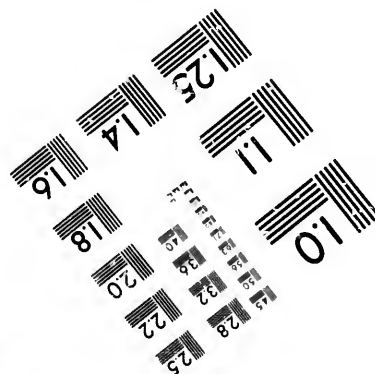
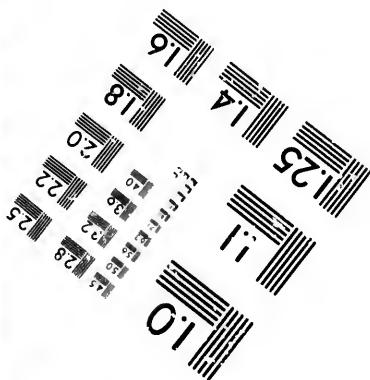
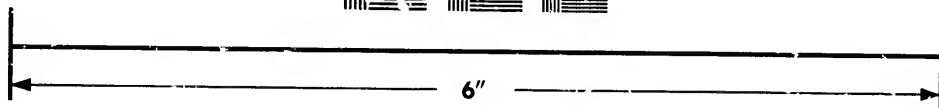
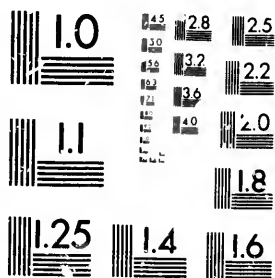


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

1.5 1.6 1.8 2.0 2.2 2.5
2.8 3.2 3.6 4.0 4.5 5.0

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

10

© 1981

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institut has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

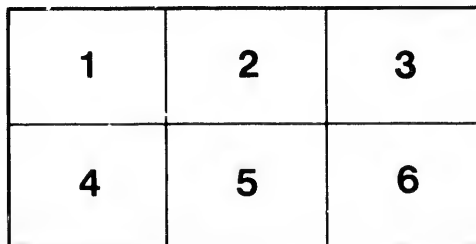
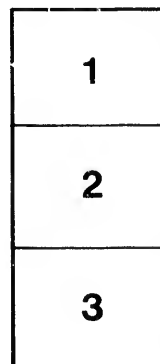
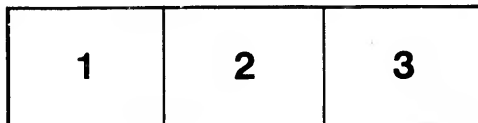
Library of the Public
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

La bibliothèque des Archives
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

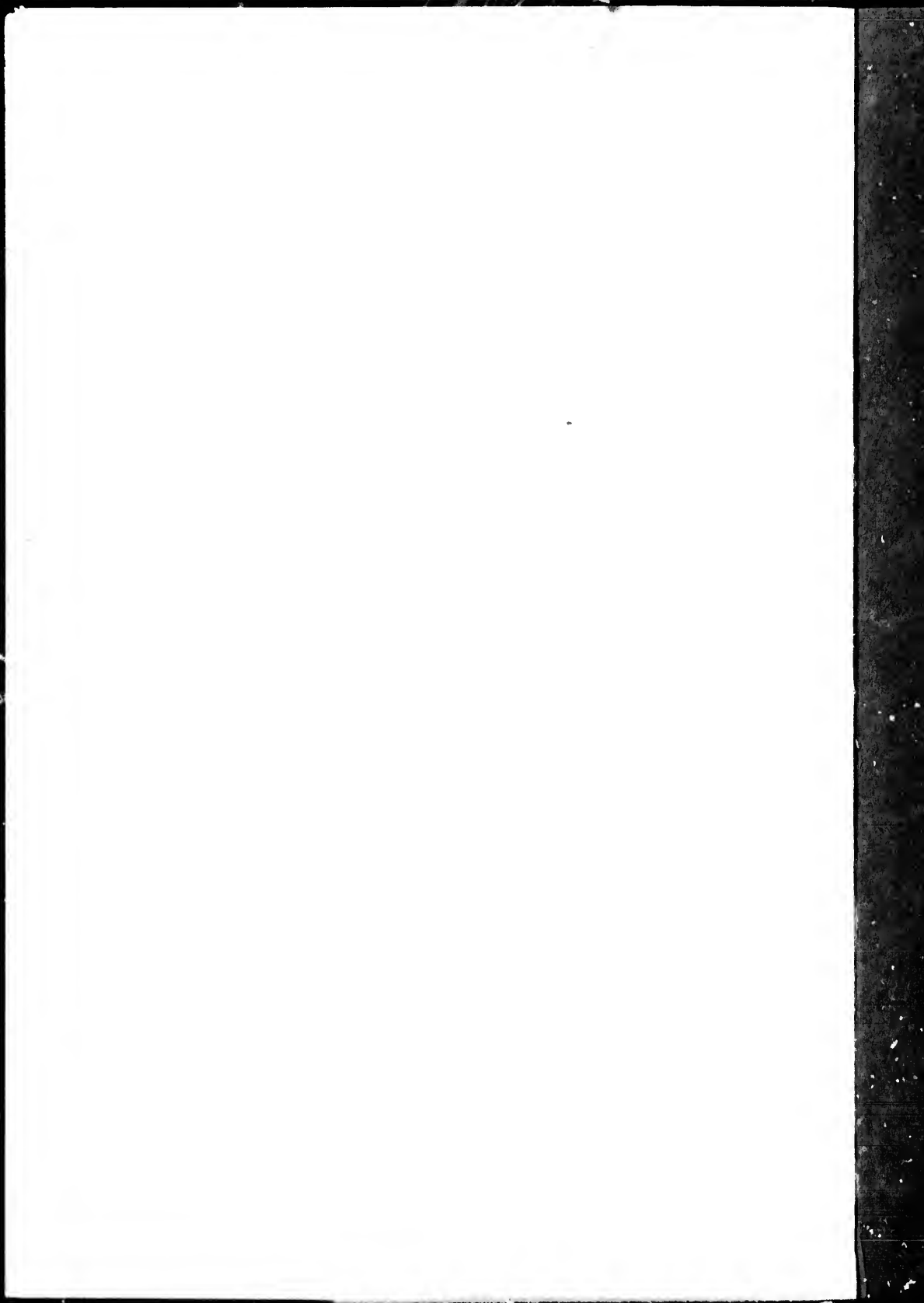
Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

