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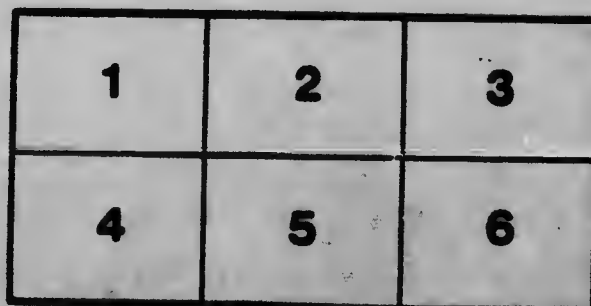
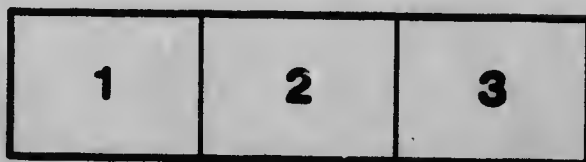
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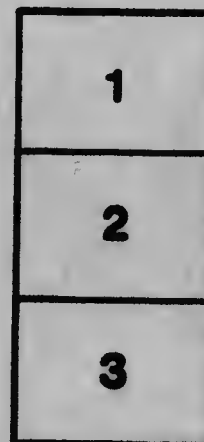
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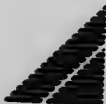
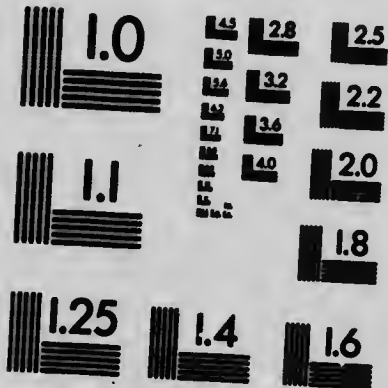
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The Farmers' Association.



Grounds on Which It
Seeks the Co-operation
Of All Farmers X X

1903

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THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION

Grounds on Which It Seeks the Co-operation of All Farmers.

Its Purpose is to Secure United Effort With a View of Shaping Legislation More in the Interests of the Farm Than Has Been the Case in the Past.

The necessity of some sort of organization as a means of enabling farmers to bring their united influence to bear in support of their common interests is apparent.

The financial, commercial, legal, medical, carrying, and all other interests have their organizations. Every class is organized with the exception of that connected with agriculture.

What is the result of all this? As W. L. Gordon, a Pilkington Township farmer, said at Fergus, 25 or 30 men, members of the Board of Trade of the city of Toronto, can exercise more influence in shaping legislation than all the farmers of the country put together. This condition is bad, not only for the farmers, but for all other legitimate interests as well. It is injurious to all when such great power is vested in so few hands and so little power in many hands.

Does the Farmers' Association provide the sort of organization required to restore the balance and protect the interests of the farmers? The question can be best answered by stating what the Association is.

The Farmers' Association is a political and still not a party organization. That is, it will discuss public questions, but it will discuss these from a strictly non-partizan standpoint. It will deal with questions of legislation as business questions, and from a farmer's point of view, precisely as manufacturers deal with the tariff or as railway corporations look at the transportation problem, viz.: as these questions affect the interests of the manufacturers or the carriers.

THE CORNER STONE OF THE STRUCTURE.

While the Association will deal with political questions, it is not intended to establish a political party. Its object is not to elect members to Parliament or the Legislature, but rather to bring pressure to bear on Parliament or the Legislature, with a view of shaping the course of legislation in the interests of farmers. This was clearly set forth in the resolution adopted by the convention which brought the new organization into existence. That resolution said:

That, while deeming it inadvisable to establish a political party, we believe it is for the welfare of the country that there should be an organization ready to bring its influence to bear to secure and promote the interests of the farmer in matters of legislation and otherwise.

In taking this position we are following a course which has been followed with marked success in Michigan. In Michigan the Grange is the representative farmers' organization. This body in Michigan deals with public questions in the same way that we propose to deal with them here. The Grange in Michigan has never yet named a candidate for the State Legislature, and yet, by its educational work, by its influence on public opinion, it has forced both old parties to declare for equalization of taxation, and the result has been the enactment of legislation under which \$3,000,000 more is being paid to-day in taxation on corporation property in that State than was collected before the Grange began its work. Like means, we believe, will accomplish like results here.

