

A GAMBLER'S HAZARD.

Driven from one position to another on the transcontinental railway question, Mr. Borden, leader of the Conservative party, has made the last desperate gambler's cast and declared for government ownership and operation. He declares that in order to save interest on an enormous capital sum if he be victorious on November 3rd, the work of construction will be commenced at every available point and rushed through as rapidly as possible. That is what the government has asserted will be done, and for the same reason. The organs of the Conservative party in British Columbia, however, declare that it is the intention of the Grand Trunk Company to push the work through from the eastern end and that we in this province will be deprived of the "incidental benefits" connected with such a great undertaking.

It is perfectly evident at this stage of the political campaign that Mr. Borden's startling declaration has not made the sensation or the impression that was anticipated. Toronto, a city which dearly loves a hero no matter in what field his glory may have been won, and which is always glad of an excuse for a display of enthusiasm, is a pronouncedly Conservative town. But even Toronto evidently does not regard Mr. Borden as having been cast in a heroic mould. On his recent visit it received him with comparative coldness. As it was in Toronto, so it has been in all parts of Ontario, the province which is relied upon to give the Conservative party a majority on election day. Already it is quite evident that Ontario is not going to live up to the expectations of the Tory managers. Like the rest of the Dominion, Ontario has not been educated up to the point of accepting a Canadian Populist leader. The campaign is as hopeless as was that of Bryan in the United States four years ago.

But if the country were to perform the unexpected and endorse the railway policy of this Canadian Populist leader, would there not be some unexpected obstacles to the immediate construction of a great transcontinental railway by the government? In passing it may be noted that Mr. Borden has abandoned his contention that there was no necessity for the immediate construction of the new transcontinental railway because the means of communication are ample. The road cannot be built too quickly, he now admits. That being now admitted by all parties, what might follow in the impossible event of the defeat of the Laurier government? There is not a Conservative newspaper of any standing in the country that has not within a year most vehemently denounced government railways. A year or two ago an impression got abroad that it was the intention of the government to extend the Intercolonial. This drew from the Montreal Star the declaration: "A railway is to make money. It can make the most money by accommodating the most people; therefore the railway in private hands will seek to accommodate the most people. But government railways are run with a constant eye to keep the government in power. They would be located with the same object in view, and if there were a choice between two places, one of which supported and the other did not support the government, there would be a poor chance for the latter." In 1903 the Toronto Mail and Empire, referring to the showing on the line against government ownership and management of railways, nothing in the world can be. And the chief organ of the Conservative party at that time actually advocated the handing over of the Intercolonial to a private company and ending completely the era of government ownership in Canada. In the present year the Montreal Gazette, which has not yet assented to the Populist policy, said on the subject of the government railway: "Owned by any other organization but a government, it would be bankrupt. It is an effective exhibit both against government ownership and the proposed construction by the government of another railway twice as long."

The father of the Conservative party himself, speaking of the construction of the Canadian Pacific, said: "We propose to build this continental railway by means of a company. Why? Because, as you know, we have learned by what we have gone through on the Intercolonial that railways can be constructed and operated more cheaply, more efficiently, more advantageously, every way, by a company than by a government. If our friends the Grits had had the Intercolonial in hand they would have experienced just the same troubles that we have. They would have discovered that while it is easy when you are out of office to talk of running things as you would run a counting-house, it is very different when you are actually the minister. You have then to resist the importunities of powerful friends, or yield to them, as the case may be. You have a hundred men looking for one contract or one office, each of them coming down on you like an army with banners. You have your own merchants wanting to sell you supplies at their own figure, the workman threatening you if you do

not increase his pay, and claims which a company road would never entertain rising up against you night and day and calling for settlement on pain of having the claimants go over in a body to the Grit party to get the fair and honest treatment that you deny them. Mackenzie says he is a practical man, but I wish him joy if he ever has to conduct the Intercolonial from Ottawa."