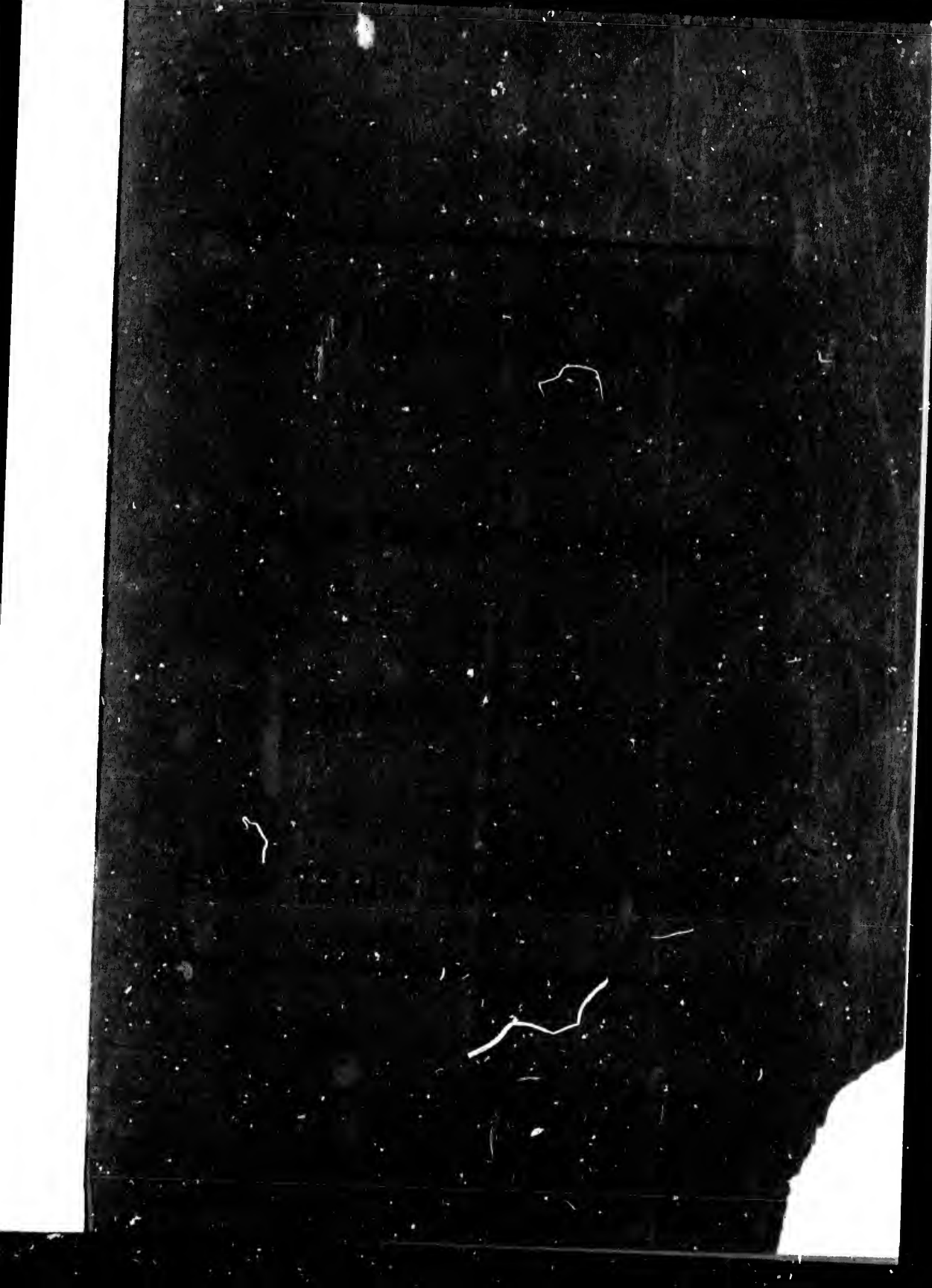
ils
du
difier
une
page

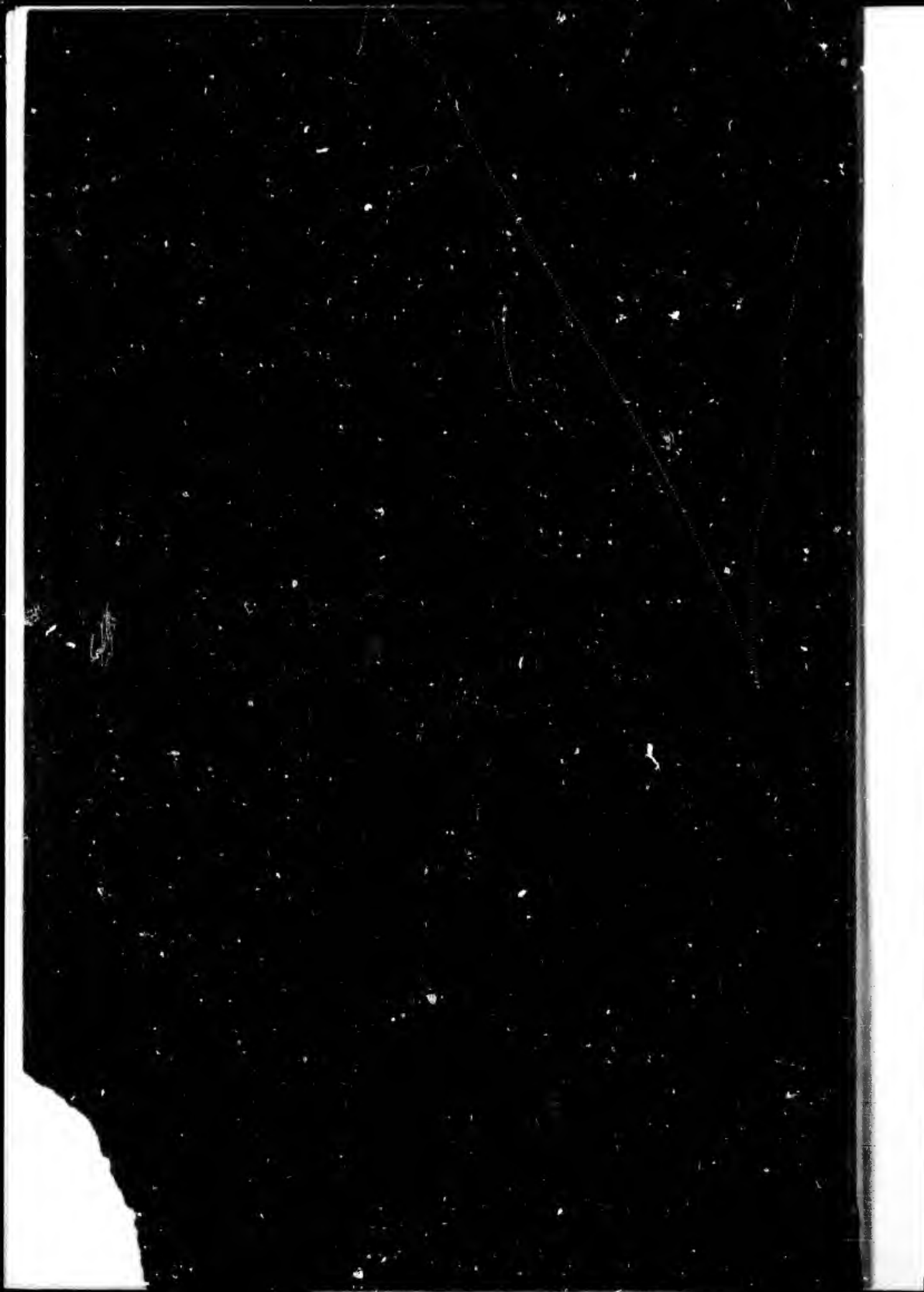
ata

elure,
à

12X







TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF CANADA.

Cicero in his offices, says: "There are some characters who "aspiring to the administration of Government are prepared to do "or suffer anything, and are not ashamed of the meanest actions, "or prostitutions, provided by these unworthy means they have "reason to expect the success of their designs."

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

It is for you my fellow citizens to consider how closely the words of that celebrated Orator and Statesman, are applicable to the men who at present are ruling the destinies of Canada, and ask yourselves, if you can expect truth, honor, and good Government, to be the offspring of base conduct, or that those who have sacrificed all feeling of self respect to obtain power, can be expected on its attainment to alter their principles; or conduct, for the benefit of the Public. Is it not rather to be feared, that self interest will be their guide in the administration of affairs, and that to continue in power, they will use means equally dishonorable and unscrupulous as the arts by which they attained it?

THE NECESSITY OF CONSIDERATION.

These are questions worthy of the serious consideration of those upon whose verdict at the Polls the success or failure of aspirants to power in a free country depends, and there never was a period heretofore in Canadian history, when the necessity of active supervision of the characters of representative men was more requisite than the present, for closely as the Independence of Parliament Act may guard against the bribery of Electors, nothing but personal honor can preserve *the elected* from being debauched by a corrupt Government, of which the late Session of Parliament has afforded ample examples, and the indecent haste of its prorogation, to prevent the reading, and conceal the results of the Report of the Committee on the contracts granted by the Government to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Before entering upon the means employed by the present ruling party in Canada to obtain power, (and it would be improper to separate the Government from the actual perpetrators of the dishonorable acts hereinafter recapitulated, for the actors have

been honored and rewarded by the Government,) it may not be irrelevant to glance at the position of public affairs in the Country, immediately antecedent to the fall of the late Administration, for frequently in the heat of political discussion, facts even of recent date, are forgotten or perverted.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

No man however little given to consideration of the complicated interests of the widely separated divisions of this geographically great Dominion, but must admit, that to consolidate such an empire for political, commercial, and agricultural purposes, a Transcontinental Railway was, and is a necessity, and that the determination of the late Government to construct it was a statesmanlike conclusion, independently altogether of the pledges at Confederation to British Columbia, which rendered it imperative.

The Americans not satisfied with their Pacific Railway to St. San Frisco, were constructing a more northern route to terminate, somewhere on Puget Sound, to command the Eastern Commerce and that of the Southern Archipelago, as well as of British Columbia, and by connecting lines to tap the trade of Canada from the Rocky Mountains to Lake Superior, and knowing that the Government of Canada had decided upon constructing an interoceanic Railway within British Territory, the corporation engaged in the Northern Pacific Line determined if possible to upset the existing Government in Canada, and for that purpose employed an agent with an almost unlimited supply of funds, which it is stated was largely used for the purpose of influencing the elections of this Country.

The late Government to counteract this conspiracy, called upon their friends for pecuniary aid to assist in an electioneering expense fund, and carried the elections, despite of the Americanized party, whose success would have defeated the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the necessity of, and key stone of the arch of the Dominion.

It was then asserted that Sir Hugh Allan had given a large sum of money to bribe the Government to allot him the contract for the Railway, but no man who knew anything of the arrangements believed a statement so baseless and absurd, and the explanations of Sir Hugh Allan as to his subscriptions to the electioneering fund, were amply sufficient to dispel the calumny, the construction of the Railway being considered by him an equivalent in enhancing the profits of the large capital invested in Ocean Steamships and collateral interest of six millions dollars.

Without defending the use of money by any party in payment of the electioneering expenses of their friends, or otherwise, and there is no proof that it was spent in any other manner by the

party then in power, it may properly be urged, that the use of money in electioneering, was common to every party in the State at that period, and with no party was it so prevalent, as with the present party in power, as was clearly shewn by the alleged subsidy from a foreign corporation, the Big Push Letter of the Hon. Mr. Brown, and other facts, the detail of which is unnecessary from their notoriety.

