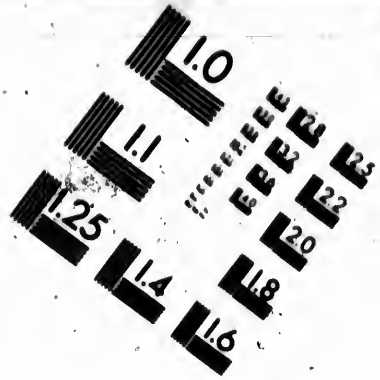

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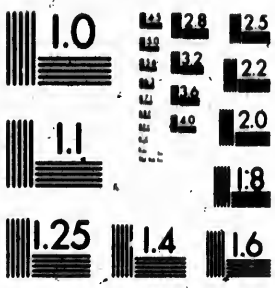

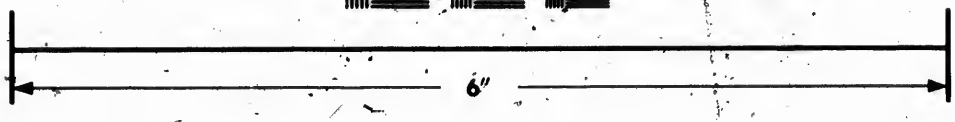

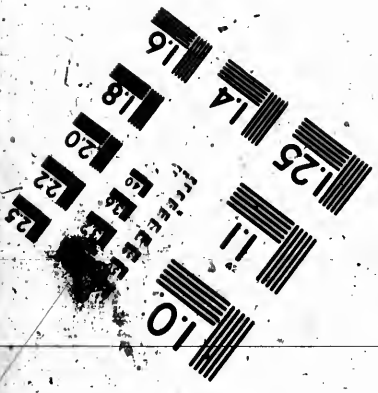

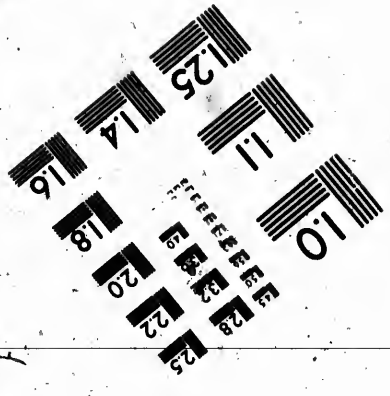

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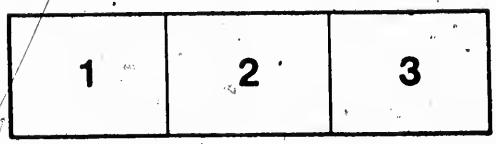
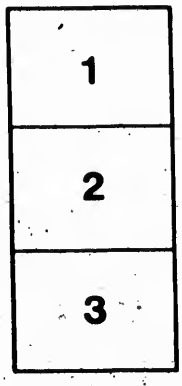
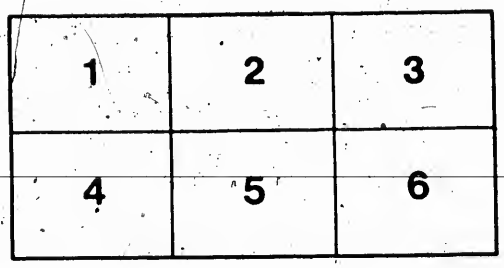






THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SHEET ANSWERED.

MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD AND THE OPPOSITION.

(From the Toronto "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26, 1879.)

SANDFIELD MACDONALD opposed the Confederation scheme on the ground that it would result in too much government. However, when the British North America Act became law, and the union of the Provinces was consummated, he loyally accepted the situation, and served the country with rare devotion to the day of his death. Last summer, in a speech at Lindsay, Hon. Oliver Mowat, who knew SANDFIELD daily from 1867 to 1871, resuscitated, and paid the dead statesman a worthy tribute. "SANDFIELD MACDONALD," said Mr. Mowat, "was a man who would neither do wrong himself, nor allow those around him to do wrong." As first Premier of Ontario, SANDFIELD laid it down as his chief principle, that economy in Local affairs was necessary to the existence of the Federal system. Holding this view, he opposed the public expenditure, and he was jeered at by the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature. Mr. Mowat and his colleagues and the Ministerial press throughout the Province, with a few notable exceptions, maintain, on the other hand, that the public burdens can be still further increased without shaking the back of the taxpayer or imperilling the existence of our present system. Indeed they hold that a retrenching measure of economy, such as the Opposition favour, would result in the deterioration of this system. It is for the people to judge of the respective positions of the two parties, and give a decision in the best interests of the country.

MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD NOT A CONSERVATIVE.

Nothing can be more preposterous, not to say impudent, than the claim of the present Ontario Opposition to inherit the virtues, or wear the mantle of the late J. Sandfield Macdonald.

Messrs. Meredith, Morris & Co. are Tories, Conservatives, or Liberal Conservatives, to whom the very name of "Reformer" is hateful.

Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald was a life-long Reformer.

These men are the devoted and blind followers of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Tory Leader at Ottawa.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was, until nearly the close of his life, bitterly opposed to, and the object of the bitter hostility of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Neither Messrs. Meredith nor Morris was a member of the Local Legislature in the time of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. When Mr. J. S. Macdonald was Premier of Ontario, Mr. Morris was a member of Sir John A. Macdonald's Administration.

The one member of the Local Legislature at the present time who can fairly claim a real connection with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, is Attorney-General Mowat, his old colleague in 1862-3, and who now leads—not a Tory Opposition, but—a Reform Government.

When, on the 20th December, 1871, Mr. J. S. Macdonald moved a vote of censure on the yet inchoate Administration of Mr. Blake, his old followers, all save eleven, forsook him and voted against him. Thus repudiated, he would have, no more to do with them, refused to attend a caucus to choose a leader, went home to Cornwall in disgust, and left them to elect—not a Reformer, but—a life-long Tory, Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron.

It was as a Reformer Mr. Macdonald acted the part of an economist, and passed some liberal measures.

It was Tory caucuses that led him to usurp the authority belonging to Parliament, alienated him from old friends, and led to his downfall.

