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# The Watchman.

ST. JOHN, N. B., SATURDAY, NOV. 27, 1875.

## SHALL THE MARITIME PROVINCES HAVE FAIR PLAY?

The Canals of the Upper Provinces have been built, under Government, by Upper Province men, and the contracts for their extension have been awarded to Upper Province contractors. All other works, great or little, undertaken by the Government and lying within the Upper Provinces, have been or are being executed by persons belonging to those localities. In addition to the public works and patronage thus held by Upper Province men, there are the Government's undertakings in Manitoba and the North West, where the contracts have been given out to parties from Ontario, more particularly. Thus, we find the subsidies or contracts for those railways which Mr. Mackenzie treats as parts of the "Canada Pacific," as also for the Telegraph Line across the Continent, have gone to contractors from Ontario or Quebec. In the Lower Provinces no complaint is made of this state of things, which is natural and proper enough. There are many reasons why contracts in those Provinces and in the western country should be held by the parties indicated. The same is true in regard to the purchase of supplies for the Government services in those quarters. It is only fair and reasonable that the Government should buy in the vicinity of the works, especially as in most, if not all, cases those who deal in such supplies are generally content with such moderate profits as prevent the withdrawal of the sectional patronage. In regard to appointments to office the same principle holds good, the Government never entertaining a thought of taking a Maritime Province man and making him a Canal Superintendent in Ontario or Quebec. Even in connection with the appointments to the Government offices and Parliamentary offices in the Dominion Capital, it is found that the fact of the Capital being in the Upper Provinces appears to have led to a preference being given to Upper Province men, the representation of the Maritime Provinces in the Parliament Buildings being far below that to which they are fairly entitled, if population and sectional claims are to be considered. We note these circumstances, not in the way of complaint, but as illustrating what appears to be the policy of the country in regard to those Provinces, namely, that the construction and management of Dominion works are entrusted to the people more immediately interested in their successful execution and operation. We believe this to be a wise policy, one that can be defended on public grounds, and a policy that is calculated to prevent the rise of sectional jealousies and animosities.

It must be matter for general regret that the same policy has not been extended by the majority to the Lower Provinces. It has been too hastily assumed by the official element in the Dominion that the people of these Provinces were unable to govern themselves, and we have had Upper Province men sent to rule us without there being a necessity for their presence. Both the late and the present Governments have been to blame in this respect. In the process of organizing the Dominion Departments and establishing a uniform system of detail for these Departments, throughout the Dominion, there was probably some excuse for a certain amount of Upper Province interference in our local matters, but no such excuse exists at present. In New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island we have men as capable and as honest as the Dominion affords. The Customs, Post Office, and some other Departments are as efficiently managed by the local staff as if a regiment of Upper Province inspectors had the disciplining of the officials. But there remains the Railway service, in which our people have not had fair play. First, Maritime contractors were hardly dealt with by a staff of commissioners and engineers appointed mainly through Upper Province influences. It really seemed as if they were treated as men who had no interests which these officials were bound to respect; and hence we have a large number of New Brunswickers and Nova Scotians pressing on the Government claims which aggregate several hundred thousand dollars. Then we have Mr. Brydges, of Montreal, placed as Superintendent over the Maritime Railways, with Mr. Luttrell, from some inferior position in Ontario, as second in command; and between them they have ridden rough shod over the people,—upsetting arrangements for train running which best suited the convenience of all who used the railways, destroying a freight tariff which bore fairly upon all traffic, raising the passenger tariff to figures in excess of the actual value conferred, and absolutely driving the farming population off railways which their money helped to build. Through these same parties, old officials have been dismissed, in some cases without being afforded an opportunity of knowing or answering the charges preferred, while others were booked for dismissal and only saved themselves by invoking active political influences. In consequence of the presence and influence of these parties, contracts for rolling stock, repairs, supplies, etc., which should have been given to Maritime establishments, have been sent to Montreal, to Portland, to New York, etc.,—"anywhere, everywhere" out of the Maritime Provinces. We do not blame the present Government exclusively for this state of affairs, which really commenced under their predecessors, but we maintain it is a wrong done to these Provinces that should continue no longer. We are perfectly able to build, supply and manage these railways,—which are, to all intents and purposes local roads,—and the sooner, in this as in some other matters, we refuse to accept the inferior relation which we are held to bear to the larger Provinces, the more we shall be respected by them and the more self-respecting we shall appear to ourselves. We opine the time is coming when this condition of things must end; when Mr. Brydges, Mr. Luttrell and such other officials as are destitute of all sympathy with Maritime interests, will have liberty to withdraw; and when the Government of Canada, by whomsoever administered, shall cease, in even the smallest particulars, to treat the population of the Maritime Provinces as a conquered people. It will be well if the politicians and railroad men of the Upper Provinces come to understand distinctly that it is in no sectional sense that we decline to have the "played out" officials of that quarter thrust upon us, but because, having the ability to manage our local affairs, including our railways and other Government services, we are determined that in this respect we shall not be treated differently from Ontario and Quebec. It is in the interest of Canadian unity that THE WATCHMAN demands that this badge of inferiority be removed, that equal rights and an equality of standing be given us with our sister Provinces, and that the spirit of the Union Act be unreservedly applied in these as in other respects. We have no hesitation in assuring any man, or any body of men, who, within or without the Dominion Government, undertake to remedy this crying evil, of the moral and active support of the people of the Maritime Provinces, without reference to party or political divisions.

THE CHARM BROKEN.—A snake has been found in Ireland, and to account for his existence on the sacred soil is the difficulty! 'Twas in Baltinglass, Wicklow County, and he was "five feet in length, black on the back and yellow underneath." They are telling that he must have been one of two that escaped from a gentleman in Ballinrodan, six or seven years ago, having been sent from India. Nevertheless the disheartening truth is plain to be seen,—that snakes will live in Ireland.