THE CONTRACT.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was to cost by that contract thirty millions of dollars, in cash, and fifty millions acres of lands from the country through which the road was intended to run, and the payments in land and money to be made only in the proportion of the construction of the road, and these payments would have been spread over at least ten years, and most probably 15, as the parties interested and they comprized all Canada as well as the contractors, would never have contended for an iron rule of ten years, but extended the period should the necessities of the country or contract demand it

THE RESULTS.

And what would have been the results had the contract been carried into effect ?

Canada would have been enjoying the expenditure and influx of an enormous capital by the construction of the road, immigrants by the thousand would have flocked into the country, bringing capital with them, each more or less, and the imports necessary for the support of the army of labourers and mechanics, as well as immigrants, and the required materials, would have added to the financial receipts of the Exchequer, so largely, that the interest and principal of the 30 millions of dollars would have been recouped by the work itself, and when completed, the population of Canada would have been doubled or nearly so, the vast fertile prairie country settled more or less to the Rocky Mountains, both by the poor industrious man, and the capitalist, and Canada would have been enjoying unexampled prosperity, instead of having gone through extreme depression, and poverty, with a yearly deficit of revenue, and yet a still more trying period of financial suffering for her people in expectation, and a further deficit in her Exchequer. These are not imaginary results as to prosperity, on the one hand, nor are they an unknown quantity on the other, for the iron dart of poverty has plunged itself into the vitals of the people, their industries are paralyzed, employment is unattainable, and had not Providence in inscrutable wisdom mercifully blessed the country with a bountiful harvest, starvation would have been the lot of most classes in the community dependent on labour, who

still must look forward to much suffering, for if a loaf can be bought for ten cents, if the poor man cannot earn the 10 cents it might as well for him be ten shillings.

To the selfish ambition of the present Premier and his Government, is due the failure of that arrangement, and now when too late, its wisdom is by them admitted, for they are endeavouring to make a similar contract or contracts, but fruitlessly, for no one at home or abroad has faith in their business capacity, and they have already spent six millions of dollars, which they have charged to Pacific Railway account, and which (except survey expenses) has no bearing whatever on the Railway proper, and has been thus charged contrary to the Act of Parliament.

Without burdening the present government as being the sole cause of the general distress of Canada, there can be no doubt that they are justly responsible for an apathetic indifference, having made no endeavours by useful legislation to aid the depression of the commercial, agricultural, or manufacturing interests, they have folded their arms, declaring openly that legislation was powerless as a remedy, and this declaration was made contrary to the strongly expressed opinions of the most intelligent representative men of these several interests in the state, irrespective of party.

BASE MEANS OF ATTAINING POWER.

Having thus far placed before my readers the general position of affairs immediately previous to the advent to power of the present government, I call attention to the acts and prostitutions through which they attained it. They were a long time waiting, they hungered and thirsted for power, and as described by Cicero, "*were prepared to do or suffer anything, not ashamed of the meanest acts and prostitutions, provided by these unworthy means they had reason to expect the success of their designs.*"

An impression prevailed, that the conservatives had employed money in the elections, but no proof was forthcoming, until a party since rewarded, subordinated a clerk to rob the desk of his master, and placed in the hands of a gentleman of the opposite party, the private papers of his employer, by these papers it appeared that money had been received by leading men of the conservative party for electioneering purposes, and immediately a cry was raised, called "the Pacific Scandal," all kinds of wild and untruthful stories were circulated, and the Country deceived into a belief that a grievous sin had been committed, unheard of before in the annals of Canada. The cry, like all calumnies filled the public ear, and with its smoky volume blinded the eyes of the Country, and caused the resignation of the ministry, and an appeal to the electors during the excitement, placed in power the present government; the electors either forgetful or ignorant, that the very party that had raised that cry, were

said to have used a subsidy from a foreign Corporation, as well as excessively large home contributions to carry the elections of their representatives. *With purity on their lips, they had sown corruption with their hands.*

THE LETTER STOLEN FROM THE POST OFFICE.

Contemporaneously with the subornation of a clerk to rob his master's papers, a letter from one minister to another of the conservative party then in power, sent through the Post Office, found its way clandestinely into the hands of *an honorable* gentleman in Montreal, who instead of returning it under cover to the party to whom it was directed, called together a small political caucus, who read the letter, and "*pro pudor*," decided upon publishing it in the party paper at Montreal, the receiver of this letter has been since appointed to a lucrative office by the present Government. another of the caucus has been selected as a member of the Senate, *he is an honorable*, and yet a third, is a member of the Administration. You and I and many others freeholders of Canada, think that the receiver is as bad as the thief, and the law of our fatherland stringently indorses that principle, as the following quotation will satisfy the sceptic, which any man can verify by referring to a well known authority, "Russell on Crimes, Vol. 2, page 49, section 28."

By Victoria 1, cap 36.—"It is enacted, that every person who shall steal a post letter bag, or a post letter from a post letter bag, or shall steal a post letter from a post office, or from an officer of the post office, or from a mail, or shall stop a mail with the intent to rob or search the same, shall in England and Ireland be guilty of felony, and in Scotland of a high crime and offence, and shall be transported beyond the seas for any term not exceeding 14 years."

THE RECEIVER

Section 30, enacts with regard to receivers of property sent by mail, and stolen therefrom, "that every person who shall receive any post letter or post letter bag, or any other chattel or money, or valuable security, the stealing or taking, or embezzling, or secreting whereof, shall amount to a felony under the Post Office Acts, knowing the same to have been feloniously stolen, taken, embezzled, or secreted, and to have been sent, *or to have been intended to have been sent*, by the Post Office, shall in England and Ireland be guilty of felony, and in Scotland of a high crime and offence, and may be indicted and convicted, either as an accessory after the fact, or for a substantive felony, and in the latter case, whether the principal felon shall or shall not have been previously convicted, or shall or shall not be amenable to justice,

“and every such receiver however connected, shall be liable to be transported beyond the seas for life.”

Freeholders of Canada are the men implicated in such transactions fitting recipients of public confidence, honors, or emoluments, are you in the exercise of the privileges of your franchise prepared to intrust such men with the management of your interests, and the future welfare of yourselves and families?

The question is a serious one, the answer must be given at the Polls.

The statesman who ruling a Country commits blunders may be pardoned, but he who professing purity, condones and rewards dishonourable and base actions, helps to corrupt the social atmosphere, and is doing what lies in his power to spread the deadliest of diseases, and is a most dangerous enemy to the State. The moral tone of Canada is not improving, and cannot, under the present regime, treachery, dishonesty, and hypocrisy, are the stepping stones to position and emolument,—whether the running sore will be permitted to fester until mortification sets in, and moral death overwhelms all political issues, or by severing the corrupt and diseased limbs you give a chance of recovery to the Body Politic, is my fellow freeholders the most important question for your consideration. Your children and grandchildren, will hereafter have reason to curse, or bless you, as you act upon these questions.

PROMISES AND FULFILMENT.

For years the leader of the present party in power, and his friends, like the Pharisees of old, have been at the corners of streets, and on all occasions crying out, thanking God that they were not like other men, but that they were pure, just, impartial, and incorruptible, and that if the management of affairs was in their hands, prosperity would flood the land with milk and honey, and that economy, impartiality, and justice to all men, would mark their administration,—in fact, that a golden age would follow, and that the Leader of the Government like Casars wife would not only be incorruptible, but that the management of his Government would be above suspicion.

THE FULFILMENT.

The Premier as a first example of his purity and honor, initiated THE WALLACE CONSPIRACY—He conspired to ruin the character of an upright and honest man, the present member for South Norfolk, by writing a letter to Mr. Stuart, who was about to oppose him in the election for that Riding, in which he stated, that Wallace was a defaulter to the Government to the extent of \$59,000 or thereabout, and authorized Stuart to publish the letter

throughout the Riding, and this proceeding was taken by him, against a late officer of his own special Department, and without any personal, or written communication to that gentleman, to ascertain the truth, or to afford him an opportunity of explanation, and to gain a vote, *the Premier of Canada, the promissor of purity, the Guardian of the peoples rights*, attempted to ruin an honest man, and disfranchise a Riding, by a *False Statement*, publicly posted over his name. But he was unsuccessful in foisting his creature on the Riding.—Wallace was elected.

The report of the Sub-Committee of the Committee of Public Accounts in 1875, although notoriously partizan in its majority, embracing the testimony of a Mr. Radford, who was employed for special purposes, under what the Premier called "a private advertisement," has only to be read (and every freeholder should read it) fully to prove by his own testimony, that he knew nothing of the Wallace accounts of the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey, and that after endeavouring in vain to obtain the connivance of the gentlemen employed on their audit, in his dishonourable intentions, boldly fulfilled the to him known desire of his employer, and not weighing the consequences of truth or falsehood, without compunction reported a default against Wallace of \$59,000 or thereabout.

The Premier on his examination being asked by Mackenzie Bowell—"Is it customary in your Department to publish the state of an employé's account, without first having asked him for an explanation of any error which is supposed to exist?"