In after years Mr. Alexander Macdonald undertook to build the Canadian Pacific railway as a public work. When his government was defeated in 1878, Sir John Macdonald, in accordance with the principles he had enunciated, immediately turned the concern over to a private company, together with bonuses and privileges of almost fabulous value, justifying his action in the following words: "The government had every right to use all their exertions in order to relieve themselves and the country of the obligation of building this road and of the still greater obligation of running it. We see this in the Intercolonial and in every public work. Why, sir, it is actually impossible for the government to run that railroad satisfactorily. The men that we put on the road from the porter upwards become civil servants. If one is put on for any purpose whatever he is said to be a political hack. If he is removed it is said his removal was on account of his political opinions. If a cow is killed on the road a motion is made in respect to it by the member of the House who has the owner's vote as support. The responsibility, the expense, the worry and annoyance of a government having charge of such a work, are such that from these causes alone it was considered advisable to get rid of the responsibility." Is there a greater than Sir John at the head of the Conservative party to-day? Could the difficulties he found to be insurmountable and insuperable be successful met and completely overcome by R. L. Borden and John Haggart? And when we come down to the present time we find that the Conservative Senators, majority appointed by Sir John Macdonald, are represented to the heart with the doctrines he enunciated. Times readers have seen the resolution Senator Macdonald all but moved in the Upper Chamber during the last session of the House. The leader of the Conservative party in the Senate, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, after examining the result of government ownership and operation of railways in Australia, has hesitated in proclaiming his conviction that Canada would make a great mistake in trying to follow the example of the Commonwealth. Consequently, apart altogether from the attitude of the Liberal Senators, if Mr. Borden were Premier the Senate would reject with ignominy his transcontinental railway scheme, and the work would be postponed indefinitely. The unanimous opinion of the country now is that a second transcontinental railway is not only required. In order that there shall be no delay and in order that the possibility of Populist experiments shall not be contemplated, it is essential that the Laurier government shall be sustained. Of course the people of the Dominion are thoroughly seized of the situation, they recognize the desperation of the position of Gambler Borden, and there is no doubt whatever as to their verdict.

INSTRUMENTS OF PURIFICATION.

"There can be no question about it in the mind of any person that the general tone of politics has lowered." The great Conservative party will undertake to act about the elevation of the tone of public life if the people of Canada will give it the opportunity by voting for its candidates on the 3rd of November. But we do know that the mere assertion of a Tory organ that the tone of public life has been lowered should be accepted as conclusive. One of the men who was a member of the government which was described with unanimity by the British press as a disgrace to the Empire is at the head of the so-called Liberal-Conservative Union of British Columbia.

The verdict of the British press in regard to the administration of Sir Charles H. H. Tupper was a distinguished ornament was that, "Rascals out of office defraud the public in order to bribe rascals in office, and rascals in office prostitute themselves, sacrifice their honor and forsake their trust, in order to keep on good terms with the rascals out of office." We submit that the tone of public life must be distinctly higher after eight years of Liberal rule, because no one ever reads except in some Tory organ (and therefore pays no attention to it) of such scandals as under the rule of the Tupper government caused all true Canadians to hang their heads in shame.

We suspect the Mighty Tupper who does it in part of prudence to keep his political armor burnished against the day when the party he honors with his support may be called upon to administer the affairs of Canada has never forgiven the British people for the scathing denunciation of Tory methods that appeared in their newspapers. He does not believe in the unity of the Empire, or preferential trade, or in any of the measures advocated since the development of the trade policy of the Laurier government for the consolidation and permanent constitution of a Greater Britain. At one time in his prosperous career as a politician (Sir Charles is only an active worker for his party when the sun of popular favor shines upon it) and the pay of a cabinet minister is sure he declared that Great Britain had been driven from the civilized markets of the world and was

constrained to force her wares upon barbarous peoples at the mouths of cannon and the points of bayonets. We suppose it is in order to hasten the downfall of Britain and prove his sagacity and foresight that the President of the Conservative Union of British Columbia proposes to absolutely close British goods out of the markets of Canada through the policy of "adequate protection" which he and his leaders (if he will excuse us for assuming that a Tupper will condescend to follow any leader) advocate.

