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JUNE 4, 1904

EVENTS

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

Mr Fielding's
Criticism of
the Liberal
Party

Mr. R. L. Bor-
den's Railway
Policies



MR. F. D. MONK, M.P., K.C.

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EVENTS

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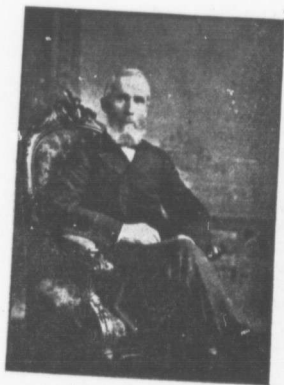
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Vol. 5, No. 23.

OTTAWA, JUNE 4, 1904.

Whole No. 272.

Mr. Fielding's Strictures on the Liberal Party.

IN the course of his splendid speech in the winding up of the debate on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway project Mr. Fielding repeated an observation which he made on a previous occasion in the same House to the effect that the Liberal party in opposing the Canadian Pacific contract had made a mistake, and on Thursday night he flouted the amendments proposed by the leaders of the Liberal party in parliament and declared that they were as the leaves of last autumn, dead and buried. If the principles of human liberty, if the right to subsistence, if the manhood of men are dear, then only is Mr. Fielding right and we propose to show why it is unwise to adopt the course that Mr. Fielding is following. He is, of course, trying to belittle the opposition to the Grand Trunk Pacific by belittling the opposition to the Canadian Pacific Railway contract. Let us remind him however, that the history and record of a great political party cannot be used as a sidelight in a general illumination at the very moment when that party is recording an important



ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

First Liberal Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.

(From photo by Topley 1888.)

decision in the broad glare of electric light. If Mr. Fielding's view is correct where are the sheet anchors of the Liberal party in this country? Are we to find them in the subterfuge of a preferential tariff framed to evade the responsibility of its authors and the necessity of living up to pledges solemnly given to parliament, to the party, and to the public? If those anchors, at all events many of them, are to be found in the amendments offered in parliament to the Canadian Pacific contract the amendments must be treated with profound respect.

There are few of the great principles of the Liberal party as it exists either in England or in Canada, which are not to be found in the protests registered in parliament against the Canadian Pacific contract and these Mr. Fielding says are now forgotten and worthless. Can it be? Is it possible that the great principles involved in the conditions of that contract, sufficient to stir the blood of Edward Blake and Wilfrid Laurier, are forgotten? We will see presently what those principles are. Mr. Fielding humorously said that if the ten commandments and the Lord's prayer were before the House for adoption the Opposition would advise amendments to them, and in order to make his point a broad national kind of thing, the Minister of Finance included the amendments to the Canadian Pacific contract offered by the Liberal party in his ridicule of the amendments offered by the Conservatives to the Grand Trunk Pacific contract. We must not despise amendments in this general way. What does Mr. Fielding think of the Fifteenth Amendment? Would he belittle that which contains the vital principle of human liberty? Sweeping assertions are seldom correct.

At the time of the Canadian Pacific contract Mr. Fielding was not in public life and apparently he feels free now to criticize the course adopted by his leaders at that time. It might strike one who is now engaged in the difficult task of carrying on party government by means of party loyalty, party tradition, and pride in party, that it is scarcely a wise thing to undermine that confidence in the history of your

party, and to implant the belief that at an important period in the history of Canada your party was wrong when for a score of years you have been told it was right. We put it that from this point of view alone the expression now of an individual opinion as to the course of the Liberal party a quarter of a century ago, coming from a man in high position and today one of the leaders of that party, is a very dangerous whim and a bad example to set to the supporters of a government which claims as its raison d'être the assertion of certain wide principles, some of which were so warmly asserted in the great debates on the C.P.R. contract, in 1880-1 and subsequent years. Possibly Mr. Fielding has taken to heart the cynical expression contained in Alexander Mackenzie's letter after the general election of 1878 when, in the bitterness of defeat, he exclaimed: "Canada does not care for rigid adherence to principle in government." It is no harm to say that looking from the gallery it seemed unnecessarily cruel to compel Sir Wilfrid Laurier to sit silent under the taunts of not only the fruitlessness but the unwisdom of his patriotic conduct in the same Chamber on a previous occasion. Mr. Fielding says that the Liberals were mistaken when they opposed the C. P. R. contract and that the Liberal party was misled when it offered to the country certain resolutions as a vehicle for the expression of the public mind. But Mr. Fielding is wrong and doubly wrong, for not only the Liberal party at that time but the Conservative party as well, and, therefore, the whole country greatly mistrusted that contract and greatly feared for the consequences of it. Take Sir Charles Tupper himself, who put that contract through parliament. He said:—

"But although the country stood by us, and a large majority of the members of this House sanctioned the action of the Government, nevertheless, it would be childish to conceal that there was a possibility of apprehension for the future. The feeling was this, that the uncertainty about the amount of money that would be required to build the railway was disturbing the public mind. Nobody could say positively what would be the liabilities of

the country, or how many millions would be required not merely to build the road but to work it, and to work it for all time to come."

