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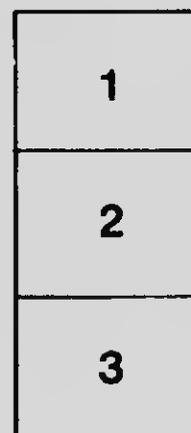
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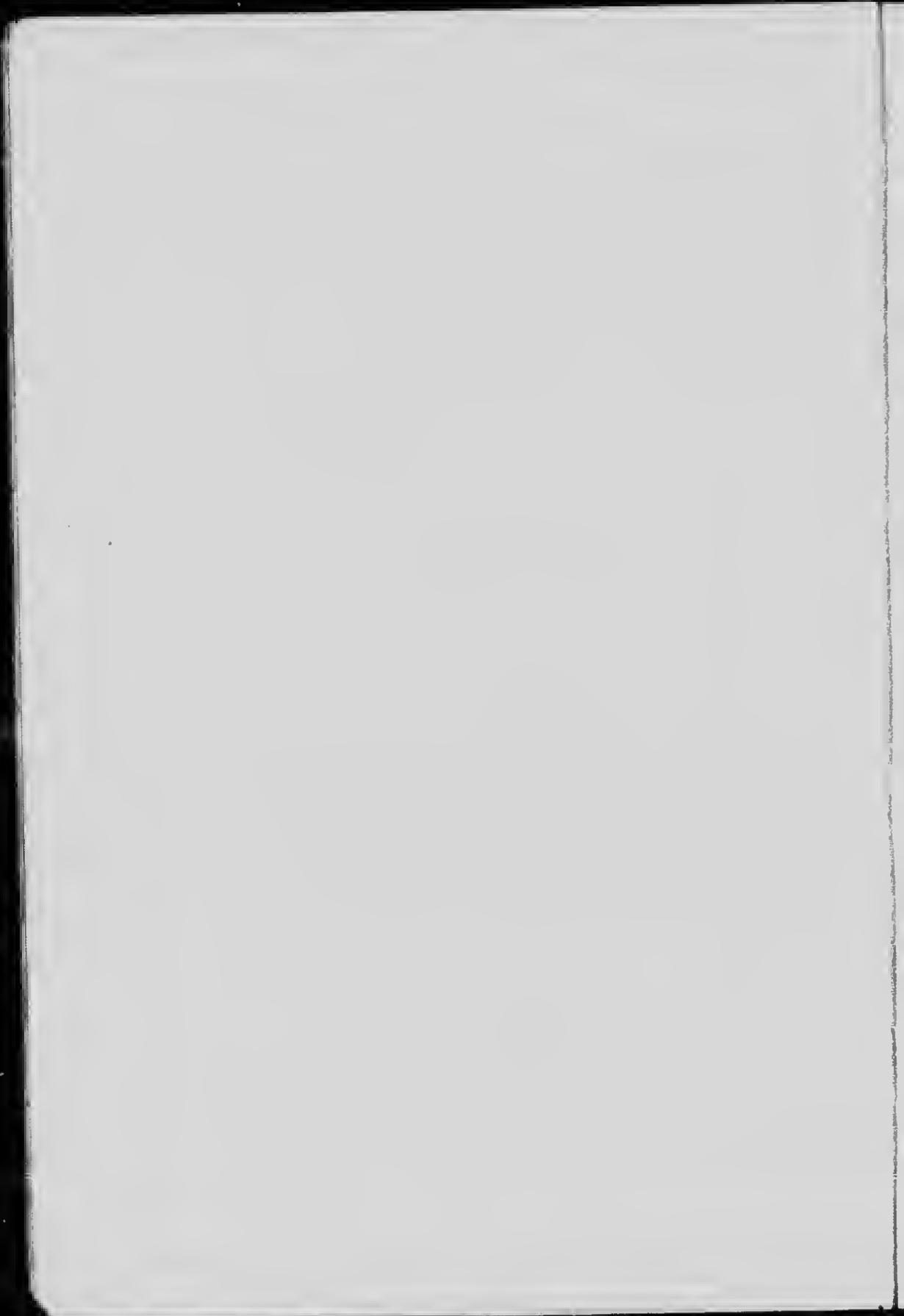
LIGHT
AND
LABOR.

BY

T. B. SMITH, ex-M. P. P.

WINDSOR, N. S. :

J. J. ANSLOW, BOOK AND GENERAL JOB PRINTER,
1910.



INTRODUCTION.

MY object in writing this pamphlet is to fulfil a duty which has long impressed itself upon me. A duty I owe to a class of men who have been my most reliable friends from my youth to the present time.