And with reference to the alleged lowering of the tone of public life, what means are to be taken to elevate or raise the said tone to the level aimed at by the Tupper and the Posters and the Haggarts, and the other members of the late government who were not irreversibly driven from public life by reason of the scandal of their unique connection with contractors and other grafters? That profound political pundit, Colonel Prior, has been nominated by the Conservatives to represent the important constituency of Victoria. The work of reformation is to begin right at home. The man who never in his life conducted an honest election and who openly set about carrying his methods into the department of the provincial government of which he assumed charge, who opened tenders and ordered his subordinate, in spite of that official's protests, to hold them back until the turn of which he is the chief stockholder should have an opportunity to "submit bids." Colonel Prior is to be the bearer of the milk-white banner of political purity in the capital of British Columbia. And all the Tory newspapers which denounced his conduct and called upon the representative of the Crown to dismiss the Colonel from office because of such scandalous doings, such unbecoming and callous disregard of political, public and commercial morality—all the Tory newspapers and all the erstwhile scandalous politicians clap their hands. Given the Ministers who took part in the inquiry which resulted in the dismissal of Colonel Prior and have profited themselves and brought further evil upon the province by his downfall—even the Ministers are consenting and approving parties to his nomination.

Such is the local history of the noble Tory movement to purify the political life and elevate the political tone of the Dominion! The party which dragged the name of Canada in the mire when it was in power is now doing its worst to asperse the character of the people of the country in the vain hope that some of the dirt it throws may adhere to Liberal leaders.

THE TUPPER "MANIFESTO."

To the Editor:—Sir Charles H. H. Tupper, "as president of the Liberal-Conservative Union for this province," has written a letter to the electors of British Columbia, because he deemed it to be his "duty to call attention to issues upon which they are asked to pass judgement in a short time." I can be doing no injustice to Sir Charles in assuming that he has written the letter he could. It occupies three and a half newspaper columns, which indicates that he did not feel at all restricted in the use of space. The electors may, therefore, take it for granted that Sir Charles felt, when he signed the letter, that he had exhausted the subject. There is only one reference in it to the larger question of federal policy, and this is confined to three short paragraphs on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The letter is, for the most part, a misleading statement, intended to arouse local prejudice. His reference to the Grand Trunk Pacific will be dealt with later. I shall first take up the other questions.

Sir Charles appeals to the electors of British Columbia because of the attitude of the Liberal party in the following matters:

1. A reconsideration of the financial relations between the Dominion and the Province.
2. Protection to the lumber and shingle industry.
3. Protection to the lead industry.

The "financial terms" between the Dominion and the Province were not settled by Sir Wilfrid Laurier or the Liberal party. They were fixed thirty-three years ago by negotiations between the government of this Province and the Dominion government of which Sir John Macdonald was leader. It was an arrangement made by a Conservative federal Premier with a Conservative local government, and it was unfair to the province, the Liberals are surely not in any way to blame. The arrangement continued during the closing year of Sir John's first administration, the five years of the Liberal administration, the eight years of the second Conservative regime and seven years of Liberal administration without any suggestion of a change. Since Mr. McBride came in to power, a formal request has been for what is called "better terms," and it has been neither acquiesced in nor refused. Sir Charles seeks to create the impression that Col. Prior in 1900 and 1901 demanded better terms for British Columbia. He did nothing of the kind. Col. Prior on the occasion referred to confined himself to an effort to show that British Columbia had received less than its contribution to the federal revenue was entitled to larger annual appropriations than it had received. There is not a word or a suggestion in his speeches that the "financial terms" between the Dominion and the Province should be reconsidered. This being the case, the quotations made by Sir Charles from the Col. Prior's speeches in 1901 and from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's reply have no bearing