## MR. MACKENZIE ON THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

A few days ago, Mr. Mackenzie, addressing a company of Grits, delivered himself of the following:—

I had the pleasure of visiting some of the remote parts of the Dominion, and of witnessing the reaction that is taking place in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. (Hear, hear and applause.) On my last visit, two and a half years ago, I found a pretty strong feeling prevailed in favor of close union with the Reformers of the West. (Applause.) On this occasion I saw a much stronger feeling than I have witnessed before in favor of the same course (applause;) and, in fact, *in the city of St. John, the Opposition Press had about entirely disappeared.* And although I did not attend a political meeting there, but a meeting personally complimentary to myself, still I had the pleasure of knowing that a very large number of those who at one time were opposed to myself and to the Government, were now entirely favorable to us, and at this moment the Administration stands stronger than ever before. (Loud applause.)

It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Mackenzie excepted the city of Halifax from those parts of the Lower Provinces which offered evidence that satisfied him that "the Administration stands stronger than ever before;" for, certainly, if appearances went for anything, Halifax, rather than St. John, welcomed the Premier. It was in Halifax (not St. John) he was offered an opportunity to vindicate his Government and assail his opponents, and in Halifax he received far more personal and political attention than in St. John. It was in Halifax he was told that Dr. Tupper "dare not show his nose here, sir," and that the whole city was heart and soul with the Grit Government; with much more to the same effect. But a few days later,—in fact, by the time the Premier had reached Ottawa again,—Dr. Tupper had reached Halifax, had met an enthusiastic reception, had been welcomed by thousands of old friends and opponents, and by hundreds who have of late taken little part in politics, and had addressed the largest audience and called forth the plaudits of the most enthusiastic political gathering that Halifax has seen for many years. So there was good reason for Mr. Mackenzie omitting Halifax in recapitulating the scenes of his triumphs, having evidently come to the conclusion that he was deceived in Halifax, which, after all, was not Grit, but the very reverse,—notwithstanding the noise of its Grit press and the adulation which office-seeking Grits had poured into the Premier's ears.

Having abandoned Halifax as really in possession of the enemy, Mr. Mackenzie fell back upon St. John,—of all places, St. John! This, he maintains, is a stronghold of the Government! He, the Leader of a great Party, whose official business it is to keep thoroughly informed of the strength of his Party in the leading centres of the Dominion, did not seem to know that even in the first flush of the Grit triumph, when the "Pacific Scandal" gave his Party control of nearly every important constituency, St. John divided her electoral vote nearly evenly and gave the Minister of Customs an Opposition colleague. He does not appear to have been informed that the Minister of Customs only secured his own election by throwing the other candidate on his ticket, Mr. Ellis, overboard. He is really ignorant of the fact that from the day of the General Election until the present moment, his Government has been losing ground daily and hourly in this constituency, and that at no time has it stood so badly as at the present moment. He can not be aware of the internal quarrels that divide his Party in this quarter,—the contests for office, the personal difficulties, the sweeping accusations, that characterize Old Grit and New Grit animosities,—a state of things that reveals the essential weakness, the utter want of cohesion, existing among professed supporters of the Party. Evidently he has never heard that the member for the city, elected on the Grit ticket, and, prior to the dawn of success, the champion of the Grit cause, has not hesitated to express his marked disappointment at the manner in which public matters have been managed and his desire to withhold his further sanction from such proceedings by resigning his seat. Of none of these circumstances has Mr. Mackenzie any knowledge, or, having knowledge, he carefully withholds them from his audience, while representing St. John as entirely with the Government. His great reliance, as our readers can perceive, is on "*the Press.*" It is with satisfaction he announces that in St. John "the Opposition Press has about entirely disappeared,"—referring probably to the conversion of *The News* and the death of *The Tribune*. Mentally pointing to the *Telegraph* as a Government paper,—to the *News* as the same,—the *Globe* the same,—the *Freeman* the same,—he tells his Montreal and Ontario supporters in effect:—"We have these people of "St. John in our hands,—for we have their Press. "They are powerless, for they have no organ of "public opinion to present their case, no journal "able or willing to withstand our acts. To all in"tents and purposes we hold them in our power, "since their Press is wholly in our power. Tupper "may assail our financial policy, Sir John Mac"donald may arraign our railway policy and con"demn that feature of our Court of Appeal Bill "which is a first step towards cutting the connec"tion with the Mother Country—what boots it, if "the St. John Press, our own Press, will not pub"lish what he says, though he speak at their very "door? We control their Ottawa despatches "through our confidential telegraphers, and their "editorial columns utter no sound that displeases "us. So we are perfectly safe from all criticism in "that quarter, and St. John and New Brunswick "are at our mercy. The Opposition Press has "nearly disappeared; hence, the Administration "stands stronger than ever in St. John." Mr. Mackenzie, of course, reckons without his host. His triumphant boast is a vain delusion, as far as THE PEOPLE are concerned. His Government can not "bag" the people as it has "bagged" the Press. As long as true manhood exists,—as long as hypocrisy is at a discount,—as long as there lives in the popular breast a hatred of servility and tergiversation, whether found in the Press or elsewhere,—in short, as long as intellect holds its place in the men and women of St. John, so long will it be impossible even for the St. John Press to wholly control the St. John people and St. John electors in the selfish interests of a corrupt and incapable Administration. It is especially impossible while the business men and the newspaper readers, whose advertisements and subscriptions support those journals, are, in the great majority of cases, politically opposed to the powers that rule at Ottawa; and this fact alone ought to lead Mr. Mackenzie to be careful how he attempts to misrepresent a proud, sensitive people whose principal fault appears to be extreme tolerance of a Press whose political principles, management and influence all tend in a direction hostile to the interests of St. John and its election. If Mr. Mackenzie is sincere in his remarks, he is evidently sadly ignorant of the real state of affairs in this constituency, and possibly misunderstands the influences which have brought the Press to its present condition. There are the best of reasons for assuring the Premier that if he was deceived in Halifax, he has woefully miscalculated in St. John.

