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British connection
Honesty in public life

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progress and moral advancement
of our great Dominion.

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"The Thrift, Shamrock, Rose and Wine,
The Maple Leaf forever."

Semi-Weekly Telegraph
in The News

ST. JOHN, N. B., NOV. 1913.

A CURIOUS PRONOUNCEMENT.

New Zealand's action in deciding to discontinue its contribution to the Imperial Navy and to establish a naval force of its own has elicited some unambiguous comment in London. For example, there is the editorial utterance of the London Daily Telegraph, which usually is pro-imperial, and "big navy" in its tendencies. The Daily Telegraph deplores the fact that the younger British Dominions are attempting to create navies of their own. It says:

"We who are under hawking competition in naval armaments, regret that younger nations like Australia and New Zealand, should be beginning to tread the path which we, owing to our geographical situation and line of our historical developments, are bound to follow. They cannot really afford such luxuries as navies. They have sparse populations."

It refers to the agreement made in 1909 between Britain, Australia and Canada, and says that before that agreement was reached the overseas partners of Great Britain "ought to have been given a full and explicit exposition of the causes which were responsible for the change. Advantage was not taken of an opportunity which every instinct of statesmanship should have urged the Imperial authorities to seize."

Continuing, the Daily Telegraph says: "Premier Massey says the British Dominions are going to be as self-reliant as the Pacific as the mother country in European waters. We deplore, on highest grounds, humanitarian, imperial, and national, that the revenue which is needed for internal development, and men who might be far more profitably employed ashore, should be thus diverted. Shackling these young peoples, with their urgent problems still involved, in the bonds of naval rivalry is one of the most regrettable incidents in the story of the Empire since it first awoke to consciousness of itself."

Presumably the Daily Telegraph is taking this line in support of the naval policy of centralization, believing that New Zealand's example, and Australia's example, is now likely to be followed in Canada.

Yet several London journals, which have usually been thought to favor centralization, now openly praise the example of New Zealand. The London Times, while careful to argue that New Zealand's action does not affect the Canadian case, says that the old arrangement was not one to stimulate the pride and patriotism of a country in its own. Just what that should be true of New Zealand and not of Canada we are not permitted to know.

The London Morning Post says New Zealand is displaying pluck and devotion. It says further:

"It is, we are more and more convinced, the right policy, believing that the realities of life, and will go to give them strength and self-reliance from the naval point of view. It will at least mean a certain loss of strength and unity, but in the end may add more to our imperial strength than anything which could be hoped for from a cash subsidy policy."

The Times and Post are quick to see that when any of the overseas dominions has made up its mind to proceed along any line of participation in naval defence it ought to be encouraged for Imperial reasons. The London Times has recently considered, somewhat favorably, the question of colonial navies.

All of this comment should remind Canada that Great Britain, which would quickly favor a real Canadian navy if it were decided upon here, could scarcely fail to answer Mr. Borden in the way he indicated he desired to be answered when he asked certain leading questions about naval defence.

Meanwhile, it seems to be by no means certain that the Conservative party is committed beyond recall to the policy of contribution. The Toronto Star puts it this way:

"What will Canada do? Honestly, we do not believe that Mr. Borden has made up his mind. For the present, he has chosen the \$85,000,000 grant as the easiest way out of the difficulty. But does that really represent his temporary or his permanent policy? When that money is spent, would he propose another contribution, or organize a Canadian fleet? We are convinced that Canadians will not stand for regular contributions. They will grow tired of them, as Australia and New Zealand have done. Then, if we call Mr. Borden's a temporary policy, what is to be his, or rather what is to be our, permanent policy? Somebody must face that question. We cannot always drift and temporize and procrastinate; and the grant of \$85,000,000 means temporizing and nothing else. It means shifting the duty of decision to the shoulders of our successors."

THE PREMIER'S VACATION.