Only one of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's local Cabinet is in public life to-day. That one is his late Tory colleague, Mr. John Carling, now, as then, a Tory supporter of a Tory chief.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, as a member of the House of Commons, frequently refused to support Sir John A. Macdonald's Government, then in power. Mr. E. B. Wood frequently spoke and voted (as on the British Columbia resolution) against Sir John. The only member of the Sandfield Macdonald Government that steadily supported Sir John at Ottawa was Mr. John Carling, by whose favour Mr. Meredith now represents London in the Local Legislature.

THE OPPOSITION AS ECONOMISTS.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.)

"When this faithful public servant was defeated in the Legislature, a new order of things was established, and his successors, affecting to despise his policy of parsimony, launched out into excessive expenditure. The result bears witness to the accuracy of Sandfield's foresight. The public burdens have become almost intolerable, and men do not hesitate to say that we have far too much government. It is certain, unless a radical change is made, that the revolution has forever will spring up, and that before many years. The agitation against the cost of Local government is not confined to Ontario; it is general throughout the Dominion. In one or two of the Provinces they have abolished, or are about to abolish, the Legislative Councils; while in others Local Union is proposed. The prevailing opinion in the Provinces referred to is that the Federal system must be preserved at any cost, and it is felt that economy is the only means of salvation. This is the view taken by the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature. Mr. Mowat and

Pretenses and No Proof.

A Tory in opposition is always virtuous. A Tory in power is always a spendthrift.

"When the devil was sick, the devil a saint would be;
But when the devil got well, the devil a saint was he."

What assurance has the country, that the present Opposition leaders in Ontario are economists?

Do mere professions or bombastic resolutions prove their true intentions?

What are their associations, and in what school have they graduated?

When did they practise the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation"?

They are the blind worshippers and followers of a leader whose performances as an economist have been as follows:—

WHAT THEIR GREAT EXAMPLE DID.

In 1854, John A. Macdonald became one of the principal members of the Canadian Administration, which succeeded that of Sir Francis Hincks.

There was a surplus in the Treasury when Sir Francis Hincks left office of $1,600,000. $2,000,000 stood to the credit of the Government for public works unexpended and the public debts reduced out of surplus revenue.

In 1856, Sir John A. Macdonald became the Upper Canadian leader of the Government.

In 1857, TWO-FIFTHS OF THE WHOLE EXPENDITURE HAD TO BE MET BY BORROWING, to avoid showing a deficit of $2,600,000.

The treasury was empty; the $2,000,000 to credit was gone.

The Government banking account was overdrawn to the amount of $2,600,000.

The interest of the public debt had increased from $1,200,000 to $2,400,000, the whole of which, except about half a million, was chargeable against net revenue of about 4½ millions of dollars.

In 1854, the entire expenditure, including interest and public works, was but $4,100,000.

In 1857, it had been increased to $7,000,000, in face of enormous annual deficits, by the guide, model, philosopher, and friend of the men who are now, the *Mail* says, preaching that "Economy is the only means of salvation."

These facts were all brought out by investigations before the Public Accounts Committee, &c., &c., at the time, and are now matters of history.

In 1856, the Revenue was	$5,270,627	
And the Expenditure	8,645,944	
Deficit		3,375,317
In 1858, the Revenue was	6,597,017	
And the Expenditure	8,091,761	
Deficit		1,494,744
In 1860, the Revenue was	7,436,885	
And the Expenditure	9,449,576	
Deficit		1,273,969
In 1861, the Revenue was	7,542,926	
And the Expenditure	8,542,934	
Deficit		1,000,008
In 1862, the Revenue was	7,277,165	
And the Expenditure	9,441,498	
Deficit		2,064,333

Increase of Expenditure, in five years, in face of annual deficits, by the great chieftain of the party that declares "Economy is the only means of salvation"	796,551
Deficits in five years	10,907,390

The statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1858 to 1862 are from a table prepared by Mr. Langton, the late auditor.

HIS NEXT GRAND ECONOMICAL ACHIEVEMENT.

From 1862 to 1864, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government intervened. From 1864 to 1867, John A. Macdonald again had a controlling influence in the Cabinet. And this is how he once more illustrated the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation":—

In 1865 the expenditure was	$9,953,957
In 1866 it was	10,834,813
In 1867 it was	11,381,960
Increase in three years by the head of the school which teaches that "Economy is the only means of salvation"	1,427,903

THE GRANDEST OF ALL.

In 1867 Sir John A. Macdonald became Premier of the Dominion. He held office until November, 1873, and was therefore responsible for the finances for 1867-8-9, '70, '71, '72, '73, '74. And this is the way he once more illustrated the doctrine "that economy is the only means of salvation":

In 1867-8 the expenditure was	$13,456,092
In 1868-9 it was	14,088 084
In 1869-70 it was	14,345,508
In 1870-71 it was	15,622,061
In 1871-72 it was	17,589,468
In 1872-73 it was	19,174,647
In 1873-74 it was	23,816,316
Increase in expenditure in seven years effected by Messrs. Meredith, Morris and Co.'s "model statement and economist, on the principle that "Economy is the only means of salvation."	9,830,234

For expenditure from 1865 to 1874 see "Public Accounts." (Canada.)

And although the Revenue up to 1872-3 kept pace with the Expenditure, yet, in 1873-4, *by adding four millions of dollars in one session to the permanent expenditure of the country*, Sir John A. Macdonald conceded his Finance Minister's own estimate of the Revenue for the year by no less than $1,900,000.

So that an increased expenditure of $9,830,234 in six years was Messrs. Meredith, Morris and Co.'s great exemplar's tribute to the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation."

And their being the very humble followers of, and believers in, "Sir John," is absolutely the only claim and title these gentlemen have to be even suspected of being economists.

CANADA OVER GOVERNED.

TOO MANY EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS.

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

The Dominion, with a population of 4,000,000 people, is governed by a Governor-General, seven Lieut.-Governors of provinces, and the Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Territories—nine governors in all. We have sixty-five Executive Councillors, &c.