LOYALTY THAT IS "TOO THIN."—The London, Eng., *Standard*, after reviewing acts of the Mackenzie Administration and the Grit Party which looked in the direction of separation from England, concludes a very pointed article with the remark, that it must be said that if the Grit "Party in Can"ada is the loyal party, it has been able very suc"cessfully to dissemble its feelings." The *Saturday Review* also treats the proposal to prevent appeal from the Dominion Courts to the English Privy Council as showing a "desire to remove the "few remaining vestiges of Imperial supremacy." The course of the Government and the Parliament which it controls has led to much misunderstanding in England. The fact of Mr. Mackenzie being supported, or represented before the people, by so many Independence men, Annexationists, Repealers and other disaffected persons, has naturally led our English brethren to suppose that these absurd notions are countenanced by the Canadian people.

## "TO THE LOWEST TENDERER."

The following appeared in the Ottawa despatch of the St. John *Daily Telegraph*, on Monday last:—

Mr. Howley, of Montreal, who has been in town for a couple of days past, had an interview with the Minister of Public Works yesterday, to urge upon him the advisability of *the Government proceeding with the Lachine Canal works themselves*, in order to give employment to the almost destitute laboring classes of Montreal.

Mr. Mackenzie could not see the advisability of this action and insists on work being done as soon as possible, *by contract given to the lowest tender*.

Mr. Macnamee, of Montreal, has got the contract, and the work will be proceeded with immediately.

Here Mr. Mackenzie lays down the principle (and a day seldom passes that he doesn't lay down some great principle or other) that Government work should be done by public contract and given to the lowest tenderer. Doubtless, this is the correct view; certainly it is the safe course for a Government which does not wish to be suspected of favoring its friends. But, in the face of this declaration of Mr. Mackenzie, what are the facts of the administration of the very Department of which he is the head? What was his course in regard to contracts on the Inter-Colonial Railway?

Is it not notorious that the very system of "day's work" which he condemns in the case of the Lachine Canal works, he is practising throughout nearly the whole extent of the Inter-Colonial Railway?

Is it not a fact that at New Glasgow, at Halifax, in the Cobequid Mountains and at Moncton, car sheds and station buildings and snow sheds (a mile of the latter) are being erected by "day's work" by Mr. Mackenzie's Department; that the work is based on no tender; that in one or two cases, where tenders were asked, no attention was paid to them, the Department proceeding to build as if it had never invited tenders; and that in most instances tenders were not even asked, and, so far as the public are concerned, it is only through the newspapers that they have learned that the Department has such works in hand?

Is it not equally true that along about 200 miles of this railway, namely, from Moncton to the Metapedia, all the station houses, all the freight houses, all the platforms, all the tank houses, all the sidings, all the snow fences, and all other works of a similar character, have been erected or built by private arrangement between the Engineers and their favorites; that in no instance has there been public competition; that in *every* instance Mr. Mackenzie's principle of public competition and the "lowest tenderer" has been wholly ignored?

Is it not a fact that so outrageous, so clamant, had become the evil of this thing, that in Speaker Anglin's constituency the friends of the Government could stand it no longer; that they brought great pressure to bear on Mr. Anglin; that he has been obliged to represent in very strong terms the injustice and impolicy and folly of thus disposing of Government work, and that (as stated in the Chatham *Herald*) an investigation into certain Gloucester County private contracts had been ordered by the Government, "independent of the General Superintendent" and the Engineering staff?

And yet with Mr. Mackenzie personally cognizant of this state of affairs; with complaints repeatedly before him of the injustice of arrangements where no tenders had been advertised for, but everything left to a few officials to arrange among themselves; with a perfect knowledge of the numerous works in course of erection in all parts of the Lower Provinces on the system of "day's work" advocated by Mr. Howley, the Minister of Public Works had the assurance to intimate that the Government only gave public works out by public contract and to "the lowest tenderer!" The *Telegraph*, in publishing this despatch was not as shrewd as the Halifax *Chronicle*. The two papers got the same despatch, but the *Chronicle* was more fully "posted" than the *Telegraph*; it knew the political reasons for building railway works in Nova Scotia without putting them up to public competition; and so the despatch appears in its columns in an altered form, reading that "the contract has been given to the lowest tenderer, Mr. Macnamee, of Montreal, and work will be proceeded with immediately;" as if it was the telegrapher, rather than the Premier, who was saying that contracts were given to "the lowest tenderer." The change in the telegram, to meet the exigencies of the situation in Nova Scotia, is at least ingenious: we need say nothing of the morality of the act.

## WINTER COMMUNICATION WITH PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

The Bay Verte Canal Scheme, for which the *Telegraph* has labored so strenuously, the Mackenzie Government has effectually slaughtered. Both the *Telegraph* and the Scheme deserved better treatment, but our cotemporary has the satisfaction of knowing that it was no miserable "Corruptionist" like Dr. Tupper that killed Cock Robin, but the mighty hand of what the *Telegraph* regards as the most straightforward and glorious Government that ever blessed this undeserving planet. There is another ground of satisfaction. It seems to be understood that the New Brunswick members of the Cabinet, before consenting to this murder of the innocent, received an assurance that a railway would be constructed that would run through a portion of the country which would have been benefitted by some of the Canal construction expenditure. That is to say: there has been a promise that a railway will be built from Charlottetown down to Cape Traverse, and from Cape Tormentine, on the New Brunswick side, up to some point on the Inter-Colonial Railway. The Dominion Government is expected to subsidize this road, if not build it entirely, as some compensation for burking the Canal Scheme after placing in the estimates an item of a million dollars towards its construction. Among those who believe the railway will be built the question has come up: At what point on the Inter-Colonial Railway will the Cape Tormentine Railway join? Sackville is said to be moving in favor of securing the Junction, but there is a shrewd suspicion that Shediac is the most favored. Amherst is also claiming the honor and the advantage likely to result from being made the terminus,—or the starting point,—whichever term is preferred,—maintaining that "it is equi-distant between St. John and Halifax, thus giving both cities an equal chance for the trade of P. E. Island," and that "an air line between Amherst and Bay Verte, where the line in any case must touch, is two miles shorter than an air line between Sackville and Bay Verte." A good deal of local jealousy is likely to be imported into the controversy, in the midst of which the principal value of the road, if built, may be lost sight of, namely, the assistance it will be in aiding rapid winter communication between P. E. Island and the mainland, provided a steamer or other large vessel can succeed in crossing between the Capes through the winter months. To accomplish this desirable result it appears that Mr. E. W. Sewell, of Quebec, who is described as "the promoter of the winter navigation of the St. Lawrence," agreed with the Dominion Government to carry the winter mails between the Island and the mainland, crossing between these Capes, and using a steamer of peculiar construction. It further appears, from an article in the Montreal *Gazette*, that "it is now *found impracticable to construct wharves at Capes Tormentine and Traverse*," and the contractor has been obliged to abandon those points and substitute Shediac and Summerside. It will be interesting to study the effect of this decision on the scheme for building the railway to the Capes on either side. Will the Government really encourage the building of these lines of railway, if they can not be utilized in the manner at one time hoped for? We shall be glad to see as many miles of railway constructed in our Province or on the Island as can possibly be secured, whether the Dominion Government or any other Government provides them, and it will probably be a great disappointment to a large section of Westmoreland County if a scheme, to which the people have been given to understand the Dominion Government stood committed, should break down. At the same time it is well to know the grounds on which the Government intends to proceed, or to refrain from proceeding, with this work, or whether there is really anything to justify the popular belief that it is pledged to see the road built. It is due to the people interested that the Government organs should explain the intended action of the Government.