whatever upon the issue which Sir Charles seeks to raise. I shall later show what Col. Prior did ask, what Sir Wilfrid Laurier said in reply, what Mr. Borden said and what has been done since the reasonable proposition that the expenditures in the province should have some relation to the revenue derived from the province. At present my point is that the question of better terms to British Columbia has never been before parliament. Sir Charles must surely know this, and he must have been presuming upon a popular ignorance, which does not exist, when he sought to create the impression that it has been. I say "create the impression," because Sir Charles is adroit enough to avoid a direct truth while conveying a false idea.

I also wish to point out that the "financial terms" between the Dominion and the provinces are not based upon the respective contributions of the latter to the federal revenue. These contributions must fluctuate from year to year, and it is absolutely impossible to ascertain what each province actually pays, for the reason that goods which pay duty or excise in a particular province are not necessarily consumed in that province. I admit that at present the observation "does not apply" to the provinces of British Columbia, but if this provision ever becomes operative it will, a great import of goods consumed in the Northwest, there will be as good reason then to refuse to credit British Columbia all the duties paid here as there is now to refuse to credit Quebec with all the duties paid in Montreal.

The following observation cannot be so easily dismissed: The payments out of the Dominion treasury to the respective provinces are not based upon the contributions of the respective provinces to the treasury, and cannot be so based according to any principle of equity. It is otherwise as to federal expenditures in this province, and this was the point to which Col. Prior directed his speech in 1901, from which Sir Charles quotes in his letter.

Col. Prior's first complaint was that the Chinese head tax was not high enough, and that the province would receive a greater proportion of it.

The second complaint was that the province was not dealt with as a liberal province as it ought to be in the matter of railway subsidies.

The third point related to the expenditures in connection with the fisheries and the establishment of traps. Col. Prior asked that the control of the fisheries should be vested in the province.

The fourth point was a request for a subsidy to wooden ships built in the province.

The fifth and last point related to the establishment of a mint.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, instead of indulging in a "bait and snare," as Sir Charles alleges, replied in a speech which fills five columns of Hansard. He took up Col. Prior's points in detail. As to the mint, he drew attention to the fact that Col. Prior had himself admitted that the grievance on this head could be met by the establishment of an assay office. In regard to subsidies to wooden ships, he said it was a new proposal calling for serious consideration before being adopted by the parliament.

Sir Charles's second observation as to the railway is that the company refused to agree to begin construction simultaneously at both termini. In other words he complains that the company would not agree to delay beginning work at Winnipeg until the Pacific terminus had been selected and the line through this province had been fully surveyed. To state such a complaint is to answer it.

The foregoing are the only reasons why in the opinion of Sir Charles H. H. Tupper the people of British Columbia should withdraw their support from Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Emanating from any other source they would be described as puerile as to argument and false as to facts. Coming from so distinguished a source I hardly know how to characterize them.

CHARLES H. H. LUGRIN.

Victoria, Oct. 11th, 1904.

LYING ON NO AVAIL.

We take it that the public is now fairly well informed as to the terms and conditions upon which the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway will be built. Therefore what is to be gained by deliberate, dishonest, malicious misrepresentation?

The Colonist says the part of the line which will run through a barren, practically uninhabited, and therefore valueless country—the Eastern section—will be built by the government, while the portion which will be of value will be constructed and owned by a private company, the government guaranteeing "the greater part of the cost."

As a matter of fact, the political friends of the Colonist contend that the mountain section of the new road will be the most costly portion, and that it will be built by the government, while the portion which will be of value will be constructed and owned by a private company, the government guaranteeing "the greater part of the cost."

The government does not guarantee the greater part, not to mention nine-tenths of the cost, of the mountain section of the line. It guarantees the interest on 75 per cent. of the cost for twenty years. At the end of that time its liabilities will be at an end. That is a plain fact, set down in black and white, so that the people cannot be deceived by the most wilful lying or misrepresentation.

