that we want to see every industry in this country thoroughly prosperous; but we do not want to see any industry taking large sums of money out of the pockets of the people for which no corresponding return is given."

## **The Patrons' Platform.**

1. Maintenance of British connection.
2. The reservation of the public lands for the actual settler.
3. Purity of administration and absolute independence of Parliament.
4. Rigid economy in every department of the public service.
5. Simplification of the laws and a general reduction in the machinery of government.
6. The abolition of the Canadian Senate.
7. A system of civil service reform that will give each county power to appoint or elect all county officials paid by them except county judges.
8. Tariff for revenue only, and so adjusted as to fall as far as possible upon the luxuries and not upon the necessities of life.

9. Reciprocal trade on fair and equitable terms between Canada and the world.
10. Effectual legislation that will protect labor and the results of labor from those combinations and monopolies which unduly enhance the price of the articles produced by such combinations or monopolies.
11. Prohibition of the bonusing of railways by Government grants as contrary to the public interests.
12. Preparation of the Dominion and Provincial voters' lists by the municipal officers.
13. Conformity of electoral districts to county boundaries, as constituted for municipal purposes, as far as the principle of representation by population will allow.

The Liberals are on record in black and white as favoring every plank in this platform that is in issue in federal politics, with the exception of Nos. 6 and 11, and as regards No. 6, the Liberals are on record as favoring a reform of the Senate.

Mr. Allan Pringle, one of the best known of the Patrons of Industry of Ontario, writes as follows on the relations which should subsist between the Patrons and the two political parties :

“ A few blunders at the beginning of our career would be difficult to recover from. One such blunder would be to quarrel with our friends, who, though not exactly of our household, know that in union there is strength, and in the presence of the determined and unscrupulous enemy we shall need all our strength. That enemy would rejoice at our folly.”

## Reciprocity With the United States.

(See also Dissolution of 1891).

The attitude of the leaders of the Conservative party on the question of better trade relations with the United States has been one of hypocrisy, pretence and systematic deceit.

The Liberals have advocated an earnest effort to obtain as wide a measure of reciprocity as could be obtained, consistent with the interests and dignity of both countries.

There was a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States in 1854, which embraced the free exchange of the following articles :

- Grain, flour and breadstuffs of all kinds.
- Animals of all kinds.
- Fresh, smoked and salted meats.
- Cotton wool.
- Seeds and vegetables.
- Undried fruits, dried fruits.
- Fish of all kinds and products of fish.
- Poultry, eggs, hides, furs and skins.
- Stone or marble, slate, ores of metals of all kinds.
- Coal,
- Butter, cheese, lard, horns.
- Pitch, tar, turpentine.

Timber and lumber of all kinds.

Plants, shrubs and trees.

Pelts, wool, rice, fish oil, grindstones.

Broom corn and bark, gypsum.

Dyestuffs, flax, hemp and tow.

Unmanufactured tobacco.

Under this treaty an immense impetus was given to farming in Canada and all classes of business felt the benefit, some directly, others indirectly. Our exports to the United States in the year 1854 amounted to \$10,000,000 in round numbers; in 1866, the year the treaty was abrogated, our exports had grown to \$40,000,000.

In 1853, the year before the treaty, the aggregate trade between Canada and the United States amounted to \$20,691,000.

In 1854, the year the treaty went into effect, the aggregate trade rose to \$33,494,000, a leap of thirteen millions. In 1865 the total trade between the two countries amounted to \$84,000,000, or only a few millions less than it was in 1894, nearly thirty years later.

After all, this was only a treaty of a very limited kind. It is on record that in 1864 the Government, led by Sir John Macdonald, proposed to the Government of the United States to assimilate the tariffs of customs and excise duties of Canada with the customs and excise duties of the United States, and George Brown left the Government, which was then a coalition one, sooner than agree to any such proposal, and because he advocated a treaty, and not reciprocal legislation.

Afterwards, in 1870, a formal proposition was made by Sir John Macdonald's Government to the United States, and among a number of items was one for the assimilation of the customs and excise duties of both countries. (See page 1153, Hansard, 1893.) That was commercial union, a doctrine which the Liberal party has never advocated.

In 1874 the Hon. George Brown was authorized by the Mackenzie Government to go to Washington and negotiate a treaty of reciprocity and he succeeded in negotiating a treaty, but it was lost in the United States Senate. There were two schedules of goods which were to be interchanged between the two countries free of duty; schedule "A," natural products; schedule "B," agricultural implements, forty in number; schedule "C," manufactures, a list of thirty-seven articles. The articles to be exchanged free under this treaty included axes, cultivators, forks, drills, hoes, horse-power machines, reapers, mowers, spades, shovels, scythes, threshing machines, boots and shoes, manufactures of cotton, cabinet ware and furniture, carriages, carts, waggons, manufactures of iron, including bar iron, hoop iron, pig iron and puddled bars, nails and other manufactures of iron; leather harness and saddlery, stationary engines and machines, printing paper, type, presses, satinettes of wool and cotton, tweeds of wool and a great variety of other articles.

In the negotiation of this treaty Mr. Brown had the assistance of the British Ambassador at Washington, and when he submitted it to the British Foreign office it obtained the formal approval of the Earl of Derby, Her Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"I have received your despatch forwarding a copy of memorandum containing proposals for a Reciprocity Treaty, which has been submitted by yourself and Mr. Brown to the United States Government, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve this paper, which appears to be drawn up with care and ability."

Here was a treaty containing discrimination against Great Britain in the same sense that it is claimed the treaty Mr. Blaine was prepared to negotiate in 1891 would have contained, and yet Her Majesty's Government gave it the stamp of its approval and saw no objection to it.

The articles contained in the Brown treaty of 1874 were to be "the growth, produce or manufacture of the Dominion of Canada or of the United States," and the benefits of that treaty were therefore restricted to those two countries.

When Mr. Bowell and Mr. Foster returned from Washington empty-handed in 1891 they reported their failure to obtain a treaty of reciprocity because they refused to agree to the inclusion of manufactured articles in a treaty, asserting that would involve discrimination against Great Britain. They did not even make an effort to draw up a list of manufactured articles, such as agricultural implements, of a kind not imported into Canada from Great Britain. They simply proposed the renewal of the treaty of 1854, knowing full well that the United States would not negotiate a treaty of reciprocity in natural products only. In order to get such a treaty renewed, the Conservative Government of 1869 officially submitted propositions to the United States offering to include the cession for a term of years, of our fisheries to the United States, and other advantages, but in vain.

Mr. Bowell and Mr. Foster also reported that Mr. Blaine insisted on the necessity of a uniform tariff for the United States and Canada. Here are Mr. Foster's words :

"We received an answer from Mr. Blaine that while he acknowledged our difficulties he was clear in his own mind that no other arrangement would be satisfactory to the United States, that their manufactures must have preferential treatment, including, of course, discrimination against foreign countries and especially against Great Britain, that there must be a uniform tariff and that that tariff must be practically the tariff of the United States. With this remark we passed on to other points in discussion and we did not thereafter recur to the trade question. This is in brief, a fair and candid account of what took place at the conference. . . . Now the matter is settled. I, for my own part regret that it is settled as it is, and still I am glad that it is settled at all. I regret that no *modus* can be found by which profitable trade relations could be established between these two countries without our being called upon to sacrifice too much of Canadian interests and too much of Canadian nationality."

The Government having made a pretence of obtaining a new and wider treaty of reciprocity in order to carry the elections of 1891 and having made a hypocritical attempt to carry out that pretence by their trip to Washington, are now disinclined to continue to act a part, and declare to the country that the matter is settled, and how? By abandoning forever all hope of wider and freer trade relations between Canada and the United States.

Happily, although Mr. Blaine died, there was another witness beside Mr. Foster of what took place before Mr. Blaine, and that was General Foster, who was invited by Mr. Blaine to be present and who, when Mr. Blaine died, became Secretary of State for the United States. Occupying that high position he made the following statement in reply to the above report of the Canadian Minister of Finance, as to what transpired at Washington :

"During the Reciprocity Conference of last winter Mr. Blaine did not insist that in a reciprocity arrangement a uniform tariff might be necessary for both Canada and the United States, nor much less that it should be on the line of the present United States tariff. He did ask that the schedule should not be confined

to natural products, but should include an agreed list of manufactured goods, and that the reciprocity should be confined to Canada and the United States; and because of these two conditions the negotiations were fruitless."

A statement of what took place was officially made by Mr. Blaine himself and although it details everything that took place it says nothing about those conditions which the Finance Minister says he insisted upon as essential. (See Blaine's Report, Ottawa, Hansard, page 1156.)

Mr. Foster, in making his report of the Washington conference to Parliament, said that, "so long as the present party and the present policy is maintained in the United States, in one branch or the other of the legislature or in the Executive, we cannot hope for any treaty with the United States, except upon the lines mentioned." Although the Republican party and the Republican policy were swept out of existence seven months after Mr. Foster made his report to Parliament, neither he nor any other member of the Government made any attempt to conclude a treaty with the new Cleveland Administration and the Democratic Congress, although well aware that it was Mr. Cleveland and his Administration which concluded the Fisheries Treaty of 1888-89 with Canada, during the negotiations of which Mr. Bayard, the American Secretary of State, proposed to settle all the differences existing between Canada and the United States by a complete readjustment of commercial arrangements. It was in reply to that proposition from Mr. Bayard that Sir Charles Tupper, acting for Canada and Great Britain, made an unrestricted offer of reciprocity. Referring to this in the House of Commons, April 27, 1888, Sir Charles Tupper said:

"I made an offer in a broad, comprehensive and statesmanlike form, meaning exactly what I said, that I was prepared or that the British plenipotentiaries, who authorized me to make the offer, were prepared to negotiate the settlement of the fisheries question upon a basis of greater freedom of intercourse between the United States and Canada."

Here again we see that the offer of reciprocity in commercial matters made by Sir Charles Tupper in 1888, an unrestricted offer was made upon the authority of the representatives of the British Government, so that the cry of discrimination against Great Britain is not heard anywhere but at Ottawa, where it is used because the present Canadian Government do not want reciprocity with the United States in any form, for reciprocity and the N. P. cannot exist together.

To show the utter sham of the trip to Washington in 1891, the Government refused to bring down the shorthand report of the conversations which took place with Mr. Blaine, although it was officially admitted on the floor of the House by the leader of the Government that such a record was in existence. Even without this evidence, it is clear the Government have falsified the facts with reference to what took place at Washington and when to this is added the crime of suppressing the record what confidence can be placed in anything the Government say on this question?

One thing stands out clearly, that so long as the present Government remain in power at Ottawa there is no prospect or hope of a reciprocity treaty with the United States.

Canada is now giving to the United States considerable benefits for which the Canadians receive no compensating concession. Their corn, their cotton, their hard coal, their coke, and many other of their products are admitted free in Canada because we must have them, and so a good deal of what we have to give in order to get something from the United States has already been given and nothing got in return.

The whole treatment of the United States by the Conservative Government of Canada has proceeded on a wrong basis. Harsh measurers have provoked retaliation and in the end Canada had to make most humiliating back-downs.

The Government seized American vessels on the Atlantic coast and reprisals were made in the Pacific by the seizure of Canadian vessels in Bering Sea. The Government admitted fruit and fish free but taxed the lobster cans and peach baskets, and then complained because the United States did something as bad. The Government put an export duty on logs going to the United States only to take it off, and then they imposed a duty on the booms containing these logs, which had the effect of harrassing trade and those engaged in it, many of whom were Canadians living in Canada, only to take it off a few months later. After a lapse of three or four months they re-imposed the duty on booms, and ingloriously repealed it for the second time. They placed fruits and trees and shrubs from the United States on the free list in response to similar action by the United States, but a year later the Ottawa Government returned them to the dutiable list. They then imposed canal tolls, discriminating against American ports, but when the President of the United States was empowered to retaliate against Canadian vessels and ports, the Canadian Cabinet was hastily summoned to meet at Montreal and revoked the discrimination, giving way to a threat and doing in fear what they had refused to do out of fair play and neighborliness.

To show the feeling of the people of Canada in favor of a liberal measure of reciprocity with the United States might be quoted the many resolutions passed by the municipal, commercial and public bodies, irrespective of party politics. The same thing might be said of the people of the United States, but it is only necessary to refer to a resolution adopted by the United States National Board of Trade in January, 1894, in which the principle of reciprocity with Canada is asserted, and a suggestion made that the best way to accomplish it would be by the appointment of commissioners from both countries who would prepare a list of articles to be placed on the free list in both countries.

## Results of the Census.

### Startling Figures showing loss of Population and very Slow Progress.

The following table gives the population of Canada in 1871, 1881 and 1891 :

	1871.	1881.	Increase per cent.	1891.	Increase per cent.
Ontario .....	1,620,851	1,926,922	18.6	2,114,321	9.73
Quebec .....	1,191,516	1,359,027	14.0	1,488,535	9.53
Nova Scotia .....	387,800	440,572	13.6	450,396	2.22
New Brunswick .....	285,594	321,233	12.4	321,263	0.00
Manitoba .....	18,995	63,260	247.2	152,506	144.95
British Columbia .....	36,427	49,459	36.4	98,173	98.49
Prince Edward Island .....	94,021	108,891	15.8	109,078	0.17
The Territories .....		56,446	.....	98,967	75.33
Total .....	3,635,924	4,324,810	18.97	4,833,239	11.76

Here are official figures showing that while the increase of population from 1871 to 1881 was 19 per cent. for the whole of Canada, the increase from 1881 to 1891 was less than 12 per cent.

While the increase of population in Manitoba between 1871 to 1881 was 247 per cent., the increase between 1881 and 1891 fell to 144 per cent.



Manitoba during the first ten years of its existence as a province, 1871-1881, increased 247 per cent. ; the Northwest Territories during the corresponding period of existence, namely, between 1881 and 1891, increased but 75 per cent. Manitoba and the Northwest made much better progress under the period of tariff for revenue than under the period of high protection, as these figures show.

Taking the provinces of old Canada, which include the whole population of the Dominion except about four hundred thousand, the census gives the following results :

	Increase per cent. 1871-1881.	Increase per cent. 1881-1891.
Ontario.....	18.6	9.73
Quebec .....	14.0	9.53
Nova Scotia.....	13.6	2.22
New Brunswick .....	12.4	0.00
P. E. Island .....	15.8	0.17
Average increase.....	14.88	4.33

During the decade, half of which was spent under Liberal rule and practically the whole of it under a revenue tariff, the growth of the older provinces was more than three times as great as the growth during the decade spent wholly under Conservative rule, and wholly under a protective tariff. The figures are a copy of the official returns.

### **The Maritime Provinces Suffer.**

The population of the Maritime provinces in 1871 was 767,000 ; in 1881 870,000, or an increase of 103,000 ; in 1891, 880,000, a beggarly increase of 10,000,

The natural increase of 870,000 persons should have been 20 per cent. in ten years, according to a low estimate, which would have given an increase of 174,000 instead of which there was an increase of only 10,000, or less than the natural increase should have been for one year. Here is a direct and appalling loss of 165,000 souls in the ten years.

The aggregate population of the three chief cities of the Maritime provinces, Halifax, St. John and Charlottetown, was, in 1881, 73,712, and in 1891 it was 74,113, an increase of 400 in ten years. The loss of population therefore in these three cities was not less than 14,000 souls.

The members of the Cabinet from the Maritime provinces were fated to see their policy driving the people out of the counties they themselves represented in Parliament.

The Minister of Finance represents Kings, N.B. Population in 1881, 25,617 ; in 1891, 23,087, a decline of 2,530, or about 10 per cent. Taking the natural increase into account the loss of population in Mr. Foster's constituency in the ten years, 1881-1891, was 7,600 souls.

The late first Minister, Sir John Thompson, represented Antigonish. Population in 1881, 18,060 ; in 1891 it had fallen to 16,114, an actual decrease of 1,946 or over 10 per cent. Allowing for natural increase, 5,500 persons fled from this county during those ten years.

Sir Hibbert Tupper represents Pictou. Population in 1881, 35,535; in 1891, 34,541, an actual decrease of 994 and a loss of 8,000 in ten years.

In these three counties the protective policy, the first object of which was to keep the people at home, has caused a loss of 21,000 persons.

Ontario's population in 1881 of 1,926,000 should by natural increase have grown in ten years by nearly 400,000. Immigration should have added 100,000; yet the increase was only 188,000 instead of half a million. The increase of population in Ontario between 1871 and 1881 was 306,000. If the same rate of increase had continued the population of Ontario in 1891 would have been 158,000 more than it was.

Quebec's population in 1881 was 1,359,000. It increased 14 per cent. between 1871-1881, under a revenue tariff. If the same rate of increase had been maintained under the National Policy the population of Quebec would have been in 1891, 61,000 more than it was.

There are twenty-two counties and cities in Quebec where there is an actual decline in both French-Canadian and English-speaking as well.

Taking into account the natural increase, the Province of Quebec, including Montreal and Hochelaga, has lost 102,000 French-Canadians and 40,000 English-speaking people in the ten years, 1881 to 1891, a total loss of 142,000 citizens.

### **An Enormous Shortage.**

The lowest rate of natural increase which can properly be credited to a country like Canada is 2 per cent. per annum. This would be 20 per cent. in ten years, so that by adding one-fifth to the population of 1881 it will be seen what the population should have been in 1891, with the immigrants to be added on. The natural increase on the whole population of 1881 gives 865,000; the number of immigrants officially certified as entering the country, 886,000; add natural increase of immigrants, 177,000, and it will be found that the whole population in 1891 should have amounted to.....6,252,000  
The population actually found was.....4,833,000

Shortage.....1,419,000

### **What Became of the Immigrants ?**

The official reports of the Department of Agriculture showed that during the years 1881-1891 886,000 immigrants had come into the country. Even after the census had been taken Mr. Lowe, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, who had charge of immigration, appeared before a Parliamentary committee (during the session of 1892) and testified as to the number of immigrants entering Canada between 1881 and 1891 as follows:

"According to the figures published by the Minister of Agriculture—those figures being based on the reports of the agents and of the general accuracy of which I have myself not the slightest question—the number of ordinary immigrants was 578,846 and 307,000 reported by the customs with settlers' effects making nearly 886,000."

Of these 886,000 only 36,000 remained, as shown by the census volume containing the number of foreign-born persons in Canada. The number of immigrants in Canada at the census of 1881 was 609,348, or 14.03 per cent. of the total population. In 1891 the number was 645,507, less than 14 per cent., an increase of 36,159. The other 850,002 immigrants brought in during the ten years had fled the country.

The number of persons in Canada born in the British Islands is just 6,374 more than the number ten years ago, or an annual average influx of 637 from all England, Ireland and Scotland.

Taken separately this class shows a decrease of Irish and Scotch and an increase only of English. There are actually fewer Irish and Scotch in Canada to-day than ten years ago. The census found Canada to contain nearly 8,000 fewer Scotch-born persons than ten years ago and over 36,000 fewer Irish-born. During the same period 655,000 Irish emigrated to the United States.

### **Northwest Immigration.**

The immigration into Manitoba and the Northwest for the years 1881 to 1890, both inclusive, numbered according to the blue books 258,814. The population of Manitoba and the Territories in 1881 was 118,706 which, with the 258,814 official immigrants, would enable the enumerators to credit the 1891 census with a population in Manitoba and the Territories of 377,520. All the people found there by the census of 1891 only numbered 254,164. In other words 258,000 settlers were added to 118,000 and only 254,164 remained. According to these official statements Manitoba and the Northwest have lost over 122,000 settlers, and as each settler is said to be worth a thousand dollars to the country this means a loss of \$122,000,000.

### **Immigration to Ontario.**

According to the census there were 26,000 fewer Irish-born and 12,000 fewer Scotch-born persons in Ontario 1891 than in 1881. In 1881 the German population of Ontario numbered 23,270 and in 1891 they numbered 23,440, a distinct loss of all the natural increase and of all the German immigrants.

Dundas, which was a prosperous manufacturing town in the low tariff period, having increased from 3,135 to 3,705, had decreased in 1891 to 3,546, and in May, 1893, the assessors only found 3,016 inhabitants.

The following are some of the places in Ontario where there was not only a failure to retain the natural increase but an actual decline in numbers:

St. Catharines, Port Hope, Cobourg, Ingersoll, Goderich, Dundas, Napanee, Bowmanville, Strathroy, Paris, Prescott, Whitby, Kincardine, Amherstburg, Thorold, Mitchell, Dunnville, Port Perry, Harriston and Fergus.