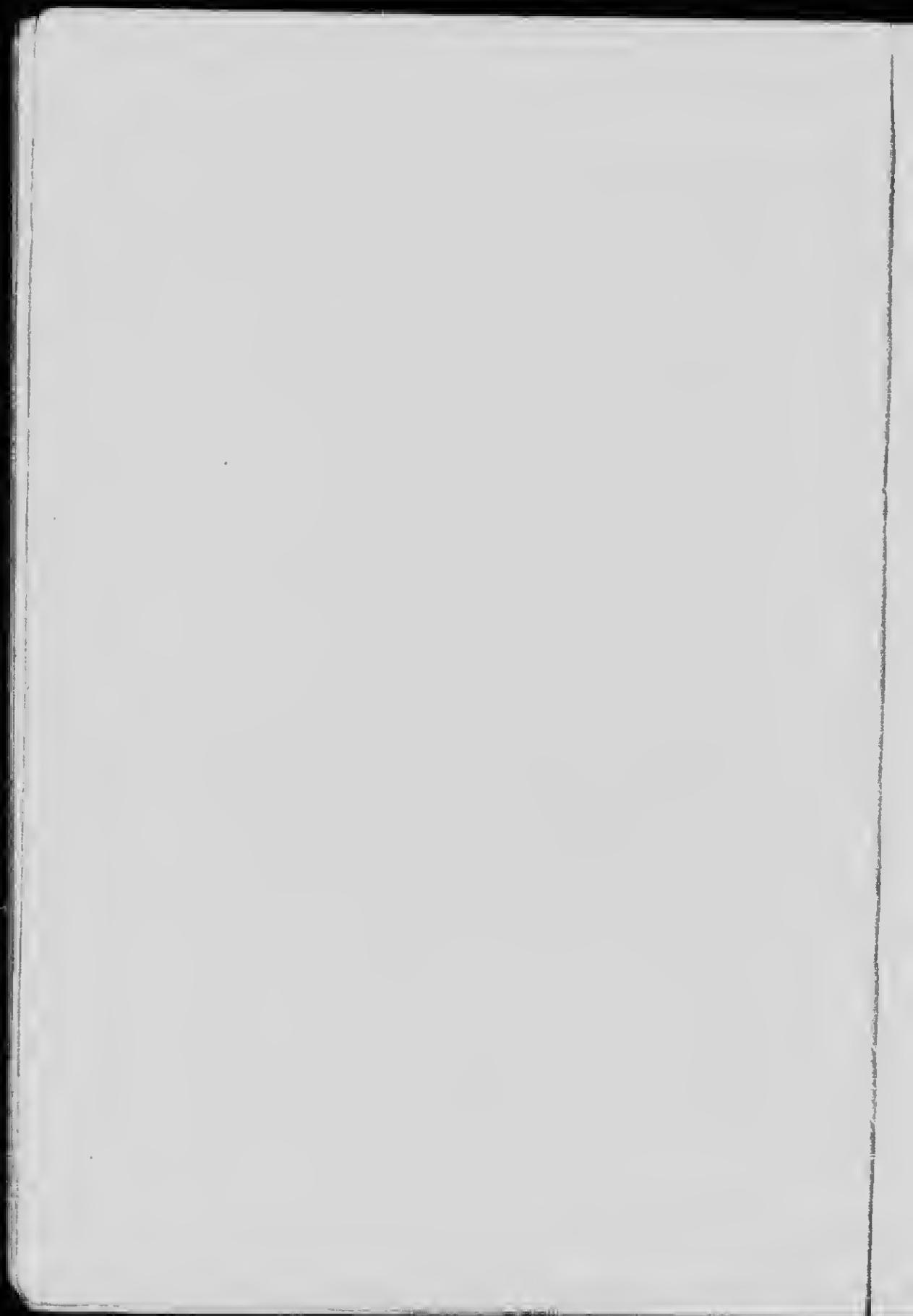
My aim is to perform that duty with singleness of heart, and to the best of my ability. It may be fulfilled feebly and imperfectly.

But if a sentence is written which may inspire the noblest workers of mankind, to some of whom I am bound by a thousand ties, to step out and act on a broad, conspicuous and independent theatre for their common welfare and prosperity, and for the peace and progress of their common country, I will be sure of some reward from those men, in whom enterprise, ingenuity and national activity is certainly not equalled by any other class of men between the two oceans. My mind shall be spoken plainly, freely and independently, to persons who are just as free to concur, or not to concur, in my sentiments as I am to utter them.

And in so doing I wish to disclaim any personal disrespect toward any class of men.

THOMAS B. SMITH.

Windsor, N. S., Sept., 1910.



LIGHT AND LABOR.

PART I.

It is the duty of all men to improve their condition of life by forming good habits, and acquiring sound and advanced ideas, to imitate the ways of the Great Ruler of the universe, no matter to what class, what society, what party or to what church they adhere.

In this way men will advance public good and promote common interest. A country or a locality composed of individuals following the above line of living, will always be great in energy and supreme in action. In this way must come about the elevation of the individual as a component party of society. In Canada the spirit of human liberty and of free government stretches its course from ocean to ocean. It secures to the people individual rights, moral order and social relations, and if any person, or class of persons neglect to take advantage of its benefits, they must be ignorant of, or careless of, the beneficent agents, which assist honesty and enterprise in obtaining comfort and independence.

All classes ought to be inspired with a deep and solemn sense of their privileges and duties. And if all classes of persons would maintain that true dignity, and unsullied honor, toward each other necessary to the true path of humanity, we would have an uncorrupted electorate, pure governments, attractive churches, and a full and complete system of national liberty.

When sublime virtues become embedded in human character, and exemplified in human conduct, all things will work together for the good of the individual and nation. The actions of every intelligent citizen should be

founded on reason, on discretion and true policy, and from those higher considerations which ought to influence us all in questions of supreme importance to every individual.

There is no class of society but has rights for which it is entitled to respect, and it has obligations to respect the rights of others, thus forming united and complete systems of national life.

It is in the inculcation of high and pure morals in this free Canadian land, that individuals and classes will perform their sacred duty and fulfil their destiny.

Men sacrifice their liberty by tying themselves to the opinions of others, or to sect or a party. It has ever been easy, and in some cases profitable to live after the party's opinion, and in cliques and crowds to live after the crowds' opinion. But the man true to himself and his country in the midst of cliques, crowds and parties, and their excitements, will follow his own opinions, strengthen his individuality, and his independence and produce an elevating influence on his surroundings.

There are persons who seem to look at things without seeing them. Others appear to look through one eye. Neither see beyond their sect, set, party or class. There are some who look at all things roundly and broadly, with a view much like that of an officer on the bridge of an ocean liner, while many, we are sorry to say, recline contentedly as they squint through the limited lines of a port hole.

A responsibility rests on the shoulders of every instructed and broad minded mechanic, artisan, operative agriculturalist and working man in every class of daily toil. Upon him has been bestowed superior gifts. He can see what some do not see, and what some do see, but he can see it more clearly. He can see the stronghold of the professional spirit in the legislative halls of the coun-

try without a due admixture of the daily toilers of the land, and that the professions seem to claim an elective preference or a sort of parliamentary peerage. He can see that honest industry scarcely comes in for any consideration in the scramble which takes place among professional, mercantile and speculative men for place and power at every political contest. He can see that the working classes, live, move and have their being in the rear ranks of political warfare. He can see that many of his associates are honest fellows, but too busy and unsuspecting with the present to calculate for the future. And he can see that the time has come in Canada for the laborers in the land to take their position.

This year 1910, the closing one of the first decade of the twentieth century, no one will deny the wonderful power and influence which the Dominion of Canada is gaining among the nations of the world, nor that this country is destined to be a chief factor in the making of the future history of the world.