Answer.—"It is customary to publish whatever we think proper."

Question.—"Was your letter written to Mr. Stuart for the purpose of influencing the election in South Norfolk?"

Answer.—"I wrote the letter in answer to Mr. Stuart, and afterwards requested Mr. Stuart to publish it, *to give Mr. Wallace ample opportunity of seeing it.*" (The italics are the writers).

The autocrat speaks in the first answer, controlling an overwhelming majority in the Commons. *We trample upon the conventional courtesies of official life—"It is customary to publish whatever We think proper."*

In the second answer, it is a sad spectacle to present to the freeholders of Canada, the pure, the incorruptible Premier, utterly regardless of the "*suppressio veri, or the suggestio falsi.*"

THE STEEL RAILS PURCHASE.

The Steel Rails purchase, its nepotism, and the contract involving the interest of a member of the Senate in its transport, and the many equivocations of the Premier to screen his actions from the public, creating a loss to Canada of two millions of Dollars, have been so plainly detailed and brought home to him, by Mr. Thomas

White, in a letter to the Toronto Mail, 20 September, 1876, and headed "*who told a deliberate falsehood,*" that it would be a work of supererogation again to relate them.

The most humiliating circumstances of which was, the positive documentary proof adduced, that when the Premier telegraphed to papers of his party that Mr. White in stating that "he (meaning the Premier) purchased from a Montreal firm—one of the partners in this firm being his own brother, 40,000 tons of Steel Rails," told "*a deliberate falsehood,*" he the Premier was guilty of that meanest of all vices, and not the gentleman he had the temerity to accuse. One can scarcely imagine that the Leader of the Government of Canada had so fallen.

The loss to Canada on this nepotie purchase, cannot including 4,000 tons used on the Truro and Picton Railway, and handed over as a gift to a private company, without Parliamentary sanction, including interest, be less than *Two Millions of Dollars*, and these Rails lying here and there, are daily deteriorating by rust, and want a staff of men to preserve them. Thus the loss is daily increasing.

In connection with the purchase of Steel Rails by the Premier, may be related the abortive attempt made about that period to obtain the countenance of the Government to the manufacture of that article in the Ottawa Valley.

THE HAYCOCK IRON MINE.

The Minister of Public Works was officially communicated with by the proprietors of this mine, situated within five miles of the City of Ottawa, pronounced by experts to produce ore of superior quality, and specially adapted to the manufacture of steel, to the effect, that certain capitalists were prepared to erect Furnaces, Rolling Mills, and all necessary works, and appurtenances, at those mines, to *manufacture Steel Rails*, provided the Government would contract with them for a certain number of tons each year, for three years, at the market price of the day when delivered, and without payment, until delivery. The answer to the application was a curiosity in its way, the proposition was not entertained, evidently the Minister of Public Works had no desire to encourage home industry. There was no percentage or commission to arise.

Had this offer been accepted, the great loss of two millions of dollars would have been saved to the Country.

It is widely known, that the labouring classes in the Ottawa Valley, have suffered great distress through the depression in the lumber trade, and consequent want of employment, and yet the Premier of the Dominion refused to entertain an offer, to establish a great manufacture in the heart of the trade so depressed, and which would have employed the idle population, without cost to the Country. What would have been the effect if the money paid

to the British Iron Masters and Ship Owners, say 3 millions of dollars had been earned and paid out at the Haycock Mines? Instead of poverty, the labourer would have had prosperity at his door, and the City of Ottawa would have its 1000 empty houses filled with happy families, the city finances would be plethoric, and men would meet in the streets with smiling faces, instead of the downcast look, the presage of bankruptcy.

The Premier in his stump orations has nevertheless told the people, that the Government can do nothing to relieve the Country's depression. The People must take care of themselves the times are hard. "He did not make the times," the Government is powerless to aid, legislation can do nothing. At the very time that he has been paying away millions for Steels Rails, he refuses his countenance to a great manufacture of that article in the centre of Canada, and without cost to the public,—*this is reform,—this is paternal Government,—this is economy.*

Canada may apostrophise the Premier as the mother of the poet Burns did his monument.

Rabie, my son Rabie, ye asked them for bread,
but they gie ye a stane.

The motto of the present Government is "*Sibi, non Patriæ.*"

THE LACHINE CANAL IMPROVEMENT JOB.

The Lachine Canal land purchase and sales afford strong presumptive evidence, that the parties who manipulated the transaction had procured information through means of departmental want of reticence, entirely subversive of good government, of the nature and locality of the improvements contemplated by the Public Works, and on that information purchased on 17 April, 1874, through Mr. Beique, acting under power of Attorney, from Jetté, Lafamme & Co., from Evans and Stephens, of Montreal, the tract of land described by the Minister of Public Works, in his Report of 18 April, 1874, *made public one day after the purchase was made by these gentlemen*, as that, through which the necessary improvements were to pass. The proprietors through their auctioneer in putting these lands up to sale, reserved a strip of 225 to 250 feet in width for the widening of the Canal. The auction took place on the 10th October, and the sales exclusive of the strip reserved, amounted to nearly \$500,000, in so far as bids recorded were concerned. This was a credit sale, the prices were enormously high, and upon these prices was predicated the amount intended to be charged to the Government for the strip required for canal purposes, and upon the canal engineer applying for figures of cost for the lands owned by Jetté, Lafamme & Co., lying between the Railway Bridges and Côte St. Paul road, they were put down at \$425,740.

It was afterwards ascertained that but few of the auction sales were made in good faith, and they were not completed, and the price was adopted as a scale by which sales to Government would be made. The Chief Engineer of Public Works Department, (Mr. Paige,) on examination, reported, that a few years ago these lands could be bought for \$120 per acre, and at the time the late survey commenced, they were not valued at more than three or four hundred dollars per acre, but at the credit sales of Jetté, Laflamme & Co., they were bid off at from \$11,000 to \$18,000, per acre. The proposed improvement of the canal was postponed in consequence.

Freeholders of Canada it is your sacred duty to inquire, how, and through whom, this information prematurely reached the company of speculators who made this bold attempt to corner the Government, and plunder the Exchequer. If the improvements intended by the Public Works Department and their locale, can be discovered previously to their promulgation through the Council, there is no safety for the public purse from speculators?

The Minister thought proper to speculate upon Steel Rails, at a loss to the Country of 2 millions of dollars, would it not have been a wiser forethought to have bought the lands necessary for the canal improvements, from Evans & Co.? Before the Report was made public.

It is a curious coincidence that a high official was a partner in the firm of which one of the speculators was a member, and that another partner became a member of the Government.

THE DAWSON ROUTE CONTRACT.

The Dawson Route (so called from the engineer employed to construct it), was made by the late Government at a large cost, to convey immigrants and their stores, and as a general summer route through Canadian Territory, from Lake Superior to Manitoba, and the North West Territory, and was travelled over by Mr. Fleming, on his journey across the Continent to British Columbia, and is in the account of that journey described as affording a reasonably good passage by land and water to Manitoba, and under a course of improvements, may be rendered most valuable and at reasonable cost.

Through a mistaken economy, or from a cause more occult, the Minister of Public Works advertised for tender for private working of the route, the terms being, that the Government would pay the Contractor \$10 per head for immigrants carried over the Road, with a certain allowance of baggage, and as that sum was an inefficient payment, a further amount in a lump bonus, would be paid for the season's work.

It is almost unnecessary to point out the want of perception

of such a contract, or to state, that the results were ruin to the route, for the fewer passengers carried, the more of the bonus which was \$50,000, went into the pocket of the Contractors, Messrs. Carpenter & Co., and it was their interest to make the route impracticable, in which they were successful, for the immigrants suffered incredible hardships, semi-starvation, loss of their baggage and stores, and in instances death, in the passage. The route was in consequence deserted, and the immigration to Manitoba was turned from Canadian Territory to a route through the United States, where inducements in highly coloured pictures of the superior advantages of the Northern Pacific Railway Lands, were held out by active agents of that Company, and in consequence much of the immigration was diverted from Canada.

That this contract to work the route by private means, may have been adopted through miscalculation, and an error of judgment as to economy, would be a charitable inference, but the action of the Minister of Public Works forbids the adoption of this complimentary, although palliative conclusion, for with a full knowledge of its injurious tendency as to immigration, and the ruin of the route itself, the Minister made a similar contract for the next year, with the same parties, Carpenter & Co., with this difference, that the lump bonus was increased from 50 to \$75,000, and the route became to all intents and purposes, impracticable for immigration, and was abandoned for that purpose, why this bonus was not contracted for per head, and not in the lump, it is vain to inquire, and can only be explained by a desire to send the immigration by an American, in preference to a Canadian route, and at the expense of the Country, to put money into the pockets of Carpenter & Co., at the sacrifice of the Dawson passage. An inquiry would solve a problem as to how the Government was recouped by the Contractors for the losses sustained on the plant whilst in use by them, boats, horses, oxen, wagons, &c., which should have been returned in the order received, reasonable wear and tare excepted. One thing is certain, *that the contract in its inception, was a disgraceful error of judgment, or worse, and in its consequences most injurious to Canada.*

THE ROUTE FROM FORT WILLIAM TO MANITOBA.

