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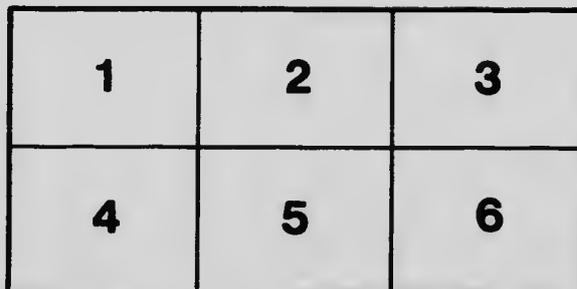
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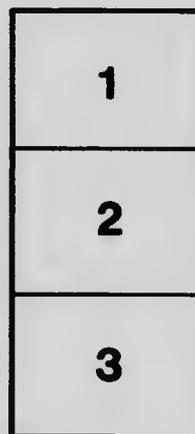
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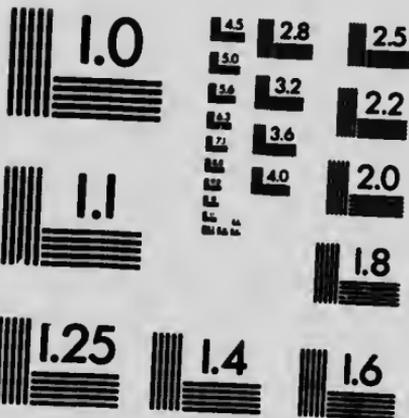
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PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS, 1908

**LIBERAL PARTY
HAND BOOK**

**MISTAKES OF THE
WHITNEY GOVERNMENT**

**GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
FOR ONTARIO**

36 TORONTO ST., - TORONTO

MLW
8818p

LIBERAL PARTY HAND BOOK

INTRODUCTION

In preparing this short Hand-book in the Liberal interests in view of the approaching election it is not the intention to discuss any matters beyond the period in 1905, when the Whitney Government came into power. The splendid record of the Liberal party during the thirty-three years in which they continually held office in Ontario is thoroughly known, and there is no need now to go into detail with respect to their splendid administrative record, the great volume of constructive and beneficial legislation due to their efforts, their splendid fights for Provincial rights and the other governmental activities which held for them the support of the electorate for a longer continuous period than any party has ever held power since the institution of representative Government.

It is the intention merely to call attention to the main difference and distinctions between the Liberals and Conservatives in Ontario as shown by the course of public events since the Whitney Government came into power.

Mr. Whitney came into power with loud protestations of his own surpassing righteousness. The statement he made was that he was "bold enough to be honest and honest enough to be bold." The appeal he had made to the electorate, as, for instance, in his speech at Barrie in the 1905 campaign was that "the time is come in Ontario when all good men, all Christian men, all men who wish decent government must get together or violate their conscience." Only three short years and three months have passed and yet so low has Mr. Whitney fallen from his self-righteous high estate that one, who was his loudest champion in 1905, now writes as follows:

"The close of the session witnessed a rapid degeneration in the Government. Their acts have been suspicious and the Province should be on the watch.

"Every Liberal, and there are many, who from a sense of duty, supported in the last campaign the party now in power, when he considers the present situation will perceive that the same sense of duty will compel him to labour for a strong and able Opposition." (From the letter of the Rev. D. C. Hossack, published on April 28th, 1908.)

It is indeed true that the session just closed showed a great and rapid climax in wrong-doing on the part of the Government and the resort by them to gross deceptions and the lowest trickeries of the mere politician. So much is this the case that there was entire justification for the statement made to Mr. Whitney on the floor of the House during the last session that he had become **"cowardly enough to be dishonest and dishonest enough to be cowardly."** A perusal of this Hand-book will furnish the proof of these statements.

FINANCES

FINANCES OF THE PROVINCE

A consideration of the administration of the financial affairs of the Province under the Whitney Government reveals two striking effects: (1) The enormous increase in the expenditure from \$5,267,000 in 1904 to \$7,714,000 in 1907, an increase of 43 per cent, and (2) the almost total lack of constructive ability.

The increase in total expenditure for three years amounts to \$2,447,000, and is greater than the total increase in expenditure during the 33 years of Liberal administration. In 1872 when the Liberals came into power the expenditure was \$2,522,000, or \$1.50 per head of the then population. In 1904 it had increased to \$5,267,000, an increase of \$1 per head of the population. In 1907, after three years of Conservative control, or lack of control, the expenditures had increased to \$3.50 per head of the population. That is to say that, while the expenditure increased \$1 per head in 33 years of Liberal administration, it increased \$1 per head in three years of Conservative administration.

The mere largeness of the amount of expenditure is not a matter for censure, when the Province keeps within its resources and the money is wisely expended, but, as a matter of fact, in the year 1907 the Province spent \$578,500 more than its current receipts. Of the total revenue of \$8,320,000, \$1,185,000 was the purchase price for the sale of Cobalt and Kerr Lakes, something that cannot be expected to recur in the annual receipts of the Province. In fact the Provincial Treasurer in his budget speech in 1908 holds out no prospect of any such receipt in 1908. If apart from this item the receipts for 1908 are as high as those for 1907, they will total \$7,136,000, while the estimates passed by the House call for an expenditure of \$8,000,000. We may, therefore, look for a deficit of over \$800,000 in the present year. The Provincial Treasurer stated that there are \$500,000 worth of timber bonuses overdue from 1907, but even allowing that these will all be paid, there will remain a deficit of over \$300,000.

That this is not a partisan statement is shown by reference to page 6 of the printed budget speech of the Provincial Treasurer, in which he points out that the ordinary receipts for 1907 exceeded those for 1904 by only \$600,000, but he did not go on to state what the fact is, that the expenditure had increased in the same period by \$2,450,000.

Nor is this money wisely and economically spent in the interests of the Province. We find legal fees which in 1904

LIBERAL PARTY HAND BOOK

amounted to \$14,093, jumping to \$43,300 in 1907, an increase of 240 per cent., while at the same time the staff of the Attorney-General's Department has been increased.

Further, it has become the habit, instead of the Ministers or heads of Departments assuming the responsibilities of their office, to shift that responsibility on to commissions, with the result that in 1907 \$114,700 was spent for commissions. This includes the Railway and Municipal Board, but apart from that expenditure, commissions cost the Province in 1907 the sum of \$90,320. It is, however, quite fair to include the cost of the Railway and Municipal Board, inasmuch as the railway part of their work was formerly done without extra cost by the Railway Committee of the Executive Council, and almost the same municipal work was done by the Provincial Secretary, also without cost.

The following list indicates the manner in which expenditures have been jumping upwards:

Department.	1904.	1907.	Percentage
			Inc.
Civil Government	\$344,000	\$503,000	46
Administration of Justice.....	482,500	579,600	20
Education	950,000	1,360,000	43
Public Institutions Maintenance	950,500	990,400	4.2
Colonization and Immigration..	19,900	52,000	161
Repairs and Maintenance, Par- liament Buildings	71,800	95,300	33
Colonization Roads	175,600	317,000	80
Charges on Crown Lands	286,900	542,000	88
Miscellaneous services	139,000	197,000	42

Contrasted with these enormous increases in the controllable expenditure, we find that the money of the Province expended for the advancement of agriculture has increased in a very slight degree. In 1904 the expenditure was \$446,481; in 1907 it was \$480,317, an increase of 7.57 per cent. Thus it is seen that while the Province has increased its expenditure on outside legal services by 240 per cent., **the great agricultural industry, unquestionably the most important industry of the Province, has been given the inconsiderable increase of 7.57 per cent.**

It was argued by the Government that the \$75,000 per year paid until recently under statute to encourage the growth of sugar beets, and which is now discontinued, ought to be subtracted from the \$446,481, and thus that the percentage of increase would be greater than 7.57 per cent. Liberals say not, because this sum went indirectly to farmers who grew the beets.

It is further to be noted that while the charges on Crown Lands are increased by 88 per cent., the revenue from Crown Lands increased only 11 per cent.

Further explanation of the excessive increase in expenditure is found when we see that within three years the number of officials employed in the Parliament Buildings has increased from 300 in 1904 to 389 in 1907, while the cost of Civil Government has increased 46 per cent. in the same period of three years.

LACK OF CONSTRUCTIVE ABILITY.

The chief sources of the Provincial revenue for 1907 were:

Dominion subsidy	\$1,734,000
Interest	188,721
Lands, Forests and Mines	3,068,494
Provincial Secretary's Department...	257,208
Tax on corporations	672,241
Succession duty	821,692
Licenses	587,126
Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Ry.	235,000

It is to be noted that among the chief sources of revenue are: Succession duties, brewers' and distillers' licenses, and the tax on corporations. When in opposition, the Conservative party moved to reduce the scale of succession duty and absolutely opposed the passage of the other two bills, so that they are entitled to no credit whatever for the revenue from these sources. In fact the present Government have been simply quiescent tax gatherers. The only items in the receipts which are in any sense due to their activities are the following:

Increase in succession duties, say 10 p.e.	\$ 82,000
Royalties on mines	207,945
Acreage tax	5,003
Profit tax on mines	26,922
Gas tax	11,524
Automobile licenses	8,098

or only \$351,492 out of total receipts of \$8,320,419.

The total receipts from the measures actively opposed by the Conservative party were as follows:

	1907.	Total to end of 1907.
Succession duty	\$ 821,692	\$5,213,727
Tax on corporations	672,241	3,368,700
Brewers' and distillers' licenses	75,000	580,877
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,568,933	\$9,163,304

Allowing for the sum which would have come in as succession duties, under the measure as proposed by the Conservative party, the Province would have lost approximately \$1,100,000 in 1907, and \$7,000,000 altogether if their policy had been adopted.

EDUCATION

On many phases of the all-important question of education there is a distinct line of cleavage between the policies of the two great parties. This is clearly shown in the different attitudes taken by the two parties with respect to

FINANCING TORONTO UNIVERSITY.

Prior to the year 1906 the Legislature annually voted the moneys required for maintaining Toronto University, thus dealing with it as with all other public institutions and with all other public expenditures. Annual estimates were brought down showing the proposed expenditure for the incoming year. These naturally became a subject of discussion, and the Minister of Education before the House was obliged to justify every item of expenditure. But in the year 1906 the present Government changed the law and the procedure by Section 140 of the University Act and provided that: "There shall be paid to the Board of Governors out of the consolidated revenue of the Province yearly and every year a sum equal to 50 per centum of the average yearly gross receipts of the Province from succession duties." This is arranged on a three year basis and means that if half the gross receipts under the Succession Duties Act for the years 1908, 1909, 1910 shall be respectively \$500,000, \$600,000, \$700,000; then Toronto University in 1911 shall receive \$600,000. The Liberals strongly opposed this change in the law and during the recent session moved for a repeal of this Act and for a return to the old system of responsible Government, the representatives of the people on the floor of Parliament annually passing estimates for Toronto University the same as for any other public institution. The resolution asking that the Act be repealed was voted down, however, on a straight party vote. Thus the present Government refused to trust the people through their representatives in the Legislative Assembly.

TEACHERS' SALARIES.

The same spirit of distrust was exhibited by the Government in connection with rural public school teachers' salaries. Both parties agree that it is desirable to encourage and, if possible obtain permanency in the teaching profession. But when to that end the Minister of Education suggested that the salaries of rural public school teachers should be fixed according to the assessment of the school sections, the Liberal party strongly opposed this and suggested that, instead, if the Minister desired to encourage the employment of senior as against junior teachers, and experienced as against inexperienced teachers, he ought to give a general grant to all the sections but might give a small additional grant to those sections which would employ experienced or senior teachers. By doing this the Liberals argued that he would be co-operating with the rural school trustees and not playing the role of dictator as he did. Besides, the Liberals opposed this on the ground that it was class legislation in-as-much as it applied to the townships, but no such principle was established with reference to village, town or city. The discussion of this clause of the Public School Act was adjourned after strong opposition by the Liberals and the clause was modified. The Minister of Education, however, absolutely refused to allow the clause to stand for a year until it was discussed by the public generally. An absolutely unfair and untruthful attempt is made to prove that the Liberal leader, Hon. A. G. MacKay, supported this clause simply because in a later clause of the Act, and after the Government had adopted the principle of minimum salaries, he suggested that if they desired the law carried out it was manifestly unfair to penalize teachers who broke it and to allow trustees to go scot-free, but while making that suggestion he made it abundantly clear that he was opposed entirely to minimum salaries, arguing, as he did, that the farmers of the Province of Ontario as a class were as anxious to give a good education to their children as was any other class in the community.

