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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 entwined.

## The Maple Leaf forever.

## Semi-Weekly Telegraph

## and The News

ST. JOHN, N. B., NOVEMBER 19, 1910

## THE PROPHETS OF OPTIMISM

In a group of local business men the other day, the subject of the business and commercial outlook in St. John and New Brunswick was under discussion; and it was noteworthy that the general tone of the conversation was hopeful and even confident. One of those present, a successful captain of commerce who is active in public affairs, said that he expected to see the day when the value of the apples exported from this province would be equal to the value of the lumber it exports today. Among all those who heard there was only one man who in any fashion dissented from the views of this prophet of optimism, and even his dissent was of a modified sort. There is much to be said in support of this business prophet's view, for undoubtedly a very large area of country lying in the pleasant river valleys of the province is fitted to produce fruit of a higher quality and finer flavor than is today grown in some of the most famous fruit-raising regions of the world.

There are other dreams that are coming true. We are progressing rapidly in the solution of our transportation problem in Canada, and that solution will benefit New Brunswick immeasurably. Our people have only now awakened to the fact that the Transcontinental through New Brunswick is a fact, and that today preparations are being made for the construction of the first pier, at which will be loaded steamships carrying the freight brought to this port from the west by the Grand Trunk Pacific. The day when the St. John Valley will have a railway is not far distant. Recent developments in the coal areas in the interior of New Brunswick lend color to the conviction that the amount of coal available has until now been greatly underestimated. The men who have acquired a mountain of iron ore in Gloucester have only begun to mine it. A very great development will follow there, and the logical end of it should be blast furnaces and a great iron industry in New Brunswick. Of the gas and oil developments in Westmorland we shall hear a great deal more during the next few years. In several sections of the province there are well-defined projects for the creation of electrical energy by means of water power.

All these things mean, among others, that of necessity there will be in New Brunswick in the near future a great agricultural expansion in response to the demands of the increasing market. The various business interests of the province are closely allied, and any success in one direction inevitably reacts in others. What is true of agriculture is largely true of lumber also, and of almost every important business enterprise.

So, if solid business men in St. John have begun to prophesy pleasantly of the future, there is, in this year of grace, a great deal of definite evidence as a basis for such agreeable optimism.

## THE POWER OF THE BOSSES

The bosses in American politics have been almost uniformly successful because, like the chameleon, they have been able to take every different hue; because they are of the people among which they live; because they are, like the unjust steward, "wiser than the children of light." They might indeed have taken their whole political creed from the story of that man who was commended because he had secured for himself an abiding place among the people when his master decided that he should be no longer steward. The success of the boss does not depend upon the corruption of the people. The people are not corrupt. The people cannot be corrupted. They are not too good but there are too many of them, and often many of them are selfish and ignorant—but not corrupt.

They make mistakes. Socrates was put to death by order of a mass meeting; Aristotle was banished by a popular vote from which there was no appeal. But these things did not result from the corruption of the people any more than bad government does today.

The story of "Jawa" Powers' influence in the nineteenth ward of Chicago well illustrates the secret of the boss's strength. When the poor are without coal he sends a load and asks no questions and no pay. He prefers to get a job for the drunken father of a family than to send him to Bridewell. He will take the hand of an ex-convict and set him on his feet instead of setting the police after him. When widows or deserted wives fall sick in their squallid warrens, he sends his own doctor to tend them and there is no bill. He gets licenses for hundreds of Greek and Italian fruit-vendors who live in his ward; he goes bail for the old-clothes Jew and Serbian pedler who run afoul of the law before they understand it. If a poor woman comes to him and asks that her boy be gotten out of jail, Powers will not say "I'll see about it," or "Call the day after tomorrow"; he will put on his coat and have the boy released at once, and go bail for his good behavior afterwards.

He has paid the funeral expenses of dead prostitutes whom he never saw—a class of work in which he has little competition among reformers of any type. The people who fight him during his campaigns come to him the day after soliciting aid for many things, sometimes for the very organization that waged war against him. He always gives freely without a grudge spoken or a silent rancor nursed. At Christmas-tide every family in the ward—Turk, Jew and atheist—get a fat turkey, with the compliments of the boss. He asks no man what party he belongs to, how he votes, or what he thinks. Each family gets the turkey. From the point of view of effective politics he is all right, as his ward neighbors bear enthusiastic testimony. But from the point of view of the new morality that must ultimately purify our politics and bring in all reforms worth fighting for he is lacking in many essentials.