The Minister of Public Works has now under contract on this route, at its extreme ends, two divisions of Railway in the aggregate 228 miles, leaving between both a central division of about 190 miles, which the Minister stated could be utilized for traffic by Steamboats on water stretches intervening, and thus a supply route would exist for constructing the Pacific Railway, as well as a continuous summer passage for immigrants and general trade, from Lake Superior to Manitoba. This was his explanation to the Commons, on the 21st February last.

But what are the facts? When the Minister stated these theoretical conclusions to the Commons, the route of the Pacific Railway had been located about 100 miles north of these so called water stretches, and therefore, even if they were practicable *per se*, they could not be utilized as a supply route for the Pacific Railway. But the water stretches of the Minister are useless even to connect continuously the traffic of the divisions of Railway under construction, unless he can make steamers ascend 400 feet difference of level from Rainy Lake to Lac des Mille Lacs, and this cannot be done, except at some fabulous expense, in lockage, for at least forty locks would be required.

If the Minister calculates upon making a continuous summer route from Lake Superior to Manitoba, he must abandon these water stretches, and fill up the gap heretofore described, by a Railway of about 190 additional miles, making in the aggregate 418 miles of Railway, which properly equipped with all its collaterals, station buildings, &c., &c., will cost not less than 20 Millions of Dollars, with the unpleasant prospect to Canadian finance, that it can pay nothing for one half the year, and even when idle, will absorb staff expenses,—The interest on cost, at 6 per cent, will be \$1,200,000.

To these 20 add 6 millions of dollars charged to, but not expended on the Pacific Railway, (except the amount on the survey), and you have within 4 millions of the thirty millions of dollars, which was the subsidy to be paid in cash by the contract of the late MacDonald Government, for the whole Railway across the Continent.

Had the Minister of Public Works when the Dawson route came under his control, efficiently improved it, which Mr. Dawson stated would cost from 250 to \$300,000, and it could then have been made a fair route by this reasonable outlay, instead of paying a lump bonus of \$125,000 to Carpenter & Co., which caused its destruction, and completed the Pembina branch without unseasonable delay. Canada would possess a tolerably fair summer route to the North West, until the construction thereto of the Pacific Railway, and by the completion of the Pembina branch, he would have placed the Country in continuous communication with the Railway system of the Continent, for the Americans would have built up to the Pembina Branch on its completion, being then assured of its trade, of which from the vacillation of the Premier, they felt uncertain, and in consequence delayed. The most dangerous feature and that which requires the most careful consideration on the part of the Freeholders of Canada, is, that the Premier in his speech to the Commons, on the 21st of February last, pledged himself that these water stretches would afford a supply route for the Pacific Railway when constructing, although at that very time the route of the Railway, was absolutely located 100 miles north of these water stretches, and unapproachable by them. He therefore

must have known that fact, and wilfully deceived the Country, or he must have been ignorant of facts with which it was his bounden duty to have been acquainted. The most charitable conclusion is, that he was ignorant. The dilemma is his own—the misfortune, is the Country's, and it is high time for the freeholders of Canada to open their eyes to the fact, that they are at present governed by a systematic duplicity, or deplorable incapacity, for to complete a continuous summer Railway route from Lake Superior to Manitoba, will cost not less than **20 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS**, and useful for summer only, with a financial deficit, staring the Country in the face, and if the central division of 190 miles be not filled up by a Railway, the cost of the 228 miles under construction, nearly 12 millions Dollars, is money sacrificed, at a time when the Country's finances are the reverse of prosperous.

THE GEORGIAN BAY BRANCH.

This branch, so named, when it was a branch to no known route, contracted to the Honorable Mr. Foster, was not surveyed by the Public Works Department, and its practicability was therefore unknown, no one conversant with Railways or the geography of the Country, could tell for what purpose it was intended, and it was surmised that it was meant as a feeder to the Georgian Bay navigation, but why, so intended, it was impossible to more than surmise, as the Grand Trunk Road to Sarnia, and the Northern Railway to Collingwood, and the progressing Midland gave more than sufficient facilities for all the trade in that direction. Yet, in conjunction with it, an expensive survey was made for a harbor at the mouth of the French River, although that had been sufficiently done by Mr. Walter Shanly, previously, and reported in his survey, for a canal from Lake Huron to Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River,—But at length it appeared, that the contractor was a favoured individual, and that this branch was a means of shewing how political services may be rewarded at the expense of the Country.

Mr. Forster, after a period, and having made a survey, complained that the route (*walked over by a Government Engineer previously to the contract,*) was impracticable. He was relieved from his contract, his security such as it was, was released, and he was paid \$40,000, which amount might as well have been thrown into the Georgian Bay for any benefit it did, the people of Canada, together with the payment of a Government Engineer, during the enaction of the job, the expense of the harbour survey and of the walking engineer. Besides a Rails purchase which involved another serious permanent investment comparatively valueless to the Country.

THE KAMANESTIQUIA SO CALLED HARBOUR.

A purchase of land was made of about 70 acres at Fort William, on this river, in the Woods, at the rate of *six hundred dollars per acre*, included in a sum of nearly **\$52,000** paid for an unfinished board building, and a landing.

The Premier settled this purchase with the Chief Engineer of the Pacific Railway, and that gentleman expressed much surprise at the high price paid. Mr. Murdock the divisional Engineer was ordered to locate the line to suit this purchase, by special instructions from the Department of Public Works, notwithstanding that he had recommended a point nearer to the mouth of the river, where the facilities would be greater, and where a farm could be purchased for \$75 per acre--no one will deny that even that sum per acre, was an extravagant price for land in the wilderness, and that if forethought had been used, the land wanted might have been secured at a much lower figure than even that. But political friends look on all sides for profitable arrangements from the Government, under the present regime, and the question is, why should they be disappointed? The united Freeholders of Canada possess a heavy pocket; and the present Administration has a happy knack of explaining away a difficulty, by a suggestion, or a still bolder method, by an assertion, wide of the matter at issue, but suitable in the concealment of their expenditure of public money amongst their friends, nevertheless the amounts ill spent, in the aggregate, become heavy items, and largely increase the public deficit.

THE ROWAN CIRCULAR.

A Collingwood paper remarks on the Circular of Mr. James H. Rowan, Deputy Assistant, to the Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey, in the following extract. "The poison contained in the following letter, is doing its work, slowly, but surely. Read it and draw your own conclusions."

(CIRCULAR.)

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,

Office of the Engineer in Chief,

29 January, 1874.

" My Dear Sir,

" On the other side you will find a list of the firms from whom supplies for the parties employed by you this summer, are to be purchased, and you will be careful to see, that nothing they can

supply, is purchased elsewhere, the prices of course being reasonable, and you will also have the kindness to send the parties to Thunder Bay, by the Sarnia line of steamers."

Yours truly,

(Signed,) JAS. H. ROWAN.

It is not pleasant to criticize, truly, such a Circular, it cannot have been written in favour of conservative dealers, for if it had been the Premier would very properly have reprimanded the writer, and recalled the circular, and it can only be surmised in absence of the dealer's names, that they were *pure reformers* whose tea, sugar, molasses, and soap, were of the same character as themselves. But the latter part of the Circular discloses an occult interest, that cannot be evaded with propriety. The Honorable the Premier has, or had, or his brother has, or had, an interest in the line of Steamers that runs from Sarnia to Thunder Bay, and it is not only possible, but probable, that he might consider it not only right but praiseworthy, to aid in filling his own, or his friends' pockets, in preference to permitting all parties an equal chance of business. This, Freeholders of Canada is the Premier's idea of Reform—" *Sibi sed non Patria.*" Mr. Rowan, although a gentleman of high authority in Engineering, on Railway matters, never issued such a circular without orders, and such orders he never received from the Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, or his mode of purchasing supplies, and conducting his parties to their several divisions of the survey, has been entirely altered; the late Administration bought supplies from the traders, who sold the best goods, and at the cheapest proportional prices.

It remained for a Reform Government to order an exclusive dealing, both in necessaries, and in the transport of the men employed, and the goods for their support. *The Freeholders of Canada must rejoice in a Premier so honest, and impartial*, and no doubt those interested in the returns of the Northern Railway, and the trade of Collingwood, have been equally pleased and gratified.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

The Premier in his speech on the Budget, on 20th February, 1877, stated, that the late Government left office with the expenditure of 24 millions of dollars, and when they entered office it was 13 millions, and that in three years his Government had reduced the expenditure by one and one half millions.