A clearer indication of the idea behind the organization, of what is meant by what has been said in the preceding paragraphs, will be given by a statement of the steps already taken by the Association and the reasons therefor.

At the first annual convention, which, by the way, was attended by some one hundred and fifty farmers, representing almost every county in Ontario, certain resolutions were adopted. Let us repeat the resolutions, and give with them a few facts bearing upon the subject matter of the same.

The granting of public money to private and corporate interests in the form of bonuses and bounties is unjust to the masses of people, and should be forthwith discontinued.

This resolution, although general in its terms, is aimed particularly at the granting of bonuses to railway promoters and bounties to iron and steel manufacturers.

The reason for the passing of the resolution is found in the public reports of the Dominion and Ontario Governments. All told, as the reports referred to show, there has been voted by the Dominion, the Ontario, and Municipal Governments, \$228,539,890 towards the building of railways in this country. (See page 390, the Statistical Year Book of Canada, 1901).

In addition to this, 54,000,000 acres of land have been granted for the same purpose. (See Year Book, page 395, and W. H. Hoyle's return in Legislature).

\$250,000,000 FOR PRIVATE RAILWAY INTERESTS.

If we deduct the cost of the Intercolonial, which the people own, and allow a fair valuation for the land grants to private railways, there will be left \$250,000,000 in cash or lands to represent the sums we have donated to railways we do not own—railways which belong to private companies. There are, roughly, 1,000,000 families in Canada. This means, then, that on the average each householder in the Dominion has been levied upon to the extent of \$250 for the purpose of making this total grant of \$250,000,000 to private corporations.

Does the Farmers' Association do right in protesting against a continuance of this policy? Does it represent the views and interests of farmers in declaring that not another dollar of public money shall be voted for the enrichment of private corporations?

Now as to the bounty part of it.

In the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1902, there was paid from the Dominion treasury, a bounty of \$3 on every ton of pig iron made in Canada from native ore; a like bounty was granted on every ton of steel made in this country. All told, \$791,000 was given in that one year in bounties to iron and steel manufacturers in Canada. (See page xi, Public Accounts for the year 1902.) This means that the taxpayers of the whole country were forced to contribute over three-quarters of a million dollars, and the sum so raised was passed to a few manufacturers for their enrichment. The official figures for 1903 are

not yet out, but the total payments for the seven months ending January 31, 1903, were \$753,362, under this head.

A DOUBLE-HEADED BOUNTY.

This year the bounty is slightly less per ton—\$2.70—both on iron and steel, when made from native ore. But meantime a new process has been discovered, under which ore intended for making steel need not be converted into pig at all. It can be kept in a continuous fluid state from the ore to the finished steel, and when the steel is made the manufacturers get a bounty both for the pig (which is no longer made) and for steel as well, or \$5.40 per ton in all.

And yet, according to an eminent English authority, iron and steel can be made more cheaply in Nova Scotia than anywhere else in the world. The cost per ton is about \$2 less than in Pittsburg, and about half what it is in Germany. Why? Because in Nova Scotia the various materials for the making lie almost side by side. (See page 2960, *World's Work* for January.)

The Dominion Iron and Steel Co. and Dominion Coal Co. (practically one corporation) is one of the beneficiaries under the bounty system. According to a report recently published in the daily press these companies earned \$2,000,000 in about eight months last year, and of this sum over \$500,000 represented net earnings. That is one illustration of how this bounty system works out for the benefit of the manufacturers.

Here is another: The report of the Bureau of Mines shows that there was produced in this Province for the year ending October 1, 1902, 112,689 tons of pig iron, half of which was made from native and half from foreign ore. Of this total, 68,802 tons were made into steel. The bounty paid on this iron and steel from the Dominion and Provincial Governments was about \$500,000, or within \$10,000 of the total wage bill of all our iron and steel industries, including the wages paid in the manufacture of steel rails.

In view of this state of facts, does the Association speak for the farmers of all Canada in saying that this bounty system must be wholly abolished?

Another matter which the Association has taken up is the adjustment of railway rates. It has done so in this resolution:

The Association believes it is in the interest of an agricultural country like Canada that there should be the strictest of public regulation of transportation, and that a Commission, with power to fix rates, with right of speedy appeal to one court on questions of law only, and not to any political tribunal, should be established without further delay.