Dominion	40
Ontario	6
Quebec	7
Nova Scotia	5
New Brunswick	5
P. E. Island	4
Manitoba	4
British Columbia	3
North-West Territories	3
Keewatin	1
	68

Neither the *Mail* nor any of its party has ever proposed to abolish the office of Lieut.-Governor of Ontario. If there are too many such officers, it is to the smaller Provinces its grievance should be addressed.

But how stands the account as regards Ontario and the alleged disproportionate number of Executive Councillors?

At Ottawa just now in order to keep up the thirteen ministers, the *Mail's* friends in power are dividing the Public Works Department and so will create an office for the Minister who, by the union of the Receiver General's Department with the Finance Department might, perhaps, be dispensed with.

Why does not the *Mail* protest against two Ministers at Ottawa being employed to do what hitherto has been accomplished by one?

The *Mail* takes 1877, as its year of reference:—Well, in 1877, Quebec (under Conservative rule) had one Executive Councillor for every 170,216 of population.

Nova Scotia had one Executive Councillor for every 43,050 "

New Brunswick had one Executive Councillor for every 35,899 "

Prince Edward Island had one Executive Councillor for every 16,000 "

Manitoba had one Executive Councillor for every 5 to 6,000 "

British Columbia had one Executive Councillor for every 4,000 "

While Ontario with vastly greater interests had only one Executive Councillor for every 270,000 "

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

TOO MANY LEGISLATORS.

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

We have 680 representatives, the Executive Council included, viz:

House of Commons	206
Senate	77
Ontario Assembly	88
Quebec Assembly	65
Quebec Legislative Council	24
Nova Scotia Assembly	38
Nova Scotia Legislative Council	19
New Brunswick Assembly	39
New Brunswick Legislative Council	15
P. E. Island Assembly	26
P. E. Island Legislative Council	7
Manitoba Assembly	25
British Columbia Assembly	24
	680

This is one representative for every 5,000 souls, or one for every 600 voters, embracing every tenth person a voter.

If the Opposition wanted to cut down the number of members, why did not they make a motion to that effect? When they did not, what right has *The Mail* to raise that issue at all?

However, let us ask how in this matter Ontario stands as compared with other Provinces:

In 1877, (the year the *Mail* selects)

Quebec (under Conservative rule) had one Legislator for every	13,450	of population.
Nova Scotia had one for every	6,000	" "
New Brunswick had one for every	5,200	" "
Prince Edward Island had one for every	2,700	" "
Manitoba had about one for every	800	" "
British Columbia had about one for every	800	" "

While Ontario with her great interests had only one for every 18,400 of population.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

COST OF LEGISLATION.

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

The cost of Legislation, i.e. indemnities to members, salaries of the Speakers, clerks, &c., is as follows:

Dominion	[illegible]
Ontario	[illegible]
Quebec	[illegible]
Nova Scotia	[illegible]
New Brunswick	[illegible]
Other Provinces	[illegible]
	$2,[illegible]

Here is another row of figures that will smile where "the shoe pinches" in this respect:—

In 1877, Dominion Legislation cost the people of Canada	17 cents per head.
In 1877, Quebec Legislation cost the people of Quebec	14 cents per head.
In 1877, the average cost of Legislation in the other Provinces was	15 cents per head.
In 1877, the cost of Legislation to the people of Ontario was only	**7½ cents per head.**

and is now, by the reduction of the indemnity, less than seven cents per head.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

COST OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The *Mail* complains of the cost of the Administration of Justice in 1877, and gives the following as the figures:—

For Ontario	$360,000.
For Quebec	405,000.

In this connection, comparisons with small Provinces would be of little value.

The *Mail* is good enough, however, to invite the statement by its comparison, that the Administration of Justice in Quebec, in 1877 (under Tory rule) cost the people 34 cents per head.

WHILE IN ONTARIO IT ONLY COST THE PEOPLE 17 CENTS PER HEAD.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION!!!

COST OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The *Mail* says that, in 1877, the charge for Civil Government was, for Ontario $156,000, and for Quebec, $168,000.

In this Item, no fair comparison can be established between large and small Provinces, but it may be noted that the average cost of Civil Government to the five smaller Provinces of the Dominion, was just eleven cents per head of the population.

In Quebec (under Tory rule), the cost to the people of Civil Government, was, 14 cents per head.

AND IN ONTARIO IT WAS WITH A FAR GREATER AMOUNT OF BUSINESS, ONLY ..... 10 CENTS PER HEAD.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION ! ! !

EDUCATION.

But the *Mail* has one prow yet left in its quiver. It is happy in the discovery that the Province of Quebec actually spends less for EDUCATION than the Province of Ontario!

Ontario spent in 1877 on the education of its people and the relief of local burdens in this connection..... 34 cents per head.

And Quebec under the rule of a Tory government spent only ..... 30 cents per head.

The Opposition are welcome to all the good they can get out of this line of advocacy; their organ has evidently in all its previous illustrations, "got the wrong sow by the ear," and PROVES THAT ONTARIO UNDER A REFORM GOVERNMENT IS THE CHEAPEST AND MOST ECONOMICALLY GOVERNED PORTION OF THE WHOLE DOMINION, BOTH AS TO MEN AND MONEY.

As to Education, it is a very good old Tory idea to object to that vote, but Liberal-Conservatives will hardly thank their champion for putting them in the category of opponents to a liberal expenditure for Education.

ONTARIO AND THE STATES.

The *Mail* tries to make it appear as though Ontario were less economically governed than the United States.

There are only FIVE American State Legislatures in which the proportion of legislators to the population is slightly less than in Ontario.

The cost of legislation is:—

Connecticut, is	21	cents per head.
Pennsylvania	17½	" "
Massachusetts	16	" "
New York	12½	" "
Illinois	9	" "
Michigan	8½	" "
Wisconsin	8½	" "
Maine, over	8	" "

And in Ontario is now under 7 cents per head.

HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE MOWAT ADMINISTRATION ! ! !

The information as to the cost of State Legislation is obtained from the respective State Departments.

BIENNIAL SESSIONS.