## DR. TUPPER AND THE RAILWAY MONCTON WORKS.

In the only editorial reference the *Telegraph* has made to Dr. Tupper's speech in Halifax, it entirely misrepresents its scope. The following four lines embrace everything, purporting to give an editorial estimate of this very able political effort, that has yet appeared in the columns of our cotemporary:—

Notwithstanding that Dr. Tupper promises to restore the railway workshop to Halifax when he returns to power, the *Chronicle* castigates him in a leader of five columns.

That New Brunswick newspaper readers may see what Dr. Tupper really said on this subject we quote from his speech as reported *verbatim* for the *Herald*:—

The third relates to the machine shops and people out of employment. There is no question I am better prepared to approach. In one of the early sessions the Parliament of Canada passed a law placing the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway under the management of five commissioners. Of these five a man of great experience, Mr. Brydges, was one. Before I had the honor of a seat in the Government Mr. Brydges, the tried, trusted, flattered officer of the present administration and their ardent supporter, had power and influence enough to induce the other commissioners to fix the Central Station at Moncton. I have no hesitation in saying that, considering the knowledge and experience he brought to bear upon the subject, it would have been a bold thing to contravene his wisdom in taking this step, even if I had been in the Government at the time, but the whole thing was done before. Subsequently, however, Mr. Carvell told me one morning that Mr. Brydges had ordered him to take measurements of the machinery at Richmond, preparatory to moving the workshops to Moncton. I told him that he would do it at his peril, and it was my intervention alone that years ago prevented Mr. Brydges from carrying out his plan of dragging everything that he could out of the city of Halifax, and down to the time that we left power I took care that *the work required to be done for Nova Scotia should be done at Richmond*. I think I will be borne out in this assertion by the fact that when we did at last go out *the works were in full blast and as large, or a larger, force employed as at any time previous*. If our policy had only been continued, all the work that was recently sent out of the country to be done might have been performed at Richmond—and the works would have been in full blast still. I will say more. One of the first things that will be done when the Liberal-Conservatives are restored to power again, will be to *restore the same prosperity to Richmond which Mr. Brydges has taken away from it*.

The *Telegraph* conveys the impression that Dr. Tupper promised to have Halifax, instead of Moncton, made the headquarters of the railway. But Dr. Tupper's remarks bear no such construction. What he really said, as well as meant, was that in the event of the Liberal-Conservatives returning to power there would be *as much work done* in the Richmond Railway workshops as formerly. Certainly this can be accomplished without a break-up of the headquarters at Moncton; and, indeed, it would seem to be good public policy not to centralize the railway work too much. St. John is not yet entirely satisfied with the adoption of Moncton as headquarters, although the move seemed inevitable and is probably irrevocable; and it is not surprising that Halifax still grumbles. Dr. Tupper's statement in reference to the amount of work that was still being done in Richmond when the late Government left office is entirely correct; and if proof is asked it can be found in the columns of New Brunswick newspapers, which, in answering the statements of the Halifax Press, showed that long after the Moncton shops were in full blast, there were nearly as many employes on the pay roll at Richmond as at Moncton. Another suggestion of Dr. Tupper's deserves attention, in New Brunswick as well as in Nova Scotia, namely, that if the work recently sent out of the country by the Railway Department were done in it, there would be plenty to do in Richmond as elsewhere in the Inter-Colonial workshops. Undoubtedly, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of railway work, in building and repairing and altering locomotives, building passenger and coal cars, buying or leasing Pullman cars, could be gradually done in the workshops of our own country, either by Government or private parties—in either case providing work for skilled labor, and keeping the money in the country, instead of scattering it all over the continent, and anywhere rather than in St. John and Halifax. Dr. Tupper, in fact, is thoroughly sound on this question, and his suggestions are well worthy of consideration.

MR. ALFRED PERRY.—The *Freeman*, departing from the strict line of fact, states that the Opposition papers, to punish Mr. Alfred Perry, Manager of the "Royal Canadian" Insurance Company, for taking an active part in politics, "attack Mr. Perry's management of the Company." Mr. Anglin can scarcely plead ignorance of the true origin of the "attacks" on the Company, if such they can be called. He reads the Montreal *Herald* carefully, and we venture to say he has read therein a letter from Hon. John Young, stating his reasons for withdrawing from the Presidency of the Company. (Mr. Young, be it remembered, is a brother Grit of Mr. Perry's, the two men being equally extreme in their political notions and acts.) Mr. Young has resigned expressly because of his want of confidence in Mr. Perry's management, and his letter cites the following among other instances of what he regards as Mr. Perry's mismanagement:—

"It is stated in the report of the Directors that there are ninety-seven agencies opened and doing business throughout the Dominion; but how is it that they omitted to say that *in the State of Michigan alone there were fifty-one agencies*, where, in the opinion of the best informed underwriters in Boston and New York, there should only be eight?"

