FOR ELECTION JUNE 23

Premier—Sir Chas. Tupper, Bart.

THE PEOPLES' CANDIDATES.

KINGS:
A. C. Macdonald.
WEST QUEEN'S:
Dr. Jenkins.
EAST QUEEN'S:
Alexander Martin.
WEST PRINCE:
Edward Hackett.
EAST PRINCE:
Richard Hunt.

The Conservative Platform.

1. The National Policy.
2. Preferential Trade Within the Bounds of the Empire.
3. Fast Atlantic Service.
4. Pacific Cable.
5. Justice to Minorities.
6. Development of Agriculture.
7. National Defence.
8. Encouragement of Immigration.
9. Admission of Newfoundland to Confederation.
10. Maintenance of Canadian Credit.

THE HERALD

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1896.

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JAMES McISAAC,
Editor & Proprietor.

Reflections for the Electors.

As the ballots shall be cast, and the people shall have made choice of the political party to whose management the public affairs of Canada shall be confided for the next five years, ere we again have an opportunity of addressing our readers, we consider it our duty to reiterate and accentuate the reasons by which, we believe the electors should be guided in making a choice of representatives. There is one surprising fact which must have come under the notice of everyone who takes an active interest in the campaign; that is the number of Grit voters who shout for their candidate and express their determination to vote for him, without really knowing why. It is undeniable that the Grits have no definite platform on the trade question, on the Manitoba School question, or on any other issue before the electorate. Their candidates, their public speakers and their press, are simply trying to deceive. They rely on their ability to divert public attention from the real issues before the people; to obscure, by verbal [illegible] the questions to be discussed, and to deal out lying stories and vile slanders against the Conservatives. The Grit candidates do not pretend to have any definite policy to present to the electors, on the great public questions of the day; each one has a policy of his own, to suit his peculiar circumstances, and all of them change their platforms according as the exigencies of locality or audience demand. Yet, in the face of all this, you will find men, otherwise shrewd, who would never think of concluding any transaction of a business nature without a thorough and searching investigation of all the facts, taking these Grit spouters at their word and "hurrahing" for them. They do not desire to hear the great public questions explained by the Conservatives, and they positively refuse to read the arguments advanced by the Conservative press. They will only read one side of the story, that published in the Grit press, no matter how inflated, how misleading or how lying that may be. Can it be that such people are afraid of the truth; can it be that they fear they will be converted if they read and studied the other side; can it be that they have a vague apprehension of the untenableness of the cause they have espoused, but dread the possibility of this apprehension being changed to conviction by having the truth flashed before their minds? Rotten, indeed, must be the cause that will not stand the test of reasonable criticism, and despicable must be the straits to which party leaders are reduced, when they have recourse to such tactics as we have just enumerated. Yet, no one who, with unbiased mind, surveys the political situation in this Dominion at the present time, can fail to perceive that this is exactly the position of the Grit party. Surely, the choosing of those who are to govern us is a serious matter that should not be rashly decided, but should receive the careful attention of every intelligent elector. Our choice of candidates for parliamentary honors should not be a matter of mere caprice, and should not be determined upon until the fairest, fullest and freest investigation and comparison are made of the policies, reasons and arguments upon which the suffrages of the electors are sought. This is the only course for intelligent electors to adopt, and this is the course the Liberal-Conservative party is desirous every elector in Canada should pursue. The Liberal-Conservative party conceals nothing from the public; it places its policy fairly and squarely before the electorate and courts the fullest and freest enquiry and criticism.

JUDGED BY THEIR ACTIONS.

The only way to judge of the future is by the past. Let us apply this manner of judgment to the course pursued by the two great parties now seeking the suffrages of the electorate and we will find that while the Liberal-Conservatives have pursued a policy of development, of progress, of constructiveness, the Grits have not only done nothing for the advancement and progress of the country, but have invariably exerted themselves to prevent the Conservatives from carrying out their progressive and beneficent policy. The energies of the Grits have been exerted against the welfare of their country. Theirs has been an obstructive and destructive policy. Not only that, it has been a policy of debt and deficits. The Liberal-Conservatives wished to secure the Hudson Bay Territory, Canada's great North West, and for that purpose proposed a grant of £300,000 sterling. The Grits opposed it. Let us suppose now that they had their way, and what would have been the consequence? It is altogether likely the United States would have secured that immense territory and thus our country would have been cut in two. The great prairie region between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains would have been taken from us, and we never would have the great continent we have joined from ocean to ocean by an iron band. Fortunately the Liberal-Conservatives had their way and to-day we have those magnificent wheat fields that, last year, produced eighty millions bushels, worth, at the most moderate price $24,000,000. After securing this vast territory, it was necessary to open it up for settlement, and for this purpose the Liberal-Conservatives proposed to build a railway across the country. The Liberals opposed the project and pronounced it an insane undertaking. Yet in six years the project inaugurated by the Liberal-Conservatives was carried out, the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, a work that has done more than anything else to enhance the credit and prestige of the country. From 1873 to 1878, the Grits were in power, and what did they do for the country? Nothing; very much less than nothing! During their five years of office, they heaped up a debt and deficit of $20,000,000, an average of $3,000,000 a year, besides adding $3,000,000 a year to the taxes. What had they to show for it? Nothing! Had they done simply nothing, matters would not have been quite so bad for the country. But their destructive energies were brought into play and the trade of the country suffered severely in consequence. From 1874 to 1878 the foreign trade of the country was diminished to the extent of $64,000,000. Under their jug-handled tariff arrangement, the industries of the country were paralyzed and, one by one, were swept away. Five years of this destructive energy was all the people of Canada wanted, and whenever they got the opportunity, our Grit friends were granted a vacation that has lasted eighteen years, and is in a fair way of lasting, at least five years more. When the Conservatives came into power in 1878, they introduced the National policy, for the purpose of developing the natural resources of the country and establishing its industries. But, as usual, the Grits denounced it. The Conservatives have had their way, nevertheless, and what has been the result? Our industries have been fostered and built up; our artisans have been employed at home instead of seeking employment in a foreign country; from 1881 to 1891 the wages paid increased from $59,000,000 to $100,000,000. But how has the National policy affected the farmer? The home market has been increased since 1878 from $51,000,000 to $96,000,000 a year. Nor is that all, our sales of agricultural products abroad have increased from $27,000,000 in 1878 to 48,000,000 in 1895, showing an increase in foreign sales to the amount of over $20,000,000. Under the Government's fostering care, directed by Professors Saunders and Robertson, the cheese industry has resulted in sales amounting to $15,000,000. The protection to the meat producing interests of the country, has reduced the sales of United States meat in our market from $3,500,000 a year, to $500,000. The net result of this to the Canadian farmer was an increase of the sales of Canadian meat in the home market from $164,000 in to $172,000 in 1889, and $600,000, in round numbers in 1895. Notwithstanding all the great public works the Liberal-Conservative Government have constructed; notwithstanding the extraordinary development of the country's resources that has taken place during their term of office; notwithstanding how the industries have been built up, the interest on the public debt has increased only twenty cents per head of the population for the past eighteen years. Is there a reasonable man in the Dominion who would wish to go back where we were in 1878 for the sake of twenty cents a year? This is what the Montreal Star, an independent paper, says regarding the farmers and the tariff: "The farmer, less probably than any class of the population, is indirectly taxed by the customs duties. His tea, coffee and sugar can be had free, his other articles of consumption he produces, and his sale of the surplus is protected against American competition. His clothing need pay no tax. his piano, his carts and carriages are made in the country, his farm implements are also made in Canada and sold as cheaply as in the United States. To specify is almost unnecessary; the fact remains that the deposits in post office savings banks, in private and chartered bank agencies throughout the country have enormously augmented during the past eighteen years, the loan and mortgage companies speak with pleasure at their meetings, of the ease with which the farmer who has borrowed to make improvements discharges his obligations. The Liberal party promises vague reductions in his taxation, and on the other hand the present Government has by recasting the tariff from time to time made the farmer the least taxed man in the country, while spending millions to place at his disposal and within easy reach of the principal home centres and the seaboard the best farmlands in the world, giving him at the same time a home market." Electors, before you cast your ballot, carefully study these facts, compare the records of the two parties and ask yourselves which has been most beneficial to Canada.

PRESENT PLATFORMS OF THE PARTIES.

If the policies and records of the respective parties, for the past eighteen years prove, as they most emphatically do, the utter incapacity of the Grit party to govern this country, the attitude assumed by them before the great electorate in the present contest, is even more damaging to the Grits, if such a thing were possible. The Conservatives, through the great statesman who leads them, Sir Charles Tuppe, have issued to the electors a manifesto, setting forth, in positive and emphatic language, the principles upon which they ask for the peoples' support. The matters embraced in this election manifesto are familiar to our readers. The policy under which Canada has made such giant strides during the last eighteen years is adhered to; and such other projects as are of the utmost importance to meet the requirements of the country's almost unprecedented progress, are added to the Governments programme These we have repeatedly enumerated, and are well known to our readers. They embrace the fast Aalantic service; preferential trade, etc. The Government take full responsibility for the course they have pursued on all the great questions that have come before Parliament since they last appealed to the people, and announce in language that cannot be misunderstood, the attitude they are prepared to assume on all the questions at issue in the present campaign. The Government have but one programme; they have the same statement to make from one end of the country to the other. If we turn to the Opposition what do we find? No definite policy on any of the great living issues; equivocation and evasion; different programmes in different places; different statements by different members of the party; an appeal to prejudices of one kind in one section of the country, and an appeal to prejudices of a directly opposite nature in another section. Such a programme certainly has the merit of variety if nothing else; but is that the kind of political doctrine to which the electorate of Canada wish to pin their faith, is that the kind of political doctrine best calculated to develop our industries, to inhance our credit and to raise us in the estimation of the nations of the world? Let us assume their trade policy is free trade as it is in England, as that seems to have been their shibboleth when last heard from. Do the electors of Canada believe such a policy would be best for our country? We refer our readers to an article on our fourth page which sets forth in plain figures how such a trade policy would affect us. Are our people anxious to give up the present system for the privilege of putting their hands in their pockets and paying large sums in direct taxation? If not vote to maintain the presen tariff arrangements. Under free trade as it is in England the exports of the products of British and Irish industry fell off nearly £48,000,000 from 1890 to 1894. Under this system the condition of the British farmer has become very serious. Do our farmers want to fall into the same slough of despond? Under this system our home market would, to a great extent, be glutted with the agricultural products of the United States, to the great detriment of our agriculturists. This is shown beyond the possibility of doubt, by the unanimous opinion of the United States consular agents in Canada, as set forth in the reports published in 1895. The ablest man in the ranks of the Liberal party of late years, Hon. Edward Blake, confessed that free trade for Canada was impracticable, and he gave expression to this belief in his Malvern speech, prior to the elections of 1887, as follows: "No man, I care not how convinced an advocate of free trade for Canada he may be, has yet suggested—no man, I believe, can suggest—a practical plan whereby our great revenue needs can be met otherwise than by the continued imposition of very high duties on goods similar to those we make, or can make, within our bounds, or on the raw materials. I invite the most ardent free trader in public life to present a plausible solution of this problem, and I contend that he is bound to do so before he talks of free trade as practicable in Canada. I have not believed it soluble in my day, and any chance of its solubility, if chance there were, has been destroyed be the vast increase of our yearly charges, and by the other conditions which have been created. The thing is removed from the domain of practical politics." In 1891 Mr. Blake was still more strongly convinced that the trade policy of his party must result in direct taxation and discrimination against the mother country. In consequence of this conviction, he refused to be a candidate for election, and left the party. He wrote a letter setting forth these reasons in the strongest possible light. Our readers know of that letter; how it bore out the contentions of the Conservatives, and they know, too, that had that letter been published before the election rather than after it, the Government would have come into power with a very much larger majority than they received. Perhaps the very strongest evidence of the untenableness of the Grit cause and the desperation to which they are reduced is found in the unhallowed alliances they make; the vile slanders they indulge in regarding Sir Charles Tupper and other Conservatives, and the outrageous falsehoods they publish regarding the election campaign generally. Only last week disclosures were made in the Province of Ontario, whereby it was shown that the arch-traitor Edward Farrer was again at the bottom of a conspiracy to injure the Conservatives and assist the Grits. Dalton McCarthy, the President of the Patrons of Industry, and the Grit whip in the last Parliament, were Mr. Farrer's associates in the nefarious work, The Patrons, McCarthyites and Grits had agreed to work together to defeat a Conservative candidate wherever possible. The exposure of the conspiracy will have the effect of opening the eyes of any Conservatives who have been simple enough to join that annex of Gritism, the Patrons of Industry association. Next came the lying statement, published under scare head lines, in every Grit paper in the land, that Hon. Dr. Montague had resigned. The Patriot published the telegram on Thursday and on Friday backed it up with an editorial. On the very same day, Friday, the most emphatic contradiction came from Ottawa, yet our contemporary persisted in the falsehood. The facts of the matter is that on the very day the false information first appeared in the Patriot Hon. Dr. Montague was with Sir Charles Tupper attending a monster meeting in London, Ontario, where he spoke, and he there treated the report with the ridicule it deserved. Desperate, indeed, must be the condition of affairs in the Grit camp, when recourse must be had to such tactics. There is nothing too vile for the Grits to charge against Sir Charles Tupper, or that they do not charge against him in a general way; yet they dare not make a formal charge against him on the floor of Parliament. Whenever one of these fabrications is submitted to the test of investigation, it immediately vanishes. It is not against Sir Charles alone that insinuations of corruption are made by the Grits; the retailing of such charges forms their principal stock in trade. Were it not for this shibboleth they would be at a loss for something to say at public meetings; for they never discuss on their merits the issues before the electorate. By shouting "boodle" and "corruption" they hope to divert attention from the untenable position they occupy. There is no argument in that kind of warfare. It is not claimed that every member of the Conservative party is a paragon of perfection, any more than his Grit neighbor, but there is this to be said, that whenever it has came to the notice of the Government that anyone has offended, the matter is investigated and the guilty one punished. But let us enquire whether or not it lies in the mouths of our Grit friends to shout for political purity. The most direct answer to this question will be found in the account of Grit corruption, published on our fourth page. This is but a partial list, as our space would not permit of our publishing the whole of it. Electors, are the corruptionists, enumerated in this article on our fourth page to which we refer, such men as you would wish to purify our politics?

REMEDIAL LEGISLATION.

No question before the electorate in the present contest has been more misrepresented by our friends of the Opposition than that of remedial legislation in favor of the Manitoba minority; yet no question, if approached with an unbiassed mind, is more easily understood. In certain quarters, appeals are made to religious prejudices, on the ground that Parliament is called upon to grant separate schools to the Catholics of Manitoba. It is needless to say that this is not what Parliament is called upon to do. The question as to what kind of schools Manitoba should have was settled by the constitution. What Parliament is called upon to do is to see that the constitution is carried out. In order to discuss this question on its merits, all irrelevant issues should be brushed aside and the following facts should be borne constantly in mind: 1st. The Constitutional compact under which Manitoba entered the Union guaranteed Separate schools to Manitoba; 2ndly. This compact provided that whenever a right or privilege of the minority, regarding education, should be infringed upon, the minority would have the right of appeal to the Governor-General in Council for a redress of grievances; 3rdly, The rights of the minority were infringed upon by the Government of Manitoba, and the minority, after their right of appeal under the constitution had been confirmed by the Imperial Privy Council, did appeal; their appeal was heard and Parliament introduced a remedial bill which was prevented from becoming law on account of the obstructive tactics of the opponents of the bill. That there was a constitutional compact, as above stated, is abundantly proved by the evidence of those who had most to do with the negotiations which brought Manitoba into the Union; Sir John McDonald, Sir Leonard Tilley, Sir Donald A. Smith, Hon. William McDougall, Hon. Peter Mitchell and others. This evidence we have before published so that our readers are familiar with it. That the Minority had a grievance, against which they appealed is shown in the most positive terms by the decision and orders of the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council, a summary of which we publish on our first page and which we would recommend to the careful consideration of our readers. This much being established, we have the question in Parliament. We have more than once referred to the evidence submitted during the parliamentary debate, regarding the duty of Parliament and the existence of a grievance. At the risk of being tedious we will once more briefly discuss this particular phase of the question and adduce some evidence. In order that we may not be accused of partisanship in the matter, we will cite the declarations of opponents of the Remedial Bill. Hon. David Mills, the ablest constitutional lawyer in Parliament, on the opposition side at least, who voted against the bill, expressed himself thus:—"The policy of the country in respect to separate schools is already decided. That decision is incorporated in the constitution; as much so as the principle of representation between the provinces in the House of Commons. It is only because of of this that the question can come before parliament at all. The law grants to the minority, whose rights and privileges can be affected, an appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council, not to decide whether it is good or bad policy to have separate schools—the constitution settles that—but for the purpose of ascertaining whether a right or privilege in a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects, in relation to education, has been affected by the provincial law, or any provincial authority. Parliament is not called upon to decide whether as a matter of policy, separate school ought or ought not to exist. If they have not been created in the province; no matter how favorable the opinion of this house might be to them, it cannot create them. These two facts stand like walls of adament on either side of the narrow way which is open to us, of that narrow field of jurisdiction under our control.. There is a duty on some one to grant remedial legislation, once it is clearly established that a constitutional grievance exists." Now, it is quite clear that Mr. Mills considers that Parliament is bound to act, once it has been established that a constitutional grievance exists. But the judgment of the Imperial Privy Council leaves no doubt as to the existence of such a grievance. We do not want any reader to accept our interpretation of this part of the Privy Council's decision; but submit what Mr. Dalton McCarthy said on the matter. Surely he will not be accused of being biassed in favor of the minority. During the hearing before the Privy Council in Ottawa in March 1895, the following occurred: "Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.—Would you go so far as to say that the main consideration in a matter of this kind should be the political effect of our action and not the actual merits and rights of it. Mr. McCarthy—that is undoubtedly my position. That is a duty you have to exercise. Let me crystalize it. The Privy Council have determined that there is a grievance; they have determined that there is jurisdiction in the Governor-General to pass a remedial order If that order is to be passed, *ex debito justitiæ*, there is and end of the matter. Why all this ceremony, why all this talk? Later on, Mr. McCarthy said: "I am not going to say that there is not a grievance; I am precluded from that by the judgment." Here now, we have it admitted on the testimony of our opponents, that a grievance exists and that Parliament, in such cases, is bound to act. That is the whole case admitted so far as its constitutionality is concerned. Parliament did act so far as it was permitted under the circumstances. Because the opponents of remedial legislation wished to have the question for a political football in the election campaign is the reason we now have this question as one of the issues before the public.

We have here developed, as fully as our space will permit, the principal points of discussion in the issues before the electorate. Let the electors remember that the eyes of the world are upon them in the great political conflict now waging. Fair Canada looks out over the scene, anxiously awaiting the verdict of her sons. Will they vote to sustain in power the party that stood by her cradle as a confederated Dominion, and watched her develop into vigorous nationhood; that has made her name honored among the nations, that has made her the most brilliant gem in the Imperial diadem? Surely they will! The mother country looks across three thousand miles of ocean, anxiously scanning the political horison. She is proud of this, her greatest daughter, and shall feel deeply disappointed if Canada's sons should make the dreadful mistake of voting to retard our progress by voting in the opponents of the present Government. From the neighboring Republic to the South anxious eyes are turned upon us, not in love, but in envy. They envy our glorious inheritance; they are jealous of our unprecedented progress, under the same system that established her own industrial greatness, and ardently desire the advent to power, in the Dominion, of their "friends the Liberals." Electors of Canada, disappoint your political enemies; stand for your [illegible] sides; vote to preserve Canada for the Canadians.

Progress of the Campaign.

From all parts of the Province come the most cheering indications of Liberal Conservative victory on the 23rd. As to the Dominion on the whole, no one now entertains any serious doubt of Sir Charles Tupper's Government coming in with a sweeping majority. In Quebec, Manitoba and the Northwest, the Conservatives are sweeping all before them. The Maritime Provinces will send a larger contingent of Conservatives to Parliament than ever before. Sir Charles Tupper has been in Ontario for over a week, addressing several meetings every day, and his progress across the Province has been a triumphal march. Here are his own words, in a telegram dated at Toronto on Monday last and addressed to Hon. D. Ferguson of this city. "During the past week I have addressed seventen mass meetings in the province of Ontario, from Ottawa in the east to Windsor in the west, and during the coming week I hope to address nearly as many more. These meetings have been without parallel in the history of the province in the numbers present and the unbounded enthusiasm displayed, I am glad to be able to tell you that the Conservative party never presented a more united front in Ontario, nor were ev r more confident of a sweeping victory than now. All boasting of our opponents to the contrary, Ontario will give us a good majority on the 23rd. At the same time, my advices from Hon. Hugh J. McDonald assure me of our certain success in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories." On Tuesday, Sir Charles thus expressed himself to a press correspondent, who asked him if he was satisfied with the campaign so far: "I have every reason to be," replied Sir Charles. "My whole campaign from start to finish has been a series of the most remarkable demonstrations I ever knew. The demonstration in London the other night was one of the most splendid ever seen in Canada, and it has been the same wherever I have gone. The enthusiasm of the people where I have been lately surpasses anything before known, although I travelled the same territory with Sir John A. Macdonald. The feeling of the people all over the country is that the battle is already won, as I also believe myself we will have a large majority on June 23; Sir Charles' forty-one years of political life in Canada has afforded him opportunities for judging pretty accurately the state of public feeling prior to an election, and his above quoted utterances leave no doubt as to the result of the contest on the 23.

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HALLOA!

HALLOA!

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