The manual toilers are the great developers of Canada, they are the most laborious toilers of all workers, the great contributors of all classes; the most numerous benefactors of our race. The industrial prosperity which the Dominion has attained, and which it to-day enjoys, has been acquired largely through the instrumentality of the laboring classes.

We live in a time when we behold a wonderful advancement of the country in many of its great interests, and at a time when intelligent working men pursue what they believe to be the interest of their country with as sincere a zeal as the most honorable of the professional or mercantile class. And the former enjoy as high regard and esteem as the latter, or as those who fill the most important places of public trust. But there is a necessity of the laboring men of every community endeavoring to procure

a true knowledge of their rights, their duties and their interests, and this is not denied them, except by those who are the slaves of prejudice, or deeply interested in the continuance of things as they are. The cause of truth and justice can never be injured by temperate and honest discussion. The working men of Great Britain have procured a reform, by temperate and honest effort and discussion. And it becomes the duty of the laboring classes of Canada to hastily advance a reform, which is yet in its infancy, and which appeals to the common sense of the country as of the utmost importance. They are called upon by their honor, by the constitution and institutions of the land and by the great stake they possess in the country, to claim a proper and equitable voice in the parliaments and government of the Dominion, and for the fair encouragement of their industry, and protection for the fruits of their labor.

Will the stability of the government or that of the country be weakened, when 6,000,000 people supported directly by labor are largely represented by farmers, miners, mechanics, artisans, fishermen and sailors, instead of by lawyers, doctors, merchants, speculators and millionaires? These 6,000,000, compose the working men and their families, and are 80 per cent. of the population of Canada at the present time. They have united the destinies of themselves and their children with this country, and their genius and character, and talents should be as freely and fully recognized as those of any class, as suitable for an honest discharge of public duty.

Canada is growing in knowledge, in wealth and in internal union. It is striding to independence and power, and those classes which have almost silently allowed other classes to use their privileges are beginning to move by honest and temperate effort to secure and guard their rights.

It is in a fair representation of all sections, of all opinions and of all classes, that really gives a fair reflection of public opinion.

In the course on welfare, in the common prosperity, and in the ultimate destiny of the Dominion, the men who earn their daily bread by their daily toil will some day, not far distant, have a controlling power, if their efforts are always guided by prudence, wisdom and justice.

In Canada the people owe no allegiance to arbitrary distinctions of birth, wealth, titles, professions or aristocratic prejudice. The intelligent, honest man who wields the hoe, throws the line into the sea, goes down into the mine, follows the plough, shoves the jack plane, hammers the iron, or performs any kind of manual toil is considered as worthy and respectable a citizen and as useful to the country, as a lawyer, doctor, professor, preacher or millionaire. And there are always heights to which these men may climb, if they only have ambition to clear the way for their ascent.

There are in all communities persons who have false and fantastic notions of dignity, and who consider that wealth, birth and the professions only give a tone to society. Some people never get beyond the folly of childhood or the understanding of the crib.

The working men of Canada have common interests and common wants, and they should exert a proper power in a common legislature. There are principles of eternal right belonging to all classes, which should never be violated. These principles should be held sacred and should be kept from any encroachment. The better instructed the daily toiler is, the more surely will he be a trustworthy member of society, and render meritorious service to his country and fellow man. Those who are conscious of the progressive life of humanity, and who strive to advance beyond that to which they have already attained, leave

foot prints worthy to be followed. And such persons do their best to convert the strife of class interest into a noble emulation. They work toward a common end with common aspirations, and a common sentiment is the result. The means of education enjoyed in Nova Scotia, as well as in many other parts of the Dominion are not only adequate to the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, but sufficient also for respectable attainments in most all branches of industrial labor. Whatever makes men honest, intelligent workers, makes them good citizens. Every parent no matter to what class of society he belongs should see to it, that his children are instructed in the elements of learning in our splendidly established free schools. The education received by the institution of the public school system is better than inherited wealth, the transmission of aristocratic blood or the succession of titles.

Whatever has been obtained by the efforts of others, it is our duty to see that it is transmitted to our children. In this way the benefits of our political and social condition will be enlarged. The working classes in this way will always be able to take their stand firmly beside those classes favored by wealth, position and other circumstances. The last quarter of a century of Canadian life has witnessed such a diffusion of knowledge, that to-day we see in all communities numbers of persons variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow workers on the theatre of intellectual and industrial operations. We see also equal progress and success attend the cause of independent opinion. And that little knowledge, or cramped view, which is admittedly a dangerous thing is ever widening.

The Canadian House of Commons in the year 1903 containing 221 members, and the professional, speculative and mercantile representatives numbered 70 per cent. of the whole house, while but 9 per cent. were from the farming

classes, and all other classes of the country were so sparsely represented by men from among themselves that they only represented 20 per cent. of the whole house. Lawyers, doctors and other professional men numbered about half of the house, the lawyers being far the largest number or nearly one-third of the whole representation. Some persons will hardly realize this statement as correct. These persons may be assured that the figures are based on official returns.

In the Provincial Legislatures the representation is very much like that in the House of Commons.

If we take the population of the Dominion at 7,000,000, which it is reported to have been in the year 1908, and estimate the number of those who live by the occupation of farming at 70 per cent. of the whole population, we find that about 4,900,000 live by growing natural products. If this class of Canadians had been strictly represented by men from among themselves, seventy per cent. of the members of the House of Commons would have been men who lived by growing natural products, and this 70 per cent. would have numbered 154 members. Yet there were but 25 farmers in the House at this time, numbering about 9 per cent. of the legislature, or in other words representing proportionately 800,000 farmers, or those who live by agriculture. The remaining 4,100,000 were represented by lawyers, doctors, merchants and speculators.

The men who labor in other industrial pursuits, or who earn their daily bread by their daily toil, and those who depend upon them for a living are said to number about 1,250,000. They are so sparsely represented by men from their class that the figures are scarcely worth recording.

The mercantile, professional and business men and their dependents are said to number about 850,000, or about one-eighth of the whole population of the country. These are represented in the House of Commons by men

of their class who number 148, or in other words classes which number but 12 per cent. of the country's population send about 70 per cent. of the representatives to the Dominion Parliament. While the other 88 per cent. of the whole population of Canada composed of farmers and other daily toilers and their dependents only have 30 per cent. of the whole house elected from their own classes.