This resolution, in brief, calls for the appointment of a Railway Commission, with full power to fix rates charged for transportation by rail. That there is need for a fixing and a reduction is apparent.

Our railways, built largely at the expense of the Canadian people, are carrying American farm produce through this country, on the way to the seaboard, to compete with Canadian farm produce in the Liverpool market, at a lower rate than they are charging for hauling our produce a shorter distance. The rate on cattle from Chicago to St. John, N.B., via Canadian railways is 28c per cwt.; the rate from Barrie to St. John is 27c; and, according to Toronto shippers, the net rate from Chicago is actually lower than the rate from Barrie! The distance from Chicago to St. John is over 400 miles greater than the distance from Barrie to St. John.

During the fall of 1902 the rate on grain shipments from Duluth, on Lake Superior, to Portland, Me., via the great lakes to Goderich, Meaford, or Midland, and thence via the Grand Trunk Railway, was 11 cents per 100 pounds. At the same time the rate to Portland on grain grown in Ontario, and shipped from any of the points named, was 16 1-2 cents per 100 pounds. The rate on Canadian grain, carried a much shorter distance than American grain, was

5 1-2c higher than the rate on the American grain. Terminal charges are included in both cases.

Our railways then discriminate against Canadian farmers, in favor of American farmers. They also discriminate against Canadian farmers, in favor of other classes in this country. A large proportion of the grain and grain products shipped from points lying north of the main line of the Grand Trunk, between Toronto and Sarnia, goes out via New York and Boston. On the shipments of grain the railroads charge a higher rate than on flour or meal going to the same place, the difference between the rate charged on wheat and that charged on flour ranging from 1 1-2 cents to 2 cents per 100 pounds. When the rate was first imposed the rate on grain and flour was the same, but the Millers' Association objected to paying so much, and secured from the railways a reduction to present figures, but no reduction was made on grain. Hence the finished product of the mill is now carried for less than the product of the farm. If the millers had had no organization they would have secured no reduction. If the farmers had a sufficiently strong organization they would secure quite as good a rate as the millers enjoy.

Canadian railways not only discriminate against Canadian producers in the shipment of through freight, and discriminate against Canadian farmers, in favor of other classes in the community, but they charge a higher rate for ordinary freight traffic in this country than is charged for a like service by American railways. All classes suffer from the excessive charges on what may be called local freight.

A case in point. In Brant and Norfolk Counties there is a line of railway connecting Brantford and Waterford by direct route. Waterford merchants buy a large portion of their stocks from wholesale houses in Brantford, and they find it cheaper to haul their purchases from the wholesale house to the retail store by team, a distance of 18 miles, than to have the same shipped by rail.

Messrs. McLaren and Kemp (both members of the House of Commons, and both large shippers) have gone into this matter very carefully. They have compared railway freight charges in the United States with like charges in Canada, and as a result of their investigations have declared that the charge imposed for carrying freight in this country is, on the average, 25 per cent. higher than the charge imposed for like service across the lines. All classes suffer from these overcharges, but farmers suffer most of all.

A very simple calculation will show how heavy is the burden thus imposed. On page 379 of the Year Book is a statement showing that the railways of Canada received for the hauling of freight in 1901 no less a sum than \$43,446,672. The average overcharge was, as already stated, 25 per cent. This means, then, that our railways received for carrying our freight upwards of \$10,000,000 more than would have been charged for like service in the United States.

Compare this overcharge with the cost of Government. The total expenditure of the Ontario Government, for carrying on the affairs of this Province in 1901, was \$4,038,834. (Year Book, page 490.) The overcharge on freight service in one year would meet the cost of carrying on the Government of Ontario for two and a half years.

In all branches of industry and commerce prices have been on the downgrade for years—save in railway service. Here there has not been a reduction, at least the reduction has not been commensurate with that which has taken place in other lines. Passenger rates are precisely the same as they were when railways were first built, and in the freight rate there has been but little modification. Why should not the charge for railway service have been reduced as the cost of clothing, sugar, boots and shoes, and implements have been reduced? The cost of everything connected with railway construction and railway operation has been lowered. Steel rails cost in the United States in '68 \$158.50 per ton, in '78 \$42.25, in '98 \$17.62. (See statistical abstract of the United States, page 397.) Again, one railway train will move three times the freight to-day

that could have been moved in one load 23 years ago; and there has been no increase in the number of hands required for the moving.