Jane Addams has not yet driven him out of the nineteenth ward, but she will do so eventually, because she is using practically the same methods, but for higher and better ends. The Boss and the Ring are the prototype of the reformers of the future. They represent specialized functions. They are the result of the passing of executive administration out of the hands of the multitude who are an unfit instrument into the hands of a body compact enough to have a mind, a will, and to act upon them self-consciously. The boss and the ring are to be adopted instead of being abolished, and to be made public instead of private. The Tiger lives and will live because he is a necessity of the situation, and every now and again we see the people thrown into a turmoil and exhausted by political passion in an effort to overthrow him; but whether defeated or victorious he bobs up next day as serenely as before, still attending to the business of government. We are constantly fighting the bosses, and the bosses know that their business is a solid institution whose foundations rest upon the bed rock of human nature and they continue throughout all changes. In the meantime reforms are accomplished and abuses held in check; not by making the bosses less effective, but by an increased efficiency of public opinion and changes in the standards of public judgment. Advances are won by making it so uncomfortable for the politicians in control that they deem it wise to "pander to the better element." But under the present system of American government the bosses, good or bad, will continue.

## PROTECTION

If protection did not enhance unduly the prices of many articles of daily use and necessity in this country, our protected interests would not take alarm so early and so seriously in regard to the proposals looking to reciprocity. Mr. Fielding is to go South for some weeks, and until after he and Hon. Mr. Paterson have discussed terms with President Taft and Secretary Knox, it will be impossible for either Canadians or Americans in the mass to say whether or not they favor or are opposed to the only kind of reciprocity which will then be seen to be possible.

The consumers of both countries are content to wait until they know what they are talking about before taking sides in the matter to any great extent, but not so the agents of the interests which now enjoy protection in this country. A few days ago there was spread broadcast over Canada a booklet containing the views, assertions, and pleadings of the several companies operating the Nova Scotia coal mines. The sum and substance of the pamphlet was that reciprocity would be fatal to Canada—and particularly to the coal interests—because American coal would be sold in this market cheaper than the Canadian article can be sold, if the operators are to have their present profit. About the people who burn coal there was little said. They do not count; it is their business merely to pay. If they say they are overcharged, the coal barons become patriotic and ask their customers if they really intend to become traitors to their country. The consumer is likely to reply that he is discussing coal rather than patriotism, but the coal mining interests reply, in substance, that it is all one and the same thing.

Following the broadside from the coal mining interests and their allies, the Canadian Textile Journal, the Pulp and Paper Magazine, and other trade publications, are publishing articles in which an attempt is made to persuade Canadians that if they venture to make any sort of trade arrangement with the United States the industries of this country will be swamped and the end will be political absorption. Twenty years ago that argument was sufficient to defeat "unrestricted reciprocity"; but today no one is talking about "unrestricted reciprocity," the intention being first to ascertain what concessions the United States is willing to make and what

concessions Canada might fairly, and with profit to itself, make in exchange.

The protectionist view, though it is not always clearly avowed, is that the home market should be absolutely controlled by the home manufacturer, that foreign competition should be prevented, and that the home manufacturers should be able to divide the market by friendly arrangements among themselves and gradually eliminate even home competition.

The day when such protection could make headway in Canada has passed. There need be no fear about the rapidity of Canada's industrial progress. But even if that progress were somewhat slower than it is likely to be, it would still be true that the first duty of the government is to consider, not the manufacturing population alone, but the whole population. It is of no particular interest to the people of Canada to know that its export of manufactured articles has doubled, if by that process the cost of living has been enhanced in an unfair degree. Canada, being a country of vast natural wealth, should be made a country in which it is cheap to live in comfort. That is of far more importance than that our manufacturing output should exceed that of any other given country.

When the men who control the public-owned coal mines complain that free coal would ruin their business, they mean that in their view the people of Canada should continue to pay excessive prices for fuel; and before the people will be ready to accept the view of the coal men they must have proof that the present prices are justifiable. That proof has never been forthcoming, notwithstanding the columns of statistics and arguments put forward on behalf of the coal interests when Parliament has seemed in the mood to remove or lower the duty on coal.