If there is a civilized, educated or democratic country, on the face of the globe, that can beat this sorry record it would be interesting to have it pointed out.

Here in Canada, a country with responsible government, a country with strong democratic tendencies, where people are supposed to be governed according to the wishes which are expressed by public opinion, we find two-thirds of the representatives professional and commercial men, and considerably over three-quarters of the population living by daily toil. All that can be said after studying the above facts and figures carefully is, that the standard of public opinion in this country does not come up to the idea of true democracy or common sense.

The labor element in our legislatures is so sparsely represented, that it can have no effect either in shaping legislation or in influencing the decisions of the executive.

The working men, the professional, the commercial and the speculative, instead of being well matched each in their just place and proportion are most unevenly matched in our legislative halls, hence we have too high tariffs, too many bonuses, overbearing trusts, excessive prices for the necessaries of life, too frequent strikes, too much influence of railway kings, and excessive political graft. And there is a lack of an enlightened and well principled and moral sentiment in party politics. The important concerns of any people will be more honestly and more perfectly conducted by a somewhat due proportion of the best and more honorable legal minds, by faithful men of business, and

by the best practical ability of the great working class. Common interests would be better understood and more useful knowledge acquired and communicated. The influence of professional, commercial and speculative men in the parliaments of Canada has been increasing, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

The party cliques and machines have never seemed to consider that the daily toilers are a numerous, respectable and powerful body, whose principles are dictated by motives as pure, as those of the more honorable professional and commercial men. The laboring men are the largest stock upon which the best hopes of the Dominion are wisely ingrafted.

The cause of the greatly prepondering influence of legal, commercial and speculative minds in our parliaments is through the machinations of the party machine, cliques and self interested men, hence we have the oppression of the poor by the wicked and arbitrary power of wealthy men and trusts. The machines have long been a misfortune and trusts a calamity. There is no organization within the limits of this fair and fertile country so full of corruption, self interest, artifice, trickery and imposition as the political party machines. A necessary respect for the opinions of a large majority of the people, operates in a large measure, as a control over the most arbitrary forms of authority. But the controllers of the machines strive to keep the popular principle out of their organizations.

Now, happily for the country, we have seen the first decided movements by intelligent working men for proper recognition at the hands of the electors. Their aim is not so much to break up parties as to purify them, and to this end they hope to concentrate all their efforts and all their power. Their struggle will expand and go forward as long as their progressive impulse lasts, which it is to be

hoped will continue until victory crowns their noble aspirations.

Until 1906, there were never more than three important and entirely distinct groups in the British House of Commons. Then there appeared a small but singularly active and well drilled independent party, whose policy was the improvement of the position of those who work with their hands. This same party entered the present parliament with seven additional representatives. All the power of the Peers and great estate owners was powerless to check its growth. The old Tory party is dead and gone forever. The Conservative party has assumed the name of Unionist. The Liberals retain their name, and their jointed and disjointed composition is composed of Liberals, Radicals, Laborites and Nationalists. These are now called groups. There are five distinct groups in the British House of Commons to-day. This system of groups, is because of the steady advance of the great principle of the freedom of human thought, and the respectability of individual character.

In Canada the people live under a system of Provincial legislation for local purposes, and under a Dominion legislature for general purposes. In the preceding pages it has been shown that the professional, commercial, wealthy and speculative classes have complete command of our parliaments, and legislation has been almost exclusively in their hands and under their control. But just so soon as the great agricultural class, and the other manual toilers are largely represented by men from among themselves, the powers of the other classes will become proportionately limited and the grouping system may appear. Local differences will become more pronounced. And there may be a stronger tendency in the various provinces to support each its own power outside strong party bounds, and weaken the tendency toward too strong consolidation

of all. Already it would appear as though rifts were approaching the political ranks and changes the parties sheep cots.

In a country of growing millions of prosperous, intelligent, educated freemen, strong in their democratic tendencies, it ought to be fully understood that government was made for all classes of men, and not one or two classes for government. The fundamental principle of the Canadian constitution is, that the will of the majority, fairly represented, shall have the force of law. The fair representation of all classes and of all sections of opinion is the corner stone of democracy. Only in this way can a perfectly fair and stable reflex of the peoples' mind be obtained.

The agricultural and working classes of the Dominion have been so sparsely represented by their own class of men in the parliaments of the country, that they have had little more direct participation in civil government than the natives of India. They have been crowded out of their rights by professional, commercial and speculative men, and office hunters, and by men who were influenced by no higher motives than party power or low self interest, hence the moral element in politics has been neglected. That truly moral sentiment which leads to the practical acknowledgment of the brotherhood of man and gives strength to the whole social and political fabric, and which ought to be shown in the representative wisdom of the nation, comes not from miserable passion and blind partizanship, but from an intelligent and educated democracy, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

The brotherhood of man has become a living truth. It has raised the laboring man from a paid slave to an honored citizen, more respected than the professional man who uses his official position for selfish ends, or to gloss over the bribery and scandal of his party, or the million-

aire who secures his wealth from the lives and pockets of the poor. In England to-day the common sense and fairly educated laboring man has shown himself to be as able to administer, to guard and adorn the country as the Duke or Earl. He is a friend to loyalty, loves the King and the law, and serves the country nobly in the common cause.

The legislatures of this country want a group of independent men, either attached to, or outside of the two great parties. Men worthy of the name, deeply and modestly sensible of their duty, and proud of their privilege, equally exalted above the meanness of party duplicity, bribery and graft. Men who by promise of official position or other reward, would not consent to become political jockeys in guiding a sleek and treacherous government, or a body of lean, impatient discredited place hunters to victory, but men who are vitally connected with the honor of Canada and the liberty and well being of every man within the limits of the Dominion. And if such men can be found among the intelligent working men of England, they surely can be found among the same class in any province of this great country. Just men, and resolute men, who nobly avow the cause of truth will never have suspicion cast over their actions.

