

Census Exposure.

Stuffed Lists Laid Bare by
Hon. David Mills.

London's Returns Adduced in
Evidence.

Immoral Means Adopted to
Maintain Power.

Unjust Laws Enacted to Stifle Public
Opinion.

But Evidence on All Hands that the
Electors Have Found the Men
at Ottawa Out.

(Special to the ADVERTISER.)

TORONTO, Jan. 22.—Hon. David Mills addressed a large audience under the auspices of the Young Liberal Club in this city to-night.

Hon. Mr. Mills, who was very warmly welcomed, began his speech by a reference to the unjust and partisan legislation which had been passed in the last dozen years by the men now in power at Ottawa, which had tended to stifle public opinion at the polls and to blunt the moral sensibilities of many of the electors. He pointed out, however, that the electors, and especially the farmers, had found out the men responsible for this pernicious system, and no longer labored under the delusion that, harassed taxation benefited any but a very few in the community. Mr. Mills continued: "He must indeed be a man of very strong prejudices who has not before this discovered that the protective policy has in it nothing for the farmer. But it is scarcely less true that it has in it nothing for anybody. Look at the depreciation in the value of real estate.

LOOK AT THE CENSUS RETURNS, and in spite of their worthlessness you discover beneath all the cooking which has been done what little progress during the decade between 1881 and 1891 the country has made. I have referred to the worthlessness of the census returns, and it is strictly true that they are worthless. During the spring of 1891 you have every person who is doing any kind of manufacturing—called, whether for himself or others, put down as a manufacturer. The poor woman who makes up clothing for the merchant tailor at her own home is returned as a manufacturer and her home as a manufacturing establishment, which is counted as manufacturers' capital. The man who lives in a little lean-to, and who sharpens saws for the poor wood cutter, is returned as a manufacturer. To show you to what an extent poor laborers have been hunted up and put down as manufacturers, I have only to refer you to this—that the number of manufacturers and employees in the census of 1891 was far greater in the city of London than in 1881, though every resident of that city who has looked into the facts knows that this is not the case, as there were during the decade no new establishments, and many of those which were in operation in 1881 were closed when the last census was taken. By the census of 1881 manufacturers paid a wage of \$59,429,002, and in 1891 \$99,762,441. Here is an increase in wages of more than \$40,000,000, a very favorable showing, but

UTTERLY MISLEADING, because the census of 1891 embraces as employees of manufacturers many thousands who were not included in 1881. The census of 1881 represents the value of the raw material manufactured in Canada as \$179,918,593, and in 1891 \$255,983,219, being an increase of \$76,000,000; putting together the wages and raw material, the value in 1881 was \$239,347,595, and in 1891 \$355,745,660, which, again I say, if it represented fairly these two sums at each period would indicate a marked progress in the development of manufacturing industry. Let us now look at the amount of capital which at each of these periods is returned as having been invested in manufactures. In 1881 the value is \$165,302,623, and in 1891 \$353,836,817, or more than double the sum previously invested; but when you compare the value of the raw material used with the amount of the capital employed, you at once discover that there is something wrong for in 1881 the raw material worked up within the year was to the capital as 180 is to 165, whereas in 1891 it was as 255 is to 353. Now, when you examine the census of the United States you find the productive power of capital is constantly increasing, whereas by the last Canadian census it has diminished in ten years nearly 45 per cent. This one fact would be sufficient to show the discreditable way that the census has been cooked, and how utterly valueless

the figures are as a means of ascertaining the material progress of the country. Now, by the census of 1881 the number of employees was 254,935, and by the census of 1891 367,935; and yet looking at the reported increase of capital the number of employees ought to have been 666,000. It is preposterous to suppose that the increase of capital should be so out of all proportion to the increase of employees. And if you assume the capital to have been in the same proportion, the capital really invested in manufacturing enterprises in 1891 would be \$114,000,000 less than reported. If you take from what remains the value of the tenements in which seamstresses and other parties live there would be a still further reduction. So I say to you that we do not know what has been the increase in the number of employees in manufacturing establishments properly called, or the increase in the capital invested in such enterprises. Where an establishment is erected for carrying on manufacturing operations, the cost of the establishment including the cost of its machinery and the available capital required for operating it, are properly embraced in capital devoted to manufacturing purposes. But can you say the same thing of the bell and wheel of the perambulating knife grinder; of the file, chisel and vise of the saw sharpener; of the sewing machine in every house in the country, and of the washing apparatus of the poor descendant of Jacob who cleans old clothing? I need trouble you no further with an examination of the census tables. I have said enough to show you that they have no value, to show you that they contain on their very face conclusive evidence of their utter worthlessness. If the census could have given any aid to the arguments of those who maintained that a protective policy was advantageous to the country, there would have been no attempt to cook them to this end. But I rejoice to know that the COOKING HAS BEEN UNSKILLFULLY DONE, so that even the most careless investigator