The manufacturing and mining interests are well organized; they maintain a powerful lobby; and they are continually at work, "looking after their fences." Logically the government, before it does any more for the manufacturers should do as much for the farmers of the country; yet that seems to be forgotten. The farmers are the most numerous and important class, and agriculture means much more to the country than manufacturing, tremendous as this latter business has become. It is everywhere recognized that the manufacturer should have fair play, but the instances in which that contents him are exceedingly rare. Our protectionist friends are often found saying that protection does not raise the prices of goods to the consumer, but the noise they make when a reduction of the tariff is proposed shows how little faith they have in their own assertions.

Aside altogether from trade relations with the United States, the Canadian tariff should be overhauled and in any cases where the duties are found to be unreasonable, and to do injustice to the consumer, they should be scaled down. In dealing with the United States the idea will be to exchange advantage for advantage, but the only reason for taking up the matter at all will be the conviction that greater freedom of trade will be of immense benefit to Canada's whole population.

## BRITISH LIBERALS

The British Liberals have as good a prospect for success in the event of an election now as has faced them for a long time. The present trend of events is all in their favor. Some liberalism everywhere is likely to find itself in line with this trend for a long time to come. The very stars in their courses seem fighting today against special privileges and the interests that prey upon ignorance and superstition. The elections in the United States, the strong growth of sentiment in Canada against high protection, will have much influence with the silent vote that is not wedded to any party. The American elections indeed will put new heart into every man who believes in the people. The sanity of their recent attitude toward pseudo-reformers and toward things in general is a tonic to all who love democracy, trust in tomorrow, and have faith in the world's progress. The people will make mistakes and be led away, but even in following charlatans and fakirs and will-o'-the-wisps, they are more inspiring than the cold selfishness of the interests. "However mistaken Byron and Shelley were," said Tennyson, "they have given the world another heart and new pulses and so we are kept going." A true liberalism is in line with the whole method of the universe. The Liberal party in England was never more sanely led than at present. So they are looking forward with all confidence to another appeal to the people.

The rational ideals of the people are being reflected in the leaders. Formerly, the country often advanced without guidance; she stumbled into her wars, and stumbled out of them. Her colonial empire is generally conceded to be, not the result of deliberate and far-sighted policy, but chiefly the unforeseen outcome of personal enterprise. There were flashes of light, but as a rule individual interests worked along in a somewhat blind and selfish manner, grasping, fighting and groping. Advances were made, but in many instances the heads of the state made no preparation for it, and the advances were made often without their consent and without their knowledge. The developments of the past have been mostly blind and without human intention; the leaders were unable to foresee, much less control, the larger movements of politics, and success was instinctive. At present, more clearly than ever before, the advance is conscious, and the party are ready with clear and rational plans for economic and political development. This is, perhaps, due in a measure to the keen competition of foreign countries. The public will have apparently grasped the conditions and the leaders realize that like a ship with a foul bottom, a nation heavily weighted with irresponsible lords, drunkards, the idle rich and the idle poor, cannot keep up with her rivals; so the war against present conditions is definite, positive, and conscious.

The record of the party during their five years of power is one unique in British history. They were returned to uphold free trade, make an end of Chinese labor, amend the licensing and education acts of the preceding government, and to carry out a long overdue programme of social and industrial reform. Their efforts to solve the education problem on the basis of full popular control over rate-aided schools, the abolition of religious tests for teachers, and reasonable facilities for special denominations, were foiled by the Lords. Their efforts to assert the supremacy of the state over the liquor traffic were similarly frustrated. The Lords also rejected a bill abolishing plural voting, a Scotch Small Landholders' Bill, a Scotch Land Values Bill and a bill constituting London a single Parliamentary borough. But even with the loss of these measures they have a wonderful record of success in practical legislation, inspired by humanity and sincerity.

The ministry was returned to power last spring with a plurality of 400,000 and a majority of 124, counting the Labor and the Irish members with the government. Though strong on paper, the government was weak in fact, and for many days it was doubtful whether it would live long enough to face the new Parliament. Had there been another appeal to the country at that time, a tariff reform government would most likely have succeeded it. Now the prospect for a Liberal success is exceedingly bright.