A member of the Cabinet, Hon. J. C. Patterson, represents West Huron in the House of Commons, and should be asked to explain to the electors of that fine riding how it is that the population is 3,419 less than it was ten years ago, and 8,000 less than it would have been had it kept its natural increase and suffered from no exodus.

## Decrease of Farmers.

“For a long period to come Canada will prosper or decay according as the yeomanry of Canada prosper or decay.”—*Sir Richard Cartwright*.

The number of farmers and farmer's sons engaged in farming was by the census of 1881 656,712, and by the census of 1891 there were 649,506, a decrease of 7,206. The number increased in British Columbia, Manitoba and the North-west Territories, but the old provinces show a decrease in the number of farmers of 36,042.

Taken by provinces, the increases and decreases in the agricultural portion of the community, under the head of farmers and farmer's sons, are as follows :

	1881.	1891.
Ontario .....	300,554	292,270
Quebec .....	200,857	191,564
Nova Scotia .....	63,435	53,340
New Brunswick .....	54,485	45,880
Prince Edward Island .....	20,492	20,227
Totals .....	639,823	603,281
Manitoba .....	13,497	29,014
Territories .....	1,011	10,837
British Columbia .....	2,381	5,874
Grand totals .....	656,712	649,506
Net decrease	7,206.	

The decrease of farmers in Ontario was 2.5 per cent.; in Quebec, 4.6; in Nova Scotia, 15.9; in New Brunswick, 15.8; and in Prince Edward Island, 1.3.

Between 1871 and 1881, a revenue tariff period, the proportion of the agricultural class to 1,000 of the total population of the old provinces increased from 137.5 to 155.2; between 1881 and 1891 it fell to 149.2.

There are, according to the census of 1891, 1,659,355 persons engaged in occupations in Canada divided as follows :

Agricultural, mining and fishing .....	790,210
Trade and transportation .....	186,695
Manufacturing and mechanical .....	320,001
Domestic and personal services .....	246,183
Professional .....	63,280
Non-productive class .....	52,986

The first class make up nearly one-half of the working population.

In the census of 1881 there were 205,000 persons not classified in the occupations and only 53,000 in 1891, so that the industrial and commercial classes, which were made in the census of 1891 to include the thousands of messengers, porters, packers, teamsters, drivers, laborers, and so forth are credited with 150,000 persons put down in the census of 1881 as not classified.

Less than 6 per cent. of the working population are engaged in industrial pursuits.

## The Industrial Census.

What is called the industrial census, or that branch of the census professing to give the industrial returns to the country, meaning the manufacturing concerns, was procured by the offer that each census enumerator would receive 15 cents for every industrial establishment he returned, whether it had an existence in fact or only in his imagination; consequently one of the biggest industries of that year was the hunt for industries by the 4,300 enumerators. Their reports, compared with 1881, were as follows:

Provinces.	1881.		1891.	
	Establishments.	Employees.	Establishments.	Employees.
Ontario.....	23,058	118,308	32,028	165,326
Quebec.....	15,848	85,673	23,112	116,830
Nova Scotia.....	5,459	20,390	10,373	34,265
New Brunswick.....	3,117	19,922	5,419	26,609
Other provinces.....	2,441	10,642	4,836	24,835
	49,923	254,935	75,768	367,865

If each enumerator only discovered 10 "industrial establishments," of whose existence the ordinary inhabitants of the town were unaware, the result would have been an addition of 43,000 establishments throughout the Dominion. The addition, therefore, of 25,000 establishments is very moderate indeed.

There were 9,395 establishments with an average number of employees of  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ; 3,962 establishments with  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ; 5,384 with  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; 3,337 with 3; 1,653 with 3; 4,321 with 2; 2,468 with  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; 1,480 with  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; 1,734 with 2; and any number of establishments with 1.

The way the returns were stuffed, first by the enumerator for a sordid purpose, and next by the census office for a political purpose, intended to magnify the N. P., can be imagined when the Minister of Finance was compelled, amid the laughter of the House, to read long lists of establishments where the number of employees was given as one. So keenly did Mr. Foster feel the exposure of his industrial census methods that he finally refused to read these lists, and handed them unread to the official reporter. Every cobbler who mended shoes, every milliner, every dressmaker who made frocks for her neighbors, every old woman who had a spinning-wheel, every person who had a cider press, every cobbling tailor who mended garments and occasionally made one, every jobbing carpenter, every photographer, everyone who kept watches and jewellery were all returned as "manufacturing establishments." A number of these lists can be seen in the *Hansard* of 1893.

In the town of St. Mary's there were 20 "establishments," with one employee to each. There was a pump factory where the owner employed himself and the total number employed was one. There was a carriage factory with the same number. There was a weaving "establishment" which consisted of one old woman. (See page 2,460 *Commons Hansard*, 1893.)

In Milverton village, out of 23 "establishments" returned, 11 employed no hands at all besides the owner. There was a cider factory with one hand, a carriage-building establishment with one hand, a boot and shoe establishment with one hand, a tannery with one hand, and so on. In Mornington township, Ont., out of 35 "industrial establishments" there were 15 employing nobody besides the owner, and 12 employing 1 hand.

In the cities the exaggeration was in proportion. In the town of Sorel 55 "establishments" were returned as employing nobody but the owner. No fewer than 20 of these "industrial establishments" were dressmakers and milliners and 12 were blacksmiths, giving employment altogether to 17 hands. In the town of Strathroy, Ont., 23 of the "industrial establishments" were dressmakers and milliners, and in Mount Forest 19.

### **The Example of Port Hope.**

Although the population of Port Hope, Ont., was smaller than in 1881 a largely increased number of industries was returned. There were said to be 147 industries. Of these 144 employed 419 hands, an average of about 3 each. Adding the 3 industries of the town which seem to be worthy of the name, the 147 industrial establishments gave employment to 596 persons, or an average of a little over 4 each. There were 63 industrial establishments employing one each. There is one linen industrial establishment employing one hand, with a capital of \$5. The wages paid are \$65 a year. This industrial establishment makes enormous profits because the value of the product is \$100 and the wages earned, \$65, must be the profit, as it all goes to the individual owning the establishment.

The 75,768 industrial establishments of the 1891 census include 7,066 dressmakers and milliners, 9,423 blacksmiths, 4,618 carpenters, 5,666 sawmills, 1,524 cooperages, 3,982 tailoring and clothing.

The value of the raw material used in manufacture in 1871 was \$124,907,846; in 1881 it was \$179,918,593; and in 1891, \$255,983,219, giving an increase between 1871 and 1881 of 44 per cent., and between 1881 and 1891 of 42 per cent. This is a better test of the relative growth of manufactures between 1871 and 1881, a tariff for revenue period, and between 1881 and 1891, a protective period, because all the small cobblers, small dressmakers, and others do not use any raw material, neither do such alleged "industrial establishments" as laundries, photograph galleries, or dentists. Fancy the reliance to be placed on a census which returns a dentist who fills and pulls teeth as a "manufacturing establishment." In this way the industrial census makes out that there are 25,000 more establishments in Canada to-day than ten years ago, but the trick is too palpable to deceive anyone.

The introduction to Vol. 4 of the census of 1880 contains the following: "Our watchmakers and jewellers as a rule are merchants, and cannot be said to convert anything of importance, but whenever they do so they come under the more appropriate class of "gold and silversmiths." Here is an official declaration from the census commissioner of 1880, and yet the census of 1891 returns 655 "industrial establishments" under the head of "watchmaking and jewellery," with 1,619 employees, an average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  employees to each "industrial establishment."

A woman in the country who changes wool into a piece of cloth by weaving a garment for herself or daughter is brought under the census definition of an "industrial establishment." In the same way a cook in the kitchen who changes flour into a biscuit for the breakfast table might be called an "industrial establishment."

The chief of the census of 1881, in the introduction to one of the volumes, says: "Dental establishments cannot be called manufactories. What raw materials are converted by the dentist? The manufacture of dental material is another thing." When the "industrial census" of 1891 returned 154 dental establishments, employing 208 persons, the new chief of the census department made the following comment: "There were 4 dental establishments in 1881 and 154 in 1891. Either there was great negligence in 1881 in recording these establishments, or there has been great development in this home industry in ten years." The 4 dental establishments recorded in 1881 are officially stated to be for the manufacture of dental material, whereas the 154 in 1891 are for the pulling of teeth—certainly a great development of a great manufacturing industry, of which the product is mostly pain.

Another proof of the utter unreliability of the industrial census. The census department has itself printed three or four different sets of figures about the number of establishments and the number of employees, each set differing from the other.

The industrial returns obtained at 15 cents apiece from the enumerators gave 77,000 as the total number of women and girls engaged in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits. Later on census bulletin No. 18, gave the total number of women and girls as 62,464.

The industrial census returned 8,415 operatives in the woolen mills; the returns of occupations obtained from each individual and published in bulletin No. 18 gave only 4,240 woolen operatives, or just about one-half.

The industrial census returned 8,033 as employed in the cotton mills, but the bulletin of occupations returned only 6,053, a difference of nearly 2,000.

The tailors' and clothiers' establishments were said by the industrial census to employ 23,241 persons but, according to the occupations bulletin only 17,517 persons were found to say that they were employed by tailors or clothiers, a difference of over 6,000.

Here are returns from three industries by which the census bureau convicts itself of exaggerating the number of employees in factories by no less than over 12,000.

The returns of the alleged increase in manufacturing industries and employees used by members of the government on the platform were the exaggerated returns which vol. 2 of the census, as published in 1893, contradicts.

The number of persons engaged in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits as claimed by the industrial census was larger by 48,000 than the number which the census proper gives as the correct return.

Another specimen of the false figures put before the country in the industrial census is seen in the number of employees in boot and shoe establishments which were claimed at 18,105; reduced in bulletin No. 18 to 16,119; and the actual figures published in the bound volume found to be 13,816, or 3,133 below the number employed in these factories in 1881.

If the true facts were known it would be found that in no respect have the manufacturing interests of Canada prospered as much under the protective tariff as they did under the tariff for revenue period ending in 1881.

## Sample "Manufacturers."

Here is a sample list of the way in which the 75,000 industrial establishments of the census are made up :

	Number.	Employees.
Dentists .....	154	208
Dyeing and scouring .....	72	292
Photographers .....	327	708
Patent medicines .....	116	307
Dressmaking and millinery .....	7,066	17,197
Seamstresses .....	....	10,083
Carpentering .....	4,618	10,137
Watchmaking and jewellery .....	655	1,619
Plumbing and gasfitting .....	144	1,268
Butchers .....	....	7,252
Blacksmiths .....	9,423	17,935
Compositors and pressmen .....	....	6,055
Painters and glaziers .....	....	10,017

None of these look to a protective tariff and nearly all of them have no claim whatever to be termed manufacturing establishments. A plumber manufactures nothing; there is a special column for the maker of plumbers' supplies. The 7,000 butchers who sell meat are not manufacturers. The farmer who fattens the animal the butcher cuts up is the real manufacturer.

### The Few Protected.

The following is an estimate of the total number of persons employed in manufacturing establishments which can in any way be supposed to be benefited by a protective tariff. The figures are taken from the census of 1891 :

Agricultural implements .....	3,856
Cotton operatives .....	6,053
Woolen operatives .....	4,241
Mill and factory operatives (textile) .....	3,876
Iron and steel workers .....	2,804
Machinists .....	9,572
Moulders .....	4,070
Tool and cutlery makers .....	964
Wire workers .....	283
Sugar refineries .....	1,700
Rope and cordage operatives .....	412
Oil well employees .....	344
Starch works employees .....	62
"Manufacturers and officials" .....	6,169
Total .....	44,446

It will thus be seen that out of an alleged total of 367,000 employees of manufacturing establishments less than 9 per cent. can be said to work in factories to which the tariff might be some advantage.



A large percentage of those employees given above are women and children. It is officially stated that 20 out of every 100 employed in the factories are women. The total number of women employed in the factories is 62,464 and 1,233 girls under fifteen, besides 2,430 boys under fifteen.

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Conservative M.P., after making every allowance and every calculation, concluded that the number benefited by the National Policy does not exceed 8 per cent. of the people with occupations, and they are supported by the other 92 per cent.

## Manufacturing Hindered.

It may be asked, are not all manufacturers upon whose goods a high rate of duty is imposed by the tariff benefited by it? Not at all. For example, the National Policy put a duty of \$3 each and 20 per cent. upon sewing machines, yet the number of sewing machine factories in Canada decreased from 17 in 1881 to 12 in 1891; the number of employees fell from 1,188 to 897, and the wages paid from \$447,000 to \$295,000. The duty on sewing machines is now 30 per cent.

Boots and shoes have always had a duty of 25 per cent. The number employed in boot and shoe factories in 1881 was 18,949; the number shown by the census of 1891 fell off during these ten years of protection to 15,816.

Senator Boulton, Conservative, in an analysis of the industrial census (Senate Hansard, March 2, 1898), made three lists as follows:

Engaged in preparation of raw material for market..	142,310
“ manufactures incidental to local necessities	115,590
“ all other manufactures .....	45,348

Those with breweries and unenumerated industries make up the total number of employees. The first two classes with three or four exceptions require no protection and cannot benefit by protection. As to the third class the number engaged corresponds almost exactly with the list given above although reached in a different way.

The number employed in the manufacture of agricultural implements in 1881 was 3,656; in 1891, 3,856.

This one fact, and others have been quoted, shows that the industries in existence to-day were in existence before the protective policy was inaugurated, and were flourishing under a revenue tariff. The alleged increase in the number of employees engaged in manufacturing establishments is seen from the table at the beginning of this chapter to be 112,000. The facts given above are more than sufficient to wipe out this increase, or to reduce it to one-tenth the figure, and the conclusion is clear that, considering the growth which a country must make in ten years, and considering the fine natural resources of Canada, the National Policy has only hindered and not helped even the manufacturing industries.

According to the absurd claims of the figures presented by the Government to the people, the increase in the number of industrial establishments, between 1881 and 1891, was nearly 52 per cent., and of employees 44 per cent. Now, the only thing about the census which is approximately accurate is the count of heads, and by it we see that the total increase in the population of Canada during this period was less than 12 per cent. How could this be, if the increase in the number of employees had been 44 per cent?

Take the province of New Brunswick for example. The increase in its population was not a fraction. In fact it had no increase at all, and yet the census returns claim that the number of industrial establishments in that province increased from 3,117 in 1881, to 5,419 in 1891; and the number of employees from 19,922 in 1881 to 26,609 in 1891. For a population which only increased by 30 souls in ten years to increase over 6,000 in the employees of manufacturing concerns, has only to be stated to be laughed at.

### **Fraud Exposed.**

Dr. Borden exposed the grossest fraud, committed for the evident purpose of swelling the population of his county, and a number of its industrial establishments. Dr. Borden represents Kings, N. S., and made his statements in Parliament. He showed that out of a list of fifty names, everyone of which the census commissioner admitted was in the census returns, forty-eight were persons who had been for many years absent and settled in the United States, from terms varying from two to seventeen years. In one family, six children who were absent, resident in the United States for periods from seventeen years down, were returned in the census as residing in Canada. The father of these children made affidavit to this effect, and in all the other cases members of the family made similar affidavits. Dr. Borden had a list of 150 others, supported by affidavits of the same kind. The industrial census stated that 72 new manufacturing establishments had been started in the town Kentville, N.S., between 1881 and 1891. The number of persons employed gave an average of one employee, or a little over, to every new establishment, and a capital of \$70.20 for each. As a matter of fact, not one new manufacturing establishment was started in that town during those ten years.

### **The Exodus and Immigration.**

Unless we can get population into the North-west we have no future.—*Principal Grant, Queen's University, Kingston.*

When the present Minister of the Interior, Mr. Daly, took office, he announced that he would adopt a vigorous immigration policy. The result has been that immigration is now smaller than at any time since Confederation.

The present government has simply no immigration policy at all, and the number of people coming into the country does not begin to fill the gap caused by the number going out.

Speaking in the House of Commons, in 1893, Mr. Haggart, Minister of Railways and Canals, said :

"According to the United States census returns of 1890, there were 980,000 people born in British America then living in the United States, less those from Newfoundland, which reduced that number to 973,752 as the total number of Canadians in the United States in 1890."

It has been shown that the department certified to bringing into Canada, between 1881 and 1891, 886,000 immigrants, and these disappeared together with half a million more. Among the foreign-born population of the United States would be included Canada's 886,000 immigrants and their children, or 80,000 more. Then there will be the children of Mr. Haggart's 980,000 Canadians in the United States, and these will number 200,000, but being born in the United

States, they would be returned in their census as native Americans. If their parents had remained in Canada, they would have been born here and added to the Canadian population. By adding the native Canadians in the United States to the number of their children born within the last ten years, the loss of native population to Canada is seen to be 1,180,000; and if the emigrants who went from Canada and their children are added, the actual loss totals up to the enormous figure of 2,146,000 souls.

As an evidence that the item of 200,000 United States children of Canadian parents is not too large, there is the census of the State of Massachusetts taken in 1885, by which it was found that with a State population of 143,768 Canadians, there were 27,278 born in the United States of Canadian mothers, and 24,117 of Canadian fathers.

According to the United States census of 1890, the population was swollen between 1880 and 1890 by 263,781 Canadians. According to the department of Agriculture at Ottawa, 886,000 persons came to Canada from abroad in the same ten years who are not in Canada now, and these two items alone prove that considerably over a million persons had fled from Canada in the ten years, 1880 and 1890. There are 207,601 Canadians in Massachusetts, according to the U.S. census of 1890, or 64,000 more than were there by the State census of 1885—an exodus of Canadians to that one State at the rate of over 12,000 a year for those five years ending 1890.

In Maine, there were 52,000 Canadians; in New Hampshire, 46,000; in Vermont, 25,000; in Michigan, 181,000; in Chicago there are 24,000; in Boston, 38,000; in Detroit, 19,000, and in Buffalo, 10,000; in Lowell, 15,000; in Manchester, N.H., 12,000.

Extract from National Policy resolution, House of Commons, 1878: "That such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home."

When Mr. Daly sat on the back benches in the House of Commons he clamored for a vigorous immigration policy, but since he has been in office as Minister of the Interior he has pursued the same old policy of drift, with one exception, and that was when he practically abandoned any attempt to obtain immigrants from the Mother Country. It is the custom to boast of immigrants from the United States as returned Canadians, but Mr. Burgess, the Deputy Minister having charge of immigration told a committee of the House of Commons in 1893 that out of 512 homestead entries, 92 only were returned Canadians. That was the record for the year, and as the expenditure was at the rate of \$50,000 a year in the United States (according to Mr. Burgess' evidence), it follows that each of these returned homesteaders cost the country \$500 apiece to bring back. While the Government were pursuing a policy which drives the people out of the country, and then trying to bring them back at a cost of \$500 a head, the following testimony was given before a committee of the House of Commons in 1892 by Mr. Lariviere, Tory, M.P., for Provencher:

"There is a movement just now that ought to be checked. While we are receiving in Manitoba a large number of Canadians who have settled in Dakota and in Minnesota, 250 people left Ontario in one month this spring, coming through Manitoba to go and settle in Dakota. Remember, Mr. Chairman, that was in one month only. They had \$23,000 worth of household furniture and cattle and horses, and were leaving the province of Ontario to settle in Dakota and Minnesota."

During the last couple of years immigration to Canada has fallen off to a mere fraction of what it formerly was, as the official returns for 1894 show. For the ten months ending with October, 1894, the total number of immigrants to Canada from British ports was 16,621, as compared with 23,947 in 1893. Almost no immigrants at all are coming in from the British Isles. For the fiscal year, 1893, there were 364,674 immigrants landed at New York.

### **Ontario's Exodus.**

The foreign-born population of the Province of Ontario, according to the census of 1881, was 429,463; according to the census of 1891 it was 405,619, a decrease of 23,844. During this period the official returns of the Ontario Immigration Department show that the number of immigrants settled in Ontario in the ten years, 1881-1891, was 186,650 and that in addition to these there were returned from the customs as having arrived and settled in Ontario with their effects during the same period, 85,703 immigrants, or a total of 272,353. If to these is added the 23,844, it will be found that there had disappeared from Ontario in these ten years the vast number of 296,197 immigrants. The loss of native-born population in the Province of Ontario during the same period amounted to 193,552. This brings the total loss of population in that province close upon half a million, not counting the natural increase of the immigrants who should have remained.

Principal Grant: "Establish a right policy and the right kind of men will come of their own will."