Examining this statement with facts, it will be found, that Mr. Tilley, in his last Budget of 1873, estimated the expenditure at..... \$20,941,183

During the session of 1873, enactments were passed increasing the expenditure, on account of readjustments of the Provincial Debt,—Expenses contracted with the admission of Prince Edwards Island to the Union; and increased salaries to Civil servants, and the Legislature authorized this increase of expenditure, for the above purposes amounting to..... \$1,542,000

Total expenditure estimated..... \$22,483,183

The Premier therefore misstated the expenditure of the late Government on leaving office, by no less a sum than \$1,516,817

Mr. Tilley further estimated, that notwithstanding these additional charges imposed on the revenue, the surplus would be \$700,000, and the surplus for the next year be estimated at \$913,000, therefore no deficiency would be experienced, *and there was none.*—The present Finance Minister entered office on 7th November, 1873, without a deficit, but the Premier was desirous to throw the onus of mismanagement of finance, on his predecessor,—hence his mistatement.

Examining his further statement, that in three years his Government has reduced the expenditure by one and one half millions, the Public Accounts shew :

That the total debt in 1873, was..... \$129,743,432
 “ “ 1876 \$161,204,687

The total increase of debt, 1874, 1875, 1876,
 was..... 31,461,255

The total interest in 1873, was..... \$5,549,374
 The total interest in 1876, was..... \$6,753,171

The increase of interest in 1874, 1875, 1876,
 was..... \$1,203,797

This amount of interest \$1,203,797, is charged to the consolidated fund, conclusive evidence, that the Premier's Government, instead of decreasing, has increased the burden of the Country, and that he has made two serious misstatements in a very few words.

THE LATE GOVERNMENT RECORD.

Since the Confederation in 1867, under the late Government, there has been annually a surplus, which amounted in the aggregate, to 30 June, 1874, to over **\$11,000,000.**

PRESENT GOVERNMENT RECORD.

Financial year 1875, 1876, ending 30 June, 1876, Deficit **\$1,900.75.** Comment is unnecessary.

The Finance Minister very sagaciously before he entered Office, foretold that stringent times were approaching, but since he became Minister, although aware, from time to time of a sinking revenue, he has been the reverse of economical.

The increase on Civil Government—Administration of Justice—Police and Penitentiaries—Legislation—Geological Survey—Arts—Agriculture—Immigration and Quarantine—Marine Hospitals—Pensions and Superannuation—Ocean and River Steam Service—Fisheries and Light Houses—Inspection—Insurance Cos.—Subsidies to Provinces—Public Works—Miscellaneous—Indian Grants and Manitoba Survey—Mounted Police, established 1874—Boundary Surveys, commenced in 1874—Customs and Excise—Weights and Measures—Public Works, including Railways—Post Office—Minor Revenues.

Increase of 1875 over 1873.....	\$2,960,336
Increase of 1876 over 1875.....	\$717,062
It is worthy of remark that Pensions and Superannuations increased enormously during that period, in 1875 over 1873.....	
	\$38,721
The increase in 1876 over 1875, was.....	\$70,874
Total increase in 1875 and 1876 over 1873, was	\$109,598

This unparalleled increase over 1873, was the consequence of a desire to make places for political followers, and therefore men of ability and capacity were superannuated and pensioned, and replaced by parties who did not possess in most instances, the ability, nor capability of those whom they superseded, and the offices were crowded, in addition with many men of slender knowledge. It must be obvious to every capacity, that when an officer is superannuated and pensioned, whilst able to perform his duties, and another appointed in his place, that the latter, in addition to his salary, costs the Public the pension of the officer whom he replaces, an example will elucidate.

An officer is superannuated, pension.....	\$1,000 per annum.
A new appointment is made, salary equal to the one pensioned, say.....	\$1,600

The new appointee costs the public, for the same duties \$2,600

THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Total Expenditure in 1873.....	\$750,874	
Total Expenditure in 1875.....		\$909,265
Total Expenditure in 1876.....		\$841,959

DEPARTMENTAL CONTINGENCIES AT OTTAWA, INCLUDING
EXTRA CLERKS.

Total Departmental Contingencies at Ottawa, 1873	\$280,717	
“ “ “ 1875....		\$392,327
“ “ “ 1876....		\$301,802
Extra Clerks were paid in 1873	\$13,704	
“ “ “ 1875.....		\$38,821
“ “ “ 1886.....		\$31,651

This affords incontestible evidence, that the present Government has crowded every Department of the State with unnecessary employé's—for it cannot be contended, that a great, if any increase of business justified the excess in 1875 and 1876, over 1873, being in 1875 over 1873, an increase of 184 per cent, and in 1876 over 1873, an increase of 131 per cent. The decrease of 1876 below 1875 may be accounted for by pensioned vacancies being filled up, making room for extra clerks, thus creating an expenditure still more costly.

This wholesale system of quiet corruption for political influence, has become under the present Administration, a flagrant abuse of public funds, and the contrast in expense, demonstrates, how unprincipled and untrue, was the accusation made by the present Government, against the late Administration, of an unusual appointment of employé's

That the former has sinned in that way cannot be denied, for not satisfied with filling the Departmental Offices with unnecessary employé's, the Premier has caused a new wing of offices to be created for their reception, at an enormous cost, supplemented by a Tower, which has no harmony with the other public buildings, and at a distance looks like a gigantic chimney;—If built to immortalize the Premier's name, it is a success. The Tower whilst it stands may be called *Mackenzie's Folly*.

It is however to be hoped it will not be permitted to stand long, and that his successor will have it pulled down, and remove an object so entirely useless and destructive of the harmony of the Public Buildings at Ottawa.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

In 1873, cost the Country.....	\$398,966	
In 1875 " "		\$497,405
In 1876 " "		<u>\$544,091</u>
Excess of Cost 1876 over 1873.....	<u>\$145,000</u>	

How far a Supreme Court may compensate the Dominion for its additional expense, remains as yet to be proved, but any additional charge on the revenue whilst a deficit existed, is to be deprecated, and the creation of such an authority might have been postponed without injury, until Revenue and Expenditure had been equalized. But patronage, patronage must be exercised, without reference to the burdens imposed on the people.

CUSTOMS EXPENDITURE.

Total Expenditure for 1873.....	\$567,675	
" " 1875.....		\$682,673
" " 1876.....		<u>\$721,008</u>

It is a remarkable fact, that the collection of the Customs Revenue has steadily increased.

Increase in 1875 over 1873.....	\$114,998
" 1876 over 1875.....	<u>\$38,335</u>

Total increase of 1876 over 1873..... \$153,333

Whilst in 1876, the Revenue has decreased **\$2,527,174.**

Thus under the present Administration, as the Revenue of the Country decreases—the cost of its collection increases—Can any Country (could any individuals) under such gross mismanagement pay their engagements, on the private man it would bring bankruptcy, on the public it must bring disgrace, and if not checked, eventually ruin.

Patronage, the silent corruption under its influence, is the crying evil; there is no calculation for the Country, to keep in power is the main consideration, and thus the Independence of Parliament Act is set at nought by the silent corruption of appointing to the Civil Service.

IMMIGRATION AND QUARANTINE.

Cost of Transportation and Quarantine :		
<i>Immigrants.</i>		
By the St. Lawrence in 1873, 36,000...	\$289,239	
“ “ in 1875, 16,038...		\$316,538
“ “ in 1876, 10,901...		\$398.07
Cost per head, 1873.....	\$7.76	
“ “ 1875.....		\$18.90
“ “ 1876.....		\$26.55

Again in this expenditure is exposed the gross want of system and economy which characterizes every branch of the public expenditure under the present Administration—as, *the immigration into Canada decreases, the cost increases*. The cost being per head 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ times as much for each immigrant in 1876, as it was in 1873, the number brought in 1873—36,000 immigrants, in 1876, 10,901 immigrants.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE.

Is reported to have said in his speech, at Aylmer, in September, 1877, in relation to the late Administration, “How I say did they prepare to face these obligations? The thing is incredible, but it is true, these old, these wise, these sagacious experienced and provident statesmen actually prepared to meet this tremendous charge on our resources in this fashion, by raising the expenditure in 1873 and 1874 from 19 millions and a trifle, to twenty-three millions three hundred and sixteen thousand dollars. They prepared to meet such a burden of debt as no minister had ever before dreamed of imposing on the Country, by raising the expenditure in one year four millions of dollars.

“Sir, I have asked myself more than once, and I now publicly repeat the question; was this done in sheer brutal ignorance and recklessness, or was it done of malice prepense? Did they design to scuttle the ship after they had plundered her, or was it only the last mad folly of the drunken crew before they ran upon the breakers?”

It is unnecessary to characterize such language, Mr. Cartwright owes this flow of unseemly virulence to the Company he keeps. "Evil communication corrupts good manners."

The finance minister used this language and expressed these views of the late ministry, on an occasion when his sole aim was to blacken the character, and defame ("per fas aut nefas,") the management of his political opponents.

He knew that in this tirade, he was bearing false witness to the freeholders of the Country.

MR. CARTWRIGHT IN ENGLAND.

When Mr. Cartwright went to England to negotiate a loan, he issued a prospectus to English Capitalists, on the 19th October, 1875, of which the following is an extract, shewing the financial condition of the Dominion, its successful management, and its results since confederation, under the late Government.

(EXTRACT.)