can see what has been attempted. If, then, the country has made no special progress in the direction of skilled industries, if its population has fallen short of the natural increase by nearly one half, if the lands of the farmer have greatly depreciated in value, what has the country then to show for its increased burdens? Let us look for a moment at what was promised in the beginning and what is being said now. This fiscal policy was undertaken to secure to the laborer constant employment and good wages; to stop emigration from the country; to secure a large investment of foreign capital in manufacturing enterprises; to secure a large immigration of ordinary laborers for the field, and of skilled laborers for the new workshops; to create a home market for the products of the farms; to prevent Canada from being a sacrifice market, and to equalize the exports and imports of the country. These were the objects at which those parties who favored "protection" professed to aim; let me ask you which of them has been accomplished?

THE PROOF. Does the laborer find constant employment at high wages? Has the farmer had provided for him a home market for all he can produce? Have our own people been kept at home? Have millions been brought from abroad and invested here in skilled industries, giving employment to tens of thousands of immigrants? Has the value of imports and exports been equalized? Need I say to you not one thing of the many which were promised as the result of these increased burdens has been accomplished. The farmer has had his market restricted, the prices of what he consumes increased. The farm laborer has been driven from the country. The constant employment which was to keep people at home cannot be had; and now a different doctrine is preached. We are told by Mr. Foster that there is a trend of population from north to south and from east to west; that this is due to land hunger, which, it seems, is a wholly new appetite that never affected men until the National Policy was adopted, and which prior Governments had not to take into account. When Mr. Mackenzie's Administration was in office, and when the emigration from the country amounted to about 20,000 a year, it was the fault of the Government that there was an exodus at all. "Give us the reins of Government," said our political opponents, "and we will stop emigration, increase immigration and cause millions of foreign capital to flow here for investment." Well, the trial has been made, and you know the result—the emigration has more than doubled.

ENLARGED FREE LIST REJECTED. I have said to you that the Congress of the United States a few years ago proposed to enlarge the free list. Pottery, eggs and fruit trees were upon it, and it was proposed that fruits should be included. The Government of Canada resisted this proposal. No attempt was made to come to an understanding with reference to this list; on the contrary, there was shown a very great anxiety to keep up the tariff barriers, and that section of the American people who favored high taxes on agricultural imports had their hands strengthened by the action of the Canadian Government and its supporters. I need not discuss this matter further. Every farmer knows that he would be benefited if he had free access to the American market for his cattle, his horses, his sheep, his beans, his poultry, his eggs, his barley, his wool, his butter and his fruit. The English market is invaluable to us, but it is not invaluable for every article that good husbandry and the prosperity of the farmer requires that he should produce. For his wheat, his fat cattle, his cheese and for a few horses it affords him a satisfactory market; but for all else he must look elsewhere, and for all the farm products which I have mentioned that our neighbors, if left free, would be inclined to take from us, no other market approaches in value that of the neighboring republic.

THE LIBERAL AIM. Now we aim to give you lower taxation. Imposing burdens upon you for a revenue only, cheaper government and freer trade, especially with our neighbors, so far as this can on fair terms be secured, and to this end it is necessary that certain Parliamentary reforms should be had, and the ancient rights and powers of the House of Commons should be employed to put an end to corrupt practices. Let me again remind you that no fact is better established than this, that material prosperity cannot long be maintained, once the moral element is eliminated from public life; and so in the pursuit of your own interest, to which I have invited your attention, if there should be a conflict between the interests of different sections of the community, that which is most advantageous ought always to yield to that which is in itself just. I don't think such conflict arises. I know of no case where the country would be advantaged by adopting towards any section of the people an unjust policy, but even granting that such were possible, it would be no adequate ground for a departure from the right. Everyone whose mind has not been warped by personal interests or by party prejudices, knows