### **Canada not Growing Well.**

The following is from the London, England, *St. James' Gazette*: "While America is filling up and brimming over and increasing its population by millions, Canada, if not exactly stationary, is increasing very slowly indeed. It had been commonly supposed that with the great boom in the Northwest, Canada should have shown an increase of at least two millions or three millions during the last decade, and would be well on its way to something like the population of a second-rate European state; but all such hopes have been dashed by the census. The increase of population spills over the border and fills up the Northern and Western States. The men who were born in Canada and should become citizens of the Empire grow and die under the Stars and Stripes. Whether we like it or not Canada is not doing well and has not been doing well for some time past."

### **The Record of Scandals.**

It is not enough that members of our High Court adjudged guilty of "dishonorable, scandalous and corrupt conduct" should be frozen out and kept out. If we call a man thief we can no longer have him as a companion, except by going down to his level.—*Principal Grant*.

### **The McGreevy-Langevin Boodling.**

The Quebec Harbor Works consisted of a dredging contract in the wet basin and tidal dock, a graving dock, a cross-wall contract, and a south wall contract.

The construction of those works and the expenditure of the moneys were to be under the control and upon the responsibility of the Minister of Public Works alone. The Quebec Harbor Commission, the majority of whose members were appointed by the Government, had something to do with the works, but all the money came from the Dominion Government. The Government had to do with the plans and the letting and approval of the contracts, and, to quote the words of the Act, "and any moneys to be hereafter paid to the Quebec Harbor Commissioners shall be so paid from time to time as the work proceeds upon the report of the Minister of Public Works." The Department let the contracts and the works were carried to completion under the immediate supervision of the Minister and his officials.

These works were all constructed by the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co., consisting of Patrick Larkin, N. K. Connolly, Michael Connolly, Owen E. Murphy. Robert H. McGreevy was given an interest in the profits of the firm in nearly every one of these contracts for the purpose of procuring the interest of his brother, the Hon. Thomas McGreevy, and through him of Sir Hector Langevin, then Minister of Public Works. Up to 1889, Robert McGreevy was confidential agent for his brother Thomas and the manager of his private affairs. Thomas McGreevy and Sir Hector Langevin had been for a life-time intimate friends, and while in Ottawa during the session, representing Quebec West in the House of Commons, Thomas McGreevy lived with Sir Hector, to whom he had loaned \$10,000 and never asked it back.

Between 1878 and 1891, inclusive, this firm received in public money \$3,138,234, for which they did \$2,000,000 worth of work. They expended in bribery and corruption \$170,447 according to their own books. Robert McGreevy, who contributed no capital to the firm, received as his share of the profits \$187,800. The Hon. Thomas McGreevy received very large sums of money from the firm, and, according to the sworn evidence, Sir Hector Langevin received \$10,000.

Thomas McGreevy admitted receiving \$60,000, but the accountants who examined the books of the firm showed that at least \$130,000 passed into the hands of Thomas McGreevy.

Thomas McGreevy explained that he received this vast sum of money in his capacity as treasurer for the Conservative party in the district of Quebec, but he refused to say to whom he had given the money, and when threatened with punishment for contempt of Parliament if he did not tell, skipped out.

Evidence showed that out of this fund Thomas McGreevy paid \$25,000 to subsidize the personal newspaper organ of the Minister of Public Works, a paper in which Sir Hector had the controlling interest.

As near as could be judged from the evidence, Thomas McGreevy handled \$170,000 out of the money stolen from the people, and according to his own evidence as well as that of others, he disbursed it for the benefit of the Conservative party in the elections.

## **Facts Connected with the Dredging Contract.**

In this contract Robert McGreevy was given an interest of 30 per cent. It was to terminate in 1884, but was continued until near the end of 1886. There was a lot of underhand work in procuring the contract, such as the putting of a bogus tender in the name of Beaucage, and the freezing out of contrac-

tor Askwith, and the dismissal of Kinnipple and Morris, the engineers, who were replaced by engineers chosen by McGreevy, namely by Perley and Boyd, both engineers in the Public Works Department.

### **Facts Connected with the Dredging of the Wet Basin.**

In the winter of 1886-7 Thomas McGreevy made an arrangement with Larkin, Connolly & Co., whereby the firm undertook to pay him \$25,000 on condition that he would obtain for them the sum of 35 cents a yard for the dredging of 800,000 cubic yards, though McGreevy knew, as the leading member of the Quebec Harbor Commission, that dredging of the same kind, and even of a more difficult kind, had before been executed for 27 cents a yard and for less. This was in December, 1886, or January, 1887, when Thomas McGreevy wanted money for the Dominion elections which took place February 22nd, 1887. This agreement was in writing and was produced at the investigation. The Government of course, knowing the need of money in the elections, gave the contract at this scandalously high rate, enabling the contractors to make on this one item alone a profit of \$174,787, and in due course Mr. McGreevy, as treasurer for the Conservative party, received \$25,000. Mr. McGreevy used \$5,000 of this in his own election.

Mr. Valin, who was chairman of the Harbor Commission, swore that he conferred with the Minister of Public Works, Sir Hector Langevin, with reference to this contract for dredging, and the Minister told him that he had spoken of it to Mr. McGreevy and that it was all right. Mr. Valin spoke to the Minister on several occasions, and said that on each occasion the Minister had told him to follow Mr. McGreevy and everything would be all right. The Minister had added, "You know that we meet frequently and that we consult together." On one occasion when the chairman of the commission asked the Minister whether he did well in following the advice of Mr. McGreevy, the Minister had said: "If the commission does not act properly I shall dissolve it."

Under this contract enormous sums of public money were paid beyond what the work was worth, and a sum of \$22,500 contrary to the terms of the contract. Sir Hector Langevin and his colleagues in the council were responsible for this and for all the other scandals. Mr. Dobell, one of the Harbor Commissioners and a leading Conservative in Quebec, protested against the dredging contract, but was overruled. In his evidence he said: "I never knew a man that seemed to be able to take in every detail as completely as Sir Hector Langevin did in these works, and he did not seem to neglect it. He seemed to be familiar with them all."

### **Facts Connected with the Contract for the Levis Graving Dock.**

Thomas McGreevy agreed with the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co. to secure them the contract for the completion of the graving dock at Levis, on condition that he should receive all over \$50,000 of the contract price. The Government gave them the contract and they paid McGreevy \$22,000. The profit on this contract was \$125,000. The Minister consented to pay the firm \$74,000 for work they were already bound by their previous contract to do, and further paid them \$65,000 as alleged damages, and claims for extras to the amount of \$50,000 were allowed by the Minister.

## The Cross-wall Contract.

Thomas McGreevy's brother, Robert, had a 30 per cent. interest in this work and Thomas had a large interest in his brother's finances, because his brother owed him large sums of money and was paying him back out of the profits of these contracts. The amount paid under this contract was \$832,448. Four days after this contract was signed the favored firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co. subscribed \$1,000 to the Sir Hector Langevin testimonial fund. There were five tenders for the work, and of these Larkin, Connolly & Co. were the highest, but two others of the tenders were also put in by Larkin, Connolly & Co., one in the name of Gallagher and another in the name of Beaucage. The tenders were so manipulated, with the connivance of the Department, that the contract was awarded to Larkin, Connolly & Co. This is accounted for by the fact that the treasurer of the Conservative funds in the Quebec district received \$25,000 from Larkin, Connolly & Co., as the consideration of their securing the contract. The direct loss to the treasury by the passing over of the tender of Peters and Moore, who were the lowest, was \$70,000. In addition to that, Larkin, Connolly & Co. were paid \$22,000 to which they were not entitled.

## Contract for the Completion of the Esquimalt Dock.

Robert McGreevy was given an interest of 20 per cent of the profits in this work, which was the completion of the graving dock at Esquimalt, British Columbia. Again there was a lot of hocus-pocus work about the tenders. The evidence showed that the Minister of Public Works brought his personal influence to bear upon Starrs and O'Hanly, the lowest tenderers for this work, to induce them to withdraw, and Mr. Starrs swore that Sir Hector threw so many obstacles in his way that he did finally withdraw. On the same day the Minister hurried to council with a report awarding the contract to Larkin, Connolly & Co., whose tender was \$30,000 higher than that of Starrs and O'Hanly, the figures being \$374,559 and \$338,945. No sooner had Larkin, Connolly & Co. got the contract than they wanted a change in the length of the dock, the substitution of granite for sandstone, a heavier coursing of stone, and a reduction of the \$50,000 which it was agreed they should pay for the plant belonging to the Government already on the work. There was a strict agreement that no reduction of this \$50,000 was to be made, but after a while they were allowed a rebate of \$20,000. The firm offered Thomas McGreevy \$50,000 to have the dock lengthened 100 feet and Sir Hector Langevin sent a report to council advising that the dock should be lengthened 100 feet, and that an Imperial contribution should be applied for, but as the Imperial Government refused the scheme was dropped.

To show how the Minister and contractors worked together in all these matters, the substitution of granite for sandstone is perhaps the best illustration. N. K. Connolly, who was on the work in British Columbia, thought it would be to their interests to have the graving dock built of granite instead of sandstone as provided in the contract. Shortly afterward Michael Connolly wrote that the granite was terribly hard and the quarry 180 miles distant, and strongly advised against any such change. Meantime Nicholas Connolly's request had been complied with in the Department, chief engineer Perley reporting to the Minister in favor of changing from sandstone to granite at an extra cost of \$45,000. An

Order in Council authorizing the change was prepared by the Minister, but then came the news that the firm had changed its mind and did not want the change, and the Order in Council was torn up. The request of the contractors that the coursing should be three feet thick instead of one foot was granted on condition that it was to cost nothing extra, but the contractors were afterwards allowed \$45,000 for it. The contractors wanted three-foot masonry instead of one foot because they had discovered a quarry in the locality furnishing three-foot stone and the change was therefore in their own interest, but notwithstanding this the change was used to steal another \$40,000 from the public in order that the Government should get back a portion of it to be used for party purposes in the elections.

The cost of the dock when completed was \$581,841, being \$207,168 more than the amount of the tender. The contractors' profits in this contract amounted to \$240,979, in addition to \$27,000 paid in "donations," namely, bribery and corruption.

### Government Corruption.

The reason why the Government willingly paid so much money to these contractors is shown by the evidence. An extract from the books of the firm showed a charge against the Esquimalt dock of \$35,000 in seven different mysterious sums. This money was paid corruptly in return for the favors shown to the firm by the Government. The sum of \$5,000 was given for the Three Rivers election. Three Rivers was the constituency represented by Sir Hector Langevin, the Minister of Public Works. The Conservative managers relied largely on the contributions of Larkin, Connolly & Co. Mr. Valin, then a member of Parliament, gave this evidence at the investigation :

"I applied again to Mr. McGreevy and to Mr. Murphy. Mr. Murphy told me: 'We have placed all that is necessary in Mr. McGreevy's hands and we have advised him to help you especially; apply to him and you will get some.' Then, having applied to Mr. McGreevy, he said to me, the elections in the county of Quebec are costing heavily. The Ministers are costing us very heavily and I have no more money to give you. Caron is always after me and I cannot satisfy him with money. We have Sir Hector at Three Rivers and, besides, other counties."

It will, therefore, be seen that Mr. Thomas McGreevy was simply the custodian of these corruption funds, and that the members of the Dominion Cabinet were, with others, the beneficiaries. We have, for instance, such documents upon record as the following :

"Dear Mr. MCGREEVY,—Mr. Charles Tache, brother of our candidate in Rimouski, leaves to-morrow morning for Rimouski. I think you might, on the balance allotted for legal expenses of the county, let him have \$800. He is a safe man.

Yours truly,

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN."

Another letter from Sir Hector Langevin :

"My dear Mr. MCGREEVY,—You might have the bearer, Mr. Alphonse Martin, carry to Mr. L. Tache say \$400 for legal expenses in Rimouski.

Yours truly,

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN."



Another letter which looks like a postscript :

"Dear Mr. MCGREEVY,—You might add \$200 for legal expenses of Rimouski.

Yours truly,  
HECTOR L. LANGEVIN."

Sir Hector Langevin gave an order on Mr. McGreevy, February 2, 1887, for \$600 to be spent in Bellechasse; for \$200 for the county of Portneuf; for \$300 on one occasion and \$750 on another for Champlain election; for \$500 for Quebec East; for \$500 for L'Islet; for \$500 for Drummond and Arthabaska; for \$200 for Beauce and for \$200 for Lotbiniere.

An official list of expenditures in the campaign of 1887 shows that \$112,700 was drawn from the reptile fund and expended over a score of Quebec constituencies according to a preconcerted arrangement between Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron and Hon. Thomas McGreevy. A list of the counties was drawn up and the sum that was to be spent in each was placed opposite. This arrangement is referred to by Sir Hector Langevin in a letter to Mr. McGreevy, dated February 18, in which the Minister says: "You know that Montplaisir (the candidate in Champlain) was to receive altogether \$2,000 for his legal expenses."

Larkin, Connolly & Co. were kept busy receiving money from the Dominion Government with one hand and giving a portion of it back to Thomas McGreevy with the other hand.

The expenditure in Quebec county was \$18,500; in Three Rivers, \$16,800; Quebec West, \$8,000. Large sums were paid to the subsidized press.

## Langevin's Clear Guilt.

Sir Hector Langevin was Mr. McGreevy's political chief, and it is admitted that Mr. McGreevy squeezed between \$150,000 and \$200,000 out of these contractors as contributions to the fund of the Conservative party, of which he is the custodian, and it was paid out on orders signed by Sir Hector Langevin himself, including \$35,000 which Mr. McGreevy says he paid for *La Monde*, Sir Hector's own personal newspaper organ (Sir Hector thought that the sum paid was only \$28,000). Thomas McGreevy admitted that he applied to the firm for this money which Sir Hector Langevin admits he asked Thomas McGreevy for.

In the light of these facts can anyone believe that the Minister of Public Works did not know all about the manner of raising this money, or that he did not lend his influence as a Minister and his colleagues also, to accomplish their ends? The contractors could only pay out these vast sums to the treasurer of the Conservative party on condition that the Conservative Government allowed them to make that much extra out of the contracts, and something besides for themselves. Thus you find bogus claims set up and allowed, extraordinary prices paid for ordinary work and changes made from time to time in the contracts with the result of transferring large sums of the public money from the Dominion treasury into the pockets of the contractors.

Here is the testimony of Mr. N. F. Davin, Conservative M. P. and strong supporter of the present Government:

"We are a young country, and is it to be tolerated for a moment that a member of the Government may enter into complicity with contractors to rob the public? Is it to be tolerated for a moment that a Minister of the Crown

should do that? The verdict of this country would be decidedly not, and I may say this now, I have read all the evidence very carefully and have come to the conclusion that we cannot possibly relieve Sir Hector Langevin from either one of two things—either he is corrupt or he is an imbecile.”

One of the members of the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co., Owen E. Murphy, swore that he went to the house of the Minister of Public Works and laid a little parcel upon the table before him as a present, that the Minister took the parcel and put it into a drawer of the table, that nothing was said further and Murphy went out. That little parcel contained \$10,000, Murphy swore.

Sir Hector Langevin accepted \$10,000 from Mr. McGreevy, according to the evidence, and he accepted a testimonial of \$22,000 in cash, subscribed for the most part by contractors having dealings with the department. The milking of contracts and the squeezing of contractors have been reduced to an art by the present Government, and Sir Hector Langevin was acting for the Government in which he held the second position, and the Government got the benefit of it all. The following letter was addressed to Mr. Simon Peters, a contractor :

“ My dear Mr. PETERS,—You promised to send me something about the elections. Will you kindly do so to-day ?

Yours truly,

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.”

This was three days before the general elections, and Mr. Peters in reply sent \$1,000.

It is impossible to believe that the Government did not know of all these public things in furtherance of which they kept passing orders-in-council. They got the benefit of the stealing, and that stealing could not have taken place if this had been an ordinary firm making ordinary requests and receiving no favors. Sir Adolphe Caron was fully cognizant of the contributions of Larkin, Connolly & Co. He holds the second place in the Bowell Ministry and is Premier Bowell's trusted ally. Sir Hector Langevin is a member of the Privy Council and a strong supporter of the Government. It is only a few of the small boodlers who have been punished—the clerks under these men. The Government majority in the House of Commons whitewashed Sir Hector Langevin as being ignorant of any wrongdoing!

## **One law for the rich, another for the poor—The Release from Prison.**

In November, 1892, Thomas McGreevy and N. K. Connolly were convicted at the Assizes in Ottawa of conspiracy to defraud the public, and were sentenced by Mr. Justice Rose to one year's imprisonment. The judge said he made the sentence very light. At the expiration of about three months the Government released them on the plea that confinement was injuring their health. As a matter of fact they never looked better in their life, never missed a meal nor lost any weight. They missed their usual exercise in the open air, and the confinement was no doubt irksome to them. Any physician could give a certificate that confinement in gaol was prejudicial to a prisoner's health, and so the Government did not want for medical certificates when they asked for them. Mr. Justice Rose, in his charge to the jury, referred to those in high places who might be equally guilty with McGreevy and Connolly, and told the jury that they could only deal with the two defendants before them, no matter whether it was true or

not that other persons in high places were equally guilty. The electors of Canada now form the jury to pronounce on all these things. Would a poor woman convicted of stealing bread for starving children be liberated before expiry of her sentence ?

### **The Minister was Guilty.**

Rev. Principal Grant, in a paper read publicly in Kingston, October, 1894 : " Sir Hector Langevin should share the responsibility of McGreevy's transactions. The man lived with the Minister, paid his debts, carried his notes from year to year, toiled and slaved for his political interest, and ended by showing the fidelity of a dog and refusing to betray his master."

### **The Curran Bridge Steal.**

In the session of 1892 Parliament voted \$170,000, this being the departmental estimate of cost, for a new bridge over the Lachine canal, at Wellington street, in the city of Montreal, and to renew the Grand Trunk bridge alongside. This work was proceeded with during the winter of 1892-93. The chief engineer and other officers of the department and the Minister himself visited the works in the course of construction.

The whole work was under the immediate supervision of the department at Ottawa, and was done by day labor instead of by contract, and it will be seen that as much money can be stolen from the public under the administration of the men now in power at Ottawa under the day labor system as under the contract system.

The outside quantity of timber and lumber which could have been used in the work was 2,594,000 feet b.m., and there was charged and paid for 3,613,000 feet, or a steal of over a million feet, representing at least \$15,000 for that item.

The stone-cutting, which could have been done for \$6,000, amounted to \$40,000. Upon the Wellington street bridge (commonly called the Curran bridge, after the Hon. J. J. Curran, M.P., of Montreal), the cost of stone-cutting by piece work should have been about \$3,000 ; the amount paid by the Government was \$16,715. On the Grand Trunk bridge, what would have cost by piece-work some \$3,000, cost the Government \$23,180.

The substructure of the Grand Trunk bridge should have cost (according to the estimate of the commissioners appointed by the department to enquire into these matters) \$56,000. The pay-list for the labor alone on this substructure, without taking into account material, plant or false works, amounted to \$140,000.

The chief engineer of the Grand Trunk Railway, Mr. E. P. Hannaford, swore that the Grand Trunk were ready to build the substructure of the Grand Trunk bridge, and on the 28th December, 1892, the willingness of the railway company to build the substructure for \$35,000 was sent to the department of railways and canals. As early as October, 1892, the Grand Trunk wrote the department, giving their estimate of the cost of the bridge they were willing to build as \$35,000 for the substructure. The estimate for the superstructure, about which there never was any dispute, was \$35,000, making the total cost of the bridge as estimated by the Grand Trunk chief engineer, \$70,000. Under Mr. Haggart's direction it cost \$136,000 for labor alone.

Mr. Hannaford swore that in his estimate of \$70,000 he had calculated a profit of \$10,000 for the company, leaving the actual cost \$60,000.

The original estimate of cost for the substructures of both bridges, allowing for an 18-foot navigation, was \$122,000. This was afterwards increased to a 20-foot navigation, for which the total cost was estimated at \$160,000. The

actual cost of the work was \$430,325, of which \$394,000 was actually paid over, a steal from the taxpayers, in Mr. Haggart's department, of at least \$234,000.

It is estimated that the man who furnished the labor made \$150,000 out of the job. This was Mr. E. St. Louis, a cousin of the Hon. Mr. Ouimet, Minister of Public Works, and a prominent Conservative contractor of Montreal. He falsified the pay-lists which contained the names of men who were never employed on the works at all, and there were five times as many men employed as was necessary. It was reported on the 8th March, 1893, that 1,300 men were employed on the work. Mr. St. Louis explained to the Parliamentary committee of investigation that he had to make a good many political subscriptions, and for that reason had to make large profits. He destroyed his books, vouchers and other documents, because there were some entries he did not wish to make public. The following is an extract from his evidence, page 386 of the blue book :

Q. What entries did you think the books might contain which you did not want to make public ?

A. I suppose it was simply entries of political subscriptions.

Q. Political subscriptions ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you make many of these subscriptions ?

A. I made a good many since 20 years.

Q. Can you give this committee any idea of the total amount of subscriptions during the last 20 years for political purposes ?