The Canadian, whatever his political complexion be, who is Prime Minister of Canada, occupies a position of increasing dignity and importance in the British Empire, and the country as a whole wishes him well. Therefore, the public at large will learn with some satisfaction that recent reports concerning the Rt. Hon. Mr. Borden's health have been exaggerated. A telegram published this morning indicates that while suffering somewhat from such disabilities as nervousness, insomnia, and boils, Hon. Mr. Borden is still able, at the beginning of an extended vacation, to stop in New York to address the Pilgrims' Society, after which he is to enjoy a period of repose, presumably far enough distant from Ontario to escape the disturbing echoes of South Bruce.

A man in Mr. Borden's position is indeed most unfortunate if he is suffering from ragged nerves, or from any relations with the demon of sleeplessness, for a man occupying so important an office is in need of a most robust constitution, coupled with a serene disposition, even under ordinary circumstances, and it must not be forgotten that the Prime Minister of late has had much public business of a disturbing character to deal with. Several of his cabinet ministers are by no means associates well calculated to be of benefit to a man suffering from nervousness and insomnia, not to mention Joly's affliction. The Hon. Mr. Hazen, Hon. Mr. Rogers, Hon. Mr. Hughes, and Hon. Mr. Cochrane, to go no farther afield, are not restful cabinet colleagues. They would be likely to give a Premier insomnia even if he had been a fine sleeper before they became members of his official family.

But the main point for congratulation is that Mr. Borden has been fortunate enough to deliver himself, for a time at least, from close contact with the wearying associations, and will give his shattered soul some respite, presumably on the golf courses of the American South. Canadians all will wish for him a pleasant vacation and speedy restoration to his normal good health. Even the famous "emergency" can wait. It isn't what it used to be.

AN INDEPENDENT VIEW.

The Montreal Daily Mail, which describes itself as independent in politics, and which has been living up to its promise of impartiality fairly well, publishes a long despatch from Ottawa reviewing the political conditions in the light of the government's defeat in South Bruce. The Mail expresses the opinion that it is now recognized in government circles that the opening of the constituency was a mistake, and it says that whatever doubt there was about the government reintroducing the Naval Bill, or one like it, at the next session of Parliament, has been strengthened by the votes in East Middlesex and South Bruce, followed as they were by New Zealand's resolution to abandon its contribution policy and establish a navy of its own.

The Mail believes that Mr. Borden will allow the naval question to rest, and that the first place at the next session will be given to the redistribution bill. The Mail is doubtless well informed in this respect, but it will appear to the public that if Mr. Borden decides upon further delay in regard to his plan of contribution, the emergency about which he has been talking cannot be so urgent a matter as he would like Canadians to believe.

In looking ahead, the Mail's survey goes beyond the naval question and takes into consideration the speed with which the tariff issue has reached once more a conspicuous place in the public thought. The Mail's Ottawa correspondent says on this point:

"The Liberals, it is very apparent, feel heartened as a result of the South Bruce victory, following the reduction of the government majority in East Middlesex. It is considered significant that both these events followed immediately after Sir Wilfrid Laurier's pronouncement in Chateaugay in favor of a general tariff revision downwards as a means of reducing the cost of living. Mr. Borden Trux, the successful candidate in South Bruce, at all his meetings advocated reciprocity with the United States in natural products. "The demand of the Western farmers for tariff reduction and an increase of the British preference is being vigorously reiterated. "It is altogether likely, therefore, that

the Liberals, encouraged by recent events and in the absence of the naval discussion, will throw their energies into a fight for tariff reduction. While they can effect nothing in the way of legislation in the face of the government majority, they can, perhaps, drive it to the front as an issue at the next general election."

The fight for tariff reduction should be a winning fight. Mr. Borden has been warned by the interests against increasing the British preference, but if he is compelled to heed that warning he will be piling up trouble for himself politically. The proposal to increase the preference is popular in every province, and it is recognized also that there must be other tariff changes in order to give the consumer the same advantages which the producer is now receiving as a result of the action of the United States in introducing a large measure of tariff freedom. The view of the independent Mail of interest in tending to show the position occupied by the Liberal party at this time.

ONE WAY.