The volume of railway business in this country has increased by leaps and bounds of late years. In 1901 there were carried on Canadian railways (see Year Book, page 376) 18,385,722 passengers, as against 6,943,671 in 1881. Here was an increase of nearly 165 per cent. in passenger traffic in 20 years. The number of tons of freight increased in the same time from 12,065,323 to 36,000,371, or an increase of 206.5 per cent.

Surely, with this increase in business, accompanied as it has been by the increase (owing to improved appliances) in the amount of labor performed by the average railway employe, there should be a sweeping reduction in railway rates?

The sweeping reduction has taken place in the United States. Rates there, as already stated, are much lower than here for years. In the United States freight rates have been steadily declining. The average cost per bushel for hauling wheat from Chicago to New York by the all-rail route in '08 was 42 1-2 cents; in '98 it was 11 1-2 cents—a little over one-quarter the charge imposed 30 years before. (See Statistical Abstract of the United States, page 350.)

The figures which follow are taken from the Year Book of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1901, pages 788-91.

The rate on live cattle from Chicago to New York was 55c per cwt. in '80; in 1901 the average was 28c. On hogs the rate has been reduced in the same time from 43 to 30c; on sheep from 63 to 30c; on dressed beef from 88 to 43c; while on horses the rate has remained stationary at 60c per cwt. The average rate per ton on all kinds of freight, on all railways in the United States, has been reduced from nearly 1 1-2c in 1875 to less than three-fourths of a cent in 1901—cut in two. The average passenger rate in the same time has been reduced by nearly a third of a cent per mile, and now stands at 2c, on the average, for all passenger traffic in the United States.

How have the reductions in the United States been secured? By the People's Party, the Grange, and other farm organizations, acting through a Railway Commission.

The Farmers' Association proposes, by like means, to accomplish like results in this country. Does the Association derive the support and encouragement of all farmers in taking this position?

Then there is the question of railway taxation, too. That question is dealt with in this resolution.

Owing to the present condition of our assessment laws, agriculture has been made to bear an unequal burden of taxation. We therefore declare that our laws should be so amended that the property of railroads and other public service corporations should be assessed for the same proportion of value as the property of private property-owners, and taxation thus placed upon a juster and more equal basis.

A few facts, showing how unfair our present system of taxation is, follow.

The value of farm property in Ontario, as shown by Mr. Pettypiece in his speech in the Legislature last session, is over a billion dollars; the value of railway property in Ontario is \$500,000,000—half the value of the farm property.

The railways pay in local taxation \$300,000; the farm property pays taxes for local purposes to the amount of \$4,600,000. If railway property were taxed at the same rate as farm property, it would contribute \$2,300,000 in taxation.

The Farmers' Association, in demanding equalization of taxation, declares for a policy under which the property of railway and other corporations would be taxed as farm property is taxed now.

Is not the Association in taking that position fighting the battle of all farmers? Should it not have the support of all farmers in the position taken?

In the United States railways are taxed. In that country about \$50,000,000 is collected in local taxation on railways. In Maine the average annual taxation per mile is \$167.77; in Michigan, \$167.80; in New York, \$552.51. Taking the average of all the States, the average annual taxation per mile of railway is \$261.36.

The Grand Trunk Railway, as shown by an article contributed to the Canadian Magazine by Mr. Pettypiece, paid \$186,036 in 1901 in taxes on 335 miles of road in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan; on 2,653 miles of line in this Province the same company paid \$50,000 less taxes than it paid in the United States. One-eighth the mileage in the United States that there is here, and still \$50,000 more paid in taxes in the United States than is paid in Ontario.

On 172 miles of track in the poverty-stricken States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, the Grand Trunk paid \$449,000 on 172 miles of track, as compared with \$8,600 on a like mileage in this Province.

Prince Edward County has given some \$85,000 in the form of bonus to a local line of railway, and yet when J. W. Hyatt went to look up the taxes paid by that railway on three miles of track in one township in the county he found this amounted to \$8 per year. When J. F. Beam enquired into the railway taxation in the Township of Bertie, in Welland County, he discovered that the Grand Trunk was paying \$3.23 per mile and the Michigan Central \$3.33.