A. No, sir.

Q. Would it be \$20,000 ?

A. I do not remember.

Mr. HAGGART (to witness): He has no right to ask that question; you need not answer it.

Q. Were the political subscriptions given by check or cash ?

A. Generally, for political subscriptions, they never see a check of mine ; I draw the check and I give it to a third party or a fourth party ; I don't take a receipt, either.

Q. So it would be impossible to trace up what you have given ?

A. Oh, I have no memory for those subscriptions ; I might have given something for the Vaudreuil election ; I made no political subscriptions during the work ; I made some, after, perhaps, but not during the work.

It was sworn to that Mr. St. Louis had stated that he gave \$1,500 to Mr. Emard, the legal partner of the Hon. Mr. Ouimet, for the Vaudreuil election. That evidence will be found at page 344 of the blue book.

The whole evidence in this atrocious scandal showed that the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars was due to the neglect, extravagance and mismanagement of the Department of Railway and Canals, presided over by Hon. John Haggart, under whose nose all this stealing took place. There was no Government time-keeper, no proper checks on what was being done ; the only man who was exercising any efficient supervision being dismissed at the beginning. This was Mr. Desbarats, an engineer. The overseer of the canal, Mr. Edward Ken-

ned, who was appointed on the recommendation of the Hon. J. J. Curran, M.P., was bossing the job, and he and Mr. St. Louis had everything their own way. It was because Mr. Kennedy did not wish the interference of Mr. Desbarats that the latter was dismissed by the Government.

Sir Richard Cartwright moved a vote of censure on the department for its conduct of this work; but Mr. Haggart resisted it and every one of his followers supported him. The division list appears on page 6520 of the Commons Hansard of 1894.

## **The Caron Scandal.**

In 1892 Mr. J. D. Edgar, the member for West Ontario charged Sir Adolphe Caron with being a corrupt member of the Administration and asked for a Committee of the House to investigate the charges which Mr. Edgar formulated and declared upon his responsibility as a member of Parliament to be true. The Government first refused point blank to allow any investigation, on the ground that the charges were not specific, but upon Mr. Dalton McCarthy, who was then a supporter of the Government, and others demanding that something should be done, the Government proposed to appoint a royal commission to investigate the charges, first altering the charges to suit the accused. There was no precedent in the British Parliament for refusing a committee to investigate charges of corruption made on the floor of the House, but it is still a fact that it was refused.

Mr. Edgar had ten paragraphs in his indictment, the truth of which he was willing to leave to the judgment of a Committee of the House upon which there should be a Government majority. The Government in refusing an investigation by the House were condemned by their own act. The text of the charges can be seen in the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons of 6th April and 4th May, 1892. The Lake St. John Railway is a road in the vicinity of Quebec, which received upwards of one million of dollars as subsidies from the Dominion Parliament. The company which undertook to build the road made a contract with another company, known as the Construction Company, by which the Construction Company became the contractor for the railway and entitled to receive every dollar of Dominion subsidies voted by Parliament. Sir Adolphe Caron was a shareholder of the Construction Company and a director. Subsequently the Construction Company sub-let or assigned the work they had undertaken to Mr. H. J. Beemer, who undertook to build the railway on consideration that the Construction Company transferred to him all unpaid subsidies and gave their bond to use every effort to procure for Mr. Beemer additional Government subsidies. The company which thus pledged itself had Sir Adolphe Caron for a director, and, moreover, when the Construction Company made the contract with Mr. Beemer, Sir Adolphe Caron was present in person. The sum already spent on the road was put down at \$450,000, which Mr. Beemer agreed to pay back to the Construction Company out of the bonds and subsidies. In addition to that he agreed to pay Sir Adolphe Caron and his fellow directors and shareholders of the Construction Company \$11,000 per annum for office expenses. The whole subscribed stock of the Construction Company was \$94,250, so that what Mr. Beemer was to pay them amounted to more than 450 per cent. upon their entire subscribed capital. Subsequently the company applied for subsidies at Ottawa and with Sir Adolphe Caron's assistance got them. In other words the Minister sat in the Cabinet and voted a million dollars of subsidies to a road in which he was financially interested. The president of the Construction Company was the Hon. J. G. Ross, who had large private transactions with Mr. Beemer, who assigned all the subsidies to which the Lake St. John Railway was entitled to Mr. Ross as security for moneys advanced by Ross; thus Mr. Ross was doubly

interested in these subsidies both past and future ; interested in Mr. Beemer's financial success as the sub-contractor of the road, and interested in the profits of the Construction Company of which he was president. Mr. Ross and his brother held more than half of the entire stock of the Construction Company, and the evidence was that unless more subsidies were obtained and the road completed the \$450,000 due the Construction Company would have been lost. Mr. Ross himself, therefore, would on this one item have lost \$118,000. Mr. Beemer had not a cent's worth of interest in these subsidies, when his arrangement with Mr. Ross was considered.

### Caron's Confession.

Under these circumstances the general elections of 1887 came on and what took place shortly before they were held is shown in the evidence of Sir Adolphe Caron himself, given before the Royal Commission of 1892 :

" I had occasion to require some funds for the campaign, and I called on Mr. Ross. I got from him personally an amount which I would not be absolutely precise about, but it was between \$5,000 and \$10,000 on the first day. From his office I drove up to the office of the Hon. Thos. McGreevy, a witness examined in this investigation. He was one of a committee composed of three, the Hon. Sir Hector Langevin and myself being two of the three, and Mr. McGreevy being the third and the treasurer for the purposes of that campaign. I took the money which I had received from Mr. Ross, and handed it personally to Mr. McGreevy who received it from me. He gave me a receipt for the amount, and in a period of time extending, probably, over seven or eight days, or ten days possibly, I drew out at different periods. The different amounts up to the \$25,000 which had been promised by Mr. Ross, through me, I placed in the hands of Mr. McGreevy as I had done the first instalment, and got receipts from him. These amounts were distributed after a discussion between the members of that committee, Sir Hector Langevin, myself and Mr. McGreevy. They were distributed for what we considered to be legitimate and indispensable expenses of the various counties which we were looking after in the district of Quebec.

Q.—You say you got these different sums of money, amounting in all to \$25,000, from the Honorable Mr. Ross himself ?

A.—I did.

Q.—Personally ?

A.—Personally.

Q.—In what form ?

A.—In bank bills.

Q.—And you took them in that form to Mr. McGreevy ?

A.—Yes. I drove from his office to Mr. McGreevy's. The amount never left my hands until it was deposited in the hands of Mr. McGreevy."

This \$25,000 was only part of a general fund of \$100,000, yet the managers of this fund wanted more, as shown by the following letter :

(Private.)

MY DEAR MR. MCGREEVY.—Mr. Valin has come. He says that he wants more help for his legal expenses. Do what you think proper and necessary, and send him for any more to Senator Ross. This county is a very hard one.

Yours truly,

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.

Quebec, 17th February, 1887.

There is, therefore, no question that Sir Adolphe Caron got this money, and subsequently, in the House of Commons he brazenly asserted that he was not ashamed of what he had done and *would do it again*. When Mr. Ross gave this \$25,000 to Sir Adolphe Caron he immediately charged it in his books to Mr. Beemer, who was the person entitled to the subsidies from the Government and who was in Mr. Ross's debt to a large amount. Beemer swore that he gave his note for \$25,000 to Ross in response to a request for a contribution to the election fund, and ultimately Beemer paid this note. To show that Beemer knew who got the money it is only necessary to point to the entry in Beemer's books, which were produced before the Commission, and contained entries such as the following: "28th June, 1887, Extraordinary account, paid Ross & Co's. note, on account G. E. F., dated 3rd February, 1887, A. P. C." Mr. Beemer explained that "A. P. C." meant Sir Adolphe Caron, and that "G. E. F." meant general election fund. Mr. Dalton McCarthy was of the opinion that Mr. Ross gave Sir Adolphe Caron \$25,000 and that Mr. Beemer's \$25,000 was another and different contribution to the same fund, making altogether \$50,000 from the two. In either event, however, it is clear that Sir Adolphe Caron was paying public money in the shape of subsidies to Mr. Beemer with one hand, and receiving back a portion of the subsidies with the other, and spending the money in buying constituencies for the Conservative party. Mr. Beemer was not a British subject and contributed to the election fund because he said he was doing business on a commercial basis. He never subscribed to an election fund in the same way before his contract commenced for the Lake St. John Railway.

### Gross Corruption.

Although the prosecutor before the royal commission was an appointee of the accused, and of course avoided asking ugly questions, Sir Adolphe Caron himself had to admit the receipt of \$25,000 from the beneficiaries of the Lake St. John Railway. The fund, which reached at least \$100,000 for the district, was distributed in part upon the order of Sir Adolphe Caron himself. The Minister was running in Quebec county at that time and his own orders on the fund for Quebec county alone amounted to \$5,100. Sir Adolphe Caron did not go to the Minister of Finance at Ottawa and get \$5,000 from the public exchequer direct and squander it in corruption, but what he did do was to hand large sums of the public money to the promoters of the Lake St. John Railway and then receive from those who were to be benefited by the Government subsidies, a portion of those subsidies for election purposes, handing the money in bank notes to Thomas McGreevy and then drawing it out again upon orders signed by himself. It was a clear case of steal, but Sir Adolphe Caron rather gloried in the fact that he was stealing for the party and not for himself. Speaking in the House of Commons, July 3rd, 1894, Sir Adolphe said:

"I take the full responsibility for my action and for assisting my friends, because it was necessary to assist them under the peculiar conditions existing in the district of Quebec, which I was looking after. . . . I am prepared to stand or fall by what I have done, and considering that I have helped my friends to the extent that I have considered legitimate, I say that under the same circumstances what I did on that occasion I would do again to-morrow, in order to help my friends."

Although \$18,500 was spent to elect Sir Adolphe Caron in Quebec county, (according to the official list of expenditures from the fund), Sir Adolphe Caron's agent on that occasion, in publishing the return of expenses required by the

Statute, swore that the personal expenses of the candidate amounted to \$58, and that the expenses of his agent amounted to \$846.46; or a total expenditure for the county of \$904.46. These were the legitimate expenses, the "legal" expenses so often referred to in the orders on the reptile fund. For instance:

"Please pay \$400, legal expenses, County of Quebec."

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

Sometimes the saving clause "legal expenses" was omitted, but as a rule everybody was scrupulously careful to say that the enormous funds they handled in the general election were for legal expenses.

Here is the style in which Sir Adolphe Caron drew upon the money he deposited with Thomas McGreevy:

"Received from Hon. T. McGreevy \$1,000 for legal expenses, County of Quebec."

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

"Please give Mr. W. B. Smith \$150 for legal expenses for the County of Quebec."

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

"Received from Thomas McGreevy \$500 legal expenses, election of the County of Quebec."

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

"Received from Hon. T. McGreevy \$200 for legal expenses for the County of Quebec."

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

"Please give to bearer, under cover P. Landry, Esq., \$1,000, for legal expenses in election of Montmagny."

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

Sir Adolphe Caron stated that the fund was merely used to pay the legal expenses of poor candidates. Dr. Landry was the Conservative candidate in Montmagny and a man of wealth; nevertheless he received \$1,000 from the fund.

Caron gave many other orders, photographs of which were produced in Parliament by Mr. Edgar, as well as those of some orders signed by Sir Hector Langevin. A copy of the official list of the expenditures in the Quebec district made from the fund in the campaign of 1887 can be seen on page 16 of the Votes and Proceedings and in Hansard of June 15, 1892. The total sum was \$112,700.

## **Sweated the Taxpayers.**

Mr. J. J. Macdonald became the contractor for the completion of the Temiscouata Railway in 1886, obtained \$25,000 subsidy from the municipality of Fraser-ville, and swore that he set aside the amount to help the Conservative party in the election, and in addition to that subscribed one amount of \$7,000 or \$8,000. Mr. Macdonald said he subscribed because he was "a loyal Conservative." Shortly after this loyal action the Government secured \$100,000 of public money for Mr. Macdonald's road, and as late as 1892 a further sum was voted.



## **Bowell as Bad as Caron.**

It was on motion of Mr. Bowell, the present leader of the Conservative party, that the charges made by Mr. Edgar against Sir Adolphe Caron were mutilated, and one complete charge omitted and thus referred to a royal commission. One week before Mr. Bowell introduced his amendment Mr. Edgar said :

“I daresay if the Postmaster-General had the drawing of these charges he would limit them, for instance, to the charge that he received from the Lake St. John Railway so much money out of the subsidies, and another charge that he received from the Temiscouata Railway Company so much money out of the subsidies, and then he would valiantly disprove those charges.”

This was precisely what Mr. Bowell did in his amendment, namely, charge that Sir Adolphe Caron received large sums of money for election purposes, “from the Lake St. John Railway Company” or “from a construction company.” Mr. Edgar declared in Parliament that he made no such charge and expressly informed the House that the money was not obtained from the companies but “from persons beneficially interested in the subsidies.” Nobody imagined that the Board of Directors of either company passed a resolution at a meeting to give \$25,000 to a Cabinet Minister for election purposes, so that what Mr. Bowell referred to the royal commission as Mr. Edgar’s charges were in reality charges drawn up by Sir Adolphe Caron himself so that the commission could report them not proven

## **Caron Whitewashed.**

Failing to get a select committee and failing to carry a motion protesting against the substitution of a new set of charges drawn up by the accused or his colleagues, the Liberals, while not recognizing the royal commission, used the evidence given before it, partial as it was, and challenged a verdict from the House upon it March 22, 1893, in the following motion in amendment to the motion to go into supply :

“That Mr. Speaker do not leave the chair, but that it be declared that in the opinion of this House the evidence taken by the royal commission appointed last session to enquire into certain charges made against the Hon. A. P. Caron, K.C.M.G., M.P., which was reported to the Government on the 24th November last and is now laid before us, established facts which should have prevented the subsequent appointment of Sir A. P. Caron to be an adviser of the Crown, and also renders it highly improper that he should continue to hold such office.”

This grave censure upon a member of the Government was endorsed and supported by several prominent Conservatives, including Mr. Calvin, Conservative M.P. for Frontenac, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Dr. Weldon, M.P. for Albert, N.B., and Col. O’Brien, M.P., each of whom by this vote declared Sir Adolphe Caron unfit to be a Cabinet Minister. Nevertheless, Mr. Bowell in forming his new cabinet in December, 1894, took Sir Adolphe Caron into his Government.

## **Whitewashed Again.**

The last time the matter was brought up in the House, July 3, 1894, it came up upon the conviction of Thomas McGreevy and N. K. Connolly, who were sentenced by Mr. Justice Rose to one year’s imprisonment in the common gaol for conspiracy to defraud the Queen. The following motion was made by Mr. Edgar :

"That all the words after the word 'That' be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof: 'from the public trial and conviction of Thomas McGreevy and N. K. Connolly for conspiracy to defraud, and from evidence and papers already before this House, it appears that large portions of the moneys which were found, upon said trial, to have been criminally received by the said Thomas McGreevy from Government contractors were so received by him for the purpose of being expended in elections in the interest of the Conservative party, and for distribution by Sir Hector Langevin, M.P., and Sir Adolphe Caron, M.P., for the election of themselves and of other supporters of the Government at the general elections held in February, 1887.

"That it further appears that large portions of the said moneys, together with other large sums collected by Sir Adolphe Caron from those interested in Governmental railway subsidies, were expended and distributed by Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron, and in lavish and illegal amounts, to assist in the election of themselves and of other supporters of the Government, in the District of Quebec, at the general elections of 1887.

"That the said Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron were then, and are now, members of this House, and on the roll of Her Majesty's Privy Councillors for Canada, and the said Adolphe Caron is a Cabinet Minister and Postmaster-General.

"That in the opinion of this House, the said Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron are deserving of the severest censure for their connection with the said transactions, and that it is a public scandal and an injury to the reputation of Canada that Sir Adolphe Caron should continue to hold the position of a Minister of the Crown."

This motion was voted down by 102 to 65, every Conservative in the House voting against it. Mr. Calvin was not present but was "paired" against it. Dr. Weldon voted against it. Messrs. McCarthy and O'Brien were both absent.

### **Opinion of B. B. Osler, Q.C., and Mr. Justice Rose.**

Messrs. McGreevy and Connolly were sentenced November 22, 1893, after a delay of two years. Their guilt was established in connection with the Quebec Harbor improvements and the Esquimalt graving dock. The evidence in the court showed that Thomas McGreevy had been paid by contractors who were doing work for the Government \$170,000 to be expended for election purposes or for political purposes, because some of the money went to subsidize certain Conservative journals. Speaking to the jury on this point Mr. Osler said:

"It is said that these items were paid out by this firm of contractors to Mr. Thomas McGreevy and others for the purpose of being expended in election expenses. Well, gentlemen, it will be for you to consider whether that circumstance does not aggravate instead of lessen the offence. If these moneys were paid out for the purpose of corrupting electors it is worse, not better, for the defendants. It is a very serious crime for you to consider. If a man by irregular practices obtains public money for his own pocket that is one thing, but if he obtains it for the purpose of influencing the minds of men in exercising their franchise, and that money comes from public contractors, one of the most serious offences against good government and the community that is possible is committed."

The presiding judge in his charge to the jury said:

"It is no defence to say that this contract was let, or this influence was given, or the service was rendered in consideration of a money subscription being given by contractors to assist any government, any Minister, any Member of Parliament in either corrupt or legitimate expenses."

## \$18,000 in One County.

It has been shown that a huge corruption fund was created by the contributions of contractors of public works, and railway contractors, and subsidies hunters, and that Sir Adolphe Caron himself raised \$25,000 of the "swag," and that when the money was all pooled it was drawn out and distributed after discussion between Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron and Hon. Thomas McGreevy. It is further shown that as much as \$18,000 was spent in one county to defeat the Liberals.

It was not to be expected that when Mr. McGreevy got into gaol under a twelve months' sentence along with Mr. Connolly that the Cabinet would allow them to remain there any longer than could be helped. At the end of three months the Minister of Justice called for a certificate on the state of their health and Dr. Church, the gaol physician, employed by the county of Carleton in that capacity, gave the desired certificate that their health was being impaired by confinement in gaol. Dr. H. P. Wright, being asked to corroborate this certificate did so, and the men were released when one-fourth of their sentence only had expired. Those who saw them when they came out testified that to the ordinary eye they were looking as rosy and fat and sleek as when they went in, though no doubt the want of exercise interfered with their good digestion. During their confinement they were visited in gaol by Cabinet Ministers—comrades all; and on the night of their release were given a champagne supper at Montreal by Government supporters.

## Section "B." Scandal.

On September 23, 1891, Mr. Lister formulated charges on the floor of Parliament against the Hon. John G. Haggart, Minister of Railways and Canals. He charged that in the year 1879 Messrs. Alexander Manning, Alexander Shields, J. J. Macdonald, Alexander MacDonnell, James Isbester and Peter McLaren entered into a contract with the Government for the construction of a portion of the C. P. R. between Port Arthur and Rat Portage, known as Section "B.," and that Mr. Haggart, who, during the whole period of the contract, was a member of the House of Commons, was beneficially interested in the profit of the contract which accrued to the share standing in the name of Peter McLaren and received large sums out of the profits and otherwise derived direct and substantial pecuniary benefits from the contract; and that the contractors during the progress of the work made large contributions for political purposes with the knowledge and assent of Mr. Haggart which were charged against the profits of the firm, and that unsettled matters relative to the contract, which were in dispute between the firm and the Government, were at that time, or subsequently, settled in favor of the contractors. Mr. Lister moved for a select committee to examine into these charges and report to the House. The committee named by Mr. Lister in his motion were four Conservatives and three Liberals or seven in all having the right to vote.

Mr. Haggart denied the truth of the charges, as had Mr. Rykert, and Mr. McGreevy, and Mr. Turcotte, and Sir Adolphe Caron and others who were subsequently shown to have no good defence to the respective charges brought against them, and two of whom were expelled from the House in consequence of the charges being established which they at first denied. Mr. Haggart stated that he had arranged the partnership between Mr. McLaren and the other partners for the purpose of constructing section "B." and overlooked the carrying on of the contract and the final settlement, but said he got no large sums from Mr. McLaren

In the debate which followed the Government practically took the stand that it was nothing wrong for public contractors to pay back to the party composing the Government tens of thousands of dollars for the purpose of debauching and corrupting the electors. Section "B." contract involved over \$4,000,000 and was not finished until 1885 or 1886. The Liberals took the ground that if the charges were true Mr. Haggart was not the kind of man to continue to be an adviser of the Crown.