When you cannot successfully fight a thing, all is not lost, you can still embrace it. Apparently this is the attitude that the Conservative party is preparing to take towards reciprocity. By fooling the people with a multitude of side issues, having one policy in Quebec and another in Ontario, and still another in the Maritime Provinces, and by shouting from Sydney to Victoria the eternal verities of the old flag, they achieved a fugitive success against this issue. But the issue has continued to haunt them. Now we are to have reciprocity fused with higher protection for the manufacturers and shopped through the present cabinet. The tumult and the shouting dies; the catchwords to catch votes are forgotten, and on every hand Conservatives are heard saying, "We never believed that reciprocity was really bad; we never believed it would ruin our farmers or sever us from our allegiance, although we proclaimed that it would from every platform. We did that to get into power, and we would gladly do so again."

It is a case of reverting to type. Sir John Macdonald, in the last generation, regarded the protective system as particularly unsuited to Canada, and he took it up solely as a political expedient without in the least believing in it. He could gain a political advantage by heeding nothing what the ultimate consequence might be to the country at large, although, unlike the present leaders, he was most sagacious enough to foresee them in most cases. What he did in the unsettled days of '78, when conditions may have furnished some justification, Mr. Borden is preparing to do in the very practical and very drab present. There is no pretence that the sentiments of the cabinet have undergone any change. The manufacturers and trusts that worked to place it in power are still depending for their pay envelopes, both the wheat and other natural products is not to be resisted, and this demand may be granted at the next session of parliament. But, unfortunately, when Mr. Borden removes the duty on natural products he will do so without receiving the special benefits that would have come with the reciprocity agreement. He will not only admit wheat into Canada duty free from the thirteen favored countries that would participate in the advantages that this agreement offered, but from the whole world.

The Liberals will rejoice to see any part of their policy and principles going into operation, but how the Conservative party must delight in such leadership as they are enjoying at present.

Mr. Borden has led the party down slippery ways, and no matter how many Liberal policies he may espouse, he can never lead it back to honesty. George Elliot wrote in light fashion, but she wrote in truth when she said: "No dog is dried once more to meet. No cock-new-shaven by the wheel; Nor now, by wishing back to Then, And having tasted stolen honey, You can't put innocence for money."

POLICE MATTERS.

As the investigation into police conditions has assumed a serious direction in the matter of allegations and intimations made by witnesses, it may be said that, whatever may be the result of the hearing, the public will expect that the testimony of the men involved in the proceedings will, sooner or later, be subjected to the ordinary test of cross-examination. If it is deemed improper, or against public policy, to have cross-examination at the present hearing, no serious charge should be permitted to escape this test before another tribunal. Justice demands that.

It must be assumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the main purpose of the investigation is to bring about reforms in the police department such as will give the citizens the greatest degree of security for life and property that can be had for a reasonable expenditure in a city of this size. Whatever may be alleged, it is not at all likely that public morality in St. John, in the streets or elsewhere, is in any worse state than in the average Canadian community of this size, and it is highly probable that conditions in this respect are better here than they are in most foreign cities of equal population.

Nevertheless, in police circles and outside them, there have grown up in St. John conditions which cry loudly for correction, and it should be the part of all good citizens to support any movement, properly directed, and animated by sound motives, looking to reform.

For the present it must be remembered that this inquiry is unfinished, and that it is therefore unwise and improper to base conclusions as to its outcome upon such testimony as has been heard up to this point. It is well to remember

also, that whether or not some or all of the accused men in the present case are guilty, no man's guilt can be established by ex parte evidence, and that any testimony tending to damage or incriminate a citizen can only be weighed and measured properly after it has been tested by the ordinary processes of British justice, which include not only accusation but both defence and cross-examination.

Under our present civic constitution the Mayor and Commissioners are charged with the conduct of all of our civic business, and no doubt they have satisfied themselves that the present form of investigation is wise. Their reasons for coming to that conclusion can be weighed more surely after the investigation is over than now.

ST. JOHN WILL FIGHT.