The *Mail* hints on Biennial sessions being adopted as in some of the American States. It will be time enough to discuss this question when any responsible representative of the party the *Mail* supports comes out as an advocate for Biennial Sessions, and the other political constitutional changes this suggestion implies.

THE MINISTERS' SALARIES.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheets, April 21, 1878.)

In 1871 the salaries of Ministers were as follows:

Premier	$4,000
Treasurer	3,000
Crown Lands Commissioner	3,000
Public Works Commissioner	3,000
Provincial Secretary	3,000
Commissioner of Education	4,000
	$20,000

The salary of Mr. Spencer, Commissioner of Education, is included in the above for purposes of comparison, because that Commissioner is now in charge of a Civil Minister. The Grits used to complain that these salaries were exorbitant, yet Mr. Mowat did not hesitate to increase them at a time when the revenues could ill afford it, and when economy would have been the first object of a true Reformer. The increase was as follows:

Premier	$5,000
Treasurer	4,000
Crown Lands Commissioner	4,000
Public Works Commissioner	4,000
Provincial Secretary	4,000
Minister of Education	4,000
	$25,000

Or an increase of $5,000 a year. Last session the Premier, anxious to make a show of economy on his death-bed, reduced the salaries to the following amounts:

Premier	$4,000
Treasurer	4,000
Crown Lands Commissioner	4,000
Public Works Commissioner	4,000
Provincial Secretary	4,000
Minister of Education	4,000
	$25,000

So that the total is still $4,000 more than the total of the Cabinet salaries under Sandfield. The Opposition made determined efforts from time to time to reduce these and other salaries. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1876, p. 275-285), they moved a series of resolutions to that effect. Mr. Meredith moved as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this House, the salaries of Ministers should be $3,000, with $1,000 additional for the Premier."

THE OPPOSITION APPROVED THE INCREASE.

The Salaries of the Ministers were increased, in the Session of 1875-6, with the express approval of every Opposition member in the House, including Mr. Meredith, the mover of the resolution of last Session.

WHAT THE GREAT ECONOMIST AT OTTAWA THOUGHT ABOUT SALARIES.

The Salary of the Premier of Ontario to-day is only equal to the amount which Sir John A. Macdonald in 1873 declared wholly insufficient for a Cabinet Minister at Ottawa to live upon.

In that year Sir John A. Macdonald secured an increase of the whole Ministerial salaries at Ottawa from $6000 to $7,000, with another $1,000 for himself as Premier. (See Statutes Canada, 1873.)

His official income to-day is, including his indemnity as a member of Parliament, $8,000, or $4,000 a year more than that of the Premier of Ontario, and his colleagues all receive, although

THE OPPOSITION SPEECHES.

The business was strongly opposed by the Opposition leaders and their followers. With [illegible] of the speeches will be found at length in the Toronto Globe and Toronto Mail of Feb. 7, 1876. The following are a few extracts only:—

Hon. MATTHEW CROOKS GOSTICKER said: [illegible] PAID [illegible] MATTER [illegible] HE ENTIRELY APPROVED OF THE COURSE OF HON. GENTLEMEN IN THAT [illegible].

Mr. Mousseau, [illegible] the Government, [illegible] matter of the handsome salaries, [illegible] of the House, [illegible] "Though he had made no remark to [illegible] of the minister [illegible] it had been discussed with should [illegible] to say that he entirely concurred in the observations made by hon. members on both sides of the House as to the [illegible] of the course the Government had taken. HE FELT THAT THE SALARIES PAID TO MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE NOT ADEQUATE TO THEIR IMPORTANT DUTIES, AND TO THE IMPORTANT POSITIONS THEY WERE CALLED UPON TO FILL."

Mr. Scott, Government Member, said: "[illegible] that THE SALARIES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CROWN IN ONTARIO WERE NOT ADEQUATE TO THE POSITION."

Mr. Unknown, Government Member, said: "[illegible] and the compiler of Liberal [illegible] "HE WAS OF OPINION THAT THE AMOUNT FOR MEMBERS PAID TO [illegible] WAS TOO SMALL, AND THAT THE INCREASE WAS NOT BE ANY MORE TOO [illegible]."

Dr. [illegible] said: "[illegible] HE BELIEVED THIS WAS A MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, AND ONE WHICH HE BELIEVED THE COUNTRY WOULD APPROVE."

Hon. Wm. MACDOUGALL, then Tory Leader of the Government, said: "[illegible] WAS [illegible] TION OF MEMBERS OF THE [illegible]

Mr. Lawson, Government Member, said: "[illegible] SANCTIONED BY THE VOICE OF PUBLIC OPINION."

Mr. Morris, Government Member, said: "[illegible] IN THE COUNTRY, AS A WHOLE, HAD NO IDEA OF THE ENORMOUS DUTIES THAT MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE HAD TO PERFORM."

Mr. Pinsent, Government Member, said: "[illegible] ARISE OF THE [illegible] TO BE AT LEAST [illegible] [illegible] Minister would [illegible] very necessary [illegible]."

And in the *Mail* of Feb. 7, 1876, Hon. Edward G. Gardiner is reported as having said:—HE CONSIDERED IT HIS DUTY TO STATE HE HAD HIMSELF SUGGESTED THE INCREASE OF MINISTERS' SALARIES.

Meanwhile, commenting on the Income, the *Mail* itself said, on the 5th February, 1876: "The [illegible] only too low though the Ministers [illegible] on the emoluments [illegible] which they were paid. [illegible] which the Premier receives, with $5,000, and the other emoluments of the Ministry with [illegible]."

In chief the salaries of the Ministers today are exactly what the *Mail* said they ought to be, viz., the salaries of their colleagues by $500 apiece, the Premier having been a [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible].

The honorable resolution of Mr. Mowat's supporters proposed to reduce the respective salaries to $900 apiece less than the Mail admitted in 1876 to be a fair remuneration; to $7,000 less than the Opposition leaders and Members in 1876 argued for lately; and $7,000 less than one of their leaders thinks they are entitled to receive.

THE INCREASE JUSTIFIED ON ITS MERITS.