"The whole of the debt has been incurred for objects of public utility. The indirect advantage from these public works has already been found in the remarkable rapidity with which the commerce and material prosperity of the Dominion has been developed, while a substantial increase in the direct returns may fairly be expected from the improvements now in progress, and to follow the steady progress of population and trade. The revenue has shewn a continuous surplus during each year, since Confederation, in 1867; although it has in the interval been charged with much heavy expenditure of an exceptional kind, such as the outlay connected with several Fenian attacks on the Country, the acquisition and organization of new territory, and providing an adequate defensive force for the Dominion.

"The eight years since Confederation, therefore exhibit an aggregate surplus of Two Millions four hundred and forty-three thousand and one hundred and eleven pounds, (equal to Eleven Millions eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand eight hundred and eight dollars, not including the sinking fund) which has been partially applied in the redemption of debt, and partially expended on new works. The annual payment for sinking fund is included in the current expenditure, and forms in the aggregate a further sum of seven hundred thousand pounds (or three millions four hundred and six thousand and sixty-eight dollars, since Confederation."

Compare this Extract with the Finance Minister's speech at Aylmer, and ask yourselves, if there ever was a clearer refutation of the slanders then uttered by that gentleman.

Whatever may be the effrontery of the *Honorable Minister*, and however reckless he may be as regards the truth or falsehood of the utterances he may make or has made in his stump orations in Canada, *he dared not, and he knows he dared not*, issue a prospectus of which the above extract forms a part, to the capitalists of England for the negotiation of a loan, if he were not satisfied of its truth, for the Public Accounts of Canada are in possession of English capitalists, and closely studied by them, immediately after they are issued in Canada, and any false financial statement made by him as Minister of Finance, would have been detected,—and denounced, and branded as *having attempted to negotiate a loan under false pretences, he would have returned to Canada without having effected his object, and in a position almost too humiliated for him.*

The *Honorable Minister* of Finance not satisfied with the hazy position into which he had plunged, between his speech at Aylmer and his prospectus to the English Capitalists, and forgetful that the freeholders of Canada honor truth, as they despise falsehood, boldly avowed that his opinions were represented by a shield, with two faces, that when he addressed the freeholders at Aylmer, he presented to them the false, or brazen side of the shield *prominently*, (his own image,) but that to the English Capitalists he presented the silver side, to obtain their gold. One can imagine a horse jockey hoodwinking a green horn in the sale of a screw, at a fair, and winking at the bystanders to note his chicane, but a finance minister chuckling before an audience of the honest freeholders of Canada, and endeavouring to obtain their concurrence in so transparent a farce, as his having dared to put forth an untruthful exposition of the financial position of Canada, to English Capitalists, is beyond comprehension—know thyself is an old adage, and if the finance minister in this transaction has drawn his own portrait, I venture to quote for his information, from Virgil:

*Facilis descensus Averno, sed revocare gradum, hic labor—hoc opus
“est.”*

FREEHOLDERS OF CANADA.

I have endeavoured to shew you, that the present party in power have attained their position by means not recognized by men of integrity, as honorable.—That they have employed arts equally disreputable to fortify their position.—That they promised to govern the Country, by purity, impartiality, and economy.—That they have forfeited each, and every one of these pledges.—That they have made no attempt to relieve the manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural interests, by wise Legislation, but have declared, that legislation is useless to relieve the Country, and folding their arms, have permitted the ship of State to drift

upon the breakers.—That deficits have at length by their mismanagement and incapacity, become chronic, general business is at a stand, bankruptcy is everywhere, employment is not attainable, manufactures languish, and the labouring classes are emigrating, and the Country is fast depopulating, and it is apparent that a longer continuance in power of the present Ministry, will sink Canada into ruin.

To you the duty appertains to relieve your noble heritage from the grasp of incapable and unprincipled men, and upon the exercise of your privileges in the right direction at the coming elections, depends the prosperity of the Country or its continued decadence.

A FREEHOLDER.

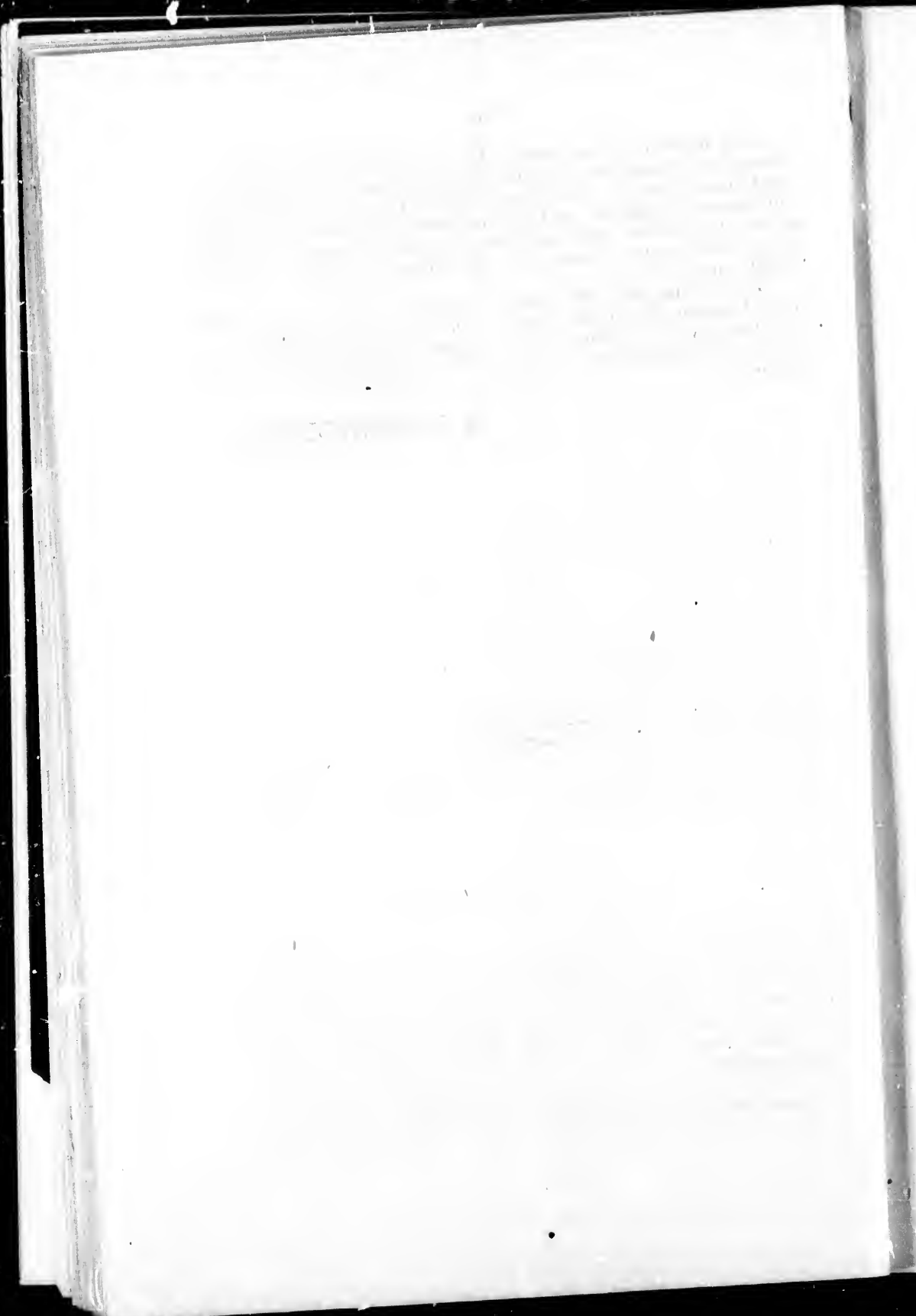


er, and
ood of
ons in
spectus
ists of
d of its
ision of
y after
t made
d,—and
n under
effected

ne hazy
Aymer
that the
, boldly
ith two
he pre-
niently,
esented
a horse
at a fair,
e finance
olders of
so tran-
truthful
pitalists,
nd if the
ortrait, l

-hoc opus

party in
gnized by
oyed arts
promised
onomy.—
ledges.—
facturing,
ation, but
Country,
ce to drift



TREATISE.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

FREE TRADE.

Is the application of the theory of division of labour to the world at large, and on the principle, that any article which is produced by the labour of men, where their skill and intelligence are confined to one article, individually, or separately, upon its separate parts, will be more artistically and better manufactured, than if one workman were to divide his skill and labour on many articles, and that any species of industry is more profitably carried on in that part of a country, or in that country of the world, which from its climate population or other advantages is better adapted to its manufacture or production, than in a part of a Country or Countries not possessing these peculiar advantages.

Hence political economists advanced the theory, that every Country of the world ought to produce such articles as it could produce best and cheapest, and in order to make the theory practicable, that all tariffs ought to be abolished, and that the wants of different countries should be supplied from that country, in which each necessary of life could be produced, cheapest and best.