## "DRASTIC REORGANIZATION"

The Standard's Ottawa correspondent says that "the most complete and drastic policy of reorganization the Conservative party has known since before Sir John Macdonald died has just materialized."

When, some months ago, many Liberal and independent newspapers expressed the view that the Conservative party needed a most complete and drastic reorganization, the regular Conservative journals joined their voices in a shrill chorus of indignant denial. Now they announce that the medicine has been swallowed, or that it is to be swallowed by the Conservative caucus tomorrow evening in Ottawa.

Into such a state of discontent and disorganization had Mr. Borden's following degenerated that the leader has called for the resignation of every whip and officer in the organization. The Standard's correspondent says that "this action was not taken because of 'alleged' discord," and no doubt that is very true. It was because of real discord. Laboring to explain that the reorganization has been brought about harmoniously, the correspondent asserts that "the action was taken because the men were big enough and patriotic enough to give R. L. Borden a free hand to make use of the available new element the country had placed at his command." In plainer language, the old guard has either died or surrendered.

Mr. George H. Perley of Antigonish is to be chief whip, and the Standard describes him unctuously as "a rich lumberman of outstanding ability and executive judgment." Mr. T. W. Crothers of East Elgin is to be "chairman of the chairman of committees," and he is described by the Standard as "a hard hitter and fearless exponent of wrong doing not excelled even by Hon. George E. Foster." As Mr. Foster's name appears in no other way than this in connection with the drastic reorganization it will be inferred that Mr. Borden has sent him to the rear.

In connection with Mr. Borden's belated attempt to reform his lines and make a fighting organization of his troubled following, one discovers no mention of Mr. Monk, the Quebec leader of the party, or of Mr. Bourassa, his guerrilla ally. Mr. Monk has expressed views in regard to the naval question which are directly opposed to those of Mr. Borden, and Mr. Monk has asserted that Quebec shares his opinion. The reorganization plan seems to have developed no means of harmonizing the convictions of Mr. Borden and Mr. Monk who is the most powerful of his followers.

It is nearly a year since the Conservative leaders decided to hold a national convention. That convention was postponed indefinitely because of differences in the party, and, while these differences were denied by Mr. Borden and his lieutenants, the Standard's announcement of yesterday constitutes a complete admission of their existence. This very phrase, "the most complete and drastic policy of reorganization," shows in what a state Mr. Borden's following in Parliament was, even in the view of inspired Conservative newspapers.

Whether or not the reorganization will result in fighting efficiency in the House of Commons remains to be seen. The Opposition is weak; it is dissatisfied with its leader, and it has no policy worthy of the name. Before Mr. Borden can make any real progress he must call a national convention of his party, allow his lieutenants from all parts of the country to give expression to their views, and make an attempt to reconcile their differences. Reorganization or none, Mr. Borden would probably not have the courage to call such a convention at the present time. If it were called grave differences would inevitably make themselves clear at once. For the Conservative party is hopelessly divided with respect to the navy and with respect to the tariff, and these are the two outstanding questions before the country today.

## THE PARCELS POST

The strike in New York is directing attention to the post office as the perfect organization already in the hands of the people for carrying on most of the work of the express companies. A large amount of this business is done by the post office in all the great countries in the world with the exception of the United States. So far the express companies have been insuperable obstacles to anything like reasonable postal rates on merchandise. The department admit that they could carry parcels with profit at about one-tenth the present rate. The tax now levied by Congress for the postal transport of general merchandise is 100 per cent higher than the rate of 1874; 100 per cent higher than the sample post rate of the Universal Postal Union, and 25 per cent higher than the foreign parcels rate. In 1874 the parcels

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post of the United States was the best, and it is now the worst, of any of the great nations. The express companies have been powerful enough to accomplish this.

In 1906 the United States carried by parcels post about 220,000 pieces as against nearly twelve millions carried by Austria the same year. Germany carried a larger number than Austria. Austria carries eleven pounds for twelve cents; the United States charges \$1.76 for that weight, and insists upon it being put up in three packages. Germany carries the same weight for twelve cents and twenty-two pounds for twenty-four cents. Great Britain for this service charges twenty-four and forty-eight cents respectively. The United States would carry that latter weight in six parcels for \$3.52. It is only for those who can frank them that the American post office will carry large parcels.