TEXT BOOKS.

The public are being misled by the statement that the cost of school readers has been permanently reduced by the present Government. It is true that after a Commission had made enquiries under the present Government, of which Commission John A. Cooper, present editor of the *Canadian Courier*, was the practical man, the Government issued an announcement that after a year and a half from that date the old Ontario readers would cease to be authorized. Then the Department advertised

for the publication of the Ontario readers during that year and a half and then did not follow the specifications and requirements set out in their advertisement, but gave a contract to the old publishers, who had a large stock of these books on hand at a low price, to furnish the readers for that year and a half. The old publishers found themselves in this position that they had a heavy stock on hand and unless they got a contract this stock would be dead waste. By getting the contract they, during the year and a half, could work off all readers on hand in a ready or semi-ready state. Hence, the prices now being paid are prices on the basis of a remnant sale and not permanent. John A. Cooper, a Conservative in politics, in the *Canadian Courier*, speaking of the reduction in prices, says: "This reduction in price may last one and a half years. What will happen then is only a matter of conjecture. The probability is that if the new set of readers is prepared and the printing and binding brought up to date *the price will go back to the old figures, if not higher.*" So that when the whole truth is stated and the facts fully understood the deception practised in this cry of cheap Ontario readers becomes quite apparent.

MODEL SCHOOLS.

Here again the new regulations will be a hardship to the poor man's son or daughter intending to enter the teaching profession. Formerly an intending teacher could take a short term at the Model School in his own county and then was allowed to teach, and later could take a full term at a Normal School in one of the cities. But now the intention is to wipe out the model schools. An attempt has been made to cover this intention up because it is known to be unpopular. The regulation of the Department of Education published in October last, however, is quite clear. It contains on its first page the following statement: "In the reorganized scheme of Provincial training there will be two main classes of training schools—the Normal Schools for the preparation of second-class Public School teachers and the Faculty of Education for the preparation of High School assistants and first-class Public School teachers. In addition to these a few Model Schools of a new type, conveniently situated and efficiently organized will be established for the preparation of third-class teachers for the school sections of the districts and counties whose financial and other conditions may prevent them from securing a higher grade of teacher." This regulation clearly indicates that it is the intention to abolish all Model Schools excepting a few for the poorer districts or counties. In addition to the hardship already

mentioned it is very doubtful whether the new system will produce as capable teachers as the old. In not one High School in Old Ontario to-day does the curriculum contemplate that the Model Schools will be continued even next year. The circular referred to has not been rescinded, yet Conservative candidates all over the Province are promising that their respective home Model Schools will be continued; and this in the face of the foregoing Regulation. Thus has Education, through the vacillating policy of the Government, become the football of Conservative politicians.

TEACHERS' EXAMINATIONS.

The October regulations contain another startling announcement, namely, that every High School and school with a continuation class will hereafter be known as an "approved" or "non-approved" school. From the "approved" school (and the inspector determines whether the school shall be "approved" or not), the Principal may pass all candidates for teachers into the Normal School in the all-important elementary subjects of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, book-keeping and business papers, geography, English grammar and mensuration; but before they are allowed to enter the Normal School, candidates must pass a departmental examination in algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, with Latin as a bonus. Whatever may be said as to paying too great attention to written examinations, this much seems clear that if no written examinations are to be held in the all-important elementary subjects and if the teacher is allowed to pass candidates in these, surely written examinations should not be held in the less important and thus a premium placed upon them. The tendency will be to lead teachers and intending teachers to pay more attention to chemistry, Latin, physics and geometry than to the more important and more elementary subjects. This the Liberal leader, and other speakers on the floor of the House, strongly denounced.

EDUCATION GENERALLY.

The Liberals during the past three years of the House have stood out strongly for the giving as full and complete an education as possible in the rural public schools without reference to high school at all, and also have strongly argued for a distinct advance along the line of technical education in order that every reasonable opportunity may be afforded to the artisan and mechanic and skilled laborer to learn and understand in full all general and scientific principles that underlie the trade or calling which he intends to make his life work.

NEW ONTARIO

Nothing can be more important than the attitude of the Government towards that portion of the Province generally known as New Ontario, and which by reason of its vast extent and enormous undeveloped and partially developed resources, ought to receive the utmost consideration at the hands of the party in power.

The opening up of the country from North Bay to James Bay, and the discovery of the immensely rich mineral resources, was a direct result of the courageous policy of the Ross Administration in projecting a Colonization Railroad into that country. The present Premier decried that measure and referred to the land, now proven to be the richest in the Province, as "the land of stunted poplar."

The policy of the Liberal party in regard to treatment of the settlers is indicated by the plank adopted at the great convention in 1904 which is as follows:

"That all lands suitable for agriculture in the unorganized districts be thrown open for settlement as soon as possible and that every bona fide purchaser or locatee of such lands shall on taking possession thereof have the right to cut for his own use or for sale, every description of timber thereon, pine only excepted.

"That pending the issue of his patent, the settler shall have the right to cut and take, free of charge, so much of the pine as he may require for building and fencing or other uses, and that on completion of his settlement duties, the purchaser or locatee shall receive a patent from the Crown without reservation of pine, mines or minerals.

"That the most liberal terms should be offered to prospectors for minerals, providing that the minerals discovered are developed within a reasonable time and not held purely for speculative purposes."

It is true that the Conservatives while in opposition professed a somewhat similar policy, but when on the floor of the House in 1907, Mr. C. N. Smith, Sault Ste. Marie, moved a resolution to that effect, the Premier, from his place, greeted the resolution with the comment "balderdash" and Mr. Smith's resolution was voted down by the subservient Government majority. In an attempt to rectify this mistake and to head off a similar resolution, on the 4th day of the Session, 1908, Mr. Cochrane introduced a Bill which was supposed to give effect to the policy of the Liberals in this connection. That Bill, however, does not go to the length to which the Liberals feel the settler is

entitled. Under it the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines, having first satisfied himself that there are no available minerals in the land, may give the settler a patent entitling him to mines and minerals. Similarly with regard to lands already settled. The settler may apply for a patent including the mines and minerals, and under section 2 of the Act the Minister will send an officer to examine, and, if such officer reports that there are no mines or minerals on the land, then the settler may get a patent entitling him to the mines and minerals. Surely this is making light of, and treating with scant courtesy the fair and reasonable demands of the pioneer who blazes the path for the future advance of prosperity and civilization.

The policy of the Liberal party is to give to the bona fide settler his land, and everything above and below it absolutely.

The rich and valuable portion of the Province lying along the line of the Canadian Northern Railway from the boundary to Ft. Frances and beyond, is entitled to much greater consideration than it has already received. The policy of the present Leader of the Opposition, previously enunciated by him, is that competent engineers should be sent to this district to make a thorough examination and to obtain data upon which can be based a complete and comprehensive drainage scheme for the improvement of the whole district. At the same time surveys could be made and a plan formulated for the construction of a through trunk road for colonization purposes, properly located and constructed upon a proper plan and under proper supervision. It is felt that such a road would be of the utmost benefit to the settlers and a general advantage in opening up this fertile portion of the Province.

In this connection it may further be stated that it is the policy of the Liberal party in the Legislature to do away with the present extravagant piecemeal method of constructing colonization roads by doles, here and there, expended without any general plan and without any proper supervision. It is felt that the large sums of money spent by the Province would give many times their present return if a comprehensive scheme of colonization road construction was devised and proceeded with from year to year under competent advice and control.

MINING.

The feature of the present Act by which the prospector must be able to show valuable mineral within a limited time on a claim staked by him is not in accord with the views of the Lib-

eral party. A man who at his own expense prospects and stakes a claim in the unoccupied country, ought to be at liberty to work upon that claim so long as he likes at his own expense.

Development of the claim ought to be insisted upon, but so long as a man is willing to expend his own time, money and labor upon a claim the Province ought not to oust him therefrom merely because he has not, within a limited period, satisfied some Government official that he will ultimately reap a reward.

The present Mining Act also leaves the ultimate control of money matters, which might well involve vast sums, to the political head of the Department by reason of the numerous appeals which may be taken by him from the Mining Recorders and the Mining Commissioner. Matters of this kind ought to be taken entirely out of politics and where appeals are necessary they should be sent to the impartial tribunals of the Province.

The Liberal party are also in favor of abolishing royalties and imposing in their place a graded tax on net income. This position was very forcibly put forward by the present Leader of the Opposition when the Mines Act was going through Committee, when he pointed out that the persons investing ought to be allowed a fair and even generous return upon their money for any tax that was imposed, but that those mines which produced great profits ought to be subject to a graded tax on net profits above a fixed amount for the advantage of the Province. On the other hand, mines which although producing at some time, may never repay the money invested in them, ought not to be subject to present royalties.

The position of the Liberal party with regard to the Pulpwood and Timber policy generally, and the true facts with regard to the Montreal River pulp concession may best be obtained from the following extract in the speech of the Hon. Mr. MacKay on the Address in 1908:

"Now, sir, what are the facts with reference to this particular pulp concession? A right was granted to certain individuals who were to form a company to cut for a period of 21 years the pulp timber on a large tract of land along the Montreal River and certain tributaries. The contract is dated the 3rd day of March, 1902. The concessionaires under the contract were obliged to erect a pulp and paper mill north of Pembroke, costing at least \$500,000. This mill was to have a capacity of 150 tons of pulp per day and was to employ at least 250 men. The concessionaires were apparently unable to finance the undertaking, and as a result, acting by authority of a certain provision contained in the agreement, the present Government cancelled the contract. A new contract was made and great credit is claimed for this Government because of the fact that they were able to secure to the Province by means of the new contract the sum of \$300,000. But, sir, let us examine these contracts and ascertain all the facts. The new contract is made with certain Ottawa parties. These par-

ties at the time of the making of the new contract had already a mill in the course of construction, not north of Pembroke, but down in the City of Ottawa. This is said to be a very large mill costing about \$1,500,000, and therefore presumably of three times the capacity of that required by the old contract, and therefore able to utilize and take from that north country three times the amount of spruce and other pulp timbers. Now, sir, what about the value of spruce and other pulp timbers in 1902 when the first bargain was made and that of 1907 when the second bargain was made, and what about the actual prices charged the concessionaires in the respective agreements? I find, sir, that between the years 1902 and 1907 the value of pulpwood used in paper-making in the United States increased in value in those years 122 per cent., and in Canada about 150 per cent. Pulpwood in the United States is well-nigh exhausted. Hence the very rapid rise in price. And yet, sir, although the advance in value of these timbers in these years—a fact that is well-known to practical men—was so very marked, I actually find on comparing the agreement of 1902 with that of 1907, that the present Government obtained only the same price, viz., 40 cents per cord on the stump for the main timber, the spruce, and that there is just the increase on the other timbers such as poplar and whitewood from 10 to 20 cents per cord. I say, sir, emphatically that the increase in price paid under the new agreement is not at all in proportion to the increase in value between the years 1902 and 1907. (Cheers.) All other terms of the agreement are substantially the same. But, sir, the basic idea in the agreements made by the old Government was one of colonization. Let me illustrate. Take, for example, the Spanish River pulp concession. Go with me to Espanola, near Webbwood. See one of these old agreements worked out. See the company obliged to build its mill in that north country. See the thriving village immediately spring up. See the settler move in. The moment he takes up land, that moment all the timber on his land is taken out of the concession, and he owns it. Sir, from the first moment he swings his axe to cut down the first tree, so as to clear the ground for his first shanty, he has a mill at his door giving him a market and a fair price for his timber. (Cheers.) What will the poor settler do in that Montreal district with the mill away down at Ottawa? (Cheers.) He has no mill in his locality to buy his timber. Nothing to encourage him to go up there to locate. Nay, sir, anyone who knows anything as to clearing knows what will happen there. That great stretch of clay land will be stripped of timber and will become one continuous slash of tree tops and underbrush. The country will thus be bedevilled for purposes of settlement. And yet the innocent member for North York, who I am bound to say made the most concise, logical and by long odds the best speech on the Conservative side of the House in this debate, asks 'what difference does it make where the mill is so long as the money comes into the treasury?' (Laughter.) The difference is, sir, that the old agreement contains the true colonization idea. 'What difference does it make where the mill is?' says this Government champion. If there were yet in North York any of the old pioneers who cut, logged, branded and burned their forest timbers and the honorable member were to ask them 'What difference whether there is a mill in the locality or not?' I fear they would never suspect that he has lately been thinking of subjects over which the Minister of Mines presides, but they would rather fear that he had escaped from the surveillance of the honorable the Provincial Secretary. (Laughter.) Sir, the colonizing idea is the right one. When the valuable forest wealth of that great north land is removed, provision ought to be made that for this asset should be substituted that of the growing town and the prosperous settler with the mill giving

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him a market for his timber at his door. (Cheers.) Sir, I say that \$300,000, nay, three times \$300,000, more in the treasury does not make up the difference between the two contracts. (Cheers.) Some one says that 'north of Pembroke is too vague. Possibly so; all these agreements should require the mill to be built on a water fall where power could be had as close as possible to a large stretch of pulpwood-bearing rich clay lands. (Cheers.)