After waiting vainly for five weeks to copy of the Gutelius-Bosworth agreement, and receiving three days ago a summary of the terms of agreement, only, upon realizing fully the value of the blow aimed at this port, and which is to fall on November 15, St. John last evening decided to fight for justice and to keep on fighting until it wins or until it has exposed and discredited those who are conspiring against its prosperity.

In the course of a great meeting at the Board of Trade, composed of a large and earnest company of business men representing both sides of politics, Mr. St. John declared that the employment of the I. C. R. as an instrument to deprive St. John of traffic which is justly ours by reason of our geographical position and our equipment, and to insist that the government refrain from signing the Gutelius agreement or permitting it to become effective at least until it has been submitted to the Railway Commission.

In addition to asking the government to hold its hand in this matter until the Railway Commission has had a chance to look into it, the meeting decided to send Hon. William Pugsley and Recorder Baxter to act as the city's counsel before the Commission, and to furnish these gentlemen with the best traffic expert obtainable, the fee of the latter to be paid by the city. The Mayor and Commissioners having volunteered to provide the money, Hon. Mr. Pugsley agreed to give his services free of charge if his assistance was desired, and the meeting made it clear that his offer was heartily appreciated. He said, also, at the conclusion of his most forceful summing up of the nature and effect of the injurious agreement, that he was ready to resign his seat in Parliament if his constituents desired him to do so in order to give them an opportunity of demonstrating to the government how St. John felt about the threatened blow at its business, its prestige and its future prospects.

Dr. Pugsley, in the course of his remarks, pointed out that if the proposed agreement goes into effect one requirement over and above the diversion of the Grand Trunk Pacific would demand Gutelius rates from Moncton to Halifax and carry its traffic to that port. He illustrated the obvious injury of the agreement by saying it was equivalent to moving Halifax to a point forty miles east of Moncton, thus robbing us of the advantages of our geographical position instead of permitting fair competition between all ports as was guaranteed when the new mail subsidy act was passed by Parliament.

While there necessarily was much talk of rates as such, Dr. Pugsley made most prominent in his argument this fundamental issue—that if the government permitted the unjust agreement to go into effect it would be striking directly at this port and at the same time doing an injustice to the whole country.

Mr. D. F. Pidgeon, and other speakers, both Conservative and Liberal, spoke warmly in appreciation of Dr. Pugsley's arguments, which they all endorsed with one unheggy exception—Commissioner Agas—and supplemented them with additional arguments, which in the earnestness and vigor with which they were presented and the applause they elicited, showed clearly that the city is going to fight this issue to a conclusion.

Mr. W. E. Foster and Mr. Pidgeon crystallized the sentiment of the meeting in strong resolutions, setting forth St. John's position, and urging the government to withhold its approval from the agreement until there has been a hearing before the Railway Commission, at the earliest possible moment, at which hearing this city is to be represented.

In the speeches Wednesday night the issue was more clearly presented than on previous occasions. There was greater insistence upon the main point—that as St. John is the winter port nearest the heart of the country, it must, under fair conditions, get the traffic with the loss of which it is now confronted. It was pointed out that prior to September 30 last the two Empresses and the Calgarian and Alaskan—four of the direct mail steamers—were scheduled to sail to and from St. John direct.

Up to that time St. John not only was to have this most important traffic important both in a business way and in point of the prestige attaching to the mail service, but we were thus also guaranteed a test of the direct St. John-Liverpool route by fast steamers, which have been of the utmost importance in demonstrating the truth of the contention of the C. P. R. that the mails could be handled more expeditiously through this port than through any other in the winter season.

Then something happened, and we were deprived of all of these advantages which were coming to us because of our geographical situation and our port equipment. What was that? Something? It was the act of an official of the Federal

government, who introduced the I. C. R. into the situation, thereby making possible what was otherwise impossible, viz., the diversion of the mail steamers from St. John. That official was Mr. Gutelius, and through his action, which the government is apparently about to father, St. John is losing the ships, the business, and the prestige.