One Postmaster-General said: "Bundles of wire six feet high and six feet round, bags of seeds, supplies for the army, tons of documents packed in wooden cases that sometimes require three men to handle them, are piled into the post offices. The reason for it is that the post office department is compelled to carry anything sent under a penalty frank, and finally franks are used by all the departments and their agents for the purpose of carrying anything they choose to send." The services that the department provides so satisfactorily for officials, free, it might provide for the public at a reasonable rate. So far the express companies have been strong enough to prevent this. The United States has refused to enter into international parcels post conventions, except with a few countries and at high rates. International commerce and correspondence with the United States is heavily handicapped in this respect as compared with other countries. Consuls and citizens residing abroad, having correspondents abroad, have repeatedly complained of this. It is estimated that hundreds of millions of dollars of commerce are lost to the country by its inability to send samples and produce at cheap rates to foreign countries. It was estimated a few years ago that the country lost \$2,000,000 a year in orders from the West Indies alone by the lack of a cheap parcels post.

Outside of the fact that the railways charge the department four times as much for hauling the mails as they get from the express companies for equal haulage, the post office is efficient and progressive. It is only the lobbying of the private interests, of the railway and the express companies, that prevent the department from entering other fields where it could give cheap, effective and progressive service for everybody.

## NOTE AND COMMENT

News that Hon. Mr. Fielding will be absent from Parliament until after New Year's, finding it necessary to go to Florida for his health, will be a cause of regret to all good Canadians. There will be a universal wish that Mr. Fielding may find speedy recovery in the South. Fortunately his illness seems not to be of an organic nature, and his return to his duties, in full vigor, may be expected with confidence.

Investigation of market conditions has brought some very strange testimony. The aldermen who have to deal with the matter now will be asking themselves whether or not they will have to sever their official relations with Aldermen Potts and Vanwart, Director Wisely, and some of the market officials. The only way to resume specie payment, said a certain famous man, is to resume. Similarly, the only way to straighten out market conditions is to straighten them out. If this straightening out should necessitate the absence of some of the old familiar faces, the citizens for whose benefit the market is supposed to be maintained will not be blame-worthy. And they are exceedingly weary of the game as it is.

A Nova Scotia manufacturer, doing a large business, has asked the aldermen to fix the rental value of certain lots on the West Side. As this particular case seems very different from some others which recently challenged public attention in connection with the safety board, it would seem that the Nova Scotian might reasonably expect a prompt and satisfactory answer. St. John has much space that might well be offered to manufacturers on favorable terms, and its merits as a distributing point and a manufacturing centre are so great that development of this character ought not to be longer delayed. It is surprising that definite and accurate information about city lots is not always at hand when required.

The Telegraph cheerfully gave much space to the recent fruit show held in St. John, but some of the newspapers supporting Mr. Hazen deem it useful, for curious reasons best known to themselves, to attempt to give another impression. The trouble with them is that most of the fruit on exhibition was grown in orchards that had come to maturity before Mr. Hazen came into power. The Hazen promises have as yet blossomed in but few instances, and borne fruit in none. Those newspapers which attempted to give Mr. Hazen credit for the recent show were not quite fair to the apple growers in New Brunswick. The apple growers are making admirable progress, and they know how much is due to their own efforts and how little, as yet at least, is due to the present local government.

The editor of the Goderich Star throws this light upon the cost of living when he was young:

"Fancy hogs soaring to \$9 a hundred, live weight. We remember dressed hogs, a dozen on a load of grain, at \$3.50, and many old residents will recall it. In those days, over 40 years ago, fresh eggs were plentiful at five cents a dozen, and fresh butter at seven cents a pound, and we often carried those products to the store and took the value in trade in the County of Bruce."

U. S. Senator Stephenson, the Toronto Star reminds us, was born in New Brunswick:

A naturalized citizen of the United

States was the best, and it is now the worst, of any of the great nations. The express companies have been powerful enough to accomplish this.