It this is an "attack" on the Company, the public will notice that it proceeds from the President himself, one of the leading spirits of the concern. This single paragraph charges two distinct blunders,—let us say,—on the management:—first, that they misrepresented their proceedings to the stockholders and the public by concealing certain facts, a statement of which was essential to a full knowledge of the Company's transactions and position; and, secondly, that in one of the United States, alone,—a "wild cat" State at that—where not more than a certain number of agencies should have been established, Mr. Perry and the Directors have opened nearly seven times that number. We have here but a sample of President Young's arraignment of the Company, which, so far from being an attack originating in quarters politically hostile to Mr. Perry, proceeds from a Grit politician who took a leading hand in making Mr. Perry General Manager of the Company. There can be little doubt that Mr. Young has entirely lost confidence in Mr. Perry, and there is as little doubt that the public are taking Mr. Young's view of the Company's management.

THE NORTH SYDNEY HERALD tells of some marvellous road expenditures in Inverness County, C. B. On the Lake Ainslie road (east side) in a distance of twelve miles the Government appointed eighteen road commissioners, thus giving each commissioner an average of two thirds of a mile of road on which to expend the public money. The sum so expended was $530, or a little over $29 to each officer: "the commission on each man's expenditure would scarcely buy the baby a christening outfit of the simplest kind." On the west side of Lake Ainslie there is another twelve miles of road really calling for expenditure as much as the other, but "these twelve miles get only $40, given in two commissions, of $20 each, to the only two men on that side of the Lake who voted for the present members." A paternal government reigns in Nova Scotia, but particularly in Inverness County, where also the patriarchal form prevails to some extent. The *Herald* assures us that at a recent meeting of the County Sessions held there, the elderly gentleman who held the chief position in the Sessions as Custos, himself a member of the Legislative Council, was assisted by one of his sons-in-law, an M. P., as legal adviser; another son-in-law is clerk of the Peace, an M.P.P. and Emigration Agent, the Sheriff of the County being a nephew of the Custos.

## THE LATEST GRIT SCANDAL.

### The Purchase of Members of Parliament.—Will there be a Judicial Investigation?—The Latest Phrase of the Scandal.

The West Durham *News* which first gave to the world the "Big Push" letter, and subsequently stated it could prove that members of Parliament were bought with money to support the Grits, now says:—

The party reported by us who, it was stated, had purchased three votes at the time of the crisis, is Hon. John Simpson, President of the Ontario Bank. Our evidence in the case was secured in this way. Simpson boasted to parties (without even asking if they would accept of his confidence) of having bought those votes, and paid as high as $30,000 for them. We at first doubted the truthfulness of the boast, and looked on it simply as a bit of swagger. Finding that the same story had been repeated by him, we instituted a search, knowing that if Simpson bought them at such prices, more had been purchased, which was virtually in substantiation of the purchasing by Simpson and others named in our charge by other parties. In fact we have got to the greatest act of corruption that was ever dreamed of let alone unearthing, these purchases, enormously bad as they are, not being the only ones. This is no mere innuendo, but a direct and positive assertion, which exposes the writer to a criminal prosecution if it is incorrect.

The Ottawa *Free Press*, speaking for Senator Simpson, replies to the West Durham *News* as follows:—

We are authorized by that gentleman to say that he never paid a dollar in his life to purchase or receive the vote of a member or an elector on behalf of himself or any other person.

There is room for a quibble in this statement, as it may have been as a Bank President, and with Bank funds, that Mr. Simpson was acting. Certainly, it was the Bank, and not Mr. Simpson personally, that gained by those electioneering circulars which Mr. Simpson sent out and which there is no denying. The Kingston *Daily News* has the following:—

We telegraphed the editor of the West Durham *News* informing him of the statement published by the *Free Press*, and received the following reply:—

"BOWMANVILLE, Nov. 16.

"Evidence good and sufficient. If not, why not "an action instead of a denial? Mr. Simpson has "now a first-class opportunity to vindicate himself "in a court of justice."

The West Durham *News* is evidently prepared for such an event, and courts the fullest enquiry. We shall wait with some interest to see what Mr. Simpson will do. It is thought strange that Mr. Simpson did not make use of the *Globe's* columns to ventilate his denial, instead of a paper that is never seen outside the capital.

The Montreal *Daily Witness*, the most influential Reform journal in Quebec Province, thinks the proposition of the West Durham *News* fair, and in the interest of the country. It remarks:—

"The accusing newspaper has already offered if a judge of the Toronto Courts is appointed to investigate these charges, either to prove them or pay the whole costs of the investigation, and this challenge has not yet been accepted, although an offer was made to lodge the money beforehand. For the alleged heavy outlay in bribery Mr. Simpson is stated to have received increased Government patronage, both Local and Dominion, for his bank, so that both these Governments seem to be involved in the charges of corruption, until they prove the contrary." "Both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake have been speaking in public since it was brought to light, but neither has thought it worth while to give it their attention, although faults of less dimensions on the part of their political opponents were not overlooked. Unless a very different line of action is adopted in this matter, the Reform Government may lose more seats than West Toronto. It is stated by their organs on their behalf that the corruption, if there has been any, was the work of private persons for which they are not responsible, but apart from the fact that one of those 'private persons' is notoriously looked upon as the central pillar of the Reform Party, as one whose influence with the Local and Dominion Governments, whose trusted agent he has been in public matters of supreme importance, is very great, the alleged favors by these Governments to Mr. Simpson's bank constitute a *prima facie* case against them." "It will not do to sneer at them as being made by 'an obscure country weekly.'" They have been taken up by leading newspapers of the country of all shades, and an independent opinion is gathering strength that between the "Big Push" and the "Pacific" scandals there is morally little or no difference.