Notwithstanding Mr. Haggart's statement that there was no truth in the charges and that he could get a declaration from Mr. McLaren in confirmation of his denial, he refused to consent to an investigation and the Government supported him in that refusal, and every Conservative member at that time in the House voted down the motion for an enquiry, the division being 102 to 78.

### **The Post Office Scandal.**

Mr. Haggart was Postmaster-General at the time it was proved that a girl employed in the Department who left for good continued to draw for some months afterwards her salary, and it was shown that some of the cheques illegally and scandalously sent to her were sent through the Postmaster-General's private secretary. In the investigation a question as to Mr. Haggart visiting this girl at her house was not allowed by the chairman of the committee to be answered.

### **The Harris Land Job.**

The Government purchased a piece of property in St. John, N.B., containing about 216,000 square feet for the purposes of the Intercolonial Railway and paid \$200,000.

The land first required was covered by a vote of \$80,000, but by a private arrangement, in violation of a pledge which had been given to the House that nothing would be done except by way of legal expropriation, the whole of the Harris property was purchased, 1892, and the sum of \$200,000 paid. That this was a sum fully \$100,000 in excess of what should have been paid was made very clear. Within a year of the time of the purchase the owners of the land swore that the value was \$93,401, and the property was assessed as of the value of \$66,000. In the opinion of Mr. Adams, the Conservative member for Northumberland, N.B., the land had been purchased for three times its value. Without going into the details of this job, the language of Mr. Adams in the House of Commons, May 13, 1892, may be quoted. He said :

"You are to-night committing a public crime. You are trying to force an expenditure upon the people you cannot justify. There is no evidence to justify this Legislature in passing \$200,000 for the purchase of this property. No Grit, no Tory, high or low, from the richest to the poorest, could say that \$200,000 was the actual price paid by common law, prudence, or justice. It is simply a job. It stands unparalleled in the history of purchases. I am quite clear that this property had been purchased for three times its value, beyond all question."

This was the language not of an opponent but of a supporter of the Government, and one who knew the City of St. John and the property in question.

It was generally understood in St. John that part of the money paid over by the Government, ostensibly for this land, was applied in repayment of election expenses in St. John.

## The Cochrane Scandal.

Mr. Edward Cochrane, Conservative member for East Northumberland in the House of Commons, was charged on the floor of the House with having sold public appointments for a money consideration and for other considerations. He denied the truth of the charges, but the Government did not accept his denial, as they did in the case of Mr. John Haggart, but consented to the appointment of a Select Committee of the House to take evidence, which was done, but although a large number of witnesses were examined whose evidence seriously implicated Mr. Cochrane, he declined to take the witness stand himself, which was practically an admission of guilt. It was established that Hedley Simpson paid \$200 and was appointed to the charge of the lighthouse at Presque Isle; John Fitzgerald paid \$150 and was made a bridge keeper; William Brown paid \$150 and got a bridge; Robert May paid \$125 and got a bridge; John Clouston paid \$150 and he got a bridge; Wesley Goodrich paid \$200 and gave a life lease of a farm to another man, and got a bridge. On the 24th January, 1888, Hedley Simpson, having been recommended for the lighthouse, took his \$200 to Colborne and the next morning it was paid into the bank on account of the note of Edward Cochrane and three others. This was a note that the member was about to be sued on and on which he was liable for election debts, and so this payment went directly to the benefit of Mr. Cochrane. Three months afterwards, on the 26th April, 1888, Mr. Cochrane wrote to the Department of Marine and requested the appointment of Hedley Simpson, and he was appointed. The game of these appointments was worked by means of a committee, who promised the appointment and stipulated the price that should be paid for it, and Mr. Cochrane carried out the promise of the committee and was one of the parties benefited by paying off the election debts, for the wiping out of which it is said the offices were sold. John Clouston, a strong political supporter of Mr. Cochrane's, who came to give evidence in his favor, swore that he had a conversation with Mr. Cochrane about the sale of bridges, and on being pressed, admitted that Mr. Cochrane might have told him that certain parties were giving \$150 each for the appointments, and that Cochrane might have said something to him about paying the same sum for another appointment as bridge tender. When pressed to be more definite and to try and think of exactly what was said between them, his reply was: "I do not know that I had better think much about it."

Wesley Goodrich wanted the position of bridge keeper, which, however, had been promised to Obadiah Simpson and spoke to Mr. Cochrane about it, who mentioned that Simpson was applying for it and was to get it. Subsequently, when he learned that he could obtain the position by giving Simpson a life lease of his farm and paying \$200 in cash for political purposes, he went to Mr. Cochrane and asked him would he take the money. Cochrane took it and counted it and handed it to one Wallace, who was standing by about to go to Colborne, and instructed him to give it to Mr. Payne, the solicitor for the bank in Colborne. This evidence is found on page xiv. of the blue book, and the following question was then put to Mr. Goodrich:

"What did you give that \$200 for?"

A. "I got the situation—the bridge."

The report of the special committee drawn up by the Conservative members of it and adopted by the House of Commons, admits at once that these offices were corruptly sold and that the money was required to pay off debts amounting to about a thousand dollars, incurred by the Conservatives of East Northumberland; that Mr. Cochrane was liable for \$619.69 of this debt until after the

payment by Hedley Simpson was made; that a committee of certain Conservatives, namely, Messrs. May, Adam, Stanley, Lawson and Bullock constituted themselves a committee for the purpose of raising this money, "and the mode they adopted was by recommending certain persons to Edward Cochrane as fit and proper persons to fill certain Government offices, the said Edward Cochrane then recommending such persons to the Government, the persons so recommended as willing to pay a certain price or sum for said offices; that Edward Cochrane was not a member of the committee, but he knew the purpose and object of its existence, attended one or more of its meetings, when matters relating to the said offices were discussed, acted on the committee's recommendations, and when persons made applications to him for offices he referred them to the said committee for a recommendation, which he acted on."

Thus, a man wanting a Government office in East Northumberland applied as usual to the member of Parliament for it. Mr. Cochrane would say to him, "If you get the recommendation of the committee it will be all right." The applicant then went to the committee and was bled to the extent of his resources and if he agreed to pay more than anybody else the committee recommended Mr. Cochrane to secure his appointment, and Mr. Cochrane acted on the recommendation.

Mr. Bullock, one of the committee, gave the following evidence:

Q. What were the duties of that committee?

A. The duties of the committee were to see if we could not appoint somebody on the canal for the bridges there.

Q. How much was each of them to give?

A. We exacted \$150 from every one of them. That is what we wanted.

Q. You told Mr. Cochrane that Hedley Simpson gave \$200?

A. Yes.

The Conservative majority of the Special Committee in their report, which was subsequently adopted by the House of Commons, found that the appointments of Simpson, Goodrich, Clouston, Brown and May were all recommended to Mr. Cochrane by the local committee and by him recommended to the Government. In fact the majority of the committee were forced to admit the substantial accuracy of the charges. Mr. Cochrane knew that the offices were being bartered. He actually took with his own hands the \$200 paid by Goodrich, and Bullock swore that he told Mr. Cochrane that Hedley Simpson was to pay \$200 for his appointment as lighthouse keeper. This \$200 paid into the bank directly relieved Mr. Cochrane of so much of his indebtedness on the note for \$619.69.

It came out also in the evidence that James Stanley, a confidential friend and warm political supporter of Mr. Cochrane's, and a member of this local committee, promised to Arundel R. Simpson the office of bridge keeper if he would pay \$150 and give the life lease of his farm to his father, Obadiah Simpson, who had been promised the office, and that afterwards Mr. Cochrane told Arundel R. Simpson that they could not take the \$150, that Stanley should not have made that offer, and that other arrangements had been made with Wesley Goodrich, who had agreed to pay \$200 and give a life lease. Mr. Cochrane then corruptly proposed to Arundel Simpson that if he would pay him as much as Goodrich he would get the appointment, but this Simpson refused to do.

The transactions here exposed were so scandalous and so discreditable to Mr. Cochrane that the member who presented the report whitewashing Mr. Cochrane refused at first to say a word in its support and during the long debate which followed only one of Mr. Cochrane's colleagues from the Province of Ontario

came to his defence, and in fact only three members of the House of Commons were found ready to condone the corrupt transactions of which Mr. Cochrane stood convicted by the evidence of his own friends. The report of the majority of the committee, which refrained from condemning Mr. Cochrane, although it condemned the transactions, was adopted by a vote of 98 to 75, and Mr. Cochrane is still a supporter of the Government in the House.

## The Tay Canal.

The Tay Canal is another example of the spendthrift character of the present Government. In 1882, when a vote for \$50,000 was taken for the construction of this canal, which is a ditch running from the Rideau Canal six miles to the town of Perth, the home of the Hon. John Haggart, the Minister of Railways and Canals said that the total cost of the work, exclusive of the cost of the land required, would be \$132,660. In 1883 another vote was taken in Parliament, when Sir Charles Tupper stated that the canal would cost \$240,000. In that year to justify the vote, and to reply to the protest of the Liberals, Mr. Haggart promised that smelting works would be erected at Perth, which would require this canal. In 1884 another \$100,000 was asked, and very little more was heard of the work until the session of 1887, when an additional vote of \$55,000 was asked. The Government then stated that the expenditure to date had been \$256,000, and that \$55,000 would complete the work. In the session of 1888 there was voted an additional sum of \$78,000, and in reply to some Opposition criticism the Government said that the work had been finished. The demand for money for "Haggart's Ditch" nevertheless continued, and in 1889 Parliament was asked for a further sum of \$25,000 "to complete the work." At that time the total cost was \$364,951, or \$124,951 more than Sir Charles Tupper told the House in 1883 the total cost would be. In 1890 a further sum was asked of \$11,000 for the Tay Canal, and the then Minister of Railways and Canals was again questioned by Sir Richard Cartwright, who made the following sarcastic remark :

"This, I understand, is really a useful work ; it drains the county of Perth."

to which Sir John Macdonald made the following reply :

"If it does not drain the county of Perth it drains the public treasury pretty well."

It was officially stated that this last vote of \$11,000 was "to settle with the contractors and finish the Canal." Notwithstanding this, and during the same session, another sum of \$20,000 was asked and voted, making the cost so far \$440,613, or \$200,000 more than the Government assured Parliament at the beginning the work would cost. In the estimates for 1891-92 there appeared a further vote of \$30,000 to "complete" the Tay Canal.

This was found to be all the public money that could possibly be spent on this work without actually pouring it into the ditch from a dipper, so an extension of the Canal was undertaken and placed under contract, namely, an extension from the basin in the centre of the town of Perth to a place called Haggart's Mill, an extension not constructed in the public interest, and undertaken without the sanction of Parliament at a cost of \$18,466.

Up to date the total sum expended on this work has been about \$500,000 (\$476,128), or four times the amount of the original estimate.

According to the official returns the vessels using the Tay Canal consisted of two tugs, one pleasure boat of fifteen tons, two small boats of eight tons each, one scow of 30 tons, and one skiff of one ton. The canal is five and a half feet deep, which justifies the name applied to it of "Haggart's Ditch." The extension of the canal to Haggart's Mill was made for no other purpose than to give the mill a greater head of water.

The annual cost of maintenance, including interest on the capital invested, was about \$28,000, or about \$4,700 a mile.

The revenue from the Tay Canal amounted in 1891 to the total sum of \$58.81, and the revenue for the year 1893 appears to have been *nil*, as no mention is made of it in the Auditor General's report, where the receipts from all the canals appear.

Mr. Haggart defended the expenditure in the House, and claimed that his county was entitled to something.

A motion made by Mr. Cameron, of Huron, that the expenditures on the Tay Canal were in violation of pledges to Parliament, and the extension to Haggart's Mill an unwarranted undertaking, was voted down by 100 to 82, every Conservative in the House voting approval of the expenditure.

### **The Little Rapids Lock—Original Estimate of Cost, \$44,000 ; Actual Cost, \$300,000.**

In the month of December, 1886, two months before the general election of 1887, the Public Works Department entered into a contract with Mr. W. J. Poupore, Conservative M.P.P. for Pontiac County, Quebec, for the construction of a lock and dam at Little Rapids, on the Lievre river, a stream running through Ottawa county, and discharging into the Ottawa river at Buckingham, twenty miles below Ottawa city. The idea, it is said, was to facilitate the shipment of phosphates, though, as a matter of fact, the effect was to largely increase the cost of the phosphates reaching the railway at Buckingham station. Work was not begun until the latter half of 1887, and dragged along until April, 1892, so that it extended over two general elections. After the contract was let, the Department of Public Works extended the work so as to include a guide-wall, a retaining-wall, a cross-wall, and a landing wharf at the lower end. All this additional work was let to Mr. Poupore without tender, and at greatly increased prices over and above the prices of the original contract.

The original estimate for the work was \$44,000, but when the original contract was completed the final estimate made by the Department amounted to \$76,680, exclusive of the lock gates, which were built of Michigan pine by the Government at a cost of about \$10,000. Mr. Poupore, however, has received, so far, \$260,000, and has claimed for extras \$61,000. If he receives one-half of these extras, the actual cost of the work will be \$300,000, for which the original estimate was \$44,000, and the final estimate \$76,000.

The original contract included nine-tenths of the work finally built, and the cost at Mr. Poupore's own prices of nine-tenths of the work amounted to \$76,000, yet on one pretence or another, and for one corrupt reason or another, the Department have paid out \$169,000 additional, and as late as the session of 1894 an additional vote of \$5,000 was taken on account of this work.

Now, an important fact is this: the work is entirely useless for any purpose whatever, and is just so much money thrown into the river. The river runs through a wilderness, and is used for the floating of logs. There is one solitary



little steamer running up the river from Buckingham village for a distance of 25 miles. Before the construction of the lock and dam this steamer used to go up and down just as she does now. There is not now a pound of phosphate mined in that district; nor has there been since the lock was completed, so that it stands there a monument to the imbecility or corruption of the Department of Public Works. All the phosphate ever exported from Canada could have been transported from this district to Montreal for twenty years for the money thrown away on this lock and dam. Now that it is there it takes a lock master and an assistant lock master to look after it, and an annual expenditure, which is a fixed charge on the revenue of the country.

### **The Galops Channel : Estimate \$300,000 ; Expenditure \$900,000.**

What is known as the Galops Rapids scandal consists of a scandalous waste of public money in the dredging of a channel on the north side of the Galops Rapids, opposite the electoral district of Dundas, St. Lawrence River. A channel, known as the South Channel, already existed and is still used at the present day. The contract for this work was awarded in 1879, when Sir Charles Tupper was Minister of Railways and Canals to Denis O'Brien for the sum of \$239,750 for a fourteen-foot navigation. Mr. O'Brien withdrawing, the contract was awarded to Messrs. Davis and Sons of Ottawa for the sum of \$306,600 for a fourteen-foot navigation. Davis and Sons assigned their contract to Messrs. Gilbert and Sons at Montreal, who were subsequently required by the department to make a seventeen-foot navigation. The contract was entered into August 5, 1879, to be completed in 1881. It was not completed until 1888 when it was taken over by the department, whose engineer reported the work to be completed and stated that it was "two hundred feet wide, thirty-three hundred feet long, straight, and from sixteen and a half to seventeen feet in depth."

Although it was officially reported as completed in 1888, it was officially stated by the Minister of Railways and Canals in the House of Commons in 1894 that it was of no use, that is, it was not used. The following is extracted from page 3531 of Hansard, 1894.

Mr. Davies : Is this channel used for navigation ?

Mr. Haggart : No.

The Minister admitted that up to that date there had been an expenditure of \$446,500 and that the contractors had claims amounting to a further sum of \$130,000. In order to prove that the department's engineer, Mr. Rubidge, who had the general direction of the work, had given a wrong certificate in certifying that the work had been completed according to contract, the sum of \$18,000 was expended in a new survey.

The department appeared to have had no proper oversight of the work, and no care as to the amount of work being sunk in it. Warnings were given however just as the work was about to start in 1880 that the proposed channel would, when finished, not be used by navigators. These warnings were given by practical men, such as Calvin and Breck of Garden Island and other navigators. It was pointed out that the old channel, the south channel, could easily be improved by the simple operation of taking out one large rock from the centre, but this advice was ignored. The Iroquois paper of Sept. 15, 1893, published a report of the wreck of the barge "Huron," drawing only nine feet of water, in tow of the tug "Petral," and makes the following comment on the occurrence :

"Since 1879 the government has been very busy pitching about three quarters of a million dollars into these very waters where this barge struck and what good has it done? A barge strikes, and fastens on a rock. Very fortunately it does not drift into deep water or what would have become of the crew? The next vessel to strike may be the "Empire State" or the "Merritt" with its living freight or pleasure-seeking excursionists. Would they find a convenient rock on which to become shelved until rescue, or would the creamy waves be dotted for a few minutes with the struggling mass of humanity and then hide them as secretly as they hide the iniquities that have cost the nation nearly a million."

The paper from which the above extract is made, the St. Lawrence News, is a paper of Conservative leanings.

The total expenditure, departmental and contractors, upon this ditch in the St. Lawrence has been about \$900,000 and yet the Minister in charge states officially in Parliament six years after the work was taken over as completed *that no one will use it.*

### The Sheik's Island Dam.

The Auditor-General for Canada in his public reports to Parliament took the Government to task for passing an order-in-council on March 26, 1891, authorizing the loan of \$60,000 of the public money to Messrs. William Davis and Sons of Ottawa, government contractors. The Auditor-General pointed out that there was no legal authority for such an act, but he was overruled by the Government. The date of this order just three weeks after the general election, and the fact that the Government desired to protest sixty elections, requiring a deposit of \$1,000 each, made this extraordinary advance of \$60,000 to Davis and Sons, a peculiarly suspicious transaction. The Messrs. Davis were the chief contractors for the enlargement of the Cornwall canal, a work still in progress, although the contract provided for its completion, April 5, 1891, and they have been paid about a million and a half on account of the work.

It will be seen that Davis and Sons are favorites with the Government, and so the whole scheme of the enlargement of the Cornwall canal was changed in 1893, by which Davis and Sons obtained without tender a new contract worth \$384,000 for building what is known as the Sheik's Island Dam. The object of this dam was to convert the north branch of the river into a navigable channel by throwing dams across it at the head and foot of Sheik's Island, forming a deep water basin about three miles long. This basin would form a navigation past sections 6 and 7 of the Cornwall canal, which were under contract to Messrs. Gilbert and Son of Montreal, who had already been paid \$125,000 and who were afterwards paid a further sum of \$50,000 as damages for the loss of their contract, because sections 6 and 7 were rendered useless by the adoption of the Sheik's Island Dam scheme.

The best engineer that the department ever had, the late Mr. John Page, fully considered the scheme of erecting dams at this point, when the enlargement of the canal was undertaken, and reported in February, 1889, against the scheme, and it was decided not to adopt it.

When this policy was reversed by Mr. Haggart for reasons best known to himself, and when the beneficiaries of the new policy, to the extent of the profits on \$384,000, were Messrs. Davis and Sons it is not hard to smell a rat. To give Messrs. Davis this new work it was necessary to break the law, which provided that no contract is to be given without tenders being called for.

According to the admissions officially made the public lost \$150,000 by the cancelling of the contract to Messrs. Gilbert and Sons ; what they will lose by the favoritism shown to Davis and Sons or how much Davis and Sons will contribute to the Conservative campaign fund are matters of conjecture.

A resolution introduced by Mr. Laurier in the House July 3, 1894, reciting the facts and censuring the Government for their course was voted down, every Conservative present voting against it.

It remains to be seen whether these gentlemen can convince the electors that the Government was not to blame for throwing away \$125,000 and for incurring \$30,000 damages which they had to pay to the contractors for cancelling their contract, not to speak of the violation of law in giving to favorites a heavy contract without tender.

The whole management of the Department of Canals of the works on the St. Lawrence has been of an extraordinary character. "Rotten" might be a better word than extraordinary. The Cornwall canal, which is less than 12 miles long, has cost over \$5,000,000 to date, and yet in the blue book the superintending engineer says that even after Messrs. Davis get through their already overrun contracts, "the class of vessels for which the enlarged canal is designed will have great difficulty navigating it." The Galops Channel job is quite close to the Cornwall canal and the millionaire mistakes at these points form the most colossal blundering on record, not even excepting Sir Hector Langevin's record in the Department of Public Works.