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Investigation of market conditions has brought some very strange testimony. The aldermen who have to deal with the matter now will be asking themselves whether or not they will have to sever their official relations with Aldermen Potts and Vanwart, Director Wisely, and some of the market officials. The only way to resume specie payment, said a certain famous man, is to resume. Similarly, the only way to straighten out market conditions is to straighten them out. If this straightening out should necessitate the absence of some of the old familiar faces, the citizens for whose benefit the market is supposed to be maintained will not be blame-worthy. And they are exceedingly weary of the game as it is.

A Nova Scotia manufacturer, doing a large business, has asked the aldermen to fix the rental value of certain lots on the West Side. As this particular case seems very different from some others which recently challenged public attention in connection with the safety board, it would seem that the Nova Scotian might reasonably expect a prompt and satisfactory answer. St. John has much space that might well be offered to manufacturers on favorable terms, and its merits as a distributing point and a manufacturing centre are so great that development of this character ought not to be longer delayed. It is surprising that definite and accurate information about city lots is not always at hand when required.

The Telegraph cheerfully gave much space to the recent fruit show held in St. John, but some of the newspapers supporting Mr. Hazen deem it useful, for curious reasons best known to themselves, to attempt to give another impression. The trouble with them is that most of the fruit on exhibition was grown in orchards that had come to maturity before Mr. Hazen came into power. The Hazen promises have as yet blossomed in but few instances, and borne fruit in none. Those newspapers which attempted to give Mr. Hazen credit for the recent show were not quite fair to the apple growers in New Brunswick. The apple growers are making admirable progress, and they know how much is due to their own efforts and how little, as yet at least, is due to the present local government.

The editor of the Goderich Star throws this light upon the cost of living when he was young:

"Fancy hogs soaring to \$9 a hundred, live weight. We remember dressed hogs, a dozen on a load of grain, at \$3.50, and many old residents will recall it. In those days, over 40 years ago, fresh eggs were plentiful at five cents a dozen, and fresh butter at seven cents a pound, and we often carried those products to the store and took the value in trade in the County of Bruce."

U. S. Senator Stephenson, the Toronto Star reminds us, was born in New Brunswick:

A naturalized citizen of the United

States was the best, and it is now the worst, of any of the great nations. The express companies have been powerful enough to accomplish this.

In 1906 the United States carried by parcels post about 220,000 pieces as against nearly twelve millions carried by Austria the same year. Germany carried a larger number than Austria. Austria carries eleven pounds for twelve cents; the United States charges \$1.76 for that weight, and insists upon it being put up in three packages. Germany carries the same weight for twelve cents and twenty-two pounds for twenty-four cents. Great Britain for this service charges twenty-four and forty-eight cents respectively. The United States would carry that latter weight in six parcels for \$3.52. It is only for those who can frank them that the American post office will carry large parcels.

One Postmaster-General said: "Bundles of wire six feet high and six feet round, bags of seeds, supplies for the army, tons of documents packed in wooden cases that sometimes require three men to handle them, are piled into the post offices. The reason for it is that the post office department is compelled to carry anything sent under a penalty frank, and finally franks are used by all the departments and their agents for the purpose of carrying anything they choose to send." The services that the department provides so satisfactorily for officials, free, it might provide for the public at a reasonable rate. So far the express companies have been strong enough to prevent this. The United States has refused to enter into international parcels post conventions, except with a few countries and at high rates. International commerce and correspondence with the United States is heavily handicapped in this respect as compared with other countries. Consuls and citizens residing abroad, having correspondents abroad, have repeatedly complained of this. It is estimated that hundreds of millions of dollars of commerce are lost to the country by its inability to send samples and produce at cheap rates to foreign countries. It was estimated a few years ago that the country lost \$2,000,000 a year in orders from the West Indies alone by the lack of a cheap parcels post.

Outside of the fact that the railways charge the department four times as much for hauling the mails as they get from the express companies for equal haulage, the post office is efficient and progressive. It is only the lobbying of the private interests, of the railway and the express companies, that prevent the department from entering other fields where it could give cheap, effective and progressive service for everybody.

## NOTE AND COMMENT

News that Hon. Mr. Fielding will be absent from Parliament until after New Year's, finding it necessary to go to Florida for his health, will be a cause of regret to all good Canadians. There will be a universal wish that Mr. Fielding may find speedy recovery in the South. Fortunately his illness seems not to be of an organic nature, and his return to his duties, in full vigor