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**THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
THE SEMI-WEEKLY TELEGRAPH,
THE EVENING TIMES**
New Brunswick's Independent Newspapers.
These newspapers advocate:
British connection
Honesty in public life
Measures for the material progress and moral advancement of our great Dominion.
No graft!
No deals!
"The Thistle, Shamrock, Rose and the Maple Leaf forever."

**Semi-Weekly Telegraph
and The News**

ST. JOHN, N. B., SEPTEMBER 18, 1912.

THEIR OWN MEDICINE

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association should send an embassy to the West to explain to the people in this part of the Dominion the reason why it is all right for the manufacturer to buy \$150,000,000 from United States insurance companies, but all wrong for the people of this part of the country to want to have any truck or traffic with the United States.

The official of the Manufacturers' Association who has publicly made the admission about the \$150,000,000 of insurance, justifies that dealing with United States companies on the ground that the Canadian manufacturer can buy insurance cheaper in the United States than they can in Canada. Does not this plan knock the whole underpinning out from under the arguments about building up Canada, keeping our money in the country, augmenting the home market, and so on and so forth? Manitoba Free Press.

It is unfair to criticize the manufacturers harshly for placing their insurance wherever they desire to place it—always provided they treat their fellow citizens in the same generous spirit if these fellow citizens wish to exercise a like privilege.

The farmer is told that the present market is big enough for him. If he were true there would be no need to erect tariff barriers to keep the farmer from selling in Boston; he would not wish to send his goods there unless he could do so at a profit. If the Canadian farmer and the British farmer were together wholly satisfactory to the Canadian farmer he would have nothing to do with the United States, and it would be unnecessary to place tariff restrictions in his way. But plain justice for the farmer demands that he shall be free to take advantage of the prices which a foreign market may offer at any time throughout the year, and benefit by any effect which the foreign demand may have upon local market prices. This, presently, New Brunswick will be harvesting an immense potato crop. If the farmer were treated as fairly as the manufacturer is treated, he would be able to sell his potatoes either in New Brunswick or New England, and if the United States crop should be short the demand from that side of the line would stiffen local prices, or at least make it impossible to put the local market and keep the price of New Brunswick potatoes down. But the restrictionists contend that the farmer should not desire to secure for his potatoes a greater price than the small and frequently manipulated local market may offer him. And so he is left with other articles which he has to sell.

Yet the country continues to give the manufacturer protection in his business, and as a rule the manufacturer desires, and hopes to receive from the Conservative party, even greater tariff favors than he is now getting. The clearest thing about the situation is that the farmer and the consumer generally will not longer tolerate the granting of special privileges by legislation.

If the farmer is given free access to the larger market he will be content not to scrutinize too narrowly the treatment which the manufacturer receives at the hands of Parliament, but if the restrictionists continue to lecture the farmer on patriotism and confine him to the smaller market, the day is not distant when there will be a revolt against class legislation. And it is well to remember that the farmer, the lumberman, the fisherman, and others who deal in natural products, constitute a very large majority of the people of Canada.

ATTRACTING THE IMMIGRANTS

In a very striking way Champ Clark drew attention recently to the exodus of well-to-do Americans to the Canadian

West. He said: "In my own county in Missouri, forty-three families loaded up an entire train and started out for Alberta, all in one day. There was not a man among them who was not well-to-do. They were intelligent, energetic, industrious, economical American citizens, and we lost them. Their families carried with them assets to the value of three thousand dollars each. They are exactly the kind of citizens that this country cannot afford to lose."

Canada is receiving the very best classes of immigrants from all nations. She welcomes none more eagerly than the Americans in the West. The immigrants that are coming at present into the United States, usually come with few or no friends, often handicapped by not knowing English, and usually by lack of means to obtain anything but the bare necessities of life on the lowest scale. But the United States is according to Canada those who are entirely familiar with the conditions, who are the children of the pioneers who cleared the waste places in the Middle States in an earlier day, and let in the law. These men take kindly to Canadian institutions and in a very short space of time become loyal citizens of their adopted country. As a class they are far superior to any immigrants that the country receives from most other countries, for they are not fronting new and untried conditions, but conditions and difficulties which they have already formed the habit of overcoming. As Mr. Clark says, they are not the citizens that the United States can afford to lose, but they are the class that Canada will always gladly welcome.