If the world were so situated that all nations would agree to produce, and receive, pursuant to this theory of Free Trade, no doubt its adoption would be mutually beneficial, but it is not practically possible to bring about a state of thought and action so desirable, and hence it is questionable how far a nation may with benefit, and without loss to her commerce, commit herself to the adoption of Free Trade, whilst other nationalities surround their commerce with duties more or less protective, and as examples in practice, convey more valuable information, as a rule, than theories, I propose to examine in a general way the actions of Great Britain and the United States, the two greatest Commercial Nations of the World, as regards Free Trade, and Protection, as well as the position of European Countries generally, and attempt to deduce from the results to all, at the present period, which of the two fiscal arrangements may be considered most conducive to Canadian interests.

ENGLAND AND FREE TRADE.

English Statesmen for centuries maintained the principle, that free trade was inimical to the interests of England, and they carried their prejudices so far, that they passed laws destructive to the woollen trade of Ireland, part of their own territory, under the idea that its Manufacture there, was injurious to their Monopoly, and through fear of interference with English trade, by a series of acts entirely indefensible, they caused the destruction of a Scotch Settlement, at the Isthmus of Darien, brought into being by a talented clergyman, named Paterson, for which a Charter was obtained in 1695, from William the Third, afterwards annulled, and thus one of the best conceived and grandest commercial schemes of the World, was doomed to failure, by the jealousy of British Statesmen, as regarded their commercial relations.

Protective duties were continued in England, until manufactures and commerce had produced colossal wealth, and that the numbers employed in the various industries had so increased, as to give commercial interests preponderating influence in the state, and to obtain cheap bread, a hard struggle was maintained for years, between the mercantile and landed interests, for freely imported bread stuffs, and at length under Sir Robert Peel's administration, the importation became free, and soon after, most articles were permitted to enter, free of duty. Thus Great Britain from the most jealous protection, became the practical advocate of Free Trade. Since then to the present period, she has continued the same policy, and has been enabled to do so, in consequence of her great accumulated capital, improved machinery, comparatively cheap labour, and other advantages, and for a long period she was not only in name, but in fact, the workshop of the world.

Had all other nations or a majority, been satisfied to adopt and continue free trade tariffs, she would probably have maintained her monopoly of manufactures, but other countries perceiving her prosperity and its causes, and having within themselves the elements of production, introduced manufactures, and following her previous example, to assist them in their infancy, adopted tariffs more or less protective, and by protection, built up manufactures, supplied their home consumption, and are now competitors with England, not only in their own, and foreign countries, but in the markets of Great Britain, with the advantage in the latter, of paying no duties, whilst British manufactures have to reach those several countries against a protective duty, and all the nations of Europe are now considering how much farther they may proceed in that direction. The trade between Great Britain and the United States, affords a striking example of the change that has taken place in the latter Country,—the exports from England to that Country, have fallen off in an extraordinary manner, from £40,937,909, in

1871, to £16,824,000, in 1876. And British merchants find, that free trade whilst depriving them partially of their home market, is not reciprocated by other Countries, but that on the contrary protective duties meet their exports everywhere, and curtail their foreign trade.

This is a startling revelation, and is occupying public attention in England, the press is inculcating doubts as to the wisdoms of the Free Trade Policy—a ripple seems to pervade the surface of the waters, soon to be followed by a strong tide against a policy, suicidal to the commercial interests of that Country. *A Warning to Canada.*

THE UNITED STATES.

The United States of America has a population of 40 millions of people, with a country within her bounds, commanding the productions of the temperate and semi-tropical regions, her people have passed through a gigantic civil war, unparalleled in its features of extravagance and waste of human life, and the necessities for its support, and during the war accumulated a debt of vast amount within a short period, yet borne without a murmur, and to meet the exigencies of this expenditure, and the reduction of her debt, as well as the annual necessary outlay of the Government, imposed heavy import duties, almost prohibitory on all articles manufactured by her own people, as well as on agricultural products, none on raw materials, and revelling in high priced labour, and superabundant current capital, rejoiced under circumstances, apparently ruinous to any other Country.

During this period, manufactures and commerce accumulated almost fabulous fortunes for the majority engaged in these pursuits, whilst agriculture was equally prosperous, and hence manufactures were enlarged and increased, new and improved machinery set up, the most skilful artizans in the work shops of Europe, were induced to immigrate into the Country, until at present the people of the United States are enabled, not only to compete with European manufactures, in her own Country, but to undersell them in the markets of Europe, and this notwithstanding comparatively high priced labour, and an extremely heavy municipal and state taxation, and this position is evidently in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to *Protection to Home Industry.*

OPPOSITION TO RECIPROCITY.

The *New York Journal of Commerce* says that “over twenty-five prominent firms, merchants and manufacturers of Philadelphia, have signed and forwarded to the President a memorial protesting against any and all commercial or reciprocity treaties as impolitic in themselves and unsuited to the United States form of Government. The memorialists urge the President to decline all propo-

sitions to enter into negotiations for compacts of such nature. They are especially opposed to reciprocity with Canada, as this country, they assert, would thereby become a convenient funnel through which any amount of British manufactures could be poured into the United States, to the detriment of the Federal revenue and to the interest of United States Manufactures."

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

Canada borders on the United States for 4,000 miles, with a sparse population, only 4 millions, one tenth of that of her neighbor, and a territory still larger, her settled lands are fertile and productive, and she abounds in that cheapest of mechanical powers, water, and in situations peculiarly adapted for its cheap and successful use—she is however under the present management of her affairs, condemned to see her manufactures languishing, her sugar refineries closed, her direct tea trade cut off, and her population emigrating to the United States for work, in factories, which she ought to have running at home, and her agriculturists shut out from the consumption of her populous neighbor,—and why? because the tariff of the United States is prohibitory, whilst she is condemned to the ignominious of Free Trade. So long as the United States were engaged in internecine war, the consequences were not seen, or felt, because the prices of labour, manufactures and agricultural produce were so high then, that Canada was enabled to make use of that market for all her surplus, whether of manufactures or agricultural produce, at remunerative prices, independently of the tariff, but the civil war concluded, and labour and products of that Country having resumed somewhat of a normal standard, Canada is shut out from that market by prohibitory tariffs, whilst America is enabled to overrun the markets of Canada, with her manufactures and agricultural products, on a comparatively low duty for the former, and none on the latter, thus Canadian manufacturers are placed under the feet of their neighbors, who slaughter their home markets, and send in their agricultural products free of duty, at their discretion, and with what consequences? The following extract from the report of the United States Consul, at Toronto, Mr. Shaw, published in the Washington New World, of 18 October, 1876, sufficiently portrays, he says: "As far as trade, Ontario is the same as one of the States of the Union, trade large, and continually increasing, feelings of people politically and commercially thoroughly American, thinks for the future, Ontario will rely on the United States for all her manufactures, and no manufacture could there now compete with the United States manufactures—Imports into Ontario, in 1875, by last Official Reports published, amounted to over 42 millions of dollars, 26 millions of which were from the United States, 15 millions from Great Britain. The exports from 46 ports of that Province, were a

“ little over 18 millions of dollars,—more than 8 millions less, than
 “ the imports from United States. Failures in all Canada during
 “ the last two years are represented as 50 millions dollars—
 “ \$600,000 dollars will cover United States losses—these being
 “ principally cash sales, he recommends continuance of cash sales,
 “ and not to overstock the market.

These are stubborn facts and not theories, and they show, that England became rich and prosperous under the most restrictively jealous protective system, that under it she became the workshop of the World, that the necessity for cheap bread for her people, and raw materials for manufactures, forced her to adopt Free Trade principles, that her great capital accumulated under protection, aided the continuation of her monopoly, that other countries in Europe not reciprocating in free trade, but adopting her abandoned system of protection, have become successful manufacturers, and are supplying her markets and shutting her out of theirs. That the United States under abnormal circumstances adopted an almost prohibitory tariff, under which their manufactures have increased and improved to such a degree, that that Country is supplying her own people, and her imports from Great Britain, as between 1871 and 1876, shew a falling off of 34 millions of pounds, whilst she at the same time has agents in almost every European Country, Great Britain included, for their supply,—that from the report of her Consul, at Toronto, she has absorbed almost the entire trade of Ontario, Mr. Shaw, writes of its trade, as one of the States, and says, politically and commercially, it is Americanized, *and that Canada cannot now compete with the States in any manufacture.* I call attention to the word now, as the opinion of the American Consul, because it is significant, as to the position of Canada relatively, so long as she is comparatively a Free Trader, and the United States protectionists.

I have as a citizen of Canada thus drawn the attention of her Freeholders and Statesmen, to the results of free trade on the one hand, and protection on the other, over the world, it is for you freeholders to determine, if as free traders you desire to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for others, or under a well devised system of protection, increase your manufactures—employ your people to supply their own wants, build Cities, and Railroads, fill up your almost illimitable Country, and run the race of civilization, *for commerce is the great civilizer*, or submit to a system of Government bringing ruin and retrogression, upon your Country.

Freeholders of Canada, let there be no compromise with your representatives, at the Polls,—reject every candidate irrespective of every other consideration, but honesty, who will not pledge himself to protection, to home industry, commercial, and agricultural.

A FREEHOLDER.