Liberal Policy as to Timber.

"Now, sir, in this connection I desire to read the resolution passed at that great Liberal convention in November, 1904, within 48 hours of the time I was sworn in as Commissioner of Crown Lands, showing, sir, that Liberals had a proper conception of the importance of this question of building up New Ontario, and that they were intelligently shaping their policy along the right lines. (Cheers.)

"The resolution adopted at the Liberal convention was as follows:

"Resolved, that before the pine and pulpwood on any of the lands now in the Crown are offered for public sale a careful enquiry should be made by the Government to ascertain whether some method might not be adopted whereby the matured timber could be disposed of by open competition to be cut under the direction of forest rangers, leaving the remainder of the pine timber to be cut when sufficiently matured for the market, and that all lands unfit for agricultural purposes on which pine has been cut should be reserved for reforestation with a view to preserve for the future needs of the Province a source of revenue which has yielded since Confederation \$40,000,000 to the Provincial Treasury.

"That while this convention approves of the concessions already made for the establishment of pulp industries as being the only practicable method of securing the necessary capital for their early development, the convention is of the opinion that in all future concessions north of the height of land, where large areas of pulpwood timber not interfering with pine timber limits and numerous water powers and pulp concessions are both in the Crown and are tributary the one to the other, that both should be submitted to public auction jointly, the conditions of sale being that the purchaser should pay a bonus for the right of occupation and an annual rental for the water power, as well as reasonable dues for the pulpwood required for the industry." (I may also add that at the same convention resolutions favoring more liberal treatment of the prospectors and the settlers were unanimously adopted.)

"That resolution, Mr. Speaker, shows the lines along which we were working. Sir, the idea was that experienced men should be sent into that north country to find out what timber was there, and what water powers there were, so that both might be utilized to encourage settlement and to people that great north land. That resolution says, sir, that competent men shall be sent out to determine what timber may be cut, to determine further where the mills shall be built, so as best to aid the settlement by making a home market for the timber, and in that way the north land would be built up by utilizing its own natural products. So, I say, sir, that the spirit and intent of the old agreement is far, far in advance of the new." (Cheers.)

THE POWER QUESTION

Several years ago legislation was passed providing that municipalities acting either singly or in groups might take steps to obtain electric energy or power for heating, lighting and power purposes. The municipalities, however, did not accomplish practical results under the Statute as it then stood. Therefore a new Act was passed in 1906. The provision of the 1906 Act, as also of the 1907 Act which repealed that of 1906, are quite clear and there was therefore no excuse for the Government blundering as it did in its procedure with reference to this question which is of such great importance to so many municipalities in the Province. Section 6 of the Act of 1906 makes it quite clear that when any municipal corporation applies to the Hydro-Electric Commission for the transmission to such municipal corporation of power or energy the Commission is obliged to furnish to the municipality full and complete estimates of the cost of constructing and maintaining transmission lines, etc. The section further says: "The Commission shall further furnish to such municipal corporation a statement of the terms and conditions upon which such electric power or energy may be transmitted and supplied, *together with a form of the contract to be entered into between such municipal corporation and the Commission.*" Section 7 then provides that the municipal corporation may submit to the electors "a by-law authorizing the municipal corporation to enter into *such* contract and in case such by-law receives the consent of the majority of the electors voting thereon, *such* contract may be entered into and executed by the Commission and the municipal corporation, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council." There was no excuse whatever for the Government blundering in its procedure as it did. The Act was clear that the Commission should have furnished all estimates as set out in Section 6, also the form of contract, and then the by-law should be submitted by the Council to the ratepayers to get authority to enter into such contract. Strange to say the Commission never furnished any form of contract to the municipalities until recently, although the municipalities voted in January, 1907 on this question. Consequently the by-laws as passed were not worth the paper they were written upon. Instead, the municipalities were obliged to proceed largely upon faith and upon the verbal statement of the Minister of Power that the cost of power to each municipality would not exceed a certain figure. As late as last fall the Minister of Power, speaking at Brantford, stated that if the actual

cost of building transmission lines, etc., was greater than the estimate the Province as a whole would be obliged to pay the difference in cost. This statement was made in direct contradiction of the clear provisions of the Statute that neither the Commission nor the Province of Ontario should in any way be liable for any such miscalculations. That position was immediately attacked by the Leader of the Opposition, and the Minister of Power was forced to recede from the position taken. It would be manifestly unfair to tax those portions of the Province that are not within the electric zones for a portion of the cost of supplying power to manufacturers and municipalities within the electric zones. Section 24 of the Act of 1907 is clear and explicit on this point and reads: "Neither the Province nor the Commission nor any member thereof shall incur any liability by reason of any error or omission in any estimates, plans or specifications prepared or furnished by the Commission." On account of the fact that the Government had thus blundered, they brought down during the very closing days of the last session an Act to validate all by-laws passed in connection with the supplying of power. Because of the fact that the question is an important one and that several municipalities desire that practical steps shall be taken to obtain cheap power, the Opposition in the Legislature did not oppose this validating Act although it leads to this peculiar position:—If the Government proceed to build transmission lines they will in advance spend the money of the Province in building those lines, and if the proportion of the whole cost which it is found necessary to assess against any municipality is so great that it will bring the cost of power up to a higher figure than that stated by the Minister of Power and higher than that contained in the by-law passed by the ratepayers, the Council in executing the contract will have exceeded the power given to them by the ratepayers; on the other hand, if the Validating Act gives the Council power to do this, then the Legislature will have rendered it possible for the Council to place a greater indebtedness against the municipality than the ratepayers authorized the Council to do and in either case the blundering of the Government has left the position at once awkward and anomalous. The fair and frank thing for the Government to have done would have been to have given to the municipalities in Western Ontario estimates of the whole cost of the whole transmission lines, etc., then to have told each municipality what its fair proportion of that would be, and then the Council could have submitted to the ratepayers a by-law authorizing them to expend that amount, or even

more, to cover the contingency of the cost being greater than the estimates. Instead, the Statute was absolutely disregarded and by-laws submitted authorizing the Council to pay so much per horse-power for power delivered at the municipality.

FAILURE AS TO TORONTO.

The Premier and the Government ignominiously failed to take occasion by the hand when Major St. Aubyn, on the 29th day of January, representing the British bondholders, appeared before the Premier and asked if he would consider a proposition. The Premier, according to his own statement, declined to listen to any proposition. He seemed to think it was strange that Toronto should be mentioned at all, although Toronto was the municipality particularly interested and was east of the Hamilton to Owen Sound line, which territory it was alleged had been reserved from the arrangement made with the Ontario Power Company. Had the Premier appreciated his position as an agent for the municipalities he would instantly have availed himself of the opportunity to place the City authorities and Major St. Aubyn into negotiations in order that if possible an arrangement satisfactory to the people of Toronto might have been made. In the contracts made with the Electrical Development Co. there is a provision in each which stipulates that in case any one of the companies fails the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park Commission, representing the Government, may immediately step in, take possession of the plant and works and operate the same. The bondholders were in a position to force an arrangement of this kind at the time that Major St. Aubyn interviewed the Premier. The Electrical Development Company was in financial difficulty. As a result of the agitation its credit was gone. A large payment was coming due on the first of March which the Company was unable to meet; the bondholders therefore completely controlled the situation. The company stood practically in the position of a defaulting mortgagor and the bondholders in the strong position of a mortgagee. The bondholders could have forced a failure within the meaning and terms of the contracts referred to and the Government could have immediately stepped in as a medium between the Electrical Development Company and the City of Toronto; and the city, if it so desired, could have obtained the extremely advantageous bargain Mr. McKenzie shortly after obtained whereby he got complete control of the Electrical Development Company and obtained \$3,000,000 worth of common stock practically for nothing. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given for the Government's strange conduct in this respect. The attitude of the Government at this particular time may serve to throw some light upon

LEGISLATION IN THE DYING HOURS OF SESSION

(1) \$2,500,000 Guarantee.

In the dying hours of the session, when the Government introduced several bills and read them a second time before they were even printed, an Act was introduced giving certain aid to the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Company, of which Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Mann are practically the owners. On being interrogated as to this guarantee the Premier explained that a main reason for giving it was that under the old guarantee the Province was not protected as clearly as it ought to have been and that the mortgage did not cover the whole line of railway, including terminals, etc. This does not seem to be borne out by the facts, nor does it seem to be a sufficient or any justification for the present guarantee. Section 2 of Chapter 20 of the 1904 Statutes, which is the Statute which deals with the guarantee of the bonds of the James Bay Railway Company—now called the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Company—reads as follows: "The said mortgage and the security issued thereunder shall be a first charge upon the line of railway so aided and upon the right of way, station grounds, and other real estate and interest therein, buildings and other structures and improvements, lorry set and equipments, plant, machinery, tools, supplies, materials, and other personal properties, present and future, received for the purposes of the said line of railway or in connection with the operation, maintenance or repairing thereof, and upon the tolls, incomes and revenues of the company, arising and to arise from the said line of railway, and the rights, privileges, franchise and powers of the company now or hereafter held in respect thereof." The amount guaranteed was stated to the House to have been \$1,500,000. It turns out, however, that when worked out the amount of the guarantee may run up to the figures of \$2,500,000. The guarantee is \$20,000 per mile for fifty miles of railway, which makes \$1,000,000, and the sum of \$1,500,000 in connection with terminals in the City of Toronto. This action of the Government is a direct violation of the professions of its members while in Opposition and the guaranteeing to the extent of \$1,500,000 cannot in any sense be said to be assistance given to a colonization road in a new country because it is entirely applicable to terminal facilities in the City of Toronto. Again, the guarantee of the other million is open to the objection

that the short branches of railway, which it is applicable to, lead only to private property of McKenzie & Mann, and are not therefore colonization roads in the ordinary sense. This scheme was brought down in the very last days of the session; was not announced to the House before then; was rushed through with other work under circumstances that it could not receive from the Opposition the consideration it deserved. When considered and thoroughly studied out it seems to be absolutely indefensible and contrary to all precedent. Whatever may be said with reference to aiding colonization roads there seems no defence whatever to the Government's giving this guarantee.

The circumstances under which the bill providing for this guarantee of the Canadian Northern bonds was introduced in the House appears from the following statement by the Premier as reported in the "Mail and Empire" of April 10th, 1908: "The difference was, said Hon. Mr. Whitney, that the Government was bringing down aid to a scheme it had opposed, and which was carried through in the past in spite of Conservative opposition". When the Administration came into power, it found that the mortgage was drawn in such an unbusinesslike manner that all the valuable parts of the property were omitted from it. 'We are now trying to make ourselves more secure,' he asserted." This statement coming from the Premier of the Province and the Leader of the Government, was accepted by the Opposition at its face value as correct and there being no time or opportunity to enquire into its correctness the Opposition did not oppose the measure.