Therefore, over and above the question of rates as such, it becomes of the highest importance that the government should not sign the Gutelius agreement, for by doing so it will be discriminating against St. John in the most direct way possible, by causing the I. C. R. to be used as a lever to favor one port at the expense of another—and at the expense of the whole country.

They tell us that St. John will be subject to this loss for this season only. But how do we know? If vigorous efforts are made by the government—and we have had indications of this lately—to rush the equipment of another port, applying emergency measures to do so, will not that other port next year set up a serious claim to hold the traffic that has once been delivered to it in this fashion, and demand more under the same conditions?

The fight must be carried on now—at once and for as long as may prove necessary. That is the clearest and gravest lesson proclaimed by the facts. Moreover when we consider the probable future effects of the agreement it is found that it is likely to strike us in the matter of the Grand Trunk Pacific as well, for the rate the government gives the C. P. R. between St. John and Halifax it will be in no position to deny to the Grand Trunk Pacific between Moncton and Halifax—particularly if Ottawa as it is to-day.

In all these circumstances, all sound counsel is summed up in the one word, Fight!

THE ROOT OF THE MATTER.

The activities of the British Liberals in working out the many salutary reforms they have undertaken have led them from one position to another, right back to the land question. They have tried bailing the boat, now they are going to stop the leak. Lloyd George does not imagine that the proper treatment of the land question will remedy everything, but he has decided that it will remove fundamental difficulties and facilitate the treatment of others. Weary of dallying with effects, he is going back to the treatment of causes.

The need for this was recognized long ago by Thomas Hardy when he said: "The Danes sword of the poor is the fear of being turned out of their houses by the farmer or squire." Many of the evils that have come apparently from the complex development of industrialism, are really due to the fact that the people have been hampered in the use of the natural resources of the country.

It kept wages low, increased competition among the workers, and caused widespread misery. The pressure that has resulted from shutting the people from the land, would have been felt more severely, and would have forced itself into the forefront of politics long ago, had it not been for the fact that this pressure was somewhat relieved by the industrial development which followed the invention of the spinning-jenny, the power-loom, and the gigantic growth of modern machinery. Britain had a long lead in modern manufacturing, and she exchanged the products of her factories for the foodstuffs and products of other lands, thus utilizing these other lands to redress the balance in her own. Now the countries to which she sent her manufactured goods are manufacturing for themselves, and competing with her in neutral markets, and, with increasing competition, and an increasing population the land question is becoming more urgent.

The new valuation of land under the finance act of four years ago is furnishing the foundations for the proposed reform. The land is to be made, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said: "Less a pleasure-house for the rich and more a treasure-house for the nation." The cottage will have security of tenure. No longer will it be possible for the squire to evict a farmer because his daughter has an illegitimate child or because his son poaches. The farmer will obtain security of tenure, and the power of redressing his grievances, without the risk of losing his farm. According to Lord George's speech at Swindon, if a farmer registers his notice, the notice is reasonable, and if a landlord sells his estate, and a tenant is disturbed, the seller must compensate him. The simple provision will protect the farmer from the exercise of power that is personal or unreasonable in its motive and will not impose an undue burden on the landlord.

But it is chiefly in the matter of housing that the condition of the laborer is to be improved. The housing problem has become very acute in the English villages. The social result of the power of the landlords has been a reversion to civilization and deplorable in every way. The report of the land inquiry committee says:

"It has been the boast of the great landlords and farmers that, during the nineteenth century they have enormously improved the breed of British stock. Shorthorns, Herefords and Shires are famous the world over, and are exported to countries as far distant as the Argentine and New Zealand. No pains are spared to improve their quality; stalls and sheds have been built regardless of expense, which are kept spotlessly clean, absolutely rainproof and equipped with the latest improvements; and modern science has devised a host of new feeding-stuffs, so that the stock may obtain the requisite amount of nutriment all the year through. But

when we turn to the laborer, especially in the low-paid counties, we find a totally different state of affairs. In these counties he is housed in a way in which no up-to-date farmer would dream of housing his prime stock; his nutriment is quite inadequate to keep him and his family in proper health; the clothing which he can afford to buy is not sufficient to keep out damp, or to shield him from the rheumatism which cripples his old age, with the result that many of the most progressive farmers loudly lament the decay of the laborer and the immense economic loss which it involves to farming."