The reason for the exodus is that Canada affords them a better opportunity. She has more democratic institutions and a better enforcement of laws to begin with, but this does not attract those who trek from the plains of Missouri. The thing that does attract is the opportunity offered by cheap land, and large crops and great railroad enterprises. The statement is made in a responsible American magazine that Canada built five times as many miles of railroad as the United States in 1911. This is a marvelous record for a people with less than one-tenth of the population. The Canadian railroads are great national assets, and the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific has been the best possible advertisement for the country. If it is completed on the plans of the Laurier government it will be the best railroad in the world, but unfortunately the fear is growing in many quarters that the Minister of Railways and the present government are degrading the Transcontinental. Hon. Mr. Graham made the definite charge at Bromé, last week, that the road east of the Cochrane was not equal to the road as built by the Laurier government, west of Cochrane. It is asserted that the Conservatives are doing this to lessen the cost so that they can show how much cheaper is their construction than that of the Liberal administration. They are relying, he said, on "monumental grades" in construction. The C. P. R. is now spending enormous sums of money in cutting out such grades. The country has spent much money on this road and is willing to spend it, but in return for that money it wants the best road in the world. This action of the Minister of Railways mirrors a spirit that can see nothing beyond peanut politics, but it is impossible to imagine that he will receive the support of the cabinet in this matter. There are some directions in which Mr. Borden may refuse to be led.

SCUTTLE THE SHIP

Mr. Roosevelt declares that the bosses who nominated Mr. Taft have scuttled the Lincoln ship. True Republicans are not leaving the party by voting for the Progressives, but the official party has left them. They are in the position of the Indian in the wilderness who when asked if he was lost declared that he was not but that the wigwag was.

It is a happy description of the fact. Many thick-and-thin patriots will vote for Taft under the impression that it is good party politics to do so, but as a matter of fact it is the blindest kind of party politics. The hide-bound partisan is "at" ways a temptation to the unscrupulous politician. Depending on his "regularity" he forges promises, breaks platforms, and makes the organ created for the service of the people an instrument for personal glorification or oppression.

There is no attempt to disguise the fact that Mr. Taft's nomination was secured by sheer brutality, by the law of the rook and claw. The thing is not cloaked. The block of 200 or so Southern delegates were simply moved about like pawns, and carried like cattle. Roosevelt was reaching for them, and had been able to locate them, but he would have needed them up in approved style, but until the vote was cast they were under the protection of special policemen. He might complain, bitterly, as Sherman did in 1888, that Alge "bought up my niggers." But not only did Taft secure these dummy delegates where there is no possibility of a single electoral vote for the party, his steam roller was put in operation to smash every contestant before the convention. Roosevelt shouts out that this fraud and villany struck down the righteous; but this is a matter of opinion. The thing that is certain in the premises is that the action of the Chicago convention was bad for the party, and bad for public morals. The whole country is injured by the vicious system and by the bosses who would use a great party for personal and selfish ends.

If party bosses could do that and "get away with the goods"—in the language of their circle—politicians would come to be nothing more than a display of brute force and the country would be put back permanently into the stone age. Even if Roosevelt is the demagogue that his enemies declare him to be, his influence is more wholesome for democracy than is that of the pirates who take possession of the party and scuttle the ship.

HOW THE FARMER PAYS

At attempt is being made by Canadian protectionists to terrify the farmer by telling him that if the tariff were reduced it

would become necessary to resort to direct taxation. Of course the question is not that of abolishing the tariff, but of deciding between a tariff for revenue only and a tariff designed to enable domestic manufacturers to exploit the home market unduly.