The guarantee of the prairie section is not so great. This will be a valuable section of the road immediately, but it will be the more valuable ultimately than the eastern 1,500 miles, which "will run through a barren, uninhabited and valueless country."

cluding lumber from the United States. The mill men in the other provinces do not ask for a duty. It may be conceded that if a duty were imposed upon lumber the British Columbia mills would be benefited thereby, and the Liberal representatives of the province at Ottawa did their best to secure it. It has not been imposed, and the explanation is a very simple one. The manufacture and export of lumber is a very important industry in every part of Canada, except Manitoba, Prince Edward's Island and the Territories, and, with the possible exception of British Columbia, the business has everywhere adjusted itself to the provisions of the Fielding tariff. Before a change is made, which, while benefiting some, may very seriously and prejudicially affect thousands of others, the greatest consideration is necessary. The government proposes a revision of the tariff, after a commission has investigated the subject and reported as to what changes are desirable. If the question of lumber duties is left in abeyance until that commission has reported, it is not a wise one. If only one industrial establishment or one locality were affected there might be reason to complain of delay, but as the matter is one that affects every part of Canada, it may very properly be left to be dealt with when the whole question of tariff revision comes up. I think reasonable men will admit that this view of the case is correct.

Sir Charles's third point has reference to the lead industry. This question occupied the attention of the government, and, as every one knows, a very substantial bounty was given to lead producers in Canada, under which the lead industry revived and a lead-manufacturing plant has been established at Trail. The condition of the lead-producing industry is now very satisfactory. Sir Charles's observations on this subject had apparently no other object than to fill out space.

In conclusion I will refer briefly to what Sir Charles says about the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. He makes two statements. One of them is that the Grand Atlantic terminus will be at Portland, in the state of Maine. It is difficult to know how to deal with a writer who is particularly gratifying to note that Sir Charles does in the sentence quoted. The very essence of the contract is that it provides for an all-Canadian line. Section 42 of the contract reads as follows:

"It is hereby declared and agreed between the parties to this agreement that the said herein provided for is granted by the government of Canada for the express purpose of encouraging the development of Canadian trade and the transportation of goods through Canadian channels. The company accepts the aid on these conditions and agrees that all freight originating on the line of the railway, or its branches, not specifically routed otherwise by the shipper, shall be carried to Canadian ocean ports."

In charity to Sir Charles, I assume that owing to his prolonged absence from parliament he was not aware of this provision in the contract which secures, for as far as legislation can secure it, that the Grand Trunk Pacific will be all-Canadian, not only as to the route, but as to its traffic.

Sir Charles's second observation as to the railway is that the company refused to agree to begin construction simultaneously at both termini. In other words he complains that the company would not agree to delay beginning work at Winnipeg until the Pacific terminus had been selected and the line through this province had been fully surveyed. To state such a complaint is to answer it.

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ness is yet in its infancy. The demands upon the eastern section of the Grand Trunk Pacific will be enormous in the course of a very few years, and it is gathered from the local traffic which will assuredly be developed. At the end of seven years the liability of the people on account of the eastern section will cease also. The company will pay the interest on the cost of construction, besides maintaining the roadbed in the condition of a modern, up-to-date railway line. Any other roads which may desire running rights over this line must have them upon such terms as the government of the day may decide. At the expiration of the term of lease an asset of greatly enhanced value will pass into the hands of the people of Canada.

Such railways as were built in the past by the party which is now so free and unfair in its criticism of the Grand Trunk bargain were actually paid for to the uttermost cent by the public. They were more than paid for by many millions. The number of millions which the party which developed in transactions as the late Conservative government in its dealings with promoters attests the absolute truth of this statement. And the properties are theirs absolutely. No provision was ever made for a reversion to the people of that which they created; no reservations were made as to the control of rates or for the removal of abuses which have developed in transactions as between corporations and the public.