It has been said that true political principles are only an emanation of Divine truth. If this be so, no room will be found in political parties for passion and prejudice. A free and uncorrupted government and parliament in any country would be one of the noblest institutions ever established by mankind. When the prudence of any land, and the sober wisdom of all classes prevail, then will such an institution be established, and not until then. It will then be, that a watchful, educated, unbribed electorate can form an honest and an impartial opinion. And when the time rolls round for the people to express their opinion at the polls, it will be futile to flood the country with party cam-

paign literature carefully prepared for the occasion, and for constituent trotters to ball off tunes selected to suit the notes of each department. Because the electors will have already formed an opinion as to their duty. And the day would have passed, when those party lambs which gambolled the liveliest, were among the first to go into official cots under the control of the shepherds of the flock. Then all classes will stand fast by their country as one, united and entire, intelligently and independently, animated by a common purpose, and united by a common bond.

And then the countries would be freed from powerful trusts, great corporations and manufacturing associations operating through governments and legislatures to increase their dividends, and the electors would not be bribed with their own taxes. And there would be no speculative members of government to make attempts upon the treasury, and excite no little horror and astonishment among the people. The public atmosphere will have cleared and the destiny of the land brightened. And finally when men have taken the oath of allegiance to be true to their sovereign and trust, they may be relied upon to fulfil all the requirements it imposes upon them, and the evils which are inseparable from the destiny of imperfect men will have vanished from the laws and institutions which are being established for the guidance and government of the people.

If the average men of all classes of society had years ago seriously considered their attitude to politics and the country we would have seen the intelligence of the working men fully represented in our parliaments to-day, and heard much less of scandal and graft. And if the Christian citizenship of Canada had done its full duty toward representative men and political parties there would have been more enlightened understanding, more elevated inte-

grity and more practical honor at the polls, and far less canting, bigoted and blind enthusiasm.

There ought to be enough sacred and independent men in the pulpits of this country, enough Apostle-like members of the Christian churches, and enough honest electors belonging to all classes of society to further elevate the standard of the electors at each succeeding political contest, and strengthen the sentiment of moral beauty in the councils and parliaments of the Dominion, as they successively take hold of the affairs of the people.

Not long since the writer had the great pleasure of conversing with a clergyman who fills one of the pulpits of this town, on the question of the church and civic politics. To the writer this Revd. gentleman appeared to be called of God, rather than of the church. He has the courage to speak the truth plainly as he sees it and feels it. He has party leaning, but party is kept at a long distance from principle. His words were those of refreshing hope and intellectual vigor. I left his presence carrying with me beneficial lessons, due to his sacred common sense, feeling that if all the pulpits of the land were filled with men like he, communities would become more deeply stirred and absorbed by the evil scenes and unyielding passion all about them, and that the hearts of the people would soon combine against trickery and hypocrisy, as well as against decaying, but deep rooted systems. And since that conversation I see more plainly than ever before the ravages of that odious political bigotry, which has been degrading and disgracing large classes of men, and that servile hypocrisy and remorseless lust for power and insatiate thirst of gain sometimes under the specious pretences of religion, and against which every clergyman, and honest layman should never miss an opportunity of putting their brethren and countrymen, of all classes and sects upon their guard.

May we all estimate public principle and private honor in such a way, as not to make us unworthy of our origin and the land we love to call our own! A land we wish to see with all its institutions, local and general, clean and pure, and rising to its destiny under the Divine light of the Christian religion, brightening our prosperity, our privileges and hopes forever. All living on a footing of perfect equality, save only so far as their talents and erudition differ.



LIGHT AND LABOR.

PART II.

Some one has called this century Canada's century. If it is to be Canada's century it will be the working man's century as well. It is in fact the era when the social principle is triumphing over the class principle, and the brotherhood of man is being practically acknowledged. A class or classes of people may yield up their prejudices slowly, but they cannot withstand the onflowing wave of opinion. A mighty force is rising in the land hostile to great and uncontrolled trusts and combines, and to the accumulation of immense personal wealth, and the stacking of it away to satisfy a contemptible greed. Even to-day the gilded human hog commands less respect than the rusty tramp. And the political minister into whose charge the people have communicated the high and tremendous privilege of administering the affairs of the country, if he be found to be using this privilege to satisfy an inordinate lust for things of the world, or in any manner inconsistent with the rights of the people, or incompatible with the fundamental principles of the constitution, he will sink in public estimation to the level of the detestable party hack or the despised and intriguing office seeker.

In this new Dominion the gospel follows the progress of the railways, and comes in touch with every immigrant, school houses are sprinkled over each locality, churches rise with every settlement, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation is proclaimed from ocean to ocean as the solid hope for the present and future generations. And if

all those men or a large majority of those men who are to-day proclaiming the truths of the everlasting gospel, are the called of God, we may feel assured that the days of bribery scandals and official corruption are fast being numbered, and that the future pages of Canadian history will be brighter than any that are recorded in other lands.

A nation composed of a whole class of educated, sober working men would be the finest in the world. But a nation composed of all classes of intelligent temperance men would be the most illustrious in the world. The church in Canada has touched the hearts of the people in a way, that they are fast abandoning the follies and outgrowing the evils of intemperance. When men who are allied with political parties or are in communion with men whose policies and principles are not all sound, and begin a most vigorous agitation against them, fully realizing their whole duty to the church and society, all social problems will be placed in the way of quicker solution, so far as human imperfection permits. And it will be then, that statesmen, politicians and electors will be found abandoning the evils of corrupt practices. Then the Canadian nation will have brought to itself a glory much greater and far more lasting than it may achieve in constructing ships of war to protect itself, and its ancestor, as it looks across the ocean's broad surface in visionary contemplation at the seemingly threatened activities of an imaginary foe.

Wherever truth and reason wave their sceptre over the human intellect, there must be found sound policy, sound principle and sound progress, and people faithful to one another, prosperous and contented, none ill paid, none overworked, none overtaxed. And no contempt of a wealthy class for the poor and no hatred of the daily toilers for the rich. And rulers in high places would not use their positions for corrupt purposes and selfish ends, neither would electors consider they had private demands upon

the country's revenue. There would be no violation of sacred agreement or trust.