HOW MUCH INJURY HAS BEEN DONE by the adoption of the policy of protection in our customs taxation. It has awakened avarice; it has organized the community into opposing interests; it has stifled and well-nigh destroyed the public spirit of the nation; it has made men indifferent to the welfare of their neighbors; and it has withdrawn men from the rural districts and weakened the energies of that class upon whom the future growth and prosperity of the nation depend. It is true that this system was practically condemned by the country at the general election in 1887, and again in 1891. Now came it then that

the Ministry maintained power, when the public opinion was against it on each occasion? How came it then that the prevailing sentiment in Parliament did not correspond with the prevailing sentiment of the country? These statutes contributed to this result—the Election Act, the Franchise Act and the Redistribution of Seats Act. These measures are Government precautions against a fair public judgment. A large number of men who are permanently domiciled abroad were, at the last election, able to appear at the polls, and under the Franchise Act, to vote, though they have ceased to possess any legal interest in the country. Will anyone for a moment seriously argue that this is either a just or satisfactory state of things. There is a simple and obvious remedy for this evil—it is to

ADOPT THE PRINCIPLE OF RESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE, which would put an end both to illegal expense and fraud in connection with the elections. By disregarding county boundaries, constituencies are so organized under the Redistribution Act, in which county boundaries have been disregarded, and townships containing large majorities of Reformers have been taken out of their natural connection and grouped together, so that the municipalities that remain might be able the more certainly to return to Parliament a Government supporter. The county of Middlesex, with a majority of Reform votes, has been so manipulated that the majority return one representative and the minority three. All these facts go to show you that the constitutional machine has been deliberately put out of repair, that it will not respond fairly to the public touch, and provide for the election of a House of Commons fairly reflecting the opinion of the country. It is of very great consequence that a wise and statesmanlike policy should be supported by the people, but to what end is this done if your constitution is so contrived that in spite of a majority of the electorate Ministers can secure a majority of the Commons? A sound public policy is important, but to secure a practical adoption of such a policy all your institutional laws must be so framed as to secure a fair representation of the country. Without this it will be impossible that the end can be attained. So you see that quite apart from the question of trade or taxation there may be

MEASURES OF IMMENSE CONSEQUENCE as the efficient means for the attainment of a justifiable end. Now the measures at which I have hinted, rather than discussed, have been framed to minimize the influence of the Opposition and to magnify that of the Government. When any man tells you that the Election Act, the Franchise Act and the Redistribution of Seats Act involve merely questions of abstract politics and are of no practical concern to the community, he is stating what is not the case, and is either wanting in candor or in knowledge of the subject. They are in the highest degree questions of practical politics, because they involve the political sovereignty of the nation, and the practical value of a general election. There are many ways in which a State may be governed. It may be governed by a powerful oligarchy, whose members are possessed of wealth, employing so much of it as may be necessary to secure the direction of public affairs, and devoting all their thoughts and energies to the promotion of their own interests, by means of the power which they thus acquire. A State may be governed by fraud and corruption under the forms of popular representation, when these in authority pervert the law and make it an instrument for the accomplishment of their own designs. But the one important thing which a community having Parliamentary government should bear in mind is that a State may also be governed by reason and the moral force of public opinion securing through legitimate agencies a majority in Parliament. In this country we have choice between the two latter methods. We have had three general elections under the first of these two. Shall we have a fourth? I hope not. As a party

WE ARE MAKING WAR UPON IT, and we are devoting all our energies to give permanent ascendancy to that method which rests the authority of government upon reason and the moral strength of an honest and well-informed public opinion. It would, indeed, be lamentable if from public indifference we should fall in the attainment of so worthy an object. But we shall not fail. Everywhere around us we shall find indications of success. The people find they have been deceived. The promises so confidently made have not been kept. The hopes awakened have only led to disappointment, and the moment that distress and disappointment weakened the influence of party prejudice the system was doomed. And I do not believe that, great as is the injustice which has been done to us by the three acts which I have mentioned, powerful as are the defenses which they afford to the Government, they will prove insuperable barriers to a disappointed and deceived country when the day of trial comes.

Mr. Mills afterwards dealt with the emancipated Caron indictment, and at the close of his address resumed his seat amid loud applause.

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