### **Civil Service Corruption.**

In 1891 in one department alone it was discovered through the efforts of the Opposition in Parliament that half a hundred of the officers of that department had obtained money illegally and by fraud, including the Deputy Minister of the department.

By the efforts of the Opposition the most glaring frauds in the Department of Public Printing and Stationery were exposed, and the Government dismissed Mr. Senecal the superintendent of printing, and dismissed the superintendent of stationery, but nothing was done with the members of the Government who were responsible for the sweating of contractors furnishing supplies to the Printing Department, for contributions to the Conservative campaign fund. It was testified under oath that the address of the President of the Conservative Association of Montreal was furnished to the firm of Potter & Company of New York, when they were given the job of supplying the presses for the Printing Bureau. Many of those who supplied material for the Bureau, such as type, paper and machinery had to pay the Superintendent of the Bureau considerable sums of money, and there is reason to think that they believed he was merely the channel through which they were contributing to the Conservative campaign funds. At all events he has never been punished, nor have any of the threatened actions against the firms who furnished supplies been pushed forward.

There were many frauds discovered in the Department of Public Works, besides the colossal swindle for which Sir Hector Langevin was responsible and in which he participated. The Liberals exposed these frauds so thoroughly that the Government were forced to prosecute Messrs. J. Arnoldi, Horace Talbot and A. C. Larose. Mr. Arnoldi spent a couple of months in gaol. The whole matter, all the developments in the Department of Public Works, showed such a lack of business oversight on the part of those whom the public paid to see that things go right, that it would be wise to put a Minister at the head of that Department who would purify it from top to bottom and save the millions of dollars wasted under Conservative administration.

## The Langevin Block.

The Government could not erect a new departmental block in Ottawa without the grossest extravagance, extortion and fraud. They allowed a contractor under Sir Hector Langevin, who had the contract for the walls of the building known as the Langevin Block and was the main contractor, to charge all the other contractors for the privilege of entering on the grounds and building to put in their work. The Department agreed to a clause, which read as follows: "The contractors will agree to bind themselves to buy the right of way from the contractor, Mr. Charlebois." Mr. Fenson's tender for the construction of the elevators in the building had to include \$8,000 which Mr. Charlebois exacted for allowing him in the building. There were other contractors who had to pay percentages to Mr. Charlebois. The total cost of the building was close upon a million dollars, and there are still some extras claimed by the contractors. Charlebois' contract, if carried out according to tender entitled him to \$355,000. Up to 1891 he had been paid a bill for extras amounting to \$213,000. The roof alone cost as much as the original estimated cost of the whole building.

Frauds were discovered in connection with the Department of Agriculture relating to immigration. There were frauds in connection with the payment of fishery bounties by the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

Frauds were exposed by the Opposition also in the Department of Railways and Canals and the Government were forced to dismiss the secretary of that department.

In fact there was scarcely a department where frauds on the public revenue had not been committed. One or two minor officials have been prosecuted, but the bulk of the wrongdoers still retain office and all their old emoluments. The only remedy is to turn the rascals out.

## The St. Charles Branch.

The St. Charles branch of the Intercolonial Railway branches off from the Intercolonial road to Point Levis, a distance of fourteen miles. When the Government entered upon the project it was estimated to cost \$136,000. Up to May, 1894, \$1,723,000 had been paid on account of this branch, and there were other outstanding claims amounting, Mr. Haggart said, to \$37,719 and the Government were taking at that time a further vote of \$17,000. Mr. Haggart stated that the road itself cost \$822,000 but that the amount required for land, damages, and expenses was over \$900,000. It is very evident that the people along the route of the branch were in some cases dealt with very generously by the Government. If they voted right they must have been allowed to claim almost anything they pleased, and although the Government might refer it to arbitration, or some other tribunal, they would take care not to make any good defence. The only other explanation of the scandalous expenditure of almost \$2,000,000 for 14 miles of railway is that the Department of Railways has been administered by incompetents, but whether it has been incompetency or corruption the public have had to pay for it.

## Scandals by the Dozen.

Space does not permit of an account of all the scandalous and corrupt actions of the Government, and its supporters, but the above, taken with the following list, gives a very fair idea of the record. Besides those mentioned we have had scandals connected with the following matters :

- Land-grabbing in the Northwest.
- The J. C. Rykert affair.
- The Caraqueet Railway scandal.
- The Turcotte Whitewash.
- The Queen's County, N. B., election outrage.
- The Dead Meat Scheme.
- The Blind Shares Scandal.
- The Oxford and New Glasgow Railway.
- The Yamaska Dam.
- The Farnham Post Office.
- The looting of Furs in the Northwest.

## Conservative Corruption Condemned by Impartial Opinion.

*The London Times* : "Here in the Mother Country there can be only one feeling, that of deep regret for the wrong done to the fair fame of the eldest of her daughter nations by the lax morality of her politicians."

*London Daily Chronicle* : "It seems to be possible in the Dominion to secure the political support not only of individuals but of whole provinces by gifts of money. The locality is bribed as well as the member, and the consequent demoralization spreads through all ranks."

*London Graphic* : "It is no longer possible to doubt that corruption in its worst form is rampant in a large portion of the Canadian civil service."

*London Telegraph* : "Enough, unfortunately, is already known in England to make it clear that only the most resolute and drastic purification can redeem public life in Canada from the taint of corruption, the like of which we have not seen in our own country for hundreds of years."

*Birmingham Gazette* : "Rascals out of office defraud the public in order to bribe rascals in office, and rascals in office prostitute themselves, sacrifice their honor and forsake their trust in order to keep on good terms with the rascals out of office."

*London Echo* : "No country can prosper where public departments are in league with fraudulent contractors, and where Ministers are open to offers."

*St. James Gazette* : "The existence of an organized system of corruption among public officials in Canada has been conclusively proved, and like everything else on the American continent the bribery has been colossal."

*The Graphic Despatch* : "The secret of Sir John Macdonald's electoral victories is out. On this side of the water surprise has often been expressed at the patience with which our Canadian cousins submitted to the Tory protectionist rule of that prince of political intriguers. There is now, alas, no difficulty in explaining that curious situation. Sir John's government rested on a stupendous and all prevailing system of bribery and corruption. Even Tammany Hall smells sweet and clean in comparison with the huge stink-pot of Sir John's government."

The above extracts are all from English papers.

## Condemned by the Clergy.

Rev. W. T. Mucklestone, a rector of the Church of England, in the course of a sermon preached at Ottawa, June, 1893, said: "The public scandals of two years ago revealed thieves and boodlers, and the fact that the electors failed to condemn them proved that the public conscience was dulled and that the political morality of Canada was away below that of the Mother Country."

The following resolution was adopted by the Presbytery of Montreal, in 1891:

"In view of the great public evils prevalent in our country the Presbytery sees great cause for alarm and humiliation before God, and resolves to express its abhorrence of the political corruption which has been revealed by recent investigations, and its dissatisfaction with the failure of Parliament to deal adequately with them in the punishment of the guilty, and therefore call upon the people to express their condemnation at the earliest opportunity at the polls."

## What Their Own Friends Say.

The Hon. C. H. Mackintosh, Lieutenant-Governor, when editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, said in an editorial, December 28th, 1891: "Mr. McGreevy alleges that those now in power are to some extent reaping the advantages of his action. Logically, if the receiver was a saint the donor could scarcely be called a sinner, and both should be open to all the consequences. If Mr. McGreevy was used for political purposes the party which used him should be willing to bear a portion of his responsibility."

## Bank Deposits and Savings.

The examination of the official figures will show that the bank note circulation for the nine years 1868 to 1877 increased 100 per cent., an average of 11 per cent. a year, while for the National Policy period, 1878 to 1894, fifteen years, it increased 75 per cent., an average of only five per cent. a year, as against 11 per cent. during the period of revenue tariff.

The deposits in the chartered banks during the above revenue tariff period increased 130 per cent., or  $14\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per year, while under the above protective period they increased only 11 per cent. per year.

The savings banks deposits increased in the above revenue tariff period slightly over 44 per cent. per annum; but under the N. P. period down to 1894, they increased only 25 per cent. per annum.

The total savings in the Government savings banks and in the post office savings banks at the present time amount to \$43,036,000, a decrease compared with 1893. Compare this sum of \$43,000,000 with the deposits in the savings banks of the small state of New Hampshire, \$74,000,000; with the deposits in the savings banks of Massachusetts, \$309,000,000; or with the sum for the whole of the United States, \$1,700,000,000.

The share of Ontario and Quebec in the public debt of Canada amounts to about \$40 a head, while the amount in the post office savings banks to the credit of Ontario and Quebec is only about \$9 a head. If the depositors all demanded

their money to-morrow it would have to be borrowed in England, as the Government has not a dollar of these deposits in these banks, having spent it all; and then the depositors would be taxed to pay the interest on the increased debt.

The number of accounts opened each year will be a better index to the general prosperity than any other. In 1882 the average number of depositors in the post office savings banks of Canada was 84; in 1887 it was 77, and in 1894 it was 43. These figures, which are taken from the Public Accounts, clearly show that, taking into consideration the extension of the system, the showing to-day is not as good as it ought to be.

Mr. Foster, owing to the withdrawals from the post office savings banks exceeding the deposits of late years, has had to borrow several millions of dollars to pay the interest on the accounts, the sum required in this way for 1894 being over a million dollars.

### **Idle Capital a Bad Thing.**

It is true that there is a large amount of money in the banks, because in a country that has borrowed at least \$450,000,000 in recent years there must be a considerable accumulation of money, but the banks are the wrong places for it. It is not doing anyone any good in the bank. Such was the inability of farmers during the past year to get money that they defaulted on mortgages for \$4,000,000, and in Ontario alone 881 mortgages were foreclosed to satisfy \$2,243,000 in loans. Mr. Blain, the President of the Toronto Board of Trade, in his annual address, January 30th, 1895, said that 68 per cent. of the failures in Canada and Newfoundland during 1894 were caused by want of capital. He also said: "The present drain upon the savings of the country for interest on borrowed capital, while such immense sums of money are held here unemployed by our own people, is a most serious feature of the situation. The reduction of interest on deposits would tend to encourage the investment of our idle domestic capital in the development of the great natural resources of the country."

### **The Gerrymanders of 1882 and 1892.**

The Conservative Government have sought to "knife" their political opponents by calling on their majority to pass legislation in Parliament of the most outrageous and unfair character. The Gerrymander Acts and the Franchise Act are glaring examples of this disposition.

In 1882 the Redistribution Bill disturbed a large number of the constituencies in Ontario, but in no case did it disturb the interests of the Conservative party, being applied wholly to disturbing the Reform majority which exists in the province. There were twelve constituencies returning Reform members before the Gerrymander of 1872, and after that eight of the twelve Liberal members were replaced by Conservatives.

In "hiving" the Grits county boundaries were completely obliterated, and pieces of various counties were joined together in an unshapely mass to form a new riding from which to obtain a Tory member. Liberal townships were strung together so as to give a Liberal majority in one county of 2,000, and so in many other cases. All this was done on the pretence of giving a unit of representation of 20,905. That is to say the population was to be so distributed as to leave as near as possible 21,000 persons in each constituency in Ontario. When the Bill

was passed, however, it was found that it left one constituency with less than 13,000, three with less than 14,000, five with less than 15,000, nine with less than 16,000, fourteen with less than 17,000, twenty-two with less than 18,000. It also left forty-five constituencies in excess of a unit, seven being over 25,000, five over 26,000, two over 27,000, and one over 28,000. So there was one constituency in the eastern part of the province which had less than half the population of some half dozen in the western part of the province.

The boundaries of three constituencies were broken down in order to give the Grits in the North and South Oxford, but all the changes left these ridings with a population of nearly four thousand in excess of what they were entitled to. While North Leeds and Grenville was left with a population of 12,423, Kent was left with 29,195, full proof that the only object of the changes was to strengthen the political party in power and cripple the political party in opposition.

The iniquitous character of the gerrymander of 1882 is now universally admitted, but unfortunately its iniquitous provisions still remain on the statute book and the free expression of the will of the people at the polls is to this extent fettered. Mr. Dalton McCarthy, who was one of those who actively promoted the gerrymander of 1882, has expressed his regret for it in Parliament and declared it to be an unfair and unmanly measure.

During the session of 1892 a Redistribution Act, based upon the census of 1891, was passed, in which an infamous attempt at gerrymander was made, and partly accomplished, though not fully carried out, owing to popular indignation and some say owing to a hint from the Governor-General. To show the wicked intention of the Government, they divided the county of Ottawa into two ridings, one north, with a population of 17,329 and the other south with a population of 46,727. The bill put the township of Clarence out of Russell into Prescott with the object of depriving the Liberal sitting member of Russell of his majority and making a Liberal hive of the county of Prescott. Both these outrages were prevented by the efforts of the Liberals. In Western Ontario the constituency of Monck was wiped out and the Liberal portions of it added on to Lincoln, and the Conservative portions of it added on to Haldimand with the object of making Lincoln strongly Liberal and making Haldimand safely Conservative. The following will show the inequalities in Ontario which were not touched by the bill of 1892. There are thirty-five ridings lying east of Toronto which fall below the unit of representation which is 22,965, resulting in a representation of five members in excess of what they are entitled to. There are fifty-one ridings lying west of Toronto, containing 250 on the average in the excess of the unit and yet the Bill of 1892 took away two representatives from the western division of Ontario already under-represented and for that purpose disturb the boundaries of seventeen different ridings. The two representatives taken away from Monck and Wentworth were given to Toronto and Nipissing, one each.

This object of giving an additional member to Toronto and a member to Nipissing could have been readily attained and the population more nearly equalized by making two constituencies out of the following four:

South Grenville .....	12,831
North Leeds and Grenville .....	13,523
Frontenac .....	13,445
Lennox .....	14,902

It did not, however, suit the Government to tamper with those nice little Conservative ridings.



Many of the constituencies in the district of Quebec were badly mangled under this Bill, and the seats of two Liberal members were wiped out. By a determined fight the Liberals prevented some of the worst of the gerrymanders in some of the Quebec counties, but as much damage was done by the Government as they felt able to do.

No more speaking testimony to the terrible results of the census can be furnished than the statement of the bald fact under the Redistribution Act of 1892 New Brunswick loses two representatives in Parliament, Nova Scotia one and Prince Edward Island one.

The only province which will have an increased number in the next Parliament is Manitoba.

The Act of 1892 was opposed by Mr. Dalton McCarthy, who moved an amendment condemning the gross abuse of the political power by the Government of the day in disturbing county boundaries for partisan advantage, but of course his motion was voted down.

The Ontario Government in framing a measure of redistribution in 1884 moved solely in the direction of equalizing the population and in no case disturbed county boundaries. No glaring inconsistencies in population were allowed to remain under the Ontario Bill.

## The Business Failures.

According to R. G. Dun & Co's report for Canada there were in 1894, 1,856 failures as compared with 1,766 in 1893 and 1,679 in 1892, showing that the number is increasing year by year.

While the number of failures in Canada increased largely, the number in the United States decreased by 1,500, as between 1893 and 1894.

The liabilities in the Canadian failures for the last three years were as follows:

1892 .....	\$11,566,210
1893 .....	14,762,574
1894 .....	17,724,633

There is a large increase in the liabilities of the failures in the Northwest Territory.

The number of failures in 1878 was 1,697.

## Railway Earnings.

It is admitted that the earnings of the railways indicate more clearly, perhaps, than anything else the state of business. By that test the state of business in Canada must be pretty bad at the new year 1895. A statement of the earnings of the C. P. R. for the year 1894 shows a decrease in the gross earnings of \$2,210,000, and a decrease in the net earnings of \$1,318,000. The statement of the Grand Trunk's earnings has not at this moment been published, but that road has felt the depression in business quite as sharply as the C. P. R.

## Worst Since Confederation.

Mr. Blain, president of the Toronto Board of Trade, in his annual address, January 30, 1895, after speaking of the failures, went on to say:

“This is not the only unfavorable feature in commercial business during the year. There has been a marked shrinkage in the volume of business and a decided fall in the value of goods, and also a considerable contraction in the margin of profit. Altogether, although the total amount of failures for the Dominion has been larger other years, I am of the opinion that for purely trading concerns, with, perhaps, the exception of lumber and leather, the year may be regarded as perhaps the most unsatisfactory, if not the most disastrous, since Confederation. It is impossible to give a reliable forecast of the future. The outlook is not encouraging. The best that can be said is, that business can hardly be worse than it is now and that any change must, therefore, be in the direction of an improvement. We should stop borrowing money abroad.”

## Decline of Canadian Shipping.

The shipping tonnage of Canada has declined at an alarming rate since the introduction of the N. P. In 1873 we had 1,073,718 tons of shipping; in 1878, 1,333,015, an increase of 259,297, or according to the estimate of \$30 per ton taken by the Marine Department, the value of Canadian tonnage increased between 1873 and 1878 by \$7,778,000.

The total registered tonnage of Canadian shipping on the 1st January, 1893, was 964,129, or a decrease since 1878 of 363,868 tons, of the value of \$11,000,000.

In the campaign almanac circulated by the government party it is stated that “in 1876 the tonnage of vessels arriving at and departing from Canadian ports was 10,300,939. In 1878, the last year of Liberal rule, it was 11,047,661. In 1880 it had risen to 14,053,013. In 1885 it was 15,944,421; in 1890, 22,797,115; 1892, 25,109,929.”

This is merely the coasting trade.

As a matter of fact, in 1879 the grand total of sea-going vessels, inward and outward, arriving and departing from Canada, was 6,684,384 tons, and of that number 1,928,531 were Canadian. In 1891, 12 years afterwards, although the grand total of shipping had increased to 10,695,000 tons, the Canadian tonnage, so far from increasing in the same ratio, actually decreased to 1,791,000 tons. These figures show that Canadian trade is largely passing from Canadian ships to foreign ships, and that a larger percentage is carried in foreign vessels than in 1879.

In 1879 Canadian vessels carried 667,000 tons weight of freight, or 35½ per cent. of the total freight. In 1891 Canadian vessels carried 683,116 tons of freight, or only 21.83 per cent. of the total. It is clear, therefore, that all our increased exports are being carried by foreign vessels. To-day, of the total sea-borne trade of the country, 80 per cent. is carried by foreign ships and 20 per cent. in Canadian ships. The money made out of our carrying trade is, therefore, going into the pockets of foreigners.

Almost the whole of the tremendous loss of wealth and revenue due to the decline of our shipping falls on the Maritime provinces. In 1884 the total tonnage of the shipping of the maritime provinces was 890,810, which in 1893 had declined to 569,915.

In 1884 Nova Scotia had 3,019 vessels of a registered tonnage of 543,835; in 1893 the number of vessels had fallen to 2,717, with a tonnage of 394,861.

In 1884 New Brunswick owned 1,096 vessels, with a tonnage of 307,762; now she has 1,011 vessels with a tonnage of only 156,645.

Prince Edward Island in 1884 owned 234 vessels, with tonnage of 39,213; now she has only 188 vessels, with tonnage of 19,409.

Nova Scotia has 302 vessels and 148,974 tons less; New Brunswick, 85 vessels and 152,117 tons less; Prince Edward Island, 46 vessels and 19,806 tons less.

The ship-building industry, which was one of the most thriving in the country during the period of a tariff for revenue, shows the same unhappy decline. The annual tonnage of vessels built last year was less than 40,000 tons. When the present Government took office 190,000 tons were built and the export of ships built was, during Mr. Mackenzie's time, of the value of several millions annually. The number of new vessels built and registered in the Dominion in 1876 was 420 of 130,901 tons, of an estimated value of \$5,890,000 built that year. In 1893 the tonnage of ships built in Canada totalled only 38,521 and the number was 107, or just one-fourth the number built in 1876. Yet the Conservatives have the hardihood to claim that because the coasting trade of Canada, that is of vessels going from one port to another within the Dominion, has largely increased it is proof that the National Policy "is doing what was hoped from it."

### **Decline of Farm Values.**

Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, Conservative M. P. for Centre Toronto, is a financier in good standing and some authority, owing to his connection with loan and other companies, on the values of farm lands in Ontario, and here is an extract from his speech in the House of Commons, February 23, 1893:

"But, Sir, I am free at the same time to confess that there has been a material reduction in the selling value of the farms of Ontario. I am perfectly free to accept the statement of my honorable friend (Mr. Charlton) that that reduction has been 25 per cent."