The great danger that may some day confront Canada will come from inside the country and not from an outside enemy. The growing lust for wealth, for social position and for political power at all cost is a serious danger. To maintain political power, and to obtain political power by the inordinate and ever-increasing expenditure of the public funds, and the influence of dishonestly acquired wealth and the power of money in the hands of greedy and designing partisans is debasing. And the disquieting signs of the increasing prominence of a social class, the feverish ambition for royal recognition or titles and the heated thirst for the increase of court formula, fashion and fad is dangerous. These passions are more likely to disturb the peace of the people and undermine the basis of permanence and prosperity in the country than any real danger from German dreadnoughts.

These are the dangers the people have to guard against. We hear from day to day the motto—"Canada for the Canadians." It sounds musical and well. But all the important positions of public trust in Canada, have not been equitably distributed among all classes of Canadians. The numerically weakest classes, consisting of professional, speculative and wealthy men have become privileged classes through political manoeuvring and party stealth, while the great farming and other industrial classes have been indifferent to their own public interests, and allowed their rights and privileges to be in perpetual danger.

It is high time that the industrial classes of this country raised their conceptions to the magnitude and importance of the duties that devolve upon them. The common danger of Canada is the growing power of wealthy and speculative men and their hold upon the statesmen and politicians of the country. And in defence of their coun-

try and all its institutions the laboring men should be united by a common interest, and a common danger, and protect that interest and guard against that danger by united effort.

Men may hold to the main doctrines of the liberal party, or to the main doctrines of the conservative party, and make no promises or hold out no hopes to the party to follow it through all its acts or legislation. The representative who follows this course, may be put down as no self seeker, but may be considered an honest man, of independent mind and of upright intentions. Such men would not be among those of a state legislature who sold a senate seat to the highest bidder. But would be found among those who carefully considered what the public interest demanded, and who would faithfully labor to promote the industry and foster the labor of the country, in all its various branches.

If the parliaments of Canada since the union had been composed of a majority of men like the above mentioned, would the country have heard of the numerous graft scandals, and the suspicions that men in high public positions have violated a sacred trust? Can the public justify all the policies and actions of the one or the other party? Have they fulfilled all the promises prescribed on the public platform of the country? If they have not done so, they have played upon the prejudices of party and deceived the country.

The people through their representatives are supposed to obtain protection against the encroachment of class power. Do the figures quoted in the first part of this pamphlet show that this protection has been assured? If they do not, then it must be admitted by all fair minded and unprejudiced persons, that our legislatures have lacked enough men of independent mind and upright intentions to assert the rights of all classes.

Now suffrage is the basis of representation, and the right to choose representatives is every man's part, if he has the proper qualifications, the laboring man's as well as the commercial or professional man's. Suffrage is the delegation of the power of an individual to some agent. That power has been delegated by the farmers, mechanics, artisans, operatives and all other classes of manual toilers from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, very largely to commercial, professional and speculative men. And how has it been delegated? Is it not because the men who earn their daily bread by their daily toil have allowed that power to get into the hands of conventions arranged and controlled by professional, commercial, speculative, and office seeking men, and men who use party for any spoils that may be scattered around? And this is why we find so many professional, commercial and speculative men in the parliaments of the country, and so few, very few from the great industrial classes.

Nearly 5,000,000 who live by the industry of agriculture delegate the powers of legislation to 25 farmers, while about 1,000,000 who live by law, medicine, commerce and grab, delegate the powers of government and legislation to 65 lawyers, 50 commercial men and 35 doctors and journalists. Making a total of about 150 representatives, or two-thirds of the House of Commons from the latter mentioned classes. The farmers having one representative for about every 200,000 of their class, and the professional, mercantile and speculative having one representative for every 6,500 of their classes.

Now the mode whereby each man's vote, or each class of men's power is made to tell upon the administration of government, or in the enactment of laws in parliament is through the representatives. Governments and parliaments are agents created for the good of the people, and every man who occupies a place in either, is the agent or servant

of the people. Public opinion should never tolerate packed conventions, managed or brought into existence by a few professedly leading and ambitious spirits, whose grasping for the spoils, official emoluments and party prominence are the main objects of their efforts. A candidate elected by such men, usually look out for his own private interests and the interests of his immediate friends first, and the welfare of the people next. And the result is the mixture of selfish and personal motives with the exercise of high political duties, and graft is likely to follow. Men become representatives of themselves, of a few ambitious party leaders and office seekers, and of those clique runners, who ever have an eye toward an opening. And the great industrial class, who having been fooled into voting for a man whose promptitude, diligence and sense of responsibility toward them has been most indifferent, and they almost unnoticed after an election is over. There has ever been a headlong tendency among a few very self important men who consider themselves all in all of a party, to nominate and elect themselves, or those who suit their purpose. The time has come to restrain those men's vanity, by wise and effective means, and allow a whole constituency to nominate and elect their representatives. When this broad, popular and righteous system is inaugurated all over the country, the farmers and laboring men will have an opportunity of being properly represented in the parliaments of the country, and the political atmosphere in legislative halls, and all over the land will be purer. And selfish, canting partisans, dependents favorites, sycophants and pettifoggers will get the reward. And the evils which beset the progress of government, and seriously threaten its future prosperity and the honor of the country will be much more easily arrested.

A public man, if he is honest will not allow himself to be hindered in his duty; the interest of the people he re-

presents, and the interest of the country will be to him as everything. A man may be a brave, skilful and gallant soldier, or he may be an eminent statesman, a famous lawyer, a merchant prince or a king of industry, but if he will not take facts as they are, and things as they are, and deduce his own convictions of duty from what exists before him, he is not likely to be an entirely honest and upright man, and one who would be firm and inflexible in his opposition to private and public wrong.

All persons of common sense admire a modest, clear-headed, independent and manly character, whether such a character belongs to a professional man, a commercial man or a prince of industry, or to one who labors in the industrial ranks. And they desire to see men of this stamp fill the influential and responsible positions that are in the gift of their countrymen, no matter how high or how humble their birth or occupation.

Australia, New Zealand and England have lately shown to the world, what men of the most humble birth and occupation have accomplished in some of the highest and most influential positions in the gifts of those countries.

Men of active, thoughtful, penetrating minds, never forgetting their origin and always deeply interested in the class from which they sprang.