The increase was however defended then; and is justified now on its merits.

The salaries are no temptation to any immigration out of some to secure the ordinary competent and yet powerful officers of Colonial Governments.

They are not half so large as the permanent salaries of the chief officers of many public corporations. They are but by 25 per cent than the salaries of ordinary city bank managers.

They are little more than half the salaries of the subalterns of the Ministers of the Dominion.

They are very much less than the salaries of other Colonial Ministers.

The Premier of New South Wales (population in 1876 [illegible]) is at £2,500 per annum; and each of his colleagues at £1,500.

The Premier of Victoria (population in 1876) has a salary of £2,000; the Attorney-General, £1,500, and each of the other Ministers, £1,500.

The [illegible] Ministers of South Australia (population only 185,000) receive [illegible] (population [illegible]) and [illegible] £1,000.

New Zealand has a population of 400,000, with the Ministers [illegible] £1,500 per annum.

The Premier of Canada, with a population equal to that of

all the salaries here named, receive only $4,000, and his colleagues [illegible] the duties they have [illegible] service, [illegible] to be regarded with UNIVERSAL APPROVAL. [illegible] the time, [illegible] the very complete case [illegible] and impartiality [illegible] in politics, and the upon them, was to so [illegible] turning out the present Ministers and putting Messrs. Mereditb and others who supported the Incomes in 1871, in their places.

AN UNFAIR SUGGESTION.

[illegible] in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's [illegible] Parliament, with [illegible] to [illegible] Opposition did not hold [illegible] of a general election [illegible] Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time [illegible] the least colour to such a suggestion.

THE SPEAKER'S SALARY.

[From the "Mail," Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1879.]

In 1871 the Speaker was paid $4,000 per annum and [illegible] indemnity, or $[illegible] per day, for [illegible] days. Mr. [illegible] salary [illegible] and his indemnity [illegible] to $[illegible] per day, or [illegible] $[illegible] to $[illegible] per annum, [illegible] $[illegible] to $[illegible] per annum, [illegible] $[illegible] to $[illegible] per annum,

It was reported, on pay a long remuneration, to a gentleman [illegible] a very responsible office, which certain not merely confirmed but considerably further.

So goes this Argument, its one has all sorts, objected to the Inspector.

It is only on a plane of pretty much similar character that the issue has been singled out for attack. Because, as it is in to generate not only the Government but the whole Opposition and Opposition Press, the *Mail* of course included, for allowing Mr. the Inspector, and thus the property for the years without protest.

No one ever heard of the *Mail* finding fault with the Chief of the Commissioner in Council being paid $6,000 a year, or with a Tory Government of Quebec giving the Chief of the House there $2,000 per annum, with the less work that the Chief at Toronto.

INSPECTOR'S SALARY.

(*From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21st, 1879.*)

"In 1871 the Inspector of Public Institutions was paid $2,000 a year, he now draws $2,500. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1878, p. 201) the Opposition moved to reduce his salary to $2,000 but their resolution was voted down."

And the Inspector does three or four times the work for the money.

There is no department of the public service that spends less in proportion to equal work done. There is no country where the same work is done so cheaply.

From a return made to the House last session the following facts relating to the business of the Inspector's office are taken.

In six years, 1871-1877, the number of Public Institutions inspected increased from 55 to 99, or 80 per cent. The number of statutory inspections made, increased from 104 to 159, or 56 per cent.

The number of prisoners committed to gaols, thus adding largely to the Inspector's duties, increased from [illegible] in 1871, to 12,481, in 1877, or 105 per cent.

The Central Prison has become a new and very important feature in the Inspector's duties since 1871.

The average number of insane persons in the public asylums was 1040 in 1877, against 573 in 1871, or an increase of ..... 105 per cent.

The patients and inmates of hospitals, &c., inspected, increased from 4,969 in 1871 to 8,195 in 1877, or..... 65 per cent.

The correspondence of the office increased..... 373 per cent, and other official business in proportion.

But no one who really takes the trouble to ascertain what the duties of the Inspector are, or what qualifications they demand, will pretend to say he is too highly remunerated.

The following gives a mere outline:—He is responsible for the due supervision and control of all the public institutions and asylums of the Province, of the Central Prison, the Penetanguishene Reformatory, and of some forty gaols and lock-ups. He must investigate critically the affairs and operations of every hospital and charity receiving government money, and [illegible] to [illegible]. He must [illegible] every [illegible] to [illegible] and discipline [illegible] to the care and general treatment of the inmates and other matters [illegible]. He is the [illegible] of insanity cases not otherwise provided. He buys all supplies, makes contracts, holds inquiries, frames systems, and has annually to see that every dollar of some $500,000 is properly and economically spent and accounted for. Does anybody mean to say $2,500 is too much to pay for all this? The whole cost of his office, including salaries, clerks, contingencies and travelling expenses is only some $7,500, per annum.

No one thinks the present Inspector is a most competent and faithful officer. How long would it take to hire a few hundred dollars, or thousands for that matter, if he were to be replaced by an incompetent or dishonest one, in order to get the work done a little cheaper.

A VERY MEAN ATTACK.

(*From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1879.*)

"In 1871 the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands was paid $2,000 a year, he now draws $2,500. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1878, p. 202) the Opposition moved to reduce it to $2,000, but their amendment was voted down."

This is too bad. The increase of $500 was made, in the case, in 1872, on the express appeal of Opposition members, led by the Hon. M. C. Cameron and supported by Hon. Stephen Richards. (See Toronto *Mail*, March 22nd, 1872.)

Now that Mr. Cameron is no longer in public life, and seems defined himself, is to very much to attack him in this fashion. And what is to be said of the attempt to make his act the ground of a charge of extravagance against the Mowat Government!

Crown Lands Expenditure.

The *Mail* attacks the increased expenditure of this Department, and very cheerfully contrasts it with a—recently—diminished revenue.

A very large proportion of the Crown Lands Territory yields no revenue at all, and yet is a source of more expense than lands said outright.