It is daily becoming clearer that the electioneering operations of Senator Brown and Senator Simpson,—operations which had for their object the corruption of constituencies which were returning members to the other House of Parliament—will yet be more fully revealed. There is a difficulty in the House of Commons dealing with members of the Senate, even when proved, over their own signatures, guilty of corrupt practices. The question of punishment might, however, be simplified if these gentlemen were to have their wrong doing brought home to them in a Court of Justice and by their own sworn admissions. The House of Commons would be bound to take notice of the proceedings of the Courts. Hence the hesitation of the Ontario Bank President to appear in Court and prosecute the West Durham *News*. Hence, too, the dissatisfaction of the more independent Reform journals at the position in which their Party has been placed by this brace of Senatorial corruptionists. We note that the Hamilton *Evening Times*, Reform, deems full explanation necessary in reference to the "Big Push" correspondence between the Senators, while the Kingston *Whig*, Reform, candidly admits that Senator Brown is a great offender against public morality. The Toronto *Mail*, remarking on the stand taken by a few—we regret there are so few—Grit journals, says:—

If these, probably argues Mr. Brown, are the views of my friends on the letter alone, why there will be a rank mutiny if Simpson is compelled on oath to tell how much he dropped into the hat, and to explain the connection of the hat with the Government deposit account in his bank, and in the Bank of Commerce. Simpson, as I once said of his neighbour, Mr. Abram Farewell, "always was an "old fool." Why should I suffer for "an old fool?" Why should I be dragged down in the fall of Simpson? Simpson! I! Let Simpson go seek the shelter of a hollow log from the charges made against his character as a man and bank president,—the witness box is no place for "an old fool" who carries my damning secrets!

Mr. Simpson has the alternative of indicting the *News* or remaining silent, which means pleading guilty. If he choose the former, he will be forced to make a clean breast of his dealings with Mr. Brown; and if the latter, he will virtually kill himself, and materially injure the reputation of his bank, while saving Mr. Brown from further exposure. In other words, he has to choose between himself and his bank and Mr. Brown and the Party. The bank is involved, because the enormous sum said to have been paid out by Mr. Simpson must have been bank money. The Party is involved, because it was its Grand Treasurer Mr. Brown that asked the bank president to contribute. All four are involved in the charges; and whether the matter is brought into Court or not, two must be vitally compromised.

These explanations help to an understanding of the dilemma in which Senator Brown, Senator Simpson, the Government and the Grit Party find themselves at the present writing. Probably a Party of Purity were never before caught in just such an awkward fix. In the snares set for others they find themselves securely trapped. Having in the name of public morality, stimulated public sentiment in hostility to every form of political corruption, they find themselves pilloried as the most reckless and gigantic corruptionists that Canada has yet seen; and no amount of struggling or contortion, no extent of explanation or pleading, can extricate them from the painful and unfortunate position in which they are now exhibited. Opponents as well as friends of the Party will regret that the facts are what they have already been proved—to say nothing of what is to come—since they reflect disgrace not merely on a Party but on the country. Even among opponents of the Grit Party there are many sufficiently patriotic to wish to see them comfortably free from this serious embarrassment, but, unfortunately, there appears to be no hope.

LATEST FROM THE SCANDAL.—THE WEST DURHAM "NEWS" IN REPLY TO MR. SIMPSON.

Senator Simpson has telegraphed to the Ottawa *Free Press* that "he never spent a dollar in his life to purchase or secure a vote of a member or an elector on behalf of himself or any other party." There are many in this riding will say, "Tell that to the marines." Who sent the $2,000 to Clarke at the time of the Blake-Milne election? and who is it that still holds a claim of $800 for money spent at that time?

Suppose his denial to be the truth, how about his boasting of having bought up these men? Mr. Simpson cannot deny the boasting. But we forget his memory is very short. He once forgot that he ever received the "big push" letter. So we will ask him if he remembers ever having said "D——n them, they have no consciences; I had to pay off a $20,000 mortgage for one of them before he would promise to vote against John A.?" It is safe to conclude that had he been innocent he would have put it into a lawyer's hand to attend to our case, and the telegram to Ottawa would have read something like the following:—"Mr. Simpson has instructed his lawyer to take legal steps against the editor of the West Durham *News*." But no,—a simple denial is all the reply. Will the country accept of this as sufficient? We think not, especially with so many things before them to corroborate our charges.

Why is such a favor shown to the Ontario Bank by the Government, and why was Mr. Simpson capable of making such a certain prophecy of this, in his famous circular in South Ontario? Why did Mr. Simpson write a nice little letter to the Finance Minister, almost as soon as the present Government took office? Why, when certain charges were made against Mr. Simpson, did he send to know of the Government whether he should answer those charges or not, and why did the Government reply, "Certainly not?" Why did Mr. Simpson's Bank get the post office account about six weeks after this Government took office? Why have new and doubtful columns been introduced into the bank returns, where hundreds of thousands are represented, but which even directors would have no power to ascertain the correctness of? and why a great many more things? Certainly not personal friendship! Mr. Simpson bought the present Government into power; and if we are ever allowed to show up the whole case, either before a Court or a Commission, we shall show that his helping them did not quit with simply helping them into office.

Should Mr. Simpson decide to settle these charges in a court of law, we may look for a very interesting trial; but we have little hopes that he will do this; nor will the Government allow us a commission to investigate these things. *We confidently expect to see the House dissolved at the meeting of next session on some pretext or other*, and thus a charge against them prevented. It will be the simplest way to get out of the difficulty, and some of the rabidest Grits will hold them innocent.

As we have already said, the end of our charges is not yet, and what we have made has been made with due deliberation and the press need not fear to comment freely upon them. We have plenty of evidence ready to hand, that Mr. Simpson has boasted of having bought up those members, and behind and beyond this we have plenty that the members were so bought up by him and others whose names will, doubtless, appear in good time. *By-and-bye the country will know why—after two months in which it was not intended to dissolve the House—Mr. Mackenzie all at once went to the country.*

THE TORONTO "NATION" ON THE SCANDAL.—INDEPENDENT VIEW OF THE CHARGE.