The proposed land reform marks the end of an era. Fifty years ago Ruskin or Carlyle could passionately plead with the gentlemen of England to take up the burden of government committed to a landed aristocracy. This idea of a revived feudalism appeals to no one today. The old trinity of landlord, farmer and landless laborer, that in the past was considered something of a providential order, has been ended by the exodus of the laborer. Most of the young and able-bodied, all who possess energy and hope and confidence in themselves, have poured from the deserted fields into the streets of the towns. Now in times of fruit-picking and hop-harvest dependence must be placed upon nomadic labor lured for a moment from the slums of the city. These casual laborers have taken the place of the yeoman of the past, and the land has passed back into grass and pasture, cattle or game taking the place of men. The present government realizes that the restoration of the people to their land is the one consistent need of social reform. It is necessary, if for no other reason than to provide the stream of vigorous life to replenish the furnace of the cities. This stream was about drying up at its source.

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TORIES WAR IN SOUTH LANARK

Government Afraid to Set By-Election Date Because of Feud

TWO CANDIDATES

Independent Conservatives Refuses to Retire, in Spite of All Sorts of Inducements—Fear Liberal May Win Where Government Majority Was \$2,000 in 1911.

Ottawa, Nov. 4.—That the family feud, still in progress and increasing in bitterness each day, down in South Lanark, is creating certain uneasiness in ministerial circles here is evident from the fact that there is no indication yet of a date being fixed for the by-election to take place. In fact it is doubted whether the date will be fixed until Premier Borden returns from his holiday.

In the meantime efforts are being made to persuade Col. Balderson, the Independent-Conservative candidate, to withdraw in favor of Dr. Hanna who was nominated by the convention. So far Col. Balderson has refused to be called off in the columns of the Smiths Falls News, the Conservative County Association is designated as an association of "ringsters, crooks, clerics and bosses."

"That the political situation in South Lanark," says the News, which favors the candidature of Col. Balderson, "has for many years past been controlled by a few wirepullers in Perth is so evident that the fact needs to be more than mentioned. Whenever a general election has been called or a convention has occurred in Perth, the ring has at once got busy and struggles have been pulled for the bosses."

It is feared here that if the feud continues, and Col. Balderson persists in running, the Liberals will take advantage of the situation to slip a candidate in between in the hope of winning an otherwise safe Conservative seat by a split vote. This is believed to account for the delay in fixing the date for nomination and polling day.

The late John Haggard had over 2,000 majority in South Lanark in 1911.

VAST TRACT OF CROWN LAND SOLD FOR \$2 AN ACRE

Ottawa, Nov. 4.—The treasury of New Brunswick is to be enriched by \$136,000 as a result of the conclusion of an agreement between the federal and provincial governments for the handing of Muffs are quite large, or of medium size.

One of the humors of the South Bruce campaign is that Mr. Trux had to fight single-handed a whole army of government supporters. Mr. Trux had no one to assist him—absolutely none, except, of course, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. George Graham, Hon. Mackenzie King, Duncan Ross, M. P., W. M. German, M. P., J. A. McMillan, M. P., Hugh Guthrie, M. P., B. McCoy, M. P., F. F. P. P., M. P., W. G. Chas. Thomas, M. P., and others "too numerous to mention," as the sale bills say.

We print this in order to extend our congratulations to the persons named. They are good fighters—Toronto Star, Lib.

Mr. McGill also had numerous and distinguished gentlemen campaigning in his support, but the government's case was too desperate for all the Tory doctors.

There are about 3,000 ice manufacturing plants in the United States, equipped with machinery capable of producing between 18,000,000 tons and 20,000,000 tons of ice annually. The capital invested in the ice-making industry is not less than \$100,000,000.

The flower-trimmed hat has returned.

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