The Free Grant system is greatly in the public interest, but it entails expense, with no revenue to accrue to. With more townships opened to settlement, with a much larger area to be surveyed and patented, additional expense was unavoidable. The Free Grant townships open to settlement have increased from 55 in 1871 to 92 in 1878, with a corresponding increase in the average limited and number of locations. More agents, consequently, must be employed, and more office work has to be done.

In the Woods and Forests Branch, although, under the influence of the existing depression the revenue has fallen off, the Department covers no less territory in its operations, and has an ever-extending area to guard and manage.

The Expenditure in Colonization roads, increased from $58,400 in 1871 to $90,612 in 1878, also involves a larger cost in management.

A bald charge of spending too much money against such a Department on this, is childish. If there is over-spending, it should be easy to point it out in detail. But no such attempt has been made.

Immigration.

(*From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1879.*)

The amounts spent on Immigration since 1873 are as follows:

1873	$94,000
1876	48,504
1877	48,265
1878	51,075
	$237,904

The Immigration reports show the following arrivals of immigrants in this Province:

1873	17,524
1876	11,402
1877	11,[illegible]
1878	13,655

The per capita cost of each immigrant has therefore been as follows:—

1876	$6 32
1877	5 35
1878	5 68
1879	9 44

This shows a considerable reduction; but it is difficult to make a comparison in this respect, for no estimate can be kept of the number of immigrants who leave the country after a brief sojourn. Since 1874, the labour market has been in a depressed condition. Many details of Canadians have been unable to find employment, and the expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million to induce strangers to flock to an overcrowded market, is a fair subject for discussion. The Opposition have taken the ground that it was not advisable under such circumstances to spend money enough to induce immigrants; while the Ministerialists, in whom the employment of European agents and of agents at the principal points in the Province gives a large amount of patronage, take the opposite view.

A TRUE ADMISSION.

The *Mail* here admits that—

(1.) That the expense on immigration has been largely reduced since 1874; and,

(2.) That the cost of each immigrant to the Province, notwithstanding that, with a reduced number, the average cost per capita would be likely to increase, is only $7.94 per head.

The figures speak for themselves. "Since the labour market has been in a depressed condition" the only substantial award immigration retained by the Government has been limited to farm labourers with families, and domestic servants. *The only distinct* now gains to free railway passes to their destination to Ontario, and limits where necessary.

But the *Mail* asserts that nobody knows how many leave Canada for the States instead of settling here.

Its friend, Senator Macpherson, says, that the immigration is made up by escapes from the States coming here.

Which of the two authorities is speaking the truth?

Is there any more reason to suppose that our immigrants have been flocking to an already over-crowded market than that they went there when everything was busy and inviting on the other side?

The immigration to the States from Europe fell from some 450,000 in 1873 to 150,000 in 1877.

It is uncertain what number of persons have returned to Europe in consequence of the scarcity of labour in the States.

Does this look like an exodus of Canadian immigrants to the States?

What the public will more appreciate is, that the cost of an immigrant, whose value to the country is estimated by Dr. Edward Young—late of the Statistical Bureau at Washington, and now the Tariff advisor of Mr. Finance Minister Tilley at Ottawa—at $600,—is only $6.44, thanks to the prudent and economical management of the Mowat Administration.

Mr. Donaldson, Dominion Immigration Agent at Toronto, who owed his original appointment in the public service so far back as 1861, to the Conservative party, has, in his reports for the last three years, borne the highest testimony to the superior class of immigrants passing through his agency, to the well-to-do condition of many, under the demand for the employment of all who wanted work being in advance of the supply.

With the influx of settlement in the Free Grant districts, and the migration of so many farmers and farmers' sons to Manitoba, inaction on the part of the Government would be criminal and suicidal.

The *Mail* admits the fact, although it is stated in the report of the Department, that, in addition to the immigrants assisted by the agencies, in the numbers above given, 32 persons have Ontario, the following were immigrants arriving by the Ontario railroads, namely: 1872, 7,001; 1871, 6,502; 1870, 4,000; making a total of 18,123 in 1870; 17,979 in 1877, and 17,240 in 1878. Only these through the agencies, however, are included in the calculation of average cost.

In answer to the Globe suggesting, as to the amount of patronage involved in the appointment of agents, it is only necessary to say, that there is only one Ontario agent in Europe, and that the agents in Ontario are limited to five; one (including agent, who meets the immigrants at Quebec); and four in the Free Grant district, at the magnificent salaries of $100 a piece.

See Public Accounts; Immigration Report, &c., &c.

The Financial Position.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 1, 1879.)

THE FINANCIAL POSITION.

The following table of the receipts and expenditures from 1868 to 1878, shows an enormous increase in the expenditure; and an increase, but out of all proportion to the increase in revenue.

	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1868	$2,700,000	$1,100,000
1869	2,000,000	1,000,000
1870	2,000,000	1,000,000
1871	2,000,000	1,410,000
1872	2,000,000	2,000,000
1873	2,000,000	2,000,000
1874	2,000,000	2,271,000
1875	2,100,000	2,000,000
1876	2,000,000	2,100,000
1877	2,000,000	2,117,000
1878	2,000,000	2,000,000

It will be seen that since 1874, the expenditure has largely exceeded the revenue, the excess being as follows:

1874	$[illegible]
1875	449,000
1876	551,000
1877	[illegible]
1878	640,000
Total	$2,700,000

GROSS MISREPRESENTATION.

The *Mail* adopts the same line as Senator Macpherson and other anti-immigration writers. The cash to make out that the agents have generated the revenue, by charging the surplus disbursements, and other special payments, against current revenue, and

"It will be seen," it says, "that since 1874, the expenditure has largely exceeded the revenue," and then gives the figures.

Now, in 1874, the land payments were made under the Mail-adopted Land Fund Distribution Act; a measure every one, the *Mail* and its friends included, admitted to be a just and proper mode of dealing with the surplus funds in hand.

In 1874 the amount paid under the head of Municipal Land Fund Distribution was $1,001,100.

In that year the *Mail* deliberately alleges there was a deficit of $449,000.

It pretends to show this by including in the moneys paid during the year, the sum of $1,361,101 [illegible] investment, which was simply the people's commutated capital handed back to the people.