The mortgage referred to by Mr. Whitney is filed with the Secretary of State at Ottawa, and a careful examination of it reveals the fact that the mortgage was executed, not by the Ross Government, but by the Whitney Government over a year after they came into power. The following are the facts in connection with this mortgage:

By virtue of an Act passed by the Ontario Legislature, 1904, respecting the James Bay Railway Company, a first mortgage dated July 12th, 1906, was given by the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Company, formerly called the James Bay Railway Company, to National Trust Company, Limited, and The British Empire Trust Company, Limited, to secure an issue of guaranteed debenture stock for \$20,000 per mile for 268 miles of the James Bay Railway Company line, "from its terminus in the city of Toronto to or near the town of Sudbury." The mortgage is signed by officers of the foregoing

companies, and A. J. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer, and attached thereto is the Government guarantee signed by A. J. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer, and dated July 17th, 1906. The said mortgage was filed with the Secretary of State for Canada on October 5th, 1906. The said mortgage embodies Section 2 of the Ontario Act with the exception of the word "upon" in the 9th line of said section. The mortgage, however, varies from the Ontario Act of 1904 by providing as follows: "Provided always that subject to the foregoing there are hereby expressly excepted and reserved from this mortgage and from the charges hereby created certain properties acquired by the company, situate at Barnesdale, in the district of Muskoka..... except the right of way and stations grounds through and upon said properties. There are also reserved and exempted from this mortgage any line or lines of railway other than the line of railway from Toronto to Sudbury aforementioned, hereafter constructed or acquired by the company, and the station grounds and other real estate and interest therein, buildings and other structures and improvements, rolling stock and equipment, plant, machinery, tool supplies, materials, and other personal properties, present and future, required for the purpose of the line or lines or properties by this proviso excepted or in connection with the operation, maintenance, or repair of such line or lines or properties or any of them, and the tolls, incomes and revenues of the company arising and to arise from them, or any of them, and the rights, privileges, franchises and powers of the company now or hereafter held in respect of such lines or properties or any of them, also all subsidies, bonuses or assistance in land, money or otherwise, which have been or may be given or granted by the Government of Canada, the Province of Ontario, or by any municipality in aid of the construction or acquisition of any such lines of railway or the line or railway from Toronto to Sudbury aforementioned." The Ontario Act of 1904 does not contain any clause or provision for such exemption as the foregoing, neither does the Act of 1904, nor the mortgage of 1906, except by the proviso, exempt the terminals at Toronto or Sudbury. More than two years before the date of this mortgage, the plans of the James Bay Railway were approved through the City of Toronto into the Union Station.

It is therefore clear that **Mr. Whitney made an absolute mis-statement** in asserting that "when the Administration came into power, it found that the mortgage was drawn in such an unbusinesslike manner that all the valuable parts of the property were omitted from it."

There was no mortgage in existence when the present Administration came into power and, for the form of the mortgage and the defects in it, the present Government must bear all responsibility. The proviso contained in the mortgage was not authorized by the Act of 1904, but is a direct controvention of that Act agreed to by the Whitney Government, and it is by virtue of that proviso alone that there is any defect in the security. The Act of 1904 undoubtedly authorized only a mortgage which would include all terminals in the City of Toronto and elsewhere, and if they are not now included, the Whitney Government alone is responsible for the huge blunder and Mr. Whitney's words as reported in the "Mail and Empire" quoted above react upon himself.

Mr. Whitney's statement undoubtedly deceived the Legislature. Whether this was done with wilful intent or through gross ignorance, the people may judge; either is unpardonable in the Prime Minister of this Province who boasts of the business ability of his Government.

(2) Grant to the La Rose People.

Another wholly unjustifiable act on the part of the present Government was the rushing through in the dying hours of the Session of a grant of \$130,000 to the members of the La Rose Mining Company. Apparently a few years ago these people contended they were the rightful discoverers of what is commonly known as the O'Brien Mine. The Honorable the Attorney-General explained to the House that they desired his Department to grant them a fiat in order that they might contest in the Courts with the O'Brien people their right to this mine. The Government apparently refused to grant them a fiat but took up the fight in the Government's name, with the result that a settlement was arrived at before trial with the O'Brien people, whereby the Government got 25 per cent. of the output of the mine. During the brief discussion on the floor of the House, Mr. Foy explained that this \$130,000 was being paid to the La Rose people because they had assisted in the law suit, had procured the evidence and had given information to the Government. The Minister of Mines, on being interrogated by Mr. McDougall of Ottawa as to whether he considered it right to sanction the grant, particularly in view of the fact that Mr. Cochrane's brother-in-law, Mr. Dunlop, was one of the La Rose people, Mr. Cochrane denied that his brother-in-law had used any unfair influence to secure from the Province this sum of \$130,000.

It is passing strange that, if the Government thought that the La Rose people were entitled to any reward for the services they had rendered, they did not settle with them upwards of a year ago when the litigation with O'Brien was terminated, and that they should leave the whole matter off until the last hours of the Session and until the eve of a general election. If a Liberal Government had put through in the dying hours of a session such a shady transaction as giving \$130,000 to friends of the Ministers on such a flimsy pretext as they were able to put up, and if a Liberal Government had given the \$2,500,000 guarantee, after having deceived the House as to the necessity of giving it, what a howl would be raised by Conservatives all over the province, shouts of graft would be heard on all hands and doubtless statements would be made that a large campaign fund had been secured out of this \$130,000 graft and out of this \$2,500,000 guarantee.

THE GERRYMANDER

The history of the delimitation of constituencies in Ontario is as follows: Prior to Confederation, Quebec and Ontario had each sixty-five members in the House. By the British North America Act, so far as Dominion representation is concerned, Quebec was made the unit and given 65 representatives, while Ontario on the same basis was then entitled to 82. The limits of the 82 constituencies were fixed in the schedule to the British North America Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament and prepared by the Fathers of Confederation. These 82 constituencies were of course for Dominion purposes, but the same 82 constituencies were accepted for the Legislature of Ontario, which at first consisted of 82 members. This was of course in 1867. Then the question arises when and what were the changes since made? After the decennial census of 1871, viz. in 1874, owing to the growth of population, etc., there was a general redistribution throughout the Province of Ontario. Again, after the decennial census of 1881, viz. in 1885, there was a general redistribution. It is a very remarkable fact that from 1885 until the present session of Parliament there was no general redistribution of the constituencies of this Province. It is true that in 1894, owing to the growth of the cities, they were dealt with, Ottawa being given 2 seats, Toronto 4, Hamilton 2, Kingston 1 and London 1. Again in

1902, owing to the influx of population into a portion of New Ontario, four additional seats were given there. But the statement is absolutely true, that speaking generally, so far as the Province is concerned, no changes whatever were made in the constituencies since 1885 except as to Toronto and New Ontario. This further fact is noticeable that redistribution measures were brought down in Parliament subsequent to a decennial census.

Then as to whether redistribution under Liberal rule is fair, it is a noteworthy fact that Liberal majorities varied in those 23 years from 30 down to 3, and that the very same constituencies as delimited in 1885 gave a Conservative majority in 1905 of over 40. It is therefore quite clear that there was no excuse whatever for the Gerrymander Act introduced this year, and, of course, it did not follow a decennial census.

ENGLISH PRECEDENT.

It is rather a strange coincidence but in the year 1885 there was a general redistribution of constituencies in Great Britain, which redistribution was conducted upon fair lines and principles. The Honourable Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury and other leaders of both parties met and agreed upon every principle in the bill; then the bill exactly as agreed upon was brought in as a Government measure; there was no dispute and no discussion in Parliament as to its terms. Then the delimiting or fixing the boundaries of the constituencies in accordance with the principles of this bill was left to an Independent Commission, composed of Judges, Royal Engineers, etc.. Thus in no sense whatever did party politics enter into the carrying out of this Redistribution Bill, nor did the Party in Power seek to obtain any unfair advantage. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Whitney did not attempt to follow British precedent, which he is so fond of referring to.

CONSERVATIVE PRECEDENT.

What was the professed policy of Conservatives in the Ontario House while in Opposition as to this important question of redistribution? In 1874, the then Leader of the Conservative party opposed any increase in the number of representatives, which at that time was raised from 82 to 86.

In 1902, Dr. Jamieson, the Conservative member for South Grey, introduced a bill into the Legislature which the present Premier supported, and which may therefore be considered

the Conservative policy in Opposition. Its three distinct provisions were:

1. Sixty members for Ontario, not ninety-four as then.
2. Redistribution after every decennial census.
3. That the High Court Judges should select three of their number, and that they should do the redistributing, that is, should delimit or fix the boundaries of the constituencies after every decennial census.

It is clear, therefore, that not only did not Mr. Whitney follow British precedent but he in this, as in many other things, deliberately turned his back upon his own policy of 1902—nay more, in what he did he deliberately falsified every statement he made when introducing the measure.

The "Globe" of March 13th, 1908, gives a fair synopsis of the position he took when it says: "It was proposed that county boundaries should be followed as far as possible and the basis of any action would be the equalization as far as possible of the population of the different ridings." Therefore the Premier elaborated upon three things that his new bill would do: (1). It would observe as far as possible county boundary lines. (2). It would equalize the population in the constituencies as far as possible. (3). It would remove what he termed the monstrosities and iniquities of former redistributions.

LIBERAL PRECEDENT.

When the Liberals came into power at Ottawa in 1896, they did so in the face of a division of constituencies made absolutely for party purposes by the Conservatives.

When the Conservatives were in power at Ottawa from 1878 to 1896, the Province of Ontario was gerrymandered in a most outrageous manner but the iniquities perpetrated during this period were not dealt with by Sir Wilfrid Laurier until after the decennial census of 1900.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier dealt with the question of redistribution in a statesmanlike manner and at the proper time appealing to the country in 1900 without interfering with the Conservative gerrymander of previous years, Sir Wilfrid laid down certain principles which should govern the committee appointed to deal with this question, and the result of the findings of this committee was so fair that in the Dominion Campaign of 1904, the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was not attacked by the Conservative party on this point. Cor st

the way the Liberal party deals with representation with that of the Conservative party in Ontario under the leadership of Hon. J. P. Whitney. In the short period of three years, the Province of Ontario is humiliated by seeing the Hon. J. P. Whitney, who boasted that he was "bold enough to be honest and honest enough to be bold," violating every principle laid down, even by himself, when he introduced the bill dealing with redistribution. Instead of being bold enough to be honest and honest enough to be bold, Hon. J. P. Whitney has in the short period of three years, by his own acts, proven conclusively that he is simply a weak lath painted to look like steel, as he has yielded to the lowest and basest influences surrounding him in dealing with redistribution in place of taking a statesman-like position as did Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Ottawa.

COUNTY BOUNDARY LINES.

If the bill had observed everywhere county boundary lines, even if, while doing so, constituencies were not quite equal in population, no complaint could be made; but there is no excuse for not observing county boundary lines when this is favorable to the Conservative party in the constituency affected, and yet when gain can be made out of it, to insist upon the observance of county boundary lines when it is favorable to the Conservatives, even though it meant great inequality between the constituencies. To illustrate. The municipalities of Gloucester and Osgoode are left in the riding of Russell although for municipal purposes they belong to Carleton County. Why? Simply because it favors the Conservative candidates in that district to so arrange matters. Take the municipalities of Cardwell and Peel—it must be recollected that the Premier refused to take any other census than that of 1901, stating that the municipal census was not reliable, and therefore we are adopting in this argument the 1901 census. The riding of Cardwell had previous to the Gerrymander 17,473 of a population. Peel had a population of 18,032; that is, Peel was greater than Cardwell by 559; but on the pretext of following county boundary lines, the Township of Albion including Bolton Village, was taken out of Cardwell and put over in Peel, to which it belonged, for municipal purposes, thus leaving Cardwell with only 14,030 of a population, while Peel has 21,475, or Peel is greater than Cardwell by 7,445 or upwards of 50 per cent. This is deliberately done because Mr. John Smith, one of the Fathers of the House, has been able to carry Peel

for the Liberals by a very narrow majority, but by throwing Albion and Bolton on to him, the riding is made Conservative by at least 150.

When these facts were driven home to Mr. Whitney on the floor of the House by Mr. MacKay, in order to attempt to justify the bare-faced and contemptible gerrymander, he deliberately made the false statement that Albion in years gone by had been "ravished" from Peel by the Liberals, and he was but removing the iniquities they had perpetrated. Mr. Bowman, who followed in the debate, read from the British North America Act of 1867, to show that the Township of Albion, which includes Bolton, was placed in Cardwell by the Fathers of Confederation and had never been removed therefrom during any redistribution, thus giving the lie direct to the Premier's excuse for this bare-faced outrage.