How does the tariff really affect the farmer? He pays an extra price for everything he buys, and he has no protection on anything he sells. We pick up a list of protected goods and take a score of articles at random, on which the duties range from twenty to thirty-five per cent. The list includes flannels, ready-made clothing, underwear, socks, silks, boots and shoes, rubber boots, rubber clothing, trunks and valises, caps, coats and cloaks, hat and gloves, umbrellas, suspenders, collars and cuffs, tobacco pipes. The extra amount which the farmer pays for such articles as these goes mainly to the manufacturer. The portion which the government derives in revenue is relatively small. Or, to illustrate further, let us take this statement of the case from Mr. Edward Porritt's recent book on tariff conditions in Canada. He says:

"The census of 1906, in the enumeration of manufacturers in Canada, gives the manufacture of agricultural implements that year at \$12,855,748. Canada exported that year farming implements to the extent of \$2,699,104, presumably leaving for use in Canada \$10,156,644 worth. That year we imported agricultural implements to the value of \$1,615,125, on which the government collected a duty of \$323,024. It is now generally conceded that manufacturers add the full extent of their profit to the selling price of their product. Assuming that in 1906 the manufacturer of agricultural implements charged the full rate of their tariff protection on the \$10,156,644, the portion of their profit retained in Canada, the Canadian farmers would give them \$2,697,225, compared to \$323,024 paid the government."

"That is to say, the ratio of the amount paid to the manufacturers by reason of the tariff, leaving out fractions, is in the proportion of 82.14. In other words, in the year 1906 the Canadian farmer paid eighty-two cents to the agricultural manufacturer for every fourteen cents he paid to the government as revenue on his implements. Applying the same ratio to the \$213 set forth in the above table, the government would get \$229.52 from the farmer, and the implement manufacturer \$183.18. But these implements must be renewed at least once in every ten years. Besides, the farmer must buy a large amount of repairs each year for his implements, on which he has to pay duty. Estimating the necessary repairs at \$50, the duty on them will average twenty-five per cent, or \$12.50, and a yearly average of \$20 duty paid for replacement of implements, his annual tribute to the manufacturer of farm implements will exceed \$300 per year over and above what the government collects from him for revenue on implements. This is quite a respectable contribution which the rural population of Canada is compelled to make to the 'modern barons' created under the 'feudalism' established by our fiscal system, and compares favorably with the annual levy made by the powerful barons of the middle ages."

It has been estimated that for every dollar the government actually clears in revenue through the tariff about three dollars are taken out of the pockets of the people, and in a great measure this taxation rests upon the absolute necessities of life and therefore falls upon those who are least able to pay. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier made his last western tour an Alberta farmer who headed a delegation at Red Deer, reminded Sir Wilfrid that while Great Britain has the benefit of a preference, thanks to Liberal legislation, the average duty on our total British imports, that is, counting free and dutiable goods together, is actually higher than the average duty on our total imports from the United States. The average on British goods being 19.02 per cent, and on American 12.24 per cent. This farmer went on to say that in 1909 the duties collected by the Dominion were \$48,000,792, and estimating the population then at 7,000,000 people this represented a per capita tax of \$6.85, or \$34.25 a family. "This," said the farmer, "of course does not give the full measure of the tariff burden. It is a commonplace of economics that a protective duty raises the price of the protected goods about to the extent of the duty. Further, the middlemen, wholesale and retail, rightly add their profit, not only to the value of the goods, but to the duty, so that, for instance, the duty on puttees, women's clothing, as we have to pay it, seven, amounts to nearer fifty per cent than thirty per cent. It is an enormous burden, and the most intolerable aspect of it is that the tariff, taxing so heavily the absolute necessities of life, such as food, for instance, as clothing and footwear, is so unjust in its incidence; it falls the heaviest on the poorest."

"This delegation strongly urged upon Sir Wilfrid the necessity for increasing the British preference and lowering the tariff on agricultural implements and other articles purchased by the farmers and by consumers generally. The speaker said that the farmers did not require any protection on what they had to sell, but merely wished justice in tariff matters. This well represents the attitude of the western provinces today in respect of the fiscal question. True, the farmers have only begun to organize in order to fight for recognition of their claims. The protectionists have long been organized, and have long controlled many newspapers and politicians, and as Mr. P. W. Ellis reminded the Canadian Manufacturers' Association on a certain famous occasion, 'The wheel that creaks the loudest is the wheel that gets the grease.' The farmer, however, has learned something from the manufacturer. He has learned to organize, and he is learning that his army is much more numerous and more powerful than any force which can be arrayed against him."