If a man who, by saving a couple of hundred dollars a year out of his income, had managed to put by a thousand dollars in a bank, drew it out and built a house with it, any person who ignorantly alleged he was in consequence, that year something more than his income by $1,000 would be laughed at. If he did it in or before the credit of the commutated men, who as invented his money, he would be called a Blather.

In 1875 the sum of $664,943 was handed over to the municipalities under the same Act. In that year the *Mail* falsely pretends there was a deficit of $448,000.

So that in these two years, but for the deception thus attempted, the *Mail* would have to admit that there was, in 1874—not a deficit but—a surplus of $664,101, and in 1875 a surplus of $541,943, after providing for everything save Municipal Loan Fund Distribution alone.

The True State of Affairs.

The Revenue.

The actual receipts of the Province from 1874 to 1878, inclusive, have been as follows:—

1874	$3,446,347
1875	3,154,606
1876	2,589,232
1877	3,297,699
1878	2,506,925
	$14,799,799

But from this must be deducted $748,857, the amount of money temporarily borrowed on the advice of Sir. John Rose against a pending sale of securities. The operation was a profitable one to the Province, but the item is only in Revenue as a matter of account. That leaves—

$13,979,941 as the actual Revenue for the six Years.

These figures are given in a comparative statement of receipts and expenditure presented to the Legislature last Session, verified by the signature of the Auditor.

The Expenditure.

The following sums were voted by the Legislature to meet current expenditure, and are all to be found in the Supply Bills of the respective years:—

1874	$2,342,330
1875	2,062,550
1876	2,155,186
1877	2,363,606
1878	2,409,534
Total expenditure under the Supply Bill	$11,333,414

The account then stands as follows:—

Revenue for the six years	$13,979,941
Expenditure	11,333,414
Surplus	$2,646,527

But the *Mail* adds to the expenditure in order to establish a deficit of $2,750,000, the following payments:—

Aid to Railways under special Acts of the Legislature	$1,479,000
Municipal Loan Fund Distribution	1,220,378
Purchase of Redwood Asylum	56,000
Quebec Coal elevators paid to Municipalities	67,500
Subsidy of Provincial Schools (special payment)	25,267
Osgoode Hall improvements (a special payment)	24,000
Refunds of Brewers' Licenses under decision of Supreme Court	5,445
Total Expenditure on account of [illegible] for special objects, and falsely charged by the *Mail*, against annual Expenditure	$4,032,573

Worse Still.

The organ of the Opposition, in its party campaign sheet, does not stop there. It adds charges against current expenditure, in order to deceive the public, the investments in 5 per cent. Municipal Drainage Debentures; as good a security as any in the Province, and ranking as a first-class asset in the Treasurer's financial statement.

The sums invested in Drainage Debentures, and in Drainage Works, payable by a rent-charge on the lands drained, amounted in the five years to no less than

$417,589,

which must be added to the

$4,932,873,

making altogether

$5,350,462

dishonestly charged by the *Mail* to annual expenditure, in order to manufacture a bogus deficit.

A Comparison between 1871 and 1878.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 1, 1879.)

The sums spent on what is known as capital account, i.e., on public works, special fund outlay, etc., and on purely unremunerative expenditure, have been as follows:—

	Capital Account.	Unremunerative Expenditure.
1868	139,000	$1,[illegible]
1869	[illegible]	1,014,000
1870	488,100	1,[illegible]
1871	[illegible]	1,[illegible]
1872	788,100	1,[illegible]

	Capital Account.	Controllable Expenditure.
1873	1,175,400	1,763,400
1874	2,054,000	1,760,600
1875	1,717,100	1,327,400
1876	1,248,400	1,[illegible]
1877	1,114,400	[illegible]
1878	844,000	2,056,400

This table makes it plain that, capital account expenditure aside, the controllable expenditure has risen under Reform rule from $1,268,100 to $2,056,400—an increase of $788,300, or nearly 70 per cent.

The *Mail* attempts, by misusing the phrase "controllable expenditure," to create a false impression.

The whole of the expenditure under the Supply Bill is, in one sense, "controllable," but that term has usually been applied to the following items:—Education, Immigration, Agriculture, &c.; Hospitals and Charities, Public Buildings, Public Works, and Colonization Roads.

Under the head of "Ordinary Expenditure" are classed the following:—Civil Government, Legislation, Administration of Justice, Maintenance of Public Institutions, Miscellaneous, Crown Lands Expenditure, Refunds, &c.

1871 compared with 1878.

In 1871 (Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's last year of office), what is called "Ordinary Expenditure," amounted to $853,176
And what is called "Controllable Expenditure," &c. 963,630

Total 1,816,806

as against $1,199,030, the amount, under these two heads, spent by the same Government in 1868.

Or an increase in four years of more than fifty per cent.

In 1876, the "Ordinary Expenditure," so called, was $1,268,57
And the "Controllable," so called, was 1,139,954

Total $2,408,532
The aggregate increase over 1871 was, therefore, ... $591,667

Or thirty-two per cent. in seven years against fifty per cent. in four years.

But, under the head of "Ordinary" expenditure is included the charge for maintenance of public institutions; just as direct a relief to local and municipal burdens as Education, and some other items charged under the head of "controllable." This item increases from $[illegible] in 1871 to $[illegible] in 1878, accounting for $11,000 of the apparent increase.

Education, too, under the head of "Controllable," rose from $351,396 in 1871, to $[illegible] in 1878, accounting for another $[illegible] of the alleged increase.

A Favourable Comparison.

While the increase in the charges for *all* purposes was much less proportionately from 1872 to 1878, than from 1868 to 1871, the expenditure for objects directly beneficial to the public, and exclusive of surplus distribution, was much greater. Take the following items:—

1868 to 1871.

Education	$2,576,597	or	$[illegible] per annum.
Maintenance of Public Institutions	621,551	"	157,[illegible] "
Colonization Roads	177,900	"	44,475 "
Agriculture and Arts	284,788	"	71,697 "
Hospitals and Charities	161,770	"	44,042 "
Total in four years	$3,[illegible]	or	$[illegible],391 per annum.