Two particularly striking illustrations of the difference between the United States and Canadian systems, in regard to railway taxation, are mentioned by Mr. Pettypiece in the Canadian Magazine for February, and the facts concerning which had previously been given in The Weekly Sun.

Down at Cornwall there is an international bridge across the St. Lawrence River, and connecting Canada and the United States. One end of the bridge is in New York, the other end in Ontario. The American end of the bridge is assessed by the local authorities of New York at \$40,000, and taxes are paid on this assessment; the Ontario end of the bridge is neither assessed nor taxed. And yet the Ontario and Dominion Governments paid out of funds contributed by the taxpayers of this country \$125,000 towards building the Ontario end of the bridge, while not a dollar was paid by the United States or New York Governments towards the American end!

The other case is found in the international tunnel, beneath the St. Clair River, and connecting Ontario and Michigan. The same mileage of tunnel is found on the Canadian as on the American side; and yet the American end of the tunnel pays taxes to the amount of \$6,362 (while the Canadian end pays \$753!

Surely the demand for equalization of taxation is irresistible. And surely the Farmers' Association should have the united support of all farmers in presenting that demand.

Two other railway questions of special importance to farmers were dealt with in this resolution:

The Association will help by every available means the passage of legislation in accordance with the Cowan Drainage Bill and the original Lancaster Cattle-Guard Bill.

The need of the legislation herein referred to is so urgent, and farmers generally are so familiar with the facts, that little requires to be said on these subjects.

What is demanded under the Cattle Guard bill, in brief, is this: That the railways shall be made responsible for all cattle killed on their tracks where the killing is the result of animals getting over the guards at crossings. Force the railways either to put down a guard that cattle cannot cross, or else compel them to pay for all animals killed as a result of stock passing over defective guards. That is what the Association demands, and it confidently appeals to all farmers to support that demand.

The Drainage Bill case can be stated in equally brief form. What is called for here is that the same privilege of draining across railway lands shall be granted as is now conceded in draining across private lands. As it is now, railways have power to practically prevent draining across their property, and when they do concede this privilege they charge an outrageous price for it. A case was reported in Enniskillen Township, where \$400 was charged for a culvert across a railway to furnish an outlet for two farms.

The Association emphatically protests against any increase in the tariff.

This is another resolution passed at the first annual convention of the Farmers' Association.

The tariff is a party question, you say? That is true only when the question is discussed by farmers. When it is discussed by manufacturers it is a business question, and is discussed from the business standpoint of the manufacturers, and from that only. Why should not farmers, who bear the chief burden of the tariff, discuss the question from a business standpoint also—from the point of view of a man who wants to know how much the tariff is costing him, and who desires to keep the burden at the lowest possible figure?

Let us state a few facts.

The total sum collected under the tariff last year, in Customs duties, or goods imported into this country, was, in round figures, thirty-two and a half million dollars. This was over twelve millions in excess of the sum collected in '96. (See Trade and Navigation Returns, 1902.)

The total amount of dutiable goods—that is, goods subjected to taxation—imported in 1902 was, in round figures, \$128,000,000. The average rate of duty on taxable goods was, therefore, 25 per cent.

In some cases it was a good deal more than this. On \$976,453 worth of ready-made clothing imported the tax was \$294,422, or over 30 per cent. On \$246,400 worth of sewing machines imported the tax was \$73,589—30 per cent.

On \$102,692 worth of scales, etc., the duty was \$30,697—30 per cent. On \$878,087 worth of coal oil, etc., the duty was \$545,819—well over 60 per cent.

Innumerable other like cases might be cited, but these will serve as examples. Suffice it to state that the cost to consumers of \$128,000,000 worth of imported goods brought into Canada in 1902 was increased to the extent of 25 per cent. by reason of the tariff imposed. The increase was really more than this, because the importers who paid the tax in the first instance, added a percentage for profit, not only to the first cost of the goods, but on the amount paid in Customs taxation as well.

And this is not all. All home-made articles, similar to the imported ones, were made artificially dearer because the home manufacturers, by reason of the protection against foreign competition, were enabled to combine and increase their prices. But in this latter case the increase in the cost of the article did not go to the public revenues; it went to further enrich the protected home manufacturers.