### **The N. P. and Wages.**

The fact that everything the workingman consumes in Canada is protected, but that there is free trade in labor leads to the conclusion that the capitalist will obtain labor as cheap as he can, and that the wages he pays have no relation to his profits.

Mr. John Burns, M.P., the English labor leader, speaking in New York, on January 2, 1895, said:

"Capital, which knows no race, religion or patriotism, gets its labor at the lowest possible prices whenever it can. Now that capital has mastered America, and monopoly dominated it, labor, with the aid of the general community, will have to fight relatively harder than we in England to maintain and improve our present condition."

England is acknowledged to be the best wage-paying country in Europe, and she is the only free trade country in Europe. What is the inference?

Let us give the N. P. all the credit which is claimed for it in regard to wages, namely, that the average rate of wages which was \$233 in 1881, was \$272 in 1891, an increase of \$39 in the ten years. This would not begin to pay the increased taxation levied under the N. P. on the necessaries of life. But if protection has increased the wages of the mechanic, how does it come that the

census shows the average wages in the wall-paper industry to be \$407 per annum, compared with \$400 in 1880 census? Wall paper has been and is one of the most highly protected articles sold in Canada, and yet, according to the census, wages in that industry are only two cents a day higher than in 1880.

The ordinary growth of a young country like Canada would naturally involve greater remuneration to labor. For example, according to the census of 1871 the average wages amounted to \$217, and in 1881 the figure was \$233. As the census was taken in 1880 the N. P. had of course no influence, either good or bad, at that date, as it had only been put in force for a few months.

We are short of reliable labor statistics, and the labor organizations of the country have been asking the Dominion Government to establish a bureau of labor statistics for at least ten years, and repeated promises have been made, but up to the present moment every single one of them have been broken. There was a labor commission appointed by the Dominion Government about nine years ago, but not one of its suggestions have ever been acted upon and no one but the members of the commission have ever received any benefit from it. That there is great need for labor statistics is illustrated by the value of the information contained in the enumeration of 1891, which showed 1,450 women and children employed in the cotton mills against 1,045 men.

All the industrial returns of the census of 1891 are unreliable, and furnish the strongest arguments in support of the demand for a bureau of labor statistics. For instance, the average wages of the men employed in brick and tile making amounted to \$210, according to the census of 1891, as compared with \$219 in the census of 1881; but according to the report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines for 1893, the average wages in this industry in that province only amounted to \$170 per annum, and over three-fourths of these manufactures are situated in Ontario.

Question—If the N. P. put up wages how does it come that the three or four thousand men employed in brick and tile making receive from \$9 to \$49 less than they did in 1881?

## **The Army of Unemployed.**

Within the last couple of years large numbers of unemployed men have besieged the municipal authorities of all the leading cities of Canada, asking for work. There were thousands of men out of work in the city of Quebec in 1893 and 1894, and the situation was so bad that they waited upon Sir Adolphe Caron to ask for relief from the Government, and the following is an extract from a newspaper report of Sir Adolphe's reply to these men, December 28th, 1893: "Sir A. P. Caron said the Government fully sympathized with the distressed workmen, but unfortunately, had no appropriations at their command at the moment to furnish them with employment. However, when Parliament met an effort would probably be made to come to their relief."

At Halifax the same winter three hundred citizens appealed to the municipal authorities for work and declared they were without means of subsistence.

In Montreal, on the morning of December 20th, 1894, and again in January, 1895, a crowd, consisting of four or five thousand of the unemployed, marched through the streets to the city hall, which had to be guarded by police: There were threats made to seize the bread carts passing through the streets, but as evidence that these men were not hoodlums no violence was attempted and no serious disorders occurred.

Montreal and Halifax contain large numbers of men made millionaires by the N. P. These are the chief homes of the combines, and here additional proof is furnished that the system of protection makes a few men richer and oppresses the mass of the people.

### **Combines and the Workingmen.**

In June, 1894, a cut of ten per cent. was made on the wages of the weavers of the Brantford Cotton Mill, numbering 85. Early in October of the same year, or about four months after the cut of June, another notice was posted up in the factory putting in force a new schedule of wages and meaning, the weavers said, a reduction of 13 per cent. As the men said they could not earn \$5 a week under the terms of the new schedule, they had no alternative but to walk out. The Brantford mill is only one of the mills controlled by the cotton combine, the Dominion Cotton Company, and when Mr. Cook, the manager of the Brantford mill, telegraphed to the head office at Montreal for advice he received the following telegram :

"Cancel all orders on your books to Montreal. Mill will remain closed until you work on new schedule. (Signed) James Jackson, General Manager."

This is the amount of protection afforded to the workingman by the Government policy, which by Act of Parliament extends a protection to the cotton lords of over 30 per cent.

### **What Sovereign Says.**

Mr. Sovereign, the Master Workman of the Knights of Labor in America, speaking at Washington shortly after his election to that office in 1894, said :

"I am an out and out free trader. I believe in no make-shifts or partial reductions of tariff taxation. The so-called protection to American labor is a delusion. Labor is not protected. Invested capital receives a bonus in the form of protection, but the workingmen have to compete on even terms with world's prices. There is no duty upon imported labor."

### **The Superannuation Abuse.**

The system of superannuating civil servants, began in 1871, was based upon the idea that after a public official had become feeble and worn out he should be retired from the public service and his place filled by an efficient substitute. A fund was created to supply which two per cent. of the salaries of civil servants was retained. In 1871 the receipts of this fund amounted to \$50,000 and the expenditure to only \$13,000. In 1893 the receipts were \$64,433 and the expenditure \$263,710. In 1894 there was paid into this fund \$63,974, while there was paid out of it the enormous sum of \$262,302.

In the twenty-three years since the inauguration of the system we have paid \$2,500,000 over and above the receipts.

The total number on the superannuation list on the 30th June, 1893, was 551. Of those, 173 were under the age of sixty, which is the limit fixed by the Act, and below which the Government is not supposed to go unless for very special reasons ; 73 were under the age of fifty.

The needy followers of the Government, and some who are not needy, have had to be provided for and the superannuation system has been used to provide places for hungry followers. Mr. Dansereau, a leading Montreal Conservative,

desired the postmastership of that city, and Mr. Lamothe, the postmaster, was superannuated. He was entitled to a retiring allowance of \$1,360, but the Government added eight years to his time, and Mr. Lamothe is drawing \$2,000 a year and Mr. Dansereau is receiving as postmaster \$4,000, which makes the cost of that office \$6,000 a year.

Mr. Robert Wallace, postmaster at Victoria, B.C., strenuously resisted being superannuated, but his place was wanted for Mr. Shakespeare, then a member of Parliament. To quiet Mr. Wallace eight years was added to his length of service, and he is now living in England drawing a pension of \$1,300 a year and Mr. Shakespeare is doing his work at a salary of \$2,000 a year.

Mr. Charles Thibeault was appointed Secretary of the Board of Dominion Arbitrators, a sinecure, and after drawing \$2,000 a year for nine years was superannuated at the age of 49 on a pension of \$760 a year.

Mr. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, was superannuated in 1893 at the age of 57 against his will and against his strong protest that his health was quite good. In order to force him to apply for superannuation the Minister threatened him that it would be worse for him if he did not, but if he did all would be made right. (See official letter from Minister, June 28, 1893, page 4326 Commons Hansard, 1894.) Mr. Vankoughnet is now living in England drawing \$2,112 a year for the rest of his life. The reason Mr. Vankoughnet was forced out was to supply Mr. Hayter Reed with the position. Mr. Reed is the gentleman who was chiefly responsible for the looting of furs after the Northwest Rebellion, but he sheltered himself behind General Middleton and destroyed a letter which convicted him of complicity in that disgraceful affair.

Mr. Trudeau, Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, was superannuated against his will on an allowance of \$3,756 a year.

H. A. Whitney, Mechanical Superintendent of the Intercolonial Railway, was superannuated at the age of 58, and Mr. A. S. Busby, of the same road, at the age of 54, on allowances respectively of \$1,280 and \$1,000 a year.

Mr. John Tilton, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, was superannuated at the age of 55, and can be seen any day in Ottawa, a strong, healthy, vigorous man in the prime of life; yet he is drawing a pension reserved for sick, feeble and aged persons, of \$1,536.

During the five years of the Mackenzie Government the receipts of this fund averaged more than \$40,000 a year and the payments were under \$100,000, whereas we are now only receiving \$64,000 and paying out \$263,000, a deficit of \$200,000 a year.

A resolution moved by Mr. McMullen, Liberal M.P., North Wellington, Ont., in Parliament, declaring that the Superannuation Act had been administered by the Government in a loose, and unjustifiable manner and that the system as now established should be abolished, was voted down by 91 to 55, every Conservative in the House voting against it.

The Liberals disclaimed any intention of interfering under that resolution with the rights of those who have paid money into the fund, but they held that it was unfair to the laboring men and to the farmers of this country that they should continue to be taxed \$200,000 a year to keep half a thousand men idle, when half of them are well able to work, and when scores of them are living a life of ease in foreign lands, drawing fat pensions from the Canadian taxpayers.

## Scheduling Canadian Cattle.

Up to a recent date Canada was permitted to export cattle into Great Britain, a privilege denied to the United States because of the existence of pleuro-pneumonia there. In July, 1893, Great Britain took away this privilege from Canada because of the bad faith and negligence of the Canadian Government. The result is tremendous loss to Canada, amounting to at least one penny a pound, as reported by the Deputy-Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa, live weight, on all cattle shipped to England or fit for the English market. This amounts to an average of \$25 a head on each beast, or a loss of over \$2,000,000 on the cattle actually shipped to England, and a corresponding loss on those sold in the Canadian market. Before Canada was scheduled our cattle brought pound for pound as much as the English cattle in the English market. The moment the scheduling took place our cattle dropped in price, because having to be slaughtered before passing out of the control of the Government. There are on the Thames, near London, two cattle markets a couple of miles apart. Canadian cattle are landed at the Canadian market there, called the Deptford market, and sold there, and must be slaughtered before removal. The British cattle are brought for sale to the other market, and the prices, because of the scheduling, differ to the extent that a 1,500 pound beast will not bring within six pounds sterling, or \$30, of the price of an English beast of the same weight and quality. This terrible blow to the Canadian cattle industry was brought about in the following manner, and it may be stated that all the facts herein stated are taken from Government records produced by order of the House of Commons in the session of 1894, and which are set forth in full upon the records of Parliament of the 4th of July, 1894, in connection with a motion made that day by Mr. Mulock, M. P., to censure the Government for this great calamity, the outcome of their neglect of duty. The plain facts of the case are as follows: Pleuro-pneumonia was prevalent in the Western States. Great Britain then scheduled the United States and notified Canada that if American cattle were allowed to come into Canada, Canada also would be scheduled. The Canadian Government requested the English Government to allow American cattle to be shipped from Detroit through Canada to the Eastern States in bond, stipulating that the animals would be examined by a veterinary surgeon as to their health before entering Canada, and if all right would then be secured in cars so constructed that no droppings should escape during the journey, that the conductors would move the trains without delay, not allowing the cattle trains to stand on sidings near Canadian cattle trains, and when the cattle were unloaded in the United States all cars would be cleaned and disinfected before being allowed to return to Canada; and, to secure the due performance of all these precautions, the Canadian Government undertook that an independent Dominion officer would accompany every train the whole journey through Canada and then see that the railway men did their duty and that these precautions were observed. The Dominion Government further undertook that, with the single exception of allowing cattle to go through in this way, not one single American beast was to be allowed to come into Canada.

## Precautions Abandoned.

On the strength of these proposals the English Government agreed for the time being not to schedule Canada. Now, why did the British Government schedule Canada? The reason appears from the documents in question. Instead of an independent officer being appointed to see that the trainmen did their duty the Government sent out blank appointments to the railways to be filled

up with the names of the conductors in charge of the trains, thus in bad faith violating the one stipulation which alone could secure a proper observance of all the details in question. The railway companies then filled these blanks with the names of their conductors, who were supposed, as Government officers, to watch themselves as railway officers and see that they did their duty. As a result of this fraud all the promised precautions were abandoned. The railways asked to have the inspection take place at night. This the Government authorized to be done. The veterinary surgeon applied to the Government for lights, so that he might do the work honestly at night, if it were possible. This was refused, and thus the farce began. Being ordered to inspect at night, and knowing that such inspection was a mere farce, the veterinary soon fell into loose ways, issuing to the railways blank certificates of inspection without ever having seen the cattle or the cattle trains, sometimes going through the form of inspection, walking through the cattle yard at night, sometimes with a lamp in his hand, sometimes in the dark—at best only able to see the feet of the cattle in the cars. Sometimes for months the work of inspection was done by a shoemaker, etc. Again, the cars after delivering their cattle in the United States were not cleaned or disinfected, and were allowed to come back into Canada and be distributed on sidings throughout the country to carry Canadian cattle for Great Britain. At one point on the journey through Canada, namely, Lynn, the cattle were allowed to be removed from the car and to be watered in a field tightly boarded. The fence was allowed to become dilapidated, and the manure was given out to the farmers to fertilize their land, spreading the deadly anthrax disease all through the district. Then, instead of living up to the stipulation with the British Government that with the exception of cattle going through in bond no American cattle were to enter Canada, the Government grossly violated this provision, and the public records of Canada show that there were imported into Manitoba and the North-West Territories from the Western States, where pleuro-pneumonia was known to exist, the following number of cattle, during the following years, namely:—

In 1881 .....	2,963 head
In 1882 .....	7,718 "
In 1884 .....	11,466 "
In 1885 .....	3,419 "
In 1886 .....	10,726 "
In 1887 .....	13,558 "

### A Stipulation Violated.

Making a total of 49,850 head of cattle imported into Manitoba and the North-West Territories from the Western States, where pleuro-pneumonia was known to exist, in violation of the express stipulation as to total prohibition as aforesaid, and several thousands of these cattle so imported were not even subject to any quarantine regulations. The language of the Canadian Minister in agreeing with the Imperial Government as to the prohibition against American cattle entering Canada appears in the proposal of the Canadian Minister to the English Privy Council, and is in these words: "I would therefore respectfully ask their Lordships to consider whether the prohibition of the importation of foreign cattle into Canada, with the sole exception of such importation for the purpose of transit under proper provisions against infection" would not satisfy them so as not to require Canada to be scheduled; and then he adds: "If their Lordships should become satisfied that such a law would be sufficient, the existing prohibition would be continued after a further provision creating the only exception to its universality, namely, that cattle might pass from one point on the frontier to



another subject to such conditions as might be imposed upon such transit from time to time by orders-in-council," etc. That American cattle were, in violation of this stipulation, imported into Canada appears on page 3 of a book issued by the Department of Agriculture, setting forth the official action of the Government regarding cattle regulations. On page 3 appears under heading "The Order-in-Council of September, 1884, established cattle quarantine in Manitoba and the North-West Territories." "This order contained the first restriction of the free importation of cattle from the United States into Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Before its date there was, as regards quarantine, untrammelled importation." When the English Government learned that American cattle were being imported into Canada they wrote to the Canadian Government in December, 1886, and January, 1887, pointing out the risks the Canadian Government was running in violating the agreement in question by allowing cattle from the pleuro-pneumonia districts of the Western States to come into Canada, but these warnings were not regarded, but on the contrary, in that same year of 1887 after these warnings, over 13,558 head of American cattle from the Western States were imported into Canada and nine months were allowed to elapse before the Canadian Government even answered these English warnings, and then the only answer sent was a letter from Sir John Carling to the English Government saying that he was satisfied with what the Canadian Government was doing. The result was that certain cattle from Manitoba shipped to England were said to have pleuro-pneumonia, and immediately the English Government scheduled Canada. This scheduling is still in force, and has been brought about by the negligence and breach of contract on the part of the Government. It is a significant circumstance that the cattle which the English inspectors said were suffering from pleuro-pneumonia, came from the district in Manitoba into which large quantities of American cattle from the pleuro-pneumonia districts had been imported into Manitoba. Sir Charles Tupper endeavored to induce the English Government to repeal the scheduling on the contention that the Canadian cattle had not real pleuro-pneumonia, but the English Government dealt with his application by the following decision: "The question of the existence of the disease in Canada is not, however, the only factor which the board are required by law to take into account in this matter. They are also bound to be satisfied with the Canadian laws relating *alteralialia* to the importation of animals as such as to afford reasonable security against the importation into this country of diseased animals brought therefrom, and even if it were established beyond all question that the diseased animals imported in the "Monkseaton" and "Huronian" (referring to the vessels in which the alleged diseased animals were carried over to England) were not affected in Canadian territory, the board could only conclude that the law and regulations regarding the admission of cattle across the Canadian frontier were either in themselves defective or that they were not enforced with complete efficiency.

## Resolution in the House of Commons

In other words the English Government is of opinion that the Canadian regulations are lax, and have been so badly enforced as to admit pleuro-pneumonia into our midst, and have no confidence in our management of this great industry. In view of these circumstances Mr. Mulock moved the following resolution:

### RESOLUTION.

That all the words after the word "That" be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof:—"the Imperial Government having scheduled the United States by reason of the existence of pleuro-pneumonia and other con-

tagious cattle diseases in that country; that the Canadian Government were desirous of allowing American cattle to be carried by rail from the west to the east through Canada; that the carrying of such cattle would also have caused Canada to be scheduled by Great Britain unless measures were adopted by the Canadian Government of a character sufficient to prevent the introduction of diseased cattle from the United States into Canada; that it was necessary, in order to prevent such scheduling, that the Imperial authorities should be satisfied as to the sufficiency of all such proposed measures; that on the condition that Canada was not scheduled—the Government of Canada undertook with the Imperial Government, to carry out certain named and other regulations in so effective a manner as to satisfy the Imperial authorities that the transit of American cattle through Canada would be so conducted as to afford reasonable security against the importation into Canada of diseased cattle; that relying upon the Canadian Government enforcing all necessary regulations and observing said undertaking, the Imperial Government granted permission for the carriage of American cattle through Canada upon the distinct understanding that such traffic was to be conducted in every respect so as not to bring Canada within the provisions of the Imperial Act respecting scheduling; that the Canadian Government disregarding such undertaking, and neglected to enforce proper regulations sufficient to satisfy the Imperial Government upon the subject; that during the continuance of the permission granted by the Imperial authorities for the maintenance of such traffic, representations were made by the British Government to the Canadian Government that pleuro-pneumonia existed in the Western States, that it was the duty of the Canadian Government to enforce stringent regulations for the prevention of its extension into Canada; that notwithstanding such warning, the Canadian Government allowed the said traffic to be continued in a lax manner, and also permitted very large numbers of American cattle to be imported into the North-West Territories from the United States whilst pleuro-pneumonia was there existing; that after such repeated warning, and owing to the negligence and bad faith of the Canadian Government in the premises, the Imperial authorities did in the month of November, 1892, schedule Canada to the great injury, not only of the farming community, but of the trade of the whole country, and that such scheduling is fairly attributable to the negligence of the Government. That in view of the foregoing facts of such negligence and bad faith, this House is of opinion that the Government is deserving of the censure of Parliament.

### The Vote in the House.

This resolution was defeated on the following division:

YEAS—Messieurs Allan, Bain (Wentworth), Beausoleil, Beith, Borden, Boston, Bowman, Brodeur, Brown, Bruneau, Campbell, Carroll, Cartwright (Sir Richard), Casey, Charlton, Choquette, Christie, Dawson, Edgar, Edwards, Featherston, Flint, Forbes, Fraser, Frémont, Gibson, Godbout, Grieve, Harwood, Innes, Landerkin, Laurier, Lavergne, Leduc, Legris, Lister, McCarthy, McGregor, McMillan, McMullen, Martin, Mignault, Mills (Bothwell), Monet, Mulock, O'Brien, Paterson (Brant), Perry, Proulx, Rider, Rinfret, Rowand, Sanborn, Semple, Somerville, Sutherland, Tarte, Vaillancourt, Yeo—59.