The working class of the Dominion are as free subjects as those of other classes. Have they raised their conceptions to the magnitude and importance of the duties that devolve upon them? They have in proportion to their number, as many clear headed, independent and manly characters among them as either Australia, New Zealand or England. Yet they have not gained so great a prominence in government and legislation as their brethren have gained in the countries mentioned, because they have not asserted their power, and used the activity and energy, that the working men of those other lands have exhibited. The

professional men, the commercial men and the office seekers appear to imagine themselves born to rule, and having been so long associated with governments and parliaments and the important official positions of the country, they cannot contemplate the displacement of any of themselves by farmers and mechanics. Government and party has meant and still means for them—patronage, office, monopolies, subsidies and bonuses. The supreme end of most professional men and their objects in politics is to enjoy the flesh-pots of office. And they have enjoyed all to the full, while the working men shrank from performing the duty which the country required of them.

Has not the time arrived for the establishment of a policy which will make all classes of Canada feel they have an equal and direct share in the management of the nation's affairs? And put an end to the policy which continually provokes bigotry, hypocrisy, and irritation, and which sacrifices the country's best interests to party triumph. There is supposed to be a federal principle and a local principle in the politics of Canada, and these principles should make a distinction between local interests and general interests. And they do to a certain extent, in administration and legislation, but the interests of the federal and local parties have become so interwoven that a provincial party has not dignity and independence enough to render itself independent of a federal party, and the great aim and principle of both is the triumph of party. And both will sacrifice the country's or the province's dearest interest to a party triumph. And it will always remain thus, until a clear-headed and independent number of men of the great farming and laboring class occupy seats in the parliaments of this country.

These men from this great class would show a whole hearted espousal of the principle that public welfare must

be sought, no matter how many party and private interests suffer.

There have been men in the cabinets and legislatures of the country who have done splendid work for the people. Some of them have been commercial and professional men, and some of them have been undone owing to the selfish desires of certain classes of their followers. They quickly scorned the narrow-mindedness which not a few of their supporters applied to politics, and they lacked the support of enough generous and broad-minded men to make their position sound and independent. Some of them managed to hold their positions and secure party triumphs while aware of the fact that there were human sharks all about them, who were grabbing at everything within reach of their official positions, or clandestinely fattening on the funds of the country. But the love of power in the leaders was too strong to weaken their position by exposure, and too strong for safeguarding the general interests of the people. And the wantonly exercise of the power entrusted to some of the followers was allowed to go on.

It seems a misfortune that people have been satisfied with things as they were, and desirous that they should continue so. For to disturb them might seriously injure a party's future, and as seriously injure the prospects of those who administer the affairs of a country, and control the gifts of place and emoluments. It would also be a hard blow to men of complacency and indiscriminate support of government measures, and to men whose pliant subserviency, clamorous support and gross adulation of leading public men in whose hands is the power of reward.

A reform brought about by the introduction of a number of clear-headed, and manly characters, belonging to the great agricultural and working classes into the legislatures and councils of a country, would restrain the influence of selfish and private interest, and introduce a

strong public spirit of manliness and independence. And restrain the indiscriminate support of public measures and implicit obedience to executive will.

Experience has established that customs which were adapted to the state of people, when pure self-interest, bigotry and narrowness prevailed, become intolerable abuses as knowledge and brotherly love increase. Possibly there will be always men found who will attach themselves to these abuses, and defend them to the bitter end, and deplore any attempt to suppress them.

But do we not hear the advancing steps of those who have been kept in the background, coming to the front of the battle? The sound is growing broader, deeper and louder. The men who man the New Dominion are moving to assert their power in parliament and secure their true political freedom. When their desires are satisfied, the history of Canada will become a record of the broadening activity and energy of those who toil in all the varied industries which stretch in length from sea to sea.

A square deal, a new awakening is near at hand. Direct nominations by the people will be substituted for slate making cliques and machines, and a broader, deeper spirit of democracy will lighten all classes, with a clearer and steadier flame.

It has been said that proportional representation will loosen the party system, and make room for independent groups. This is exactly what the class of men who are leaders in parliament and government fear. It is what most of the trusts, combines and speculators fear. They fear the independent, honest, moderate men of the country. They fear the abolition of their schemes which impose upon the public. A very clever cow boy, who now occupies a prominent position in the land, and who in his time had been all over western America, has said: "When the farmers and other men of daily toil resolve to eman-

cipate themselves from the power of great corporations and speculators, and from all dependence upon them, then will come a system suited to the actual requirements of the country." "It would be much better for the country to have a Cree squaw in Congress than a promoter or speculator."

A policy which appeals to party, class or creed, and which does not appeal to that strong vein of common sense running through humanity must be a policy of inferiority. It is a policy of party or class plotting, and has been the engine of selfish and crafty men in all ages. Such a policy is worse than a mistake, it is a moral fault countenanced by the custom it may be of the times, but it carries with it its own punishment. Public faults, like private vices receive their reward sooner or later; let us not forget this! Eloquence and tact may command attention accompanied by departing fame. Vaulting ambition and insatiable thirst for money and power become universally despised. And those who are adepts in the low arts of corruption draw upon themselves the frowns and denunciations of all classes of persons.

How many men in whom individuals, classes and nations have confided seem to us only withdrawn and not extinguished? How many men have crowned their careers with unfading garlands of modest flowers, while manly declaring their individual opinions in the face of defeat and loss of power? How many men have contended long and faithfully, that laboring men were made for themselves, not for others? And how many have been bold and honest enough to demand governments and parliaments in which all classes should have a proper and proportional share?

The above questions are left for the consideration of the reader.

We all know that reforms will be necessary as long

as the earth endures. Human work will never be perfect. New Horizons are constantly opening up, and wrongs and abuses are being continually dealt with. It is only rare that we find men giving up something belonging to themselves individually for the benefit and security of the whole.

In a country of free education, a legislature that directly represents all classes and all shades of opinion, is the best assembly for all honest and practical purposes of government. The chief interest of the Dominion, the producing cause of all its prosperity, is manual toil or labor. A vast majority of the people live by labor. This vast majority by their number and influence, should so protect themselves, by themselves, as to prohibit capitalists from preying on the earnings of their labors.

The better instincts to be found in all parties and in all classes will endorse this principle as the correct one. The proper way to attach any class of people to their allegiance is to treat them with fairness and generosity. No class of men should hesitate to apply true principles under the fear that hurtful consequences may flow to themselves.