It is clear, therefore, on the testimony of all parties that there was a feeling common throughout the whole country of grave apprehension for the future. It is all very well now that the development of the country has enabled the Canadian Pacific Railway project to come out all right to comment adversely on the opposition to that contract, but we have to ask ourselves in calm mind if keen men like Edward Blake, Alexander Mackenzie, Wilfrid Laurier, David Mills, Richard Cartwright, Luther Holton, George Brown, Lucius Seth Huntington, A. A. Dorian, George W. Ross, T. W. Anglin, Dr. Borden, Isaac Burpee, M. C. Cameron, John Charlton, Felix Geoffrion, Albert Smith, C. W. Weldon—if these men devoted their talents and their time for six long weeks to establish an enduring record for their party and failed in a proper conception of their duty.

Bear in mind that we are trying to recall to Mr. Fielding's mind the fact that enduring principles were involved in the opposition to the Canadian Pacific charter. Mr. Mackenzie reminded the House at that time of the efforts of the Liberal party in earlier days to rescue the Northwest of Canada from the hands of the Hudson's Bay Co. "when it was the policy of certain gentlemen, as it was that of the leader of the Tory party in Canada, Sir Edmund Head, to make the country appear worthless." The C.P.R. measure was described by him as "repugnant to common sense and morality," and he laid stress on the privilege given to the C. P. R. and to it alone of connecting with the roads in the United States. It must be remembered that as a consequence of the statute law refusing to all others the right to connect with roads in the United States the people of Manitoba were stirred into rebellion and only prevented from taking up arms to break down that law by the intervention of the Governor-General and the determination of the government of the day to buy out this privilege from the C.P.R. For it

they obtained a very large sum. The government first gave the company an outrageous monopoly and then paid them a large sum to give it up. With the bayonet at their throats they finally made a virtue of necessity.

Wilfrid Laurier in discussing this monopoly declared it to be a monstrous thing and one that would make the company landlords of the Northwest. Anyone familiar with the West and with the facts knows that this prophesy turned out to be literally true, and for many long years the C. P. R. were the absolute landlords of the Northwest. He pointed out that the C. P. R. were being enabled to extort from the settlers extravagant tolls for carrying their goods to market so that it practically amounted to the railway having proprietary interests in the farms on the prairie. This he pronounced to be feudalism in substance. The right of men to exercise their free will for the betterment of their condition and the proper upbringing of their families was considered an important enough principle to be embodied in an amendment to the C. P. R. contract. Let anyone read the speech delivered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in parliament on the 21st of Dec. 1880 and he will there see the spectacle of an ardent Canadian young enough to look forward to the expansion and development of his native country during his lifetime, pleading the cause of the settler in a new country where the natural conditions were onerous enough without saddling upon him the exactions and the tyrannies of a railway corporation. Are we to be told now even lightly, that the present leader of the Liberal party in Canada was not performing an obvious duty and doing something to his credit in moving and supporting amendments designed to remove from the statute book the grave blot contained in the C. P. R. charter? There was not only monopoly but privilege, exemption, landlordism, and license. Under that contract, Mr. Laurier told the people that the position of the settler in the West would be "the position of a Tantalus before a well dressed table at which he cannot satisfy his appetite." The early settler was doomed to be separated

from his fellowmen because they could not settle on the lands which were close to them without submitting to the terms of the company, and owing to this fatuous policy there is today many a poor woman in the Northwest of Canada whose white hair bears testimony to the quaking fear which in her isolated and lonely home seized upon her in the absence of any protection from the raids and outrages of savage Indians.

Mr. Fielding is wrong when he says that the Liberal party opposed the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway unless his expressions mean that they opposed the C. P. R. contract. They are two very different things. To quote the language used at that time by the present Prime Minister, which will be found on page 135 of Mr. Barthe's book:—

"We are all agreed that a Canadian Pacific Railway must be built on Canadian soil. We all agree on this point.

Mr. Langevin:—Hear, hear!

Mr. Laurier:—I do not think there are two opinions in regard to that matter.

Mr. Langouin:—Your leader differs from you.

Mr. Laurier:—No; he says that we should go on with the building of the road as the requirements of the country may demand. I have never heard expressed here the opinion that the Canadian Pacific Railway should not be built."

It is, therefore, clear that the Liberal party in parliament did not oppose the building of a railway but they did oppose the building of the North Shore section of it, and they did object to the improvidence of the contract to the monopoly and to those numerous conditions which the Liberal party maintained; then as it still maintains were in derogation of the rights