NAYS—Messieurs Adams, Amyot, Bain (Soulanges), Belley, Bennett, Bergeron, Blanchard, Boyd, Boyle, Calvin, Cargill, Carignan, Carling (Sir John), Caron (Sir Adolphe), Carscallen, Cleveland, Cochrane, Cockburn, Corbould, Craig, Curran, Daly, Davin, Davis, Desaulniers, Dickey, Dugas, Dupont, Dyer, Earle, Fairbairn, Ferguson (Renfrew), Fréchette, Gillies, Girouard (Jacques Cartier); Girouard (Two Mountains), Grant (Sir James), Guillet, Haggart, Haslam, Hazen,

Henderson, Hodgins, Hutchins, Ingram, Ives, Jeannotte, Joncas, Kenny, Lachapelle, Langevin (Sir Hector), Lippé, Macdonald (King's), Macdonell (Algoma), McAlister, McDonald (Assiniboi), McDonald (Victoria), McDougald (Pictou), McInerney, McKay, McLean (King's), McLennan, McLeod, Madill, Mara, Marshall, Masson, Metcalfe, Miller, Mills (Annapolis), Moncrieff, Montague, Ouimet, Patterson (Colchester), Pelletier, Pope, Pridham, Prior, Roome, Rosamond, Ross (Lisgar), Ryckman, Simard, Smith (Ontario), Sproule, Stairs, Stevenson, Taylor, Thompson (Sir John), Tisdale, Tupper (Sir C. Hibbert), Tyrwhitt, Wallace, White (Cardwell), White (Shelburne), Wilmot, Wilson, Wood (Brockville), Wood (Westmoreland)—99.

#### PAIRS.

*Ministerial*—Messieurs Bergin, Barnard, Temple, McNeill, Bryson, Baker, LaRivière, Reid, Ferguson (Leeds), Sir Donald Smith, Coatsworth, Denison, McLean (York), Burnham, Northrup, Patterson (Huron), Costigan, Kaulbach.

*Opposition*—Messieurs Devlin, Davies (P. E. I.), Gillmor, Macdonald (Huron), Guay, Welsh, Geoffrion, Bernier, Scriver, Préfontaine, Béchard, Livingston, Beurassa, Colter, Delisle, Fauvel, Lowell, Bowers.

Of the above "Pairs" the Ministerial list supported the Government and the Opposition supported the motion.

## The Franchise Act.

### AN UNFAIR POLITICAL MEASURE, UNPOPULAR AND EXPENSIVE TO THE COUNTRY.

The Franchise Act was passed in 1885 against the protests of the Liberals. Under it partizan revising barristers make up the voters lists, and the printing is done at the Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa. The revising barristers are appointed by the Government, who in each case see that the appointees are sound party men. It is admittedly a cumbersome piece of legislation, uncalled for, supplanted an efficient system which had been in operation for 18 years, and in every detail presents obstacles to the preparation of an honest voter's list.

In England the revising barrister is not the creature of the Government; he is appointed by the courts and is impartial and independent. In the United States the revision is done by the municipal authorities. Canada, of all countries in the world, is alone in having the sacred right of franchise under the thumb of the party in power.

The Franchise Act opens the door for electoral misconduct and all kinds of fraud, of which the celebrated Baird case is only one example.

During the revision of 1891 objection was taken in one township in the County of Grey, Ontario, to the names of 75 persons being placed on the list, as they were all residents of the United States. Owing to the complications of the Act it was found impossible to remove these names, and the owners of them were in the position of being carted across the border to vote on polling day and possibly upset the will of the majority of the residents of the township.

Mr. R. W. Shannon, the editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, a prominent Conservative newspaper, in a letter to the *Kingston News*, October 23, 1891, immediately after the revision of that year, said: "The Franchise Act is complicated, expensive and unsatisfactory. The statute has, it is true, furnished an approximately uniform franchise, but it has failed to secure two other qualities not less important, namely, simplicity and cheapness."

The Liberals have always contended that the system in vogue prior to 1885 should not have been disturbed. Under it the voters lists were prepared by the municipal authorities, chosen by the people themselves. The revision was made every year, and such a thing as the holding of a general election on lists two or three years old, such as was done in 1891, was impossible. The Franchise Act provides for annual revision of the lists, but the law has been suspended, so that only four revisions have taken place in ten years. The administration of the Act is so costly that the Government dared not carry out the provision of the law for annual revision, and at the last general election, scores of thousands of citizens were deprived of their constitutional right of voting, and many thousands of others voted who had no right to do so.

In the House of Commons in 1890 (page 1178, *Hansard*) the Hon. David Mills clearly showed that the use of the provincial lists for federal elections was in every way in accordance with the spirit of the Constitutional Act of Union. The justice of this contention was at last acknowledged by the late Sir John Thompson, who, in the session of 1894, introduced an amending Act adopting the provincial lists as the basis of the federal franchise. Now that that statesman is dead such leading Government papers as the *Montreal Gazette*, edited by a Member of Parliament, is found strongly opposing the reintroduction of Sir John Thompson's bill, which, owing to the lateness of the session, was not put through in its entirety.

### **Condemned by Conservatives.**

The popular dislike of the Franchise Act is as great among the body of the Conservatives as among the Liberals, and during the session of 1893 Mr. R. McLennan, the Conservative member for Glengarry, presented to the House a petition from the municipal council of the united Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry asking that the Act be repealed and the preparation of the voters lists for federal elections left to local officers. The resolution was moved in the council by Mr. F. T. McNaughton, of Finch Township, a strong and active Conservative, and seconded by Mr. Adams, of Osnabrock township, a member of one of the most influential Conservative families in Stormont County, and was adopted unanimously.

A motion moved by the opposition in Parliament in 1890 for the repeal of the Act was supported by Mr. Smith, the Conservative member for South Ontario, who voted on that occasion against the Government.

Mr. Ingram, the member for East Elgin, boasted on the floor of the House of Commons that long after the proceedings of revising the lists for his riding in open court were closed, and after the revising officer had received back the proof sheets from the Printing Bureau, there was a secret session held and new names put on and names which were on struck off. All work of this kind was illegal, and, if Mr. Ingram is to be believed, a gross fraud was committed.

### **Enormous Cost of the Act.**

The cost of the Franchise Act was stated by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons (p. 1030, *Hansard*, 1894) as follows: Revision of 1886, \$416,043; total cost for three revisions up to 1891, \$900,000.

This Act cost the treasury before the revision of 1894-95 in round numbers one million dollars, and a moderate estimate of the cost of the last revision is \$250,000.00. This is what it costs the country. This is what the people pay out of the public revenues to pay for an Act which is burdensome to them. But this is not all. Besides the cost to the treasury there is the cost to private individuals. Some idea of this additional cost can be gleaned by estimating the value of the time of citizens given to the work at what they would get if employed in any other way, as, for instance, jurors or witnesses in ordinary courts, and also the actual outlay made by individuals. There are 215 electoral districts, averaging 35 polling districts each, or in all 7,525 polling districts. There are on an estimate 1,500 sittings of courts for final revision. To prepare for the preliminary revision, meetings are called and held, assessment rolls examined, canvass made for names to add or remove, forms are printed, declarations drawn, sworn to and filed, and often professional services used; the value of time and cash outlay for each polling district averages \$10, or in all \$75,250. To prepare for final revision, including forms, notices, registrations, subpoenas and serving, at least the same average of \$10 for each district may be estimated, thus adding another \$75,250. At the sittings of courts the time of volunteer witnesses, witness fees paid, fees to lawyers, paid livery and other outlays, at least \$20 for each court may be allowed, making for the 1,500 courts \$30,000 spent, making a total for one side of \$180,500. Adding the same estimate for the other side's expenses, the result is that the country is bled by \$361,000 for the revision, besides the cost of \$250,000 to the treasury.

The revision then of 1894-5 costs the people \$611,000. The four revisions at this calculation cost the people over two and one-quarter millions of dollars. They ought to register their votes against such a system of extravagance and unfairness. Since the inception of this Act the Liberals have fought firmly for its repeal and demanded that the provincial lists be used. Their demands had considerable effect upon the late Sir John Thompson, who introduced a bill during the session of 1894 to amend the Franchise Act by adopting salient features of the provincial lists. In his speech on June 14th, 1894, when introducing the Bill Sir John Thompson said: "The questions upon which so much difference has arisen in the past as to the basis of the franchise, shall be adjusted by adopting the franchise of the several provinces. . . . The number of differences which exist between the provincial franchises and the Dominion franchise as established by our own Act, are so few as not to be worth the contest and the expenses which are involved in keeping them up, and the adoption of a general system which will apply both to the Local and Dominion Legislatures, has recommendations as regards simplicity and facilities for economy, which cannot exist under a dual system such as we have been keeping up for the past few years."

Also: "It is obviously one of the most desirable features in connection with any system of franchise, and to my mind an essential feature that the system to be adopted will be such that it can be put into operation every year."

Sir John Thompson's Bill was never passed. It was not the desire of the present Ministers that it should become law. They are in favor of the pernicious Act.

Though the redistribution Act of 1892 makes some changes in the seats yet the revision of 1894-95 had to be conducted on the old arrangement as well as on the new and there are illustrations of portions of counties having had revisions by two revising officers and also of one revising officer having to make two

revisions of a portion of a county. Taking the old map of the electoral districts, the lists had to be revised so as to provide for bye-elections because the new redistribution does not come into force until a general election. A municipality then in one electoral district under the old conditions and in another in the new re-arrangement had its lists revised twice in the revision of 1894-95.

## The Public Lands.

The administration of the public lands in Canada by the Conservative Governments has been a gross scandal. The best available land was for many years locked up from settlement, despite the protests of the Liberals in Parliament, but after long and persistent efforts the Government were compelled to remodel their regulations.

Thousands of square miles of timber limits were given away to political favorites who speculated in them to the great disadvantage of the settler and the general public. By an order of the House, Mr. Charlton obtained copies of Orders-in-Council which showed that 132 townships were applied for by 23 members of Parliament, and obtained. J. C. Patterson, M.P. and associates obtained seven townships; George Guillet, M.P. 13 townships; N. Clarke Wallace, M.P. and associates 6 townships; Col. Tisdale, afterwards M.P., 12 townships; N. F. Davin got 50 miles; W. E. Sanford 50 miles; J. G. H. Bergeron, 50 miles; C. C. Colby, 50 miles, and so on. Seventeen members of Parliament obtained for themselves an area of 850 square miles, and seven Conservative members of Legislatures obtained 350 square miles. Altogether there were passed 550 Orders-in-Council, giving away these valuable timber limits, for the nominal rental of \$5 a square mile. In one case after timber had been taken off for two years, the limit was sold for \$60,000. As far back as 1882, Hon. Edward Blake moved a resolution in the House that the system of granting timber limits, was liable to gross abuse, and the system of public competition should be applied. This was, of course, opposed by those members who were lining their pockets at the public expense and voted down by the Conservative majority.

A motion to dispose of these limits in the public interest by public auction, the same as done by the Government of Ontario, was made by Mr. Charlton in the House in 1891, and defeated by 100 to 81.

This maladministration of the public domain resulted in the Rykert scandal and the expulsion of J. C. Rykert, M.P., from public life.

According to the statement of the Minister of the Interior, (page 2,274, *Hansard*, 1892), 42,000,000 acres of land in the Northwest had been alienated from the public domain and given to railway corporations. With a population in the Northwest of only 250,000 this represented a thousand acres for every family, and was an extravagant and reckless policy. Under this policy lands were locked up in the hands of corporations, speculators and land sharks, to whom the settler had to pay tribute, and at whose mercy almost every settler in that country lay.

Grazing and mining leases were given at the nominal sum of two cents an acre. The whole record shows that the Government parted with the public lands improvidently.

The number of acres of public lands granted to railway promoters—42,000,000.

Number of acres of timber limits given away—16,192,000, equal to 25,000 square miles.

According to the promises of the Government, made through Sir Charles Tupper, in his place in the House, from the sale of lands to settlers in the Northwest they would have by the year 1890, in the public treasury, after paying all the expenses of survey and management, the sum of \$69,000,000 net.

What are the actual results ?

Expenditure on Dominion lands on account of capital and consolidated funds up to the 1st July, 1894, \$5,277,995.

Receipts from Dominion lands up to the 1st July, 1894, \$1,949,905.

Deficit, \$3,328,090.

According to the last Public Accounts, the receipts on account of Dominion lands for 1894, amounted to \$210,096, and the total expenditure to \$282,451, leaving a deficit for that year of \$72,355.

It was Sir Leonard Tilley who, when Finance Minister in 1882, predicted that by 1890, Canada's public debt would be reduced to \$100,000,000 by the proceeds of the sale of Dominion lands. Amount of debt to-day, \$250,000,000, and still growing.

If the public lands had been properly administered, Canada would not now have to deplore the present sparse population and slow growth of her magnificent Northwest.

## The Canadian Militia.

### A DISORGANIZED FORCE COSTING AN EXTRAVAGANT SUM.

Incompetent Ministers of Militia have mismanaged the fine militia force of Canada for the last 15 years.

Early in 1895, Col. R. H. Davis, of the 37th Battalion, who has been connected with the corps since 1866, read a paper before the Military Institute in Toronto, in which he said :

" We have no force fit to take the field, nor organization for a campaign, nor stores to supply one.

" The Militia Department knows nothing about the rural militia and cares less. There darkness and ignorance, or worse, have prevailed for many years.

" The country well knows, and the Department should know that the militia is not only disorganized, but demoralized."

The *Canadian Military Gazette*, in its first issue in January 1895, said :

" The militia has never been in a worse condition than it is to-day. Many officers who have pluckily fought against official disappointments and discouragements for years have at last left the force in utter disgust, and men to take their places are not forthcoming. The rural battalions, which comprised the great bulk of the force, can hardly be said to exist any longer, except on paper. Ignorance, incapacity and systematic neglect appear to be the prominent characteristics of the present militia policy, and it is time for the friends of the force to resent this treatment."

The poor results obtained from the Royal Military College at Kingston were fully set forth by Mr. Mulock in his speech in the House of Commons in 1894, and Lieut.-Col. O'Brien declared that we were not deriving any benefit from the College.

Major General Herbert, upon examining into the condition of the militia force, when assuming the duties of his office in 1891, made an official report, published in the Blue Book, in the course of which he said :

" The rural corps are very deficient in instruction, but their organization is still more defective. Money is spent for instruction by officers incapable of imparting it. The arms and equipments are for the most part obsolete. There is not a battalion that could turn out in complete marching order on a given day."

The General went on to condemn the saddles, boots and other parts of the militia equipment as utterly unfit for service.

This condition of affairs has occurred under the administration of the Conservative Government; Sir Adolphe Caron and Hon. J. C. Patterson being responsible for it. Under Mr. Mackenzie the militia force was larger than it is now and maintained efficiently, with hundreds of thousands of dollars less annual expenditure.

Since 1868, the country has spent \$35,000,000 on the militia, and is now spending annually about a million a year, and the force ought not to be in the condition described by experts.

### **Our Own Commercial Treaties.**

The Liberal party has for many years advocated the policy of securing the right to make our own commercial treaties with foreign nations. This policy was set forth in a resolution moved by the Hon. David Mills, in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1892.

"That it is expedient to obtain the necessary powers to enable Her Majesty the Queen, through her representative the Governor-General of Canada, upon the advice of his Ministers, to appoint an agent to negotiate commercial treaties with other British possessions or with foreign states, subject to the prior consent or subsequent approval of the Parliament of Canada."

This resolution was voted down, every Conservative in the House voting against it. Canada wants this power, that she may be the better able to secure the markets abroad that are necessary to her prosperity. This progressive policy, advocated by Blake, Mackenzie and the present Liberal leaders, is opposed by the Bowell Ministry.

### **The Liquor Traffic.**

When Mr. Foster had to face a resolution calling for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic, he shunted the question by moving an amendment to appoint a Royal Commission to take evidence. This was in June, 1891, and although he promised a report of the Commission at an early date, four years have elapsed and the report has not yet been made. According to an official statement in Parliament (see page 5,540, *Hansard* of 1894), the cost of the Commission, up to June 30th, 1894, had been \$120,000, and the total cost may therefore safely be set down as \$125,000, for a wholly unnecessary commission.

The appointment of Royal Commissions has been a favorite method of the Government for taking questions out of the hands of Parliament, where they should constitutionally have been left, and the number of these commissions has been so large that the expense has run up into many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

### **The Liberal Leader.**

Sir Oliver Mowat, in a letter addressed to the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, published December 14th, 1891: "As for the Liberal leaders in Dominion affairs, our eloquent friend, Mr. Laurier, has no follower in any of the provinces who honors him more than I do, has greater confidence in his patriotism and uprightness, or is more glad to follow him."

The Rev. Dr. Bryce, Principal of the Manitoba Presbyterian College: "I have heard constantly expressed the appreciation of Mr. Laurier's noble bearing, gentle manner and pure character. From all directions he is looked to as the future leader."

*Montreal Daily Witness*: "If the people want a knightly champion to deliver them from the dragon of corruption which for the last fifteen years has folded them in its crushing coils we do not know where they are to look if they seek a better one than Mr. Laurier. Without fear and without reproach, he has during the long period in which evil has been uppermost and powerful fought manfully and without losing confidence in the ultimate triumph of right against evil."



## Pertinent and Brief Facts.

Debt, 1878, \$140,000,000 ; 1895, \$250,000,000.

Expenditure, 1878, \$23,500,000 ; 1894, \$37,000,000.

Twelve Ministers and three Controllers cost \$100,000 a year.

The Senate costs \$150,000 a year.

The Military College cost \$70,000 a year.

The superannuation system cost \$200,000 a year.

Conservatives increased the public expenditure by \$14,000,000 and the public debt by \$110,000,000, while the population declined below its natural increase.

Cost of useless Prohibition Commission, \$125,000.

During 1894 the Government borrowed \$20,000,000.

Hundreds of Orders-in-Council in favor of the manufacturer ; not one in favor of the farmer.

Dr. McLennan, Liberal nominee for Inverness, N.S., was a prominent Conservative at the last general elections.

Increase of population, 1871-81, 18 per cent. ; 1881-91, 11 per cent.

Parliament loses two members owing to loss of population.

Mr. D. O'Connor draws \$20,000 a year in law costs, while the Solicitor-General does nothing but draw a salary of \$5,000 a year.

Labor measures promised in the Speech from the Throne in 1890 have never yet been introduced.

Canada's total trade per head is less to-day than in 1874.

Trade with Great Britain was less in 1894 than in 1874.

Duty on rice 70 per cent. ; diamonds free.

Duty on woollen socks, 35 per cent. ; on silks, 30 per cent.

Duty on coal oil, 90 per cent. ; on champagne, 35 per cent.

Duty on rolled steel for manufacturers, 5 per cent. ; on shovels for laborer and farmer, 35 per cent.

Duty on steel rails, nothing ; on sewing thread 25 per cent.

Duty on lace collars, 30 per cent. ; on workingman's overalls, 35 per cent.

The duty on binder twine and barbed wire are not revenue-producing duties.

The tariff prohibits the importation of the products of prison labor, but the Government is selling binder twine made by convicts in the Kingston Penitentiary.

Contracts on the St. Lawrence Canal and on the Trent Valley Canal have been let to Americans by this Government, and they have also had their dredges built at Cleveland, Ohio, and their fishery cruisers in Scotland, and their locomotives in the United States.

In 1894, the Government carpeted the House of Commons with an imported carpet, and in the same year levied duties as high as 45 per cent. on carpets imported by other people.

The Government "encourage" home industries by importing every pound of soap used in the House of Commons from Chicago.

Exports of coal from Nova Scotia, 1874, 252,000 tons ; in 1893, 189,000 tons.

## Tory Predictions Falsified.

That the public debt would be reduced by 1884 to \$100,000,000.

That the C. P. R. would not cost the country anything.

That the Northwest would be speedily settled.

That the public lands would net the treasury \$69,000,000.

That the N. P. tariff would raise the revenue.

That the N. P. would create a home market.

## Outside Lawyers' Fees.

In addition to the tremendous increase in the expenditure of every department of the Government, there is behind them all and beyond all their salaries and contingencies, a further source of patronage and extravagance. It is to be found under the head of "Legal expenses and taxed costs" in the Auditor General's Report. No doubt a certain amount of this expenditure is forced upon a Government, but it is most unreasonably high, as will appear from the following figures for the last eight years :

In 1886, it was	\$124,401 00
In 1887 " . . . . .	61,425 00
In 1888 " . . . . .	82,929 00
In 1889 " . . . . .	117,825 00
In 1890 " . . . . .	99,907 00
In 1891 " . . . . .	94,055 00
In 1892 " . . . . .	103,956 00
In 1893 " . . . . .	141,424 00

Making a total in eight years of . . . . . \$825,921 00

It will be observed that there is a notable increase in the cost of outside law work for the year 1893, and that is all the more to be surprised at because for the first time the country is then paying for the services of a Solicitor General. It is a gross scandal that while the new office of Solicitor General has been created at Ottawa with a salary of \$5,000 per annum, an outside lawyer in the City of Ottawa, Mr. D. O'Connor, whose office is not 200 yards distant from the Solicitor General's Office, should have been paid for legal services for the Government in the year ending 30th June, 1893, the enormous sum of \$19,248.32.

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