Every individual in the country who has the rights of suffrage, (the greatest of all political rights) should endeavor to promote the ascendancy of individual opinion, of public virtue and public principle, and restrain the debasing influence of selfish and private interest. When all do this, or a majority do this there must be a general prevalence of honest, intelligent judgment, manly independence and a high and exalted sense of public duty.

No man, be he a farmer, mechanic, lawyer, manufacturer or financier can serve his country in legislation, administration or otherwise in the truest sense, except in a spirit of service and self sacrifice. When this becomes the universal principle the way for Canadian patriotism will be completely open, and there will be less flaunting of the

immense folds of imperial purple, less excitement over the glitter, trappings and extravagance of military display, and a heavy shrinkage in the army of commissioners and inspectors, who continually tramp over the provinces and continent existing upon the funds of the country.

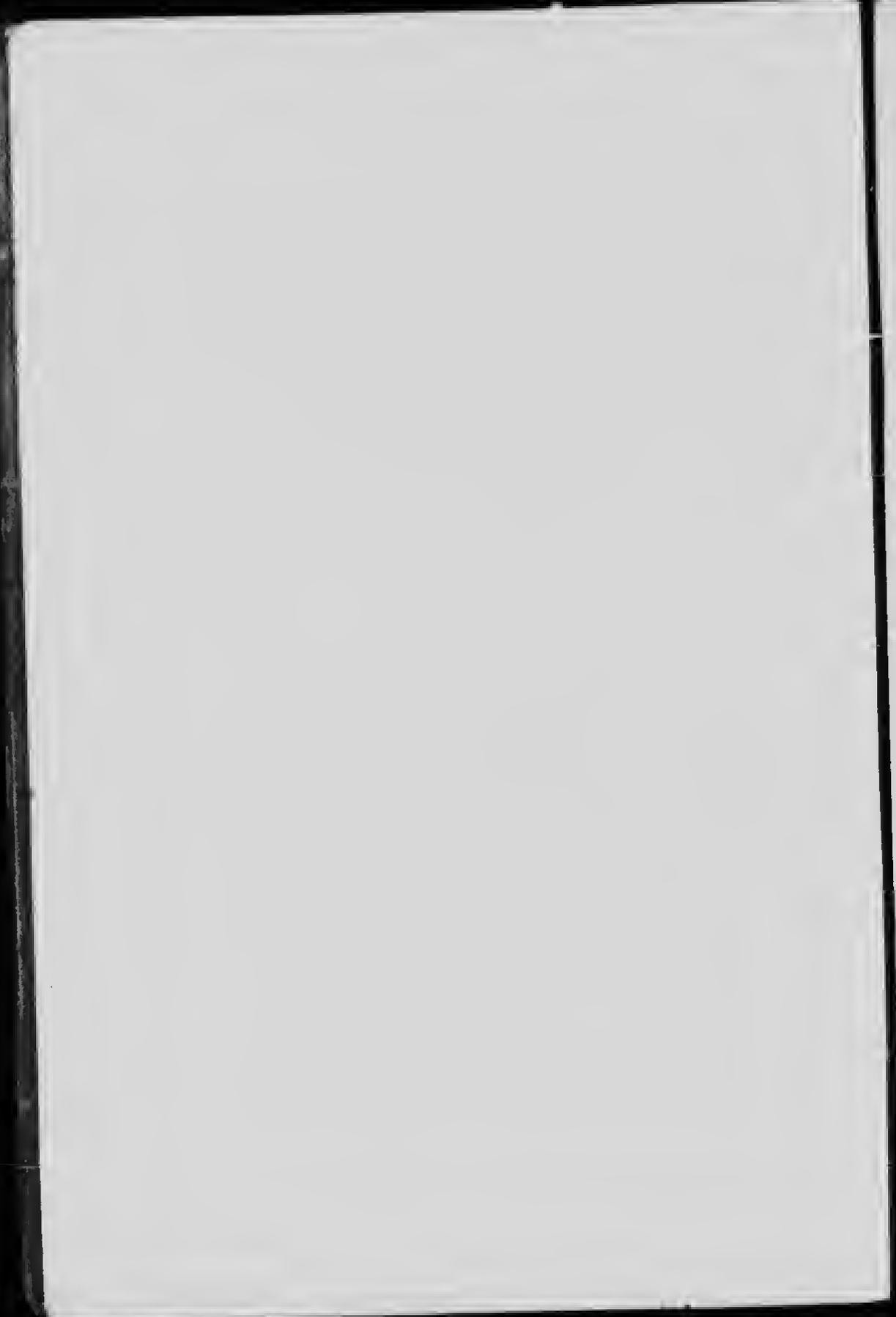
A somewhat equal representation of class by class will bear testimony to the excellency of the statesmanship displayed in parliament and council, and render this country a great example of fair play, and the brotherhood of mankind. It will also bear testimony to the genuineness of Canadian liberty, and to the deepening and strengthening of the spirit of Canadian unity.

The greatest, most opportune, most beneficial of all the country's enterprises—the Canadian Pacific Railway—which has been the principal agent in the splendid development of the land from sea to sea, and which is about to unite in metallic bands all parts of the Dominion, from the strong roll of the Atlantic ocean to the gentle swell of the Pacific, will give steadier strength to the union by promoting the welfare of Nova Scotia than any policy of government for forty years has been able to do. All Nova Scotians, and more especially the farmers, and men of other industrial employments greet the advent of this renowned company into their province with a respectful, cordial and enthusiastic welcome. The prospects and hopes of every man who tills his own soil with his own hands, and those who earn their own livelihood by their own labor will be strengthened. And they will not likely remain inactive in the choice of their own representatives, and allow commercial, professional and speculative men to continually run the machines of government.

May all who till the soil or live by their labor in this land of boasted liberty and political equality, of Christian civilization and general education, in the country that claims the twentieth century as her own, leading other na-

tions in the expansion of her commerce, in the unity of Christianity, in the extension of public instruction, in all that tends to elevate the moral and intellectual standing of her citizens and adorn the character of the nation, cease to be subservient to a system that shadows the first decade of her anticipated brightness and glory.





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