1872 to 1878.

Education	$3,506,956	or	$500,994 per annum.
Maintenance of Public Institutions	2,375,264	"	339,336 "
Colonization Roads	664,367	"	94,981 "
Agriculture and Arts	636,924	"	90,989 "
Hospitals and Charities	300,805	"	84,400 "
Total	$7,564,916	or	$1,060,702 per annum.

Comparison.

1868-71—Aggregate expenditure on above items	$3,533,566	or	$ 633,391 per annum.
1872-78— " "	7,564,918	"	1,060,702 "
Increase			$447,311 per annum.

So that the Blake and Mowat Administration spent FOUR HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS annually on these objects alone in excess of the sum devoted to the same objects by the previous Government.

Whatever increase has taken place in Departmental expenditure has been solely owing to the growth of public business.

But the absurd ground on which it is now sought to snatch a verdict against the Mowat Government is that it has spent the people's money for the direct benefit and relief of the people.

A Miserable Quibble.

The Mail tries to raise a side issue by quibbling over the question whether, in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time, the Trust Funds held by the Dominion, and some other assets, were or were not regarded as a portion of the surplus.

The point is really of no importance whatever. Treasurer E. B. Wood, in his last Budget speech, Feb. 7, 1871, (see papers of that date), expressly alluded to those funds as part of the surplus in the public treasury, which, he alleged, amounted to $5,000,000, including $3,500,000 in cash and investments, and the "Funds" aforesaid. This was before $1,500,000 had been voted to be "set apart" for aid to railways.

The Two Surpluses 1871-1878 compared.

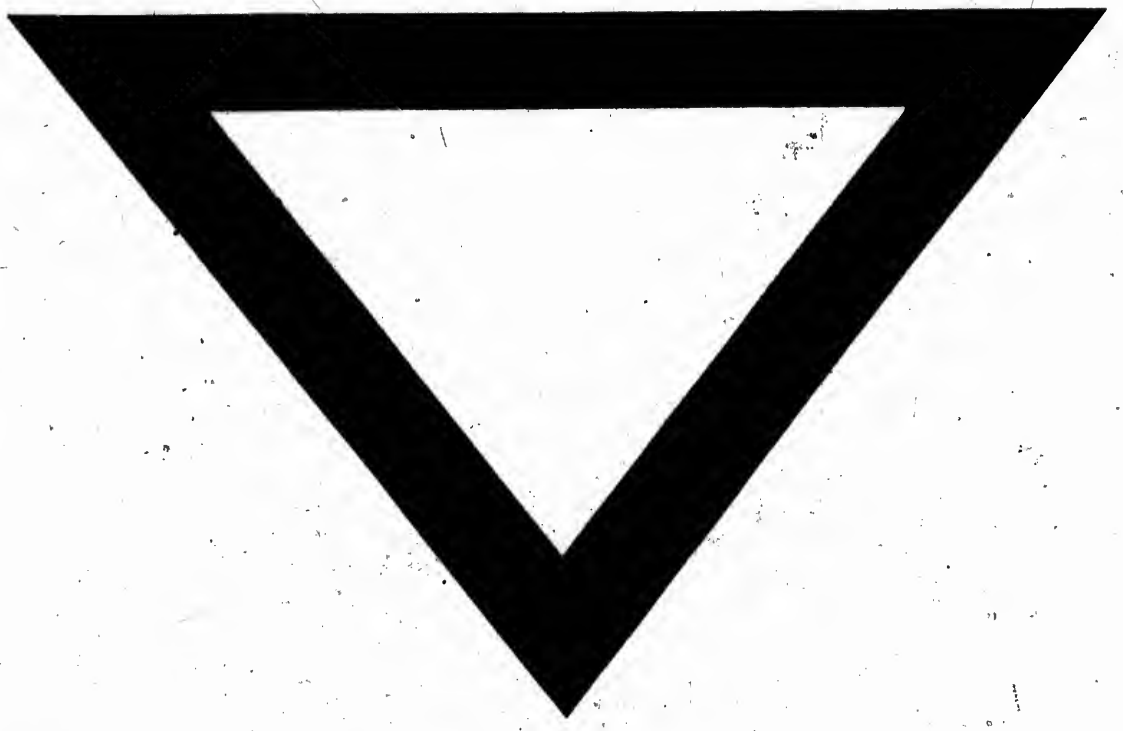
But here is the actual account, as it stood on the 31st December, 1871, taken from the public records:—

Investments and Special Deposits		28,637,079
Cash Balance		172,968
Special Trust Funds with Dominion		2,756,416
Ontario's share in Library at Ottawa in 1867		166,541
Gross surplus		36,702,922
Less the following Liabilities:—		
Sums since ascertained to be due to Quebec under the award	$ 136,596	
Railway Aid Fund voted and embodied in a Statute in 1871	1,500,000	
Total Liabilities		$ 1,636,596
Net surplus assets		$ 5,064,327
Taking exactly the same items, Mr. Treasurer Wood in his late Budget Speech shows the Assets on the 31st Dec. 1878, to be		35,842,748
And the Liabilities		1,411,756
Leaving, after providing for every obligation a surplus of		$34,430,992

And that, too, after distributing under the Municipal Loan Fund Adjustment Scheme, $6,525,378; and $779,024 in aid to Railways over and above the amount appropriated by the Railway Aid Mandamus Act of 1871.

If then we take the exact surplus at the end of 1871, and the same at the end of 1878, we shall find that *over Four Millions of dollars from accrued surplus* (in addition to the $1,500,000 originally voted for Railways) *have been paid to the people by the Mowat Government* for these two objects, with the effect of reducing the surplus as it stood on the 31st Dec., 1871, only $633,394.

The whole of the foregoing statements are taken from the Public Accounts or other official documents.

As shown by Treasurer S. C. Wood, in his Budget Speech, no less a sum than **$17,560,570** has been distributed since 1871, among the people for public objects, independent of the cost of Government and numerous other charges.

See Budget Speech, 1879, page 44.