A glance at the map will show that the ridings of Brockville, with a population of 18,322, and Leeds, with a population of 19,254, were more compact and better shaped ridings than they are under the gerrymander, and there was no excuse for interfering with them on the ground of population, as to equality of population. Having failed to be fair as to the principle of county boundaries, Mr. Whitney's statement as to any attempt to equalize the population of the constituencies is simply ludicrous in face of the facts. We have seen that he tinkered for party gain and upon no principle with the ridings of Cardwell and Peel, Brockville and Leeds, although the difference in population in each case was less than a thousand. If, as he stated, the main basis of his action in the redistribution bill would be equalization of population, why did he make changes between ridings when the difference in population was less than 1,000 and leave the following ridings with the following differences in population absolutely untouched:

West Lambton	34,808
East Lambton.....	22,470
Difference in population.....	12,338
West Kent.....	33,528
East Kent.....	23,232
Difference in population..	10,296
West Elgin.....	25,685
East Elgin.....	17,901
Difference in population.....	7,784

THE GERRYMANDER

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South Ontario	22,018
North Ontario.. ..	17,391
Difference in population	4,627
North Perth.....	29,255
South Perth	20,620
Difference in population.. ..	8,633

NORTH AND SOUTH ESSEX.

The population of North Essex was 30,360, that of South Essex 27,975, leaving a difference of population of 2,400. In an attempt to defeat John Auld, M. P. P., the Liberal member for South Essex, notwithstanding the fact that North Essex had a population of 2,400 more than South Essex, the Premier had the hardihood to take the Township of North Tilbury, with a population of 2,192, from the south, which is the lesser, and add it to the north, which is the greater, making the disparity in population, 4,592. The only reason for this is, that North Tilbury gave at the last election a Liberal majority of 140, and Mr. Auld's majority in the whole riding was but 139; therefore by this change his majority is swept away from him.

THE MIDDLESEXES.

Absolute lack of any principle whatever except a bare-faced plundering of the ridings for party gain is clearly shown in the case of the County of Middlesex. This county was divided into three constituencies by the Fathers of Confederation and not a single acre in the County of Middlesex has since at any time been transferred or changed by any redistribution bill. Therefore, there was not the pretext for the lame excuse sometimes made by Mr. Whitney for interfering with the ridings, namely, that the Liberals had made certain changes there since Confederation; nor does the question of county boundary lines arise, because these three ridings are all of course within one county. The only other pretended principle that could be evoked to justify an interference with the ridings is then that of equalizing the population. But how as to this? Always taking the 1901 census as the basis of the figures quoted, we find the population as follows:

East Middlesex	20,228
West Middlesex	18,079
North Middlesex.. ..	16,419

One would suppose, if there was any attempt made to equalize the population, that something would be taken from the greatest and if possible added to the least. But this would not suit Mr. Whitney's miserable party purposes. East Middlesex is considered a safe Conservative seat as it is; North Middlesex is now held by a Conservative, but his seat was not considered safe; therefore Strathroy and Metcalfe are taken from West Middlesex and put into North Middlesex, and the Township of Lobo, which is heavily Liberal, is put into West Middlesex, thus making West Middlesex a Liberal hive and making or attempting to make North Middlesex safe Conservative. Duncan Ross, the son of the late Premier, who lives in Strathroy, thus finds himself, not in West Middlesex but in North Middlesex, and Mr. Turnbull, the former Liberal candidate in North Middlesex, is carried over with the Township of Lobo into West Middlesex. The political affiliations and relations of 41 years are broken up; the ridings are made less compact; no one of the three principles mentioned were put into effect, and no sane truth-respecting man can say that the change was made for aught else than for party gain at the expense of every principle of which the Premier made such loud-mouthed professions when introducing the bill.

In every change that was made the Conservatives gained, and in not a single instance is there any advantage to the Liberals. The Independent and even some of the Conservative press frankly admitted that the arguments of the Liberal members were not at all met during the debate. "The World" which is strongly Conservative, on April 7th, 1908, stated emphatically that the arguments made by Messrs. MacKay and Bowman had not been at all met by Conservative speakers.

The Gerrymander Bill has had this effect: It has shown absolute cowardliness in the Premier, who is afraid to go to the country, although he has a majority of 44 at his back, without having recourse to this unfair Gerrymander Bill; and worse than this, it has shaken the confidence of thousands of people in his honesty, because he was so loud-mouthed in his profession that the bill would be a fair one. The debate showed conclusively, as the above facts show, that such a profession is the rankest hypocrisy, and that the present Gerrymander Bill is at once the most subtle and most unfair that was ever perpetrated in the Dominion of Canada.

TORONTO CONSTITUENCIES.

Lack of principle and cowardliness were never more exhibited than in the manner in which Toronto is to be represented. In the old Conservative City of Toronto Mr. Whitney decided to give Toronto eight representatives, but dare not make eight constituencies, fearing that the Liberals might capture several of them. In addition to this, the old narrow Family Compact principle displays itself, and the Legislative Club is wielded against any independence in the Conservative party and also against labor and other candidates. The Conservative newspapers at first announced that there would be two representatives for each of the present four ridings in Toronto, but on studying this out, Mr. Whitney evidently came to the conclusion that the independent Conservatives who have nominated candidates might succeed in electing some, also that the Liberal party, having placed one candidate in nomination in each of the four ridings, might probably elect their candidate; therefore to defeat all these and to defeat the Liberals, the bill provides that there shall be eight representatives, two members representing each riding, each voter shall have two votes and each riding shall have two representatives. In any riding, nominations may be made for Class A and Class B within that riding, but each candidate must say which class he is in. It may well happen therefore under this system that while in Class A two candidates might receive respectively 10,000 and 9,900 votes, in Class B the highest candidate might not have 8,000 votes and yet might be elected, so that you would have in the one constituency the highest and the third highest elected as members while the second highest would be declared not elected.

The Liberals protested against this iniquitous measure. The House was divided about a dozen times in all during the progress of the bill, but the Liberals were voted down by the overwhelming Conservative majority. One result is, that a farmer, merchant, mechanic or manufacturer voting in any town or township in the Province, or city other than Toronto, will have but one vote and will have but one representative in Parliament, whereas a voter in Toronto will have two votes and two representatives. The principle so long fought for of, "one man, one vote, one constituency, one representative," is thrown to the winds in order to keep the Tory City of Toronto safe for the Tories.

NORTH AND SOUTH LANARKS.

At the last moment the bill was amended so as to take Sherbrooke North from North Lanark and put it in South Lanark and to take Beckwith from South Lanark and put it in North Lanark. South Lanark is represented by Col. Mathieson, the Provincial Treasurer, who had a majority of nearly a thousand. North Lanark is represented by Dr. Preston, the Liberal whip, and is a fighting riding. The object of the change was to give an advantage to Mr. Preston of about 175 votes.

LIBERAL POSITION.

The Liberals contended

1. That, if possible, the number of members in the Province of Ontario should not be increased.
2. There was no justification for a redistribution until after the next decennial census except that New Ontario should have additional representation owing to its rapid growth.
3. That, as between the rural municipalities and the cities, a distinct basis of representation as to population should be observed, particularly so with reference to Toronto where the members of the Cabinet reside, where the Parliament Buildings are situated and where legislation is so easily influenced, directly, or indirectly, by the people of Toronto.
4. When the first amendment of the Liberals was voted down, namely, that there should be no present redistribution bill except that New Ontario should be given additional representation, the Liberals then moved against Toronto getting eight, offering to give Toronto six representatives, but insisting upon six separate constituencies and suggesting that the six wards which are now existing for municipal purposes whatever their political complexion, should be taken. This the Conservatives voted down. This, however, was eminently fair to Toronto under the 1901 census, as will be seen from the following figures. Under the 1901 census, Toronto had 208,000 of a population; with six representatives the unit would be about 34,000. London now has one member, the unit being 33,000. Ottawa has two members, the unit being 33,000, so that as between the cities this number would have been absolutely fair. Again, Montreal in the Local, with a population of 350,000, has but five members, that is one member to every 70,000, although the unit in the Province of Quebec of representatives is 22,000 as against 21,140 in Ontario.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

The great need for civil service reform advocated by the Liberal party is seen when attention is turned to the course pursued by the Whitney Government since coming into power in 1905. They summarily dismissed all the Justices of the Peace, License Inspectors, but three, and License Commissioners in the Province, and appointed their own friends, to the number of thousands, to fill those offices. It is true that a very few Grit Justices of the Peace were re-appointed but not in excess of 2 per cent. of the new appointments.

The Whitney Government came into power in February, 1905. A careful review of the "Official Gazette," commencing February 18th, 1905, to the end of that year shows that, in this period of ten and one-half months, there were 662 appointments to office by the Government, exclusive of Coroners, Justices of the Peace, Notaries Public, and Commissioners for taking affidavits. This notwithstanding that there were only thirty-five vacancies from death or other normal causes. There were 105 Boards of License Commissioners; 76 Division Court Clerks; 117 Division Court Bailiffs; 76 License Inspectors; 6 Provincial License Officers; 38 Police Magistrates; 6 Registrars of Deeds, etc. In fact, throughout that year, not one week passed without the removal from office of some official, to make place for friends of the Government. And further, it has been stated that, throughout that year, there was no meeting of the Executive Council at which some official was not decapitated.

The Government have been in power three years and two months and we find, in what is strictly the civil service, that there are now 113 more officials than there were on December 31st, 1904. There are now 817 civil servants of whom 324 are appointees of the present Government. One hundred and sixty-five of the total of 704 officials in office on December 31st, 1904, were dismissed, or resigned; if there is any distinction between these words under the present administration. (These figures are taken from Sessional Paper No. 73 of 1908.)

Whether or not these changes are in the public interest, or are made merely to provide offices for party friends may best be judged by reference to the case of Chief License Inspector Hastings, Toronto. Shortly after coming into office, the Government dismissed the old License Commissioners for Toronto and appointed three prominent citizens of the highest standing, J. W. Flavelle, Col. J. I. Davidson, and Col. J. P. Murray. The old License Inspectors were continued for nine months when they were dismissed under circumstances set

out in the following letter from the Commissioners to the Provincial Secretary.

"The Commissioners accepted office reluctantly as a public duty, on the personal assurance of the Premier and the written statement of the Provincial Secretary that the Government desired a fair, fearless and non-partisan administration of the Liquor License Act.

"During the period in which they have held office, they have sought to be sane, fairminded and just in the discharge of duties singularly unpleasant, and personally distasteful to all the members of the board.

"To insure this fairmindedness, from the first they decided as a policy of the board, for its own guidance, that they would seek only to take such action as carried their unanimous judgment. All decisions which have been reached were in accordance with this policy, and on no question has a decision been arrived at and acted upon except on the unanimous approval of the board.

"In the discharge of their duties they had the assistance of the Chief Inspector, Thomas Hastings. **They found him efficient, honest, fearless and non-partisan.** Neither by direct nor indirect means has he sought to influence the Commissioners in any matter under discussion. He has been painstaking and careful in collecting and furnishing the board with information called for by them, and has not intruded his opinion about license holders, nor upon matters dealt with by the board, but has acted entirely under their direction in carrying out the policy laid down for him by the unanimous decision of the board.

"It was known to the board that some party workers were engaged in intrigues against the Inspector and the Commissioners but they refused to notice the intrigues or intriguers, as they considered it unthinkable that the Government having committed to a body of men the enforcement of the law, would act upon the advice of such intriguers without consulting with the Commissioners, who were seeking to carry out the verbal instructions of the Premier and the written directions of the Provincial Secretary.

"The retaining of the Chief Inspector for nine months and then, without a word of consultation with the Commissioners, dismissing him at a time when his experience, fidelity and capacity were so much needed by the board in carrying out its policy gave such plain evidence of a deliberate purpose to render abortive the non-partisan policy of the Commissioners, and to interfere with the course of a body of independent men

who had no ends to serve but an impartial administration of the law, that no course was left to them but to resign and to place the responsibility for their action upon the Government.

"It is with no ordinary sense of regret they are compelled to say the whole episode is at complete variance with the spirit of the Premier's and the Provincial Secretary's statements, when as Commissioners they were asked to take office. The course followed seems to have been designed by men inflamed with passion for office or for dispensing patronage, who determined to get rid of Commissioners who refused to play the part of hired men subject to the dictation of party followers. The Government by their action have approved of this course, hence the usefulness of the present Commissioners is at an end. They accepted at full value the statements made by the Premier and his responsible Minister, the Provincial Secretary, that they desired an honest, non-partisan enforcement of the License Act, and as no other administration would be possible while the office was held by the present board, they step aside to permit the Government to secure a board in accordance with their present policy.

"(Signed) J. W. FLAVELLE.

"(Signed) JOHN I. DAVIDSON.