The Big Push Scandal seems likely to preserve its analogy to the Pacific Railway Scandal as in other respects, so in going from bad to worse through a series of progressive revelations. The original charge of the West Durham *News* has been pretty well made good. There is no doubt of the genuineness of Mr. Brown's letter calling upon the President of the Ontario Bank for a contribution to the election fund, or of the fact that Mr. Brown's party having got into office, the new Government placed a large deposit in the bank. Mr. Brown's defence was not a denial of the charge, but an attempt to turn its edge by representing the election fund as a very small one—a representation not consistent with the other parts of the letter. The statements of the West Durham *News* are, then, so far entitled to attention. That journal now proceeds most explicitly to charge Senator Simpson with having bought outright the votes of three members of Parliament in the crisis which resulted in the overthrow of Sir John Macdonald. The sum given for the three votes is alleged to have been $30,000. The inducement to advance that large sum presumably was the expectation of Government favor to the bank. Senator Simpson denies the charge. The West Durham *News* declares itself ready to produce good and sufficient evidence; and thus issue is fairly joined. The direct purchase of the votes of Members of Parliament seems worse than anything we have had yet; but it is really not worse than the Big Push letter itself. Not even tampering with the Legislature is more dangerous in a country like ours than tampering with the banks. People now begin to see, we presume, what a backstairs dictatorship is and what an interest the country has in getting rid of it.

THE OPENING OF THE INSTITUTE COURSE OF LECTURES on Monday evening was quite successful. There was fine weather, and a very large audience assembled. Lieutenant Governor Tilley was present, and made some practical suggestions in reference to aiding the Library and the Museum. He threw out the hint that the best "monument to our Loyalist forefathers" would be a Free Library established in connection with the Institute. Rev. Mr. Carey's lecture on "Westminster Abbey" was studded with interesting historical reminiscences, bits of graphic description, and much admirable moralizing, and altogether was a pleasing paper, by a visitor to the Abbey, Mr. Carey having recently spent several months in England, apparently to some purpose. Silas Alward, Esq., previous to introducing Governor Tilley and the Lecturer, glanced at the proposed course and congratulated the audience on the fact that four of the topics selected dealt with subjects purely Canadian, a circumstance which he interpreted as indicating a growing feeling in favor of a "Canadian national sentiment." Many persons are at a loss to understand what is meant by this special form of national sentiment, and, indeed, no better subject could be chosen by some talented platform speaker than this very topic, which has puzzled not a few. Can a *Canadian* national sentiment exist beside that "sentiment" or idea which aspires to bind all the Colonies and Dominions now under the British flag, in one grand nationality? In this connexion Mr. Forster's recent speech on Imperial Federation, a United Empire, is worth reading and digesting. There has been a good deal of careless writing and speaking from time to time about our "new nationality," but, of course, within the bounds of the British Empire there can be but one "nationality." We are proud of being Canadians, and believe that before our country there is undoubtedly a great future; but we are prouder still of being British, and will find our aspirations in a "national" direction fully realized only when we are drawn still more closely to the heart of our great and glorious Mother. We believe in cultivating patriotism or love of country, and in stimulating faith in our future, but when we talk of nationality we ought to feel that we can have no prouder title, be recognized by no more honorable, comprehensive name, than that of a citizen of the British Empire.

A MALADOROUS PREMIER.—It is not quite "the odor of sanctity" that distinguishes Mr. Mackenzie's public appearances. Indeed, if the truth must be told, he seems to breathe an atmosphere redolent not of cologne but of those villainous smells which are said to distinguish the seat of its manufacture; and so unfortunate is he in their company that he seldom opens his lips without emitting something offensive. His Grit listeners invariably laugh at the maladorous demonstrations of him who should be Premier Minister of Canada, finding in his *outre* suggestions the most lively entertainment. It was at Halifax that the Premier of Canada described his political opponents as "skunks,"—a term which his candidate in West Toronto immediately hastened to apply to *his* adversaries. And at Montreal more recently, the First Minister, if not the first gentleman, of the Dominion, again reverting to the simile which so delights his soul, likened Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper to that Prince of Cambay, whose daily food was "asp and basilisk and toad"—

Which gives to him so strong a breath,
He nightly stinks a queen to death.—

which, of course, was followed by "loud and prolonged laughter" on the part of Grits well filled with wine and other "liquids." On the latter occasion, however, the Grits showed their sense of propriety by shutting themselves up securely in a room and excluding newspaper reporters, except those whom they had reason to believe would not divulge all the extraordinary gambols and vulgarities in which such gentlemen as Mr. Alfred Perry, of "Damn-the-Queen" notoriety, Mr. Fred. Mackenzie, the hero of several Commons scenes, and other notable Grits are pleased to indulge. Nevertheless, even for their own sakes, and as a security against contagion, it might have been well if some Grit Esculapius had there and then distributed on the Grit premises a liberal supply of chloride of lime or other enemy of vile odors and Grit humors. It will presently come to pass, unless Mr. Mackenzie amends his ways, that the appearance of the Premier Minister at a "banquet" or on a platform, will be the signal for a general holding of noses and stuffing of ears, until the discontinuance of Grit "laughter and cheers" has disclosed the fact that the First Minister has passed that stage of his address in which the pole-cats and stenches are wont to figure so conspicuously.

JOB MOSES' PILLS.—The Halifax *Citizen* has the following:—

"*Honi Soit qui mal y pense.*"—The Yarmouth *Tribune* directs our attention to an advertisement of a patent medicine published in our columns, which it thinks is used for improper purposes. We never paid particular attention to it before, but have since read it, and fail to see any grounds for our cotemporary's censure. The agents, Messrs. Northrop, Lyman & Co., of Toronto, are, we are informed, a highly respectable firm, and the medicine is advertised in all the leading Upper Canada papers. We scarcely think the firm would attach their name to it, or the papers publish it, if it were what the *Tribune* thinks. We shall enclose its article to Messrs. Northrop & Lyman, and if they cannot give us a satisfactory assurance about it, shall discontinue the advertisement. Meantime we advise the *Tribune* to examine its own fourth page.