And still manufacturers are not satisfied. They are demanding more protection. They have announced that the leading hotel of Ottawa is to be filled this session with lobbyists, who will devote their whole time to an effort to stampede Parliament into a further increase in the tariff.

The Farmers' Association has declared this effort should not succeed—that it should be opposed. In this case, again, is it not true that the Association is supporting the interests of all farmers?

There is one phase of this tariff question that is deserving of special attention. The manufacturers are demanding that something like a prohibitive tariff shall be erected against the Americans. Would that be wise? Why did the farmers of this country buy about a million dollars' worth of machinery and im-

plements in the United States last year? Presumably because they were thus able to get these articles at a lower price, or of a kind more to their liking in the United States than they could in Canada. Would it be to the interest of these farmers to increase the duty on such articles from 20 and 25 per cent., as now, to 35 and 40 per cent.?

But there is another and more urgent reason why the course advocated by the manufacturers should not be adopted. There has of late been a remarkable and gratifying development of feeling in the United States in favor of reciprocity with Canada. A convention held in Detroit, and attended by Governors of States and men of leading in industry and public affairs, declared for this; the National Board of Trade of the United States, sitting in the city of Washington, has done the same; the Senate of Minnesota by 47 to 0 has declared in favor of the admission of lumber from Canada free of duty; and the United States Congress has made soft coal free for a year, with an implied promise that this article will remain permanently on the free list of the United States if Canada makes a like concession.

All this is not the result of chance. It is the result of an awakening of the United States public to the importance of Canada as a market both for buying and selling, and of a realization of the mutual benefit that would follow a removal of at least some of the shackles that now hamper trade between the two countries. Free trade with Canada is, in fact, to-day the most important topic of discussion in the northern tier of States, and if this movement goes on unchecked it is not too much to say that the United States will probably be ready to offer Canada reciprocity inside of two years.

What the result of the making and acceptance of that offer would be need hardly be stated. Any man who reads the market reports knows what an advantage it would be to the farmers of this Province to have the markets of Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, New York, and Boston freely open to our horses, cattle, hogs, lambs, poultry, and dairy produce.

But what will happen if the manufacturers have their way and a practically prohibitive tariff is imposed as against the United States? The Americans are, like ourselves, a proud and independent people. They will take an action of this kind as an indication in advance that our people do not desire freer trade with them, and the whole movement across the line in favor of more reasonable trade relations between the two countries will be killed at its inception.

In conclusion, it may be stated once again that this Association is absolutely free from all party entanglements, that it exists solely for the purpose of enabling farmers to bring their influence to bear upon the Legislature or Parliament for the purpose of shaping legislation in the interests of the whole people, and that it should, therefore, have the active support and assistance of every true patriot and, more particularly, of the farmers of Canada.

OFFICERS, ANNUAL MEETING, ETC.

The officers of the Farmers' Association are: C. A. Mallory, President; W. L. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer.

Executive Committee—L. E. Annis, York; C. A. Mallory, Northumberland; J. F. Beam, Welland; J. Lockie Wilson, Glengarry; W. K. MacLeod, Middlesex.

Committee of fifteen, in whom are vested the powers of the Association—William McCrimmon, James Sangster, G. S. Macdonald, D. D. Rogers, J. L. Wilson, C. A. Mallory, L. E. Annis, J. Goodfellow, J. W. Hyatt, F. E. Webster, Frank Hunt, Major Hood, J. F. Beam, A. H. VanLeon, W. K. MacLeod.

EXTENSION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

It is intended to form a branch of the Association in every district of Ontario (about 20 branches are organized already). These local organizations, elect their own officers, decide the time of meetings, etc. In addition, each branch is entitled to two representatives at the annual meeting of the General Association, which takes place in Toronto in September. The Central Association is entirely composed of delegates, and all the powers of the organization are vested in them. The annual fee is one dollar, half of this going to the Central Association, the other half remaining with the branches.

If you have a branch in your riding, strengthen it; if you have not, form one.

Copies of this pamphlet can be had on application to W. L. Smith, Secretary, 26 Adelaide Street West, Toronto. Full information relative to the work of organizing Electoral District Associations may be obtained from the same source.

Feb., 1903.