"(Signed) J. P. MURRAY."

The Commissioners appointed to succeed Messrs. Flavelle, Davidson and Murray were made the subject of efforts to influence the administration of the License Law for party purposes. So much was this the case, that an investigation was demanded and a special commission appointed. In the evidence before this Commission it was shown that the Hon. Dr. Pyne, the Minister of Education, had personally intervened in the endeavor to get the Board to grant a license to an applicant who had a record of fourteen Police Court convictions against him. The public can judge whether this is removing the administration of the liquor law from politics, and also whether, before proposing such a scheme, it was not necessary to get rid of Chief Inspector Hastings, whom the former board found to be "efficient, honest, fearless and non-partisan."

On March 1st, 1906, the "Toronto Evening News" commented as follows on this condition of affairs:

"The Government made a surrender to the baser element of the party, and, because of it, will certainly lose prestige among the fair-minded, careful thinkers of the Province. From a Premier, who has harped so much on British fair play, this pitiless and cynical rule of unfair discrimination comes with bad grace."

TRUST THE PEOPLE

VOTING SUPPLIES.

It is historically true that throughout the long Parliamentary fight for the extension of the franchise and for Government by the representatives of the people, the Liberal party has always brought about every step in advance. It has always been their policy to **TRUST THE PEOPLE**. It is quite true that the Conservative party to-day would readily accept many things which would not have been acceptable to even the Liberal party a century ago, but at the time each reform has been gained, it has been due to the efforts of the Liberal party. Throughout this long contest it has become established as a fundamental principal of popular Government, without which representative institutions cannot stand, that the representatives of the people in Parliament must control the expenditures of the public money through an annual vote. This has proved to be ever an effective check upon extravagance and waste. It has remained for **the Whitney Government** to step 100 years backwards and in autocratic fashion to take away from the representatives of the people the right of voting annual supplies. The particular instance is in connection with the University of Toronto which, by the Statute passed in 1907, is entitled, for all future time, to one-half of the annual receipts of the Province from Succession Duty, averaged over each preceding three years. This money, be the amount great or small, goes direct to the Governors of the University without being passed upon by the Legislature.

The present Leader of the Opposition protested very vigorously against this provision when the bill was going through the House, and the Conservatives have referred to this opposition as showing that the Hon. Mr. MacKay and the Liberals were unfriendly to the University. This is entirely untrue. The Liberal party believe that the University of Toronto should get the fullest support that it can reasonably require, but they do not believe that that support will be impaired by annually requiring that estimates shall be brought down and discussed. An opportunity would thus be given for every member, by inquiry from the Minister, to familiarize himself with the whole working of the University, to keep in touch with its aims and objects and to assist in making it grow stronger and more efficient. The money for every other institution is voted annually by the House and it is a peculiar anomaly that the retrogression in constitutional practice should

be in connection with the highest institution of learning in the Province. **The Whitney Government refuse to trust the people, or the people's representatives.** The Liberals, on the other hand, believe that the University itself will be stronger and more efficient if it depends for its financial support upon the good will of the people, rather than upon the activity of the death angel among the rich men of the Province.

The system of giving half the money which chances to come in from Succession Duties is illogical. The University can never know what it will receive and cannot shape its policy definitely. Undoubtedly, the University is worthy of every support and the Legislature ought to take the responsibility of voting a specific sum sufficient for its needs every year.

SCHOOL TEACHERS' SALARIES.

Another instance in which the Whitney Government has refused to trust the people is in connection with Public School Teachers' salaries in the rural sections. Under the School Act of 1906, which subject is more fully dealt with under the heading of "Education", that Act imposes upon school trustees a minimum salary based upon the assessment of the School Sections, which provision takes from the trustees their freedom of action and indicates that the Minister would not trust the trustees to manage their school affairs efficiently. The basis is also illogical; there can be no relation between the assessed value of the school section and the qualifications and efficiency of the teacher. The clause as it was finally passed was modified from that originally introduced, as a result of the vigorous opposition from the Liberal party.

The present Leader of the Opposition suggested that the Provincial School Grant should be so distributed as to be greater to those sections which employ experienced and senior teachers. Thus the Minister would be co-operating with the trustees but not depriving them of their freedom of action. It is simply another instance in which **THE WHITNEY GOVERNMENT REFUSE TO TRUST THE PEOPLE.**

THREE-FIFTHS CLAUSE.

Another instance of this same thing may be found in connection with the question of Local Option. The British principle, which occurs to every reasonable and fair-minded man as being equitable and just, is that the majority rules. But yet we find the amendment to the Liquor License Act, introduced by the Hon. Mr. Hanna, requiring three-fifths of the total vote

cast, to be in favor of Local Option before that measure can come into force. When the bill was being passed through the House in 1906, the Hon. Mr. Ross, then Leader of the Opposition, moved in amendment that a simple majority should be sufficient to bring Local Option into force. This was voted down on a straight party vote, save that Mr. Gallagher (Conservative) voted with the Opposition. In the following year, 1907, the Hon. Mr. Graham introduced a bill to provide for a simple majority on the Local Option vote. In 1908, Mr. Hanna having introduced further amendments to the Liquor License Act, it was moved by Mr. Preston (Brant) and seconded by Mr. MacKay on a motion for the third reading, that the bill be referred back to a Committee of the Whole House, with instructions to so amend the Liquor License Act as to provide that a simple majority should be sufficient to introduce Local Option. The Liberal party have, therefore, clearly put themselves on record on this important phase of the Temperance question and have thereby also affirmed their belief that every Government ought to TRUST THE PEOPLE.

POWER QUESTION.

Another instance where the Whitney Government refuse to trust the people is in connection with the much discussed Power Question, the full details of which are given under another heading. It may here be noted that the Power Commission absolutely failed to give the people the information required by the Legislation introduced by their own Government; and procured the endorsement of the by-laws in 1907 under conditions which made them all illegal and necessitated the passing of a Government bill in the session of 1908 to validate them. **Undoubtedly these by-laws were presented under circumstances which amounted to misrepresentation and concealment of fact.** Were the Whitney Government afraid, that upon a full, fair presentation of the facts, the people would not endorse their Power policy? At any rate they did not make a fair presentation and once again refused to TRUST THE PEOPLE.

AUTOMOBILE LEGISLATION.

From the number of petitions and bills which were presented to the House, it is apparent that very few questions are of greater interest to the residents of the rural constituencies than that of the control of automobiles. In the session of 1908, six bills were introduced, having for their object the further

regulation and restriction of automobiles on the public highway. Mr. Whitney did not permit the bill introduced by Mr. Ross (West Middlesex) to receive its second reading. The other five, on the motion of Mr. Whitney, were first referred to a Select Committee of the House and Mr. Bowman was asked to select four of the Opposition members for the Committee. Messrs. Ross, Clarke, Hyslop and Kohler were named by him. For some reason, the motion was rescinded and on motion of Mr. Whitney and Mr. Hanna, these bills were referred to the Municipal Committee. The Municipal Committee further referred them to a sub-committee composed of the following: Honourable Mr. Monteith, Minister of Agriculture, who acted as Chairman; Messrs. McNaught, Pattison, McDermid, McKeown, Sutherland, Preston (Brant), McDougall, and Bowman. **Practically nothing was accepted by the majority of this sub-committee which was not agreeable to the motor interests represented before the sub-committee at its meetings.** The report of the Committee was embodied in a bill presented to the House as No. 199. In Committee of the Whole House and upon the third reading of this bill, amendments were proposed providing more stringent restrictions upon the use of automobiles. Mr. Sutherland proposed an amendment which Mr. Whitney insisted upon his withdrawing. Mr. Sutherland although elected as a professed Independent was as subservient as any other Conservative member and withdrew his amendment with bad grace. Mr. Clarke (West Northumberland) moved, seconded by Mr. Bowman, that the bill be amended so as to provide that automobiles should not run on the highways outside of cities and towns on any Saturday between 7 a. m. and 9 p. m. or on Sunday between 7 a.m. and 3 p. m. The object was to make it perfectly safe for farmers' wives and daughters to drive to town to market on Saturday, and attend public worship on Sunday without danger from the automobile. The Hon. Mr. Whitney earnestly requested all his followers to vote against this measure and refused to allow a vote of the members to be taken on the amendment.

Under the rules of the House a vote must be taken when five members stand up to demand it. Mr. Clarke called for five members to stand up and they stood up, as follows: Mr. Clarke, Mr. Bowman, Mr. Smith (Sault Ste. Marie), Mr. Kohler, and Mr. Smith (Peel). The Speaker, at a nod from the Premier, declared that only four members stood up and refused to take the vote. Once again **THE GOVERNMENT** would not allow the people's representatives to express their views and **REFUSED TO TRUST THE PEOPLE.**

ABSURDITIES OF CONSERVATIVE RECORD

It is interesting to note the position taken by the Conservative party while in opposition and to compare the same with their present record. The following points may be noted:—

1. Minister of Agriculture.—In 1888, on the third reading of the bill to create a separate Department of Agriculture under a responsible Minister, it was moved in amendment by the then Conservative Leader to the effect that the expenses of a new Member of the Executive Council and of the Department were unnecessary and that these sections of the Bill should be struck out (see Journals of the House, 1888, p. 136).
2. 1891—Drainage Referee.—The Conservatives opposed the appointment of a Drainage Referee (see Journals of the House, p. 173). And in the same year voted to strike out \$3,500 appropriated to cover the cost under the Drainage Trials Act (see Journals of the House, p. 254). The present Government when it came into power not only continued the system but appointed a second Drainage Referee.
3. 1893—Surveying and Exploring.—The Policy of doing surveying and exploratory work in New Ontario in order to ascertain the resources of this great north land was opposed in 1893 by the Conservatives, and a motion was made to strike out the appropriation of \$35,000 for this purpose (see Journals of the House, 1893, p. 197).
4. 1893—Superintendent of Neglected Children.—The then Conservative leader opposed the appointment of that very important and useful officer, the Superintendent of Neglected Children, who with those associated with him all over the Province have done such excellent humane work. The House was divided upon this question, the present Premier voting against the appropriation and the appointment (see Journals of the House, 1893, p. 150).
5. 1894—Minister of Education.—The present Premier moved a resolution having for its object the abolition of the office of Minister of Education (see Journals of the House, p. 148). When he came into power he continued the position of Minister of Education and appointed a Superintendent of Education, who is not a member of the House but who is really directing all educational changes, with the result, for example, that in October,

1907, the Minister of Education issued a regulation dealing with educational changes, stating emphatically that but a few Model Schools would be hereafter retained for the poorer counties and districts. This regulation had not been repealed, and yet Conservative members in their constituencies and the Premier on the floor of the House in effect contradict the regulation. The Superintendent evidently intended to wipe out the Model Schools except in the districts of New Ontario, while the Conservative politician is busy telling the people that this will not be done for some long time.

6. 1894—Superintendent of Forestry.—The present Premier supported a motion to strike out the appropriation for this important position and to abolish the office (see Journals of the House, 1894, p. 181).

7. 1896—Succession Duties Act.—A qualified opposition was given to the passing of this important revenue bill. Had the amendment moved by the Conservatives been successful, it would have reduced the receipts by probably one-third or one-half. Under this Act last year the revenue to the Province was \$821,692.99. This is a tax imposed upon the estates of wealthy men after their decease (see Journals of the House, 1896, p. 161).

8. 1899—Supplementary Revenue Bill.—The Conservatives vigorously opposed the passing of the Supplementary Revenue Bill, which taxes large corporations, such as telegraph companies, telephone companies, street railway companies, etc. During the progress of the bill they moved three times to defeat the bill. Under this act the revenue to the Province last year was \$672,241.76.

9. 1899—Tax on Brewers and Distillers.—The Conservatives also moved three times during the progress of this bill to defeat it. Under it a substantial revenue is derived to the Province from the taxation of brewers and distillers, the annual receipts now approaching \$75,000.

Under these three Acts alone, namely, The Succession Duties Act, the Supplementary Revenue Act and the Special Tax on Brewers and Distillers during the few years they have been in operation, the total revenue to the Province has been \$9,163,304.

10. 1899—Abolition of Public Works Department.—On the 29th of March, 1899, in Committee of Supply, the present Premier supported an Opposition Amendment to strike out \$18,750.00, being the salaries and expenses of the Public Works Department, thus apparently endeavoring to do away with this important Department (see Journals of the House, 1899, p. 249).

11. 1900—Immigration.—On the 24th of April, 1900, the present Premier moved to strike out of the Estimates the sum of \$4,825 for the maintenance of an Immigration Officer at Liverpool (see Journals of the House, 1900, p. 204). But in 1907, the Conservatives spent \$35,744.00 on immigration and colonization (see Public Accounts, 1907, p. 244).

12. Liquor License Administration.—In 1883, 1889, 1890 and 1896 the Conservatives moved resolutions affirming that their policy was that the administration of the liquor license system should be taken entirely out of party politics and party control, and in the latter year affirmed the principle that the License Commissioners should consist of the County Judge, the County Warden and a third to be appointed by the Government, and that these Commissioners should appoint the License Inspector. At the Conservative conference, held on the 25th of Nov., 1904, just two months before the Election, the present Premier spoke strongly in favor of removing the Liquor License Administration, Commissioners and Inspectors from public control; yet when they attained power, they did not seek to put into effect their announced policy but removed the Liberal Commissioners and Liberal License Inspectors, save three, and appointed active Conservative partisans in their stead, many of whom are the most active party workers at conventions and elsewhere to be found in the Province.

13. Redistribution of Constituencies.—In 1902 the Conservatives supported a bill affirming three principles:

1. Reduction of the number of members in the Province.
2. Redistribution measures to be passed only after a decennial census.
3. The boundaries of the constituencies to be fixed by a Committee of Judges.

In 1908 they passed a Gerrymander Act which gave the lie direct to every one of the above positions taken in 1907.

14. In Opposition the Conservatives advocated economy and condemned the then expenditure. In three years, however, they have increased the expenditure about 50 per cent., the per capita increase from 1872 to 1905 being \$1.00, and the per capita increase in the next three years being also \$1.00—that is, the same in three years of Conservative Rule as in 33 years of Reform Rule.

SOME THINGS THE LIBERAL PARTY STAND FOR

EDUCATION.

The Liberal party believe that generous aid should be given to assist both primary and secondary education, and regret that changes in our educational system are gradually being made the football of politicians by the Whitney Government. For instance in the official regulation of October last, it is stated, with the exception of a few, Model Schools of the Province are to be abolished. Since that time every Conservative candidate, aided by the Premier's statement, promises that the Model School in his particular riding will be retained. If the October regulation is to be varied in any respect, the Minister of Education should announce the change in an official circular, and thereby give the whole profession and intending teachers definite information as to the policy of the Government—if it has a policy—on this question.

Technical education ought also to receive the earnest consideration and support of the Provincial Government.

AGRICULTURE.

The policy with respect to the great industry of agriculture as organized and worked out by the Hon. John Dryden, should be continued with ample support to the Ontario Agriculture College, Dairy Schools, Farmers' Institutions, Fruit Growers' Associations, Stock Breeders' Associations, etc.

Serious efforts should be made by a proper inquiry and financial aid, if necessary, to suppress such serious menaces as the San Jose scale.

COLONIZATION.

That in the development of New Ontario it is of primary importance that active measures should be adopted for the settlement of its agricultural lands by a judicious selection of the best class of immigrants from the old world, and by directing from the older counties of the Province those who might otherwise settle in other provinces or in the United States and as all movements of population either within the Province or from abroad to the Province, unless carefully controlled, may injuriously effect the laboring classes and disturb the balance between the supply and demand for labor, skilled or unskilled, it is desirable

to appoint a Minister to be known as "Minister of Colonization and Labor," to whose Department should be attached the immigration and colonization branches of the Government and also the Bureau of Labor, Factory Inspection and any other branches of a kindred character that may hereafter be established.

RAILWAY AID.

No further aid should be given to any railway in the older parts of the Province, nor to *any* railway until it has been clearly demonstrated that it will open up an entirely new portion of the Province and be of commensurate public advantage in inducing settlement and making accessible the natural resources of the Province. When it is demonstrated that a railroad will serve such purpose, the Province ought to take such steps as will bring about a speedy construction of such road.

TIMBER AND MINERALS FOR THE SETTLERS.

All lands suitable for agriculture in the unorganized districts should be thrown open for settlement as soon as possible and every bona fide purchaser or locatee of such lands should on taking possession thereof, have the right to cut for his own use or for sale, every description of timber thereon (pine only excepted). Pending the issue of his patent the settler should have the right to cut and take free of charge so much of the pine as he may require for building, fencing or other use, and on completion of his settlement duties the purchaser or locatee should receive a patent from the Crown, without reservation, of mine, minerals, or pine.

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

The Liberal party are true to their historic stand with regard to Provincial rights and believe that every effort should be made to prevent the rights of the Province being encroached upon from any source.

FORESTRY.

The policy of setting aside sections of the country suitable for Forest Reserves should be continued and upon a report of the best possible available experts, a proper plan should be devised for the preservation and annual cropping of such forest reserves, so as to obtain in perpetuity an annual income therefrom. Under similar advice a plan should be devised and at once put in hand for the reforestation of those portions of the Province which have been already lumbered over.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS CAPITAL.

The Liberal party do not believe in the unwarranted attacks upon capital and vested interests which have marked the Whitney Government. Recognizing that the wonderful natural resources of this Province can only be properly made available by the application to them of large amounts of capital, the Liberal party believe in giving every reasonable security to capital, at the same time enforcing reasonable regulation where capital is invested in public utilities.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Spoils system, in the introduction of which the Whitney Government are following closely the principles in force south of the line, should be done away with. All appointments to, and promotions in, the Civil Service should depend upon fitness and ability without regard to party service, and such appointments and promotions should be placed under the control of an independent commission.

ECONOMY.

The strictest regard to economy should be observed in all departments of the public service. It should not be used as a means of satisfying claims for party services.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Firm adherence to the principles of responsible Government is one of the main planks of the Liberal platform. This requires the placing of the fullest trust in the people's representatives, and also that the Legislature shall annually and in advance pass upon and control the expenditure of all public monies. This principle should apply as well to Toronto University as to all other public institutions.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The Ministers should assume the responsibilities of their office and not endeavor to shirk the performance of their duties and the responsibilities incident thereto, by turning over Departmental work to independent commissions.

PULPWOOD LANDS.

All future concession of pulpwood, where a water power and pulp territory are both in the Crown and tributary one to the other should be sold by public auction jointly. The conditions of the sale being that the purchaser pay a bonus for the right of occupation and an annual rental for the water power, as well as reasonable dues for the pulpwood required for the industry. Another condition should be that the pulp timber be manufactured not only into pulp but into paper, within the area of the pulp concession itself, in order that these concessions may have a colonizing effect, the settler may have a market for his wood and by the manufacture of paper the Province may get the whole value of this natural asset.

POWER.

The Liberal party recognize that the electric zones are limited as to area and therefore only a very small portion of the Province at the best can obtain any advantage from electrical development as now proposed. Therefore they believe that while every facility and encouragement should be given to municipalities to obtain cheap power, the Province as a whole, should not undertake any ultimate financial liability in connection therewith.

LAW REFORM.

The position of the Liberal party with regard to Law Reform is indicated by the amendment proposed in the House on the 11th of April, 1908. This amendment was moved by Mr. MacKay and seconded by Mr. McDougall, and called for a measure of Law Reform, having for its object:

- "1. Curtailing the number of appeals.
- "2. Increasing the jurisdiction of the County and District Courts.
- "3. Paying all Court Officers, so far as is practicable and reasonable, salaries instead of fees.
- "4. Rendering it legal and optional for both client and solicitor to make a definite bargain, binding both, whereby a solicitor should be paid a definite and fixed sum for the conduct of litigation, instead of the present uncertain, indefinite and unsatisfactory method which tends to greatly increase the cost of litigation.

"5. Abolishing the fees of Local Masters and assigning to County and District Judges the work heretofore assigned to the Local Masters and by simplifying the procedure in every way reasonable and practicable, so that all matters of litigation may be more quickly and at less cost disposed of by the Courts."

WHAT THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT DID FOR LABOR IN ONTARIO

LAWS PASSED BY FORMER LIBERAL GOVERNMENTS.

- Mechanics' and Wage Earners' Liens. Passed 1873.
 Master and Servant Act. Passed 1873.
 Act to facilitate the Adjustment of Disputes between Masters and Workmen. Passed 1873.
 Act respecting Threshing Machines. Passed 1874.
 Act respecting Co-Operative Associations. Passed 1880.
 Act respecting Accidents to Employees on Railways. Passed 1881.
 Factories Act. Passed 1884.
 Workmen's Compensation for Injuries Act. Passed 1886.
 Act respecting Wages. Passed 1888.
 Shops Regulation Act. Passed 1888.
 Trades Dispute Act. Passed 1890.
 Woodman's Lien Act. Passed 1891.
 Miners' Act. Passed 1892.
 Insurance by Trade Unions. Passed 1892.
 Act respecting School for Artisans. Passed 1892.
 Act respecting Lien for Wages on Street Railways. Passed 1896.
 Act respecting Liability of Mining Companies for Wages. Passed 1896.
 Act respecting Technical Schools. Passed 1897.
 Act creating Bureau of Labor. Passed 1900.
- The above list of Acts passed by the Local Legislature under former Liberal Governments show that from time to time the Liberal party advanced and improved legislation as circumstances and conditions warranted.

Some years ago Mr. A. W. Wright, a well-known Conservative, who is at present a Conservative candidate in West Toronto for the Local Legislature, and who in 1895 was appointed by the Conservative Government of Canada as a Commissioner to enquire into the existence, or otherwise, of the "sweating" system in the Dominion, and who for many years has been an organizer of the Conservative party, while occupying a position on the Executive Board of Knights of Labor of America, evidently took pride in referring to the Ontario labor laws in the following words:

"While there is still a good deal of legislation which we labor cranks think should be enacted, I am free to say that Ontario has not much to learn from any State in the Union in this respect, and is immeasurably in advance of most of them."

The Shops Regulation Act provided that no person under ten years of age should be employed in any shop, and that no child, young girl or woman should be employed in or about a shop on any day of the week excepting Saturday, or the day next before a statutory holiday, before seven in the morning or after six in the evening; nor shall they be employed in a shop on Saturday or the day next before a statutory holiday before seven in the morning or after ten in the evening—provided that such person may be employed on one day per week other than Saturday, or the day before a statutory holiday until ten o'clock in the evening, but shall not in such case be so employed on Saturday evening later than six o'clock. Every such person shall be allowed not less than one hour for a noon meal each day; and when employed after six o'clock in the evening, not less than forty-five minutes for evening meal.

During the last session of the Legislature, as a direct result of the persistent advocacy of Mr. T. H. Preston, M.P.P., Liberal representative for South Brant, who has always taken a great interest in this question, the age limit was raised from ten to twelve.

CONVICT LABOR.

In 1889 the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat made an agreement with The Brandon Manufacturing Company, Toronto, for the manufacture of a large quantity of wooden goods in the Central Prison, on what is known as the Contract System basis. The prisoners in the Central Prison were hired out to The Brandon Manufacturing Company, and piecework prices

at that time were based on Prison labor at 50 cents per day. In addition to this, The Brandon Manufacturing Company agreed to pay the Government the sum of \$6,500 per year to cover the salaries of the Government employees engaged upon the industries. When this contract came before the Legislature for ratification in March, 1890, it was strongly opposed as being unfair and unjust to both manufacturers and labor. Owing to the opposition offered, Sir Oliver Mowat decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the whole system of the management of Prison labor. This Commission was appointed and reported at a later date, and as a result of such report, the **Contract System** was abolished, and a different system was adopted.

TURNING THE HANDS BACK.

The present Government, however, on the 20th day of July, 1905, without advertising and without notice to the public, secretly entered into a contract with Ellen Charlotte Taylor, of the City of Toronto, trading under the firm name of Taylor, Scott & Company, for the manufacture of woodenware at the Central Prison. A deputation representing manufacturers and labor unions waited upon the Government, placed their position in writing in a document addressed to the Honorable Provincial Secretary, and dated May 25th, 1906.

After recalling the steps taken to abolish the Contract System under the Mowat Government, the document contained the following:

"Now, after this long lapse of time, although the cost of living has greatly increased and the wages of all classes of mechanics have materially advanced—in most cases from 50 to 75 per cent.—and the cost of the manufacturer for paid labor has in consequence greatly increased, yet prison labor is now hired out under the present agreement at a very much lower rate than it was fifteen years ago, it now being based on only **30 cents per day instead of 50 cents, as formerly.** Surely prison labor, if it is to compete with paid labor, ought to bring the same proportionate increase in value.

"We are very strongly of the opinion that the present system of equipping the prison industries with the latest improved machinery and hiring out prison labor at such ridiculously low rates is wrong in principle, and should be stopped. If the object sought to be obtained by such a system is to give employ-

ment to prison labor, then why not use machinery that would require more hand labor, and thereby give more employment to the prisoners. In this way the prison labor could be used, without coming into such strong competition with free labor. The present system of equipping the prison industries with improved machinery and hiring out prison labor is inconsistent with the policy of excluding prison manufactured goods from this country.

"In looking over the prices of piecework on the various goods mentioned in the present agreement, we notice that they range from one-fifth to one-third of the cost at which these same goods can be manufactured by paid labor, and that the basis on which these piecework prices are made is prison labor at 3 cents per hour, which is less than one-fifth of the price at which unskilled labor can be had in the market. We also notice that the Central Prison prices include, not only labor, but all general expenses, and the only item entering into the cost of production, which Taylor, Scott & Company have to supply, is their raw materials. All this gives them a great advantage in the sale of their goods, for they can place, and are placing these goods on the market at a very much lower price than any other manufacturer. In addition to the piecework prices arranged by present agreement, Clause 3 therein gives the firm of Taylor, Scott & Company the right to manufacture 'other products in the manufacture of which the use of machinery or tools of an unduly hazardous character is not required.' Under this clause, the company can manufacture almost any line of wooden goods, and in this way would compete with almost every factory manufacturing wooden goods in the Province of Ontario."

The Government thus furnished to Taylor, Scott & Company 100 men who worked for 3 cents per hour, or 30 cents per day of ten hours. If unskilled and semi-skilled labor was worth from \$1.50 to \$3 per day during this period, surely convict labor ought to be worth at least \$1 per day. If so, the Government made a present to Taylor, Scott & Company of 70 cents per day on each of 100 men, and this, for 300 days, would mean a gift annually of \$21,000, to say nothing of the fact that the company paid nothing for the use of buildings, workshops, machinery, railway yards, etc. The present Government, in addition to unfairly bringing prison labor into competition with free labor in the manufacture of extensive lines of woodenware, practically made a favored firm the present of at least \$27,500 per year. Why did they do this?

ANNUAL LOSS.

That there was an annual loss of the above amount is clearly shown by the Inspector's reports as to Central Prison industries, which show that for the years ending 30th September, 1902, 1903 and 1904, the Province gained from these industries respectively: \$16,727.14, \$22,697.54, \$23,243.67. While in the following year there was a loss to the Province of \$4,073.40.

During the session of 1907, T. H. Preston, M.P.P., and other Liberal members, discussed the question and opposed the Contract System, moving a Resolution against continuing the same. As a result, the Government appointed a committee to enquire into the whole question, and, during the recent session, the report of the said committee was brought down, recommending the sale of the Central Prison property and the purchase of four or five hundred acres within reasonable distance of the City of Toronto, on which to erect a new prison, which is to be conducted upon more humane and up-to-date methods.

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS.

During the later years of Liberal rule some progress was made in the establishment of Technical Schools. The present Liberal Leader and other Liberal members during the recent session pronounced themselves strongly in favor of a decided advance being immediately made on the question of Technical Education, in order that our skilled and semi-skilled mechanics in all the centres in the Province may obtain an intelligent understanding of the general principles that underlie their life's work. It is in the best interest, not only of manufacturers and labor, but of the Province as a whole, that advanced strides should at once be made in furthering the great and important question of Technical Education.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS

In the "Toronto World" of April 13th, 1908, appears the following:

"An American Rhodes scholar is reported to have declared that what astonished him most at Oxford was to find some thousands of young men, every one of whom would rather lose a game than win it by unfair means. It is this loyalty to the rules of the game, whether in sport, or business or politics, that makes a great nation, and the quality is rarer on the American continent than it ought to be.' In the long run, it gains the respect and confidence of the public. The jockey, that does not ride straight, the athlete, who fails to do his best always, the politician, who trusts to manoeuvres instead of principles, cannot expect a sustained career.

"Premier Whitney started in 1905 with as strong a following as any leader could desire. It was the opinion of many that its overwhelming strength was a weakness. At all events, its strength was such as to eliminate any temptation to do those things, which had wrecked the preceding Government, or in any way to fall away from the ideal of 'playing the game.'

"Yet Premier Whitney, whether from confident integrity, or force of circumstance, or submission to influence, did some things in this last week or two, and one or two things in the last days of the session that are not according to the rules of the game as he interpreted them, or as he would interpret them if he was umpiring his opponent's play.

"If a Liberal Government had done things parallel to the 'readjustment' of some of the changes adopted in the redistribution measure, Hon. Mr. Whitney, as Opposition leader, would have stormed the skies in protest. Take a last instance: If any Liberal had lifted a township out of one riding into another, as has been done in the Lanarks, what would Premier Whitney have said?

"The change in South Lanark is effected by placing Beckwith in North Lanark and North Sherbrooke in South Lanark.

In Beckwith, the Grit candidate had twenty-eight votes and Col. Matheson ninety-seven. In North Sherbrooke, the Grit candidate had 138 votes and Dr. Preston thirty-two. The transfer thus adds 175 Conservative votes to Dr. Preston's somewhat close constituency.

"It is things like these that give a Government a bad reputation, and, persisted in, eventually wreck it. Had there been any necessity for it, and it is not a solitary instance in redistribution measure by any means, one could pardon the yielding to circumstances. With a majority of 45, had Premier Whitney any fears of an adverse verdict from the people? With the hitherto excellent record of the party did he fear the defeat of his admirable and highly respected whip? Should that contingency have occurred the rules of the game are to provide the defeated but important and necessary official with a safe seat elsewhere.

"No one can suppose for a moment that such a thing as this can really help the party. If Premier Whitney had done nothing else, this is enough to convince a wavering Grit that after all Whitney is no better than his predecessors. And, if Mr. Whitney attempts to justify the action he can only have the sad reflection that his effort must tend to demoralize his party by lowering their ideals and their sense of righteousness.

"Caesar's wife must be above suspicion. It is not enough to be able to explain compromising appearances. These are not the reflections that will occur to ward heelers and feeders at the trough, but it is the first thought of all who sought in Premier Whitney a strong, clear-sighted leader, honest as the day, and supreme above tricks and dodges that the Government has erred most humanly and in opposition to the plainest dictates of common sense and even it is reported in the face of advice. When the La Rose payment of \$130,000 is considered it will be seen that it is a matter that must have been under consideration for some time. Why the Government should have appeared to desire to conceal it until the last hours of the session only the lunar deities can explain. And as much may be said of the Canadian Northern Railway guarantee. If Premier Whitney has no one around him to advise the wisdom of early publicity in matters that counter his most emphatically enunciated principles, he should choose others. If he has been advised and has not been wise enough to hearken, the public will inevitably judge with judgment. Hidebound partisans

think it is treason to think such thoughts and rebellion to utter them. The contrary is the case. The sanity and stability and security of the party depend upon the diagnosis of its diseases."

From the "Toronto World" of April 7th, 1908:

MacKay Talks of Thimble-Rigging and Analyzes Figures to Show That Divisions Aren't at all Fair.

"Practically all day was given to the redistribution debate in the Legislature yesterday, and it must be admitted by the impartial auditor that the speeches of Hon. A. G. MacKay and C. M. Bowman were not met in any direct manner.

* * *

"C. M. Bowman, North Bruce, spoke for the first time this session, and his address was not excelled for weight and impressive argument by any in the debate. He was committed to three principles in redistribution, adherence to county boundaries, equalization of population and dependence on the census. Not one single principle had been enunciated for the guidance of the committee on redistribution.

* * *

A Power in the Province.

From the Toronto "Globe" of March 27th, 1908:

"The address of Hon. A. G. MacKay in concluding the budget debate stands out as a masterly and statesmanlike presentation of Ontario's standing in the general progress of the age, and a concise and comprehensive declaration of the part played and to be played by Governmental activity in guiding and furthering that progress. While the Government's many failures and broken pledges gave abundant scope for destructive criticism, the Opposition Leader's attitude was essentially constructive throughout. He did not essay the easy task of showing the failures of the Government, but outlined with statesmanlike grasp and insight the course of public administration essential to the fullest and most perfect growth of the Province in every department of useful activity. In the highest Liberal conception government is not an object in itself, but a means to an end. It must always be judged, not by its fulfillment of petty details and its meeting of the needs created by

itself, important as these things may be, but, in the larger view, by its fulfillment of the people's needs in the expansion of industrial, commercial, and intellectual life. This broader conception of the functions of government marked every line of criticism by the Opposition Leader, and also afforded a solid foundation for the constructive statesmanship outlined in suggested political development.

"In dealing with the power policy of the Government and the possibilities a successful scheme would afford for industrial pre-eminence, Hon. Mr. MacKay showed in a marked degree the mastery of practical details and clear conception of relationships and principles, which have already won professional distinction and will in future assure capacity for wider public service and usefulness. The Liberal principle of supervision of expenditure was strongly set forth, not so much as a means of checking extravagance and preventing various forms of questionable diverting, but as a means of keeping the members of the House, and through them the people in every constituency, in close touch and close sympathy with all the institutions on which the money of the Province is expended. There is strength in the view that the Legislature had stultified itself by virtually declaring it could not trust itself to act fairly toward such a great Provincial institution as the University of Toronto, and must graze the money by an underground course. If a Minister of Education were prepared year by year to explain what every department was doing and what use was being made of the people's money, that information would come out to every constituency, and the closer touch would make the University as popular with the people as is the old red schoolhouse. The unifying influence exerted by that application of Liberal principles would help to avert the present unfortunate severance and feeling of alienation between the University and the people.

"The Opposition Leader proved himself a master in discussing every field of practical administration and political principles. In force, cogency, grasp, insight, and breadth of view he clearly stood high above the best debating strength on the Government side. This was the most obvious truth revealed by the budget debate, and it was patent alike to both Liberals and Conservatives. Although the debate, so far as the Legislature is concerned, may be a formality, and cannot change or affect a single vote among the members, it has served a valuable purpose in revealing to the people of On-

tario the political strength, statesmanship, and fixed honesty of purpose that are at their service when the Province improves its political opportunity."

A Second Epistle from Rev. D. C. Hossack.

"The Rev. D. C. Hossack, as an Independent in politics, wrote a letter during the campaign of 1905 that was used to great advantage by the Whitney campaigners. Mr. Hossack, like thousands of other Independents and Liberals who favored a change of Government in 1905, has since learned that the Hon. James Pliny Whitney is a politician and not a statesman. Mr. Hossack has written another letter, which is published in this issue. It is well worth reading. Some of the points Mr. Hossack makes are as follows:

"On January 24, 1905, Mr. Whitney made a public appeal for aid, and declared that should his future conduct not be approved, the people might withdraw their confidence. Does Mr. Whitney feel that he has lost public confidence? He has so arranged many constituencies by hiving Liberals that the withdrawal of Liberal confidence will not affect the standing of the parties in the Legislature. On January 26, 1905, Mr. Whitney published his "glad appreciation" of the fact that "Liberals in large numbers" supported him. In 1908, apparently with the expectation of losing Liberal support, Mr. Whitney's appreciation is expressed by hiving the Liberals. There were a grim humor in the situation did it not savor so strongly of the very ordinary, commonplace and tricky politician."

"When the Government passed the three-fifths clause of the local option act they were guilty of reactionary legislation. Ever since Ontario became a Province the majority in a municipality has had the right to decide upon the granting of licenses. These rights were firmly established and founded upon a sense of British justice and equality. Why have the Government tampered with them?"

"A Judge only a few days ago declined to hear a case in which his son-in-law was a witness. In the La Rose case the brother-in-law of one of the Ministers was a claimant, and \$130,000 was given to him and his associates. The explanation is that the recipients of this large sum furnished valuable information to the Government. What was the information? The people paid for it and should know what it is."

“The close of the session witnessed a rapid degeneration in the Government. Their acts have been suspicious, and the Province should be on the watch.”

“Every Liberal—and there are many—who from a sense of duty supported in the last campaign the party now in power, when he considers the present situation will perceive that the same sense of duty will compel him to labor for a strong and able Opposition.”

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