The Halifax *Herald*, having had its attention directed to the same advertisement in its columns, forthwith removed it and apologized for its appearance, which it ascribed to an oversight. The proprietors of two St. John newspapers had made contracts with the agent for this Medicine, but on the receipt of information which satisfied them that the Pills are bought by some for improper purposes, they cancelled the contracts and declined to publish the advertisement. In matters of this kind, publishers, of course, adopt widely different courses, and in good faith. It ought to be permitted to any publisher to advertise whatever the law allows openly to be sold, and this rule a majority of publishers adopt. There is, however, on the part of some, hesitation in assisting what *they* believe to be wicked and degrading practices, coupled with a suspicion that if the uses to which certain remedies are put, were brought to the knowledge of the law's officers, there would be something done to suppress the sale. At present the law permits the sale of these Pills; the names of wholesale agents appear in the newspapers every day; druggists advertise them over their own signature, and there must be many purchasers, to justify the payment of large advertising bills all over Canada,—purchasers, too, who do *not* in all cases make improper use of them. It would be well if the druggists would agree as to whether the Pills are or are not a proper article of trade.

"MR. MACKENZIE THINKS DIFFERENTLY."—The *Freeman*, which pitched into its Provincial opponents for some years because, as it alleged, they were too willing to cry "Yea! Yea!" to what the Tilley Government of that day proposed, now comes down on one or two of its cotemporaries for not republishing everything Mr. Mackenzie condescends to utter, even at the private drinking bouts of "the Party," and also calls them to account for expressing an opinion, even in the most deferential tone, differing from the views of that wonderful man. It says:—

The *Telegraph* and the *News* have not published this (Mackenzie Dinner) speech, or even extracts from it. The *Telegraph* thinks that Ministers should discuss such questions as the construction of the Bay Verte Canal, even while they are the subject of enquiry and consideration. Mr. Mackenzie thinks differently.

That is all that need be said. "Mr. Mackenzie thinks differently." The Bay Verte Canal is certainly a subject well worth a few words of discussion by the Premier, notwithstanding the existence of the bogus Commission; but, then, "Mr. Mackenzie thinks differently," and that is all the tame followers need to know. The Press of St. John might properly insist upon this great scheme receiving fair play at the hands of the Government. A vigorous, manly, independent protest, becoming the Press of fifty thousand people, who know they are being deceived and humiliated by Government in a matter essential to the prosperity of the port, might aid in bringing the Government to its senses. But nothing of the kind need be expected from a Press which can be coerced into silence by the all-powerful intimation that "Mr. Mackenzie thinks differently." It is only fair to the *Telegraph* and *News* to say they are not guilty of publishing anything of which they know Mr. Mackenzie to disapprove; and it is due to the people of St. John to add that they are becoming utterly ashamed of the meek subserviency of their Daily Press.

NOVEL ENTERPRISE.—We have said, in a previous issue, that the Toronto *Globe* can not always be depended on for the latest news. Perhaps we ought to withdraw the statement and substitute an expression of our belief that it can be depended upon for the very latest news, and that where it can't obtain news from abroad it is equal to the enterprise of manufacturing it at home. Thus, on the 29th Oct. the *Globe* published a "special cablegram" dated from "the London office of the *Globe*, Cheapside, &c., Oct. 28," describing the annual meeting of the Grand Trunk Railway Co., in the British capital. On the 12th Nov. it published the same telegram, word for word, dating it "from the London office of the *Globe*, Cheapside, &c.," and applying it to the annual meeting of the *Great Western*. There are probably people among the *Globe's* readers so thoughtless as to impugn the remarkable enterprise of our Toronto Reform cotemporary, but in a day and generation when the standard of public morality is being elevated to the highest pinnacle of the Temple, the man who would cast suspicion on the motives of the *Globe* in manufacturing its "special cablegrams" would deserve to be treated as an enemy of the purest Party and the best Government that Canada ever saw.

ENGLISH EMIGRATION MATTERS.—The *Canadian News*, of London, Eng., declared that there is an "annual fraud" in connexion with the English Emigration to Canada, by which the Dominion is robbed of $200,000 yearly. Agent General Jenkins hastened to deny the soft impeachment, and now the paper reiterates its former assertion and adds:—"What if the sum we have quoted as "the amount of this annual fraud should prove to "be double, and that instead of two hundred thous"and dollars in gold, it should, when all the ac"counts are made up, come to be four hundred "thousand?" And this is the organ of Canada in England. The Upper Province papers are questioning Mr. Jenkins' utility, and the Ottawa *Citizen* asks:—"Is the *Times* prepared to defend Mr. Jen"kins' expenditure of fully one hundred and fifty "thousand dollars per annum, a part of which goes "to pay for the employment of sons of Mr. Jen"kins' Dundee constituents?" And another journal, on English authority, states that "costly emi"gration agents' conventions, champagne lunches "and princely receptions make up the sum and "substance of Mr. Edward Jenkins' administration "of affairs. Canada has to pay the bill." It strikes us that the writer is somewhat severe. He has certainly omitted one great service which Mr. Jenkins rendered Canada, and, we believe, without including it in any "bill." He was the means of having the freedom of Dundee conferred on a prominent Canadian politician. Even when criticizing a Jenkins let us not be unjust.

THE REFORM PARTY of Ontario, through the Toronto *Globe*, denounces Sir John Macdonald because he said the "Reformers," through their bungling, had caused doubts to be raised as to the constitutionality of the anti-Bribery Act. The *Globe* does this at the moment that the Reform Party in Quebec is raising this very question of constitutionality in the hope of getting the personally corrupt members elect for Argenteuil and Chambly clear of the disqualification pronounced by the Judges! This "Reform Party" is a queer bit of patchwork. It's of all textures, colors, sizes and shapes, the ground-work and only bond of union being lust of power and office.

THE ST. JOHN GRITS feel easier, now that Mr DeVeber has consented not to resign his seat in the Commons. The Minister of Customs' visit is supposed to have had something to do with the prospect of a vacancy occuring here.