The cost of the Grand Trunk Pacific to the people of Canada will not be a fraction of the value of the property bestowed upon the Canadian Pacific Railway by the Macdonald government, apart altogether from the twenty-five million acres of land and the twenty-five millions in cash which accompanied it. The cost to the people of the Grand Trunk Pacific, as the Premier who negotiated the bargain has pointed out, will be less than one year's surplus revenue.

CULTIVATE A CHEERFUL SPIRIT.

Why should the Colonist display such a pessimistic, narrow spirit at this time? If it is undeniable that the prospects of the Conservative party are blue in the extreme, and that the casting of the political horoscope brings no comfort to the heart, is not Mr. Borden in power in British Columbia, and is not Green at his right hand? These two stalwarts, with the assistance of Sir Herbert Tupper, president of the Liberal-Conservative Union of British Columbia, will see to it that this province obtains justice from the hands of the tyrants at Ottawa even if Colonel Prior and all the rest of the Conservative candidates be left at home. It differed from this view. The chief officer advised that the lead be heated for some time.

In this connection I wish to state that no such conversation as alleged in the article occurred. The article further stated that the Colonist was putting in at Dunsmuir to spend the night there, as fog was coming on, rendering navigation both difficult and dangerous. It is alleged that as the Quaker steamed into the bay at half past six (six o'clock), the attention of the commander was drawn by the chief officer to a dark line stretching across the course of the steamer. The chief officer, who was recognized by the Colonist's closest friends, why should the Colonist feel so blue in regard to conditions which are unchanged?

MR. BARNES'S DENIAL.

To the Editor:—In the Colonist this morning there appeared an article dealing with D. G. S. Quadra, in which there is the following paragraph: "The facts are pretty much as follows: The Quaker was putting in at Dunsmuir to spend the night there, as fog was coming on, rendering navigation both difficult and dangerous. It is alleged that as the Quaker steamed into the bay at half past six (six o'clock), the attention of the commander was drawn by the chief officer to a dark line stretching across the course of the steamer. The chief officer, who was recognized by the Colonist's closest friends, why should the Colonist feel so blue in regard to conditions which are unchanged?"

CHARLES BARNES.

Victoria, October 11th.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 11.—The proposed new canon on marriage and divorce was the subject of a heated discussion when the triennial general convention of the Episcopal church resumed its sessions to-day.

The sessions of the House of Bishops were continued. The Archbishop of Canterbury appeared at the convention for the last time.

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would appear different to the Colonist. It is true Mr. Borden has never said he would grant British Columbia better terms—such terms as would make the appearance of the Grand Trunk in our midst a blessing instead of a curse. The leader of the opposition did allude to the House of Commons. Then he said he would have to consider the views of his own particular province with regard to it. Generally it will be observed that Mr. Borden is a cautious man. He recognized the breadth of the matter. He realized that not only Nova Scotia, but all the other provinces, would come in with claims if the question were declared open.

It is not supposable for a moment that the Liberal members of Parliament will not do all in their power to secure for British Columbia absolute justice from the federal powers. It is not conceivable that there will be any change of government for the next five years. The Conservative press of the province recognizes this when it pleads that members in opposition could accomplish more acting in concert with the local administration than could supporters of a government who never under any circumstances are in their allegiance. That may appear to be a very subtle plea on behalf of the Conservative candidates. But practical experience does not support it. Col. Prior can give the people of British Columbia no authoritative assurance that the Liberal party will support them in power. He is not of the calibre of the representative who successfully maintained demands upon political opponents. There are no circumstances supposable or possible under which it would be advisable to elect him to Parliament at the present time. He has earned and merits the status to which he was reduced by the fact that he was relieved of any position by the Colonist's closest friends, why should the Colonist feel so blue in regard to conditions which are unchanged?

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