This demand for tariff justice is the thing in Canadian politics today. It is the rock upon which the Conservative government will split.

THE FLYING DUTCHMAN

Sir Walter Scott says the "Flying Dutchman" was originally a vessel loaded with bullion. A murder was committed among the crew which closed all ports to the ill-fated craft. Other variants of the story say that for blasphemy the captain is compelled to sail around the Cape forever, unable to make a port. It is possible that when the Panama Canal is open his wandering may cease; that is, if his vessel is not owned by one of the United States railways. In that event the canal is forbidden him, and this Wandering Jew of the ocean must continue his immortal sailing.

Heinrich Heine says that as often as the Dutchman encounters another vessel, several of its mysterious crew put off in a boat to request those on board the stranger ship to take charge of a packet of letters. These letters must be firmly nailed to the masthead; otherwise disaster is sure to overtake the ship. Even then disaster is very possible if there is not a horse-shoe nailed to the foremast. At best, the appearance of the "Flying Dutchman" is ominous of disaster, and only few charms can ward off the evil. The crew are not familiar with the passing events on land, and the letters always bear the addresses of unknown persons, or of persons long since dead, so that sometimes the great-granddaughter receives a love letter written to her great-grandmother, who has been in her grave for a hundred years.

Some declare that this captain whom life spurns and death rejects, has been released through the fidelity of a woman and that his ghostly ship has sunk in the ocean. The captain once took a mighty oath that he would sail round Cape Horn despite a most terrible gale then blowing; that he would double it though he would have to sail till the day of doom. The devil took him at his word, and he must henceforth sail on till the last day, unless through a woman's fidelity, he should be released from his fate. The devil, stupid as he is, has no belief in woman's faith, so he permits the wretched captain to land once every seven years that he may marry, and thus seek an opportunity of gaining deliverance. After most of these experiences he is only too glad to return on board and be relieved from her who should release him.

During one of the seven-year periods of his endless voyaging, he forms a friendship with a Scotch merchant whom he chances to meet, sells his diamonds at an absurdly low price, and, hearing that his customer has a fair daughter, demands her in marriage. The transaction is duly completed. In the home of the merchant in the picture of the captain taken when he had visited the country a hundred years before, and a traditional prophecy warning the women of the family to beware of the resemblance of the picture to the groom, and at sight of the picture the heart of the captain is without hope as his ship is without anchor. But if the Scotch lass has divined his secret, she makes no sign, and promises to be true until death. After the marriage the unfortunate captain is dragged off to his mysterious ship, and his faithful wife follows herself into the sea. Proving her fidelity to him in death, the ban over the Flying Dutchman is broken; he is released, and the ghostly ship sinks into the depths of the ocean. Whether this is the true story or whether he is still engaged in his infernal wanderings, on a ship without helm or steeringman, playing dice with the devil for his soul, is not clearly determined. Wagner has based an opera on the story, but he does not tell us whether the wretched Captain, tossed about by life and death, is still refused of both.

THE DOCTRINAIRE IN POLITICS

Col. Roosevelt heavily alludes to his chief opponent in the Presidential race as Dr. Wilson, with the shrewd idea of appealing to the prejudice against men of letters in political affairs. That Wilson is a schoolmaster and a college professor does not argue that he would be ineffective in the President's chair, but the fact that he means the loss of thousands of votes in many sections of the country.

The old superstition that men of letters cannot be men of affairs dies hard. John Morley addressed himself to the subject in a speech a few days ago. "I want to ask you," he said, "to banish from your minds the ridiculous idea that because a man knows and writes books, he cannot know men, that he cannot have the habits of public business, and cannot render useful service in Parliaments, in cabinets, and in the great departments of state." He said that five or six of the last seven Prime Ministers of England had made a mark in the writing of books. Morley himself has been an indefatigable maker of books, and the charm and freshness of his style will continue to give satisfaction to readers after the memory of his administrative activities are forgotten.

Dr. Wilson is a history writer of some note; but if a man is to be condemned for writing books, what about Theodore Roosevelt himself? He has turned out books with an untiring zeal so that the Bodleian Library itself could hardly contain them all. Like Ariel girdling the earth, he has grided every subject. Nothing so little that it has failed to attract his notice; nothing so abstruse and difficult as to daunt him. Both he and Wilson are tarred with the same brush with the difference that Roosevelt was operated on when the brush was fresh from the barrel, so that he got more than his share. But while many condemn Wilson as a recluse, no one will suspect Roosevelt of being an amiable doctrinaire.

"DISCORD THE REAL ENEMY"

Those who are predicting the early downfall of the British government because of the defections of the Labor party seem not to have taken the whole situation into account. The government has in process of perfection several measures, which, among them, appeal to all of its allies.

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THE BORDEN WEAKNESSES

Apparently there was but one real issue in the last campaign, as far as Mr. Borden was concerned. That was the spoils

of office. He has stayed progress in every other department of public activity; delayed the building of a Canadian navy for years; he has changed the grades of the Transcontinental and destroyed its unique claims to be the best railroad in the world, and, if he persists, will largely have destroyed its utility; he has let East-Island be sold to the United States. He has been most active in the matter of dismissals from the civil service. Not since Confederation have such wholesale changes been made without cause. It is impossible for a man to strike heavier blows at the cause of civil service reform than he has done. There was a pretence at investigation, but the nature of that investigation is well illustrated from the incident in the Post Office Department when a man was dismissed for offensive participation last September, who had been dead four years. If there was one subject on which Mr. Borden was supposed to hold definite views, it was on the need of elevating the civil service and making it other than a system of spoils.

Much was heard during the campaign of the need of a Dominion marriage law. Marriages were to be made uniform all over Canada. Through sectarian appeals on this subject, his followers secured many votes. They told the ignorant that Mr. Borden would make a change in the law and if he did not change it they would turn him out of power for his failure. He did not make any change, and he had no intention of doing so. As Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared recently at Montserrat, Quebec: "Mr. Aylsworth, during the Liberal regime, had said that the Federal Parliament could not pass such a law, that the question of marriage belonged solely to the provincial legislatures. Mr. Borden believed as we did, and so did Mr. Doherty, but they had not the courage to regulate the debate themselves. They went to the Supreme Court to see if two and two make four, if Mr. Monk voted while asleep or slept while voting. The Supreme Court expressed the same opinion as we had upheld. They do nothing by themselves, and what they do, they do badly. But the result is showing itself. From the day following the elections, the divisions manifested themselves, and the party was torn with disputes."

What has Mr. Borden accomplished? Civil service reform was once his favorite hobby. He was going to throttle all the evils of the service as the infant Hercules throttled the snakes. But he has throttled no levity; instead he has introduced new ones and made the old more formidable. He agreed with the Liberal naval policy in its inception, and under the stress of political weather changed his views, appealed to sectarian passions, and inspired terror on the question among the ignorant of the people. The naval question is one which must be settled, but apparently he is no nearer a solution now than he was last session. None of the great issues on which the campaign was apparently fought, and the Liberal solutions of which had been so severely criticized, have been dealt with according to the pre-election promises of Mr. Borden and his colleagues. In Mr. Borden the country has a man who urges one set of ideas one day and declines to speak of them the next. The interests of the country are entrusted to a man whose politics are as changeable as the wind, and he is surrounded by a cabinet that is weaker than any that has ever before held office in Dominion politics.

THE TREND OF SENTIMENT

Philanthropy is not only being extended today but it is suffering a sea change, undergoing a revolution of principle from aims to justice and concession to fellowship. There is growing up a strong sense of a common life. With this sense of a common life is seen a growing belief that governments and other institutions can be made to express it. The popular agitations in all countries are but a phase of that belief—socialism, and even anarchism, the labor movement and the struggle against monopoly and corruption. "Whatever degrades another, degrades me." "I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms." "All this I swallow, it tastes good. I like it well, it becomes mine, I am the man, I suffered, I was there."

There are two classes who are to a large extent outside the sway of this sentiment. On the one hand are the men who are continually seeking after special privilege. They have not outgrown the clan and the tribe, feeling in their unwearied pursuit of selfish interests. At the other end of the scale from this class are the men whose energy is sapped, who are covered by hardships and now respond to no ordinary incentive. The former class is always active, and the latter mostly inactive; but whether engaged in their separatism and alienate them from their fellows. The world for them is a place where they must either eat or be eaten, and their activity or inactivity has no more relation to the common good than a dog-fight. There are not lacking instances where individual members of both these classes have responded to high incentives, but as a rule the response is spasmodic and uncertain. Of such a sort was an habitual vagrant who, having persistently refused offers of work and evaded his family responsibilities, was being taken to court by an officer, when flames burst from the window of a house they were passing. He broke away from the policeman, dashed into the burning smoke, and came out half-carrying two stuffed women. He then returned to the officer and went on to receive a lazier's punishment. But special cases occur too infrequently to influence the general trend of sentiment in either class.

Every civilized society has to carry below the lower sections of the masses a dead weight of ignorance, poverty, crime and disease. At this end it has the plebeian paupers who will not work, and at the other patriotic paupers who think only of self-interest. But, taken all together,

there never has been a time when the people of civilized nations have felt so much like a family, and had so kindly and cheerful a sense of a common life. This sentiment has a wider range than ever before, and it has more faith in the future. In modern democratic countries the people are outgrowing the limits of the clan and the caste. This growth can be hastened. As an educated public opinion abrogated slavery, so the public may be educated toward the abrogation of selfishness. The new secret of self-interest is to do for others.

NOTE AND COMMENT

Victoria has been using oil on its streets, and the Colonel of that city says the general verdict is that it is a great success.

The Canadian riflemen shooting for the Palma trophy at Ottawa on Saturday did some remarkable work.

The Mayor and Commissioners are still trying to facilitate the extension of the railway to Courtenay Bay on equitable terms. The business men who control the street railway ought to meet the city halfway. This week should show who is holding the project up.

Our Ottawa despatches show that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's recent references to the German menace were incorrectly reported by Conservative newspapers. It is the old story. The Tories are forever trying to hide their own weakness by asserting that they are the only truly loyal folk in Canada.

Mr. Aylsworth still has a majority of 109 in the House of Commons, but Mr. Laurier is the eighth by-election loss by the government. If the forty-two Labor members voted against the administration—most probable event—the government would still have a majority, but it would then be dependent upon the Nationalists.

"This German scare," says Sir Richard McBride, "is a most unfortunate exploitation. It is a recent invention in London and Berlin. Sir Richard should speak to Mr. Borden. The British Columbia Premier favors the Laurier policy. Well, Mr. Borden has not yet repealed the Laurier Naval Act. In fact he has done nothing at all, though a whole year has passed since his took office."

In sending his congratulations to William T. Haime, who was elected Governor of Maine on Monday, Mr. Taft says: "It is a notable and significant victory." "The President," says the New York Sun, "is an ardent optimist to find welcome significance in a plurality of 3,023 won by a United Republican party in the September election in Maine. The notable thing about it is its smallness, and in its smallness lies its significance."

A Toronto newspaper is offering a prize for clever sayings by children. It invites parents to send in bright or apt statements made by their boys and girls, and for the best of these, prizes will be given weekly. The editor who has the courage, not to say the willingness to offer, to decide a question like this is likely to hear from, if not to encounter, the fond parents of numerous wonderful children whose clever sayings failed to win the money. It looks like a case of a man deliberately inviting a wolf in sheep's clothing. However, the editor would record some of the clever sayings of parents who call upon him to dispute his decision, or he might pick up some fairly readable stuff.

There never has been a time when the people of civilized nations have felt so much like a family, and had so kindly and cheerful a sense of a common life. This sentiment has a wider range than ever before, and it has more faith in the future. In modern democratic countries the people are outgrowing the limits of the clan and the caste. This growth can be hastened. As an educated public opinion abrogated slavery, so the public may be educated toward the abrogation of selfishness. The new secret of self-interest is to do for others.

NOTE AND COMMENT

Victoria has been using oil on its streets, and the Colonel of that city says the general verdict is that it is a great success.

The Canadian riflemen shooting for the Palma trophy at Ottawa on Saturday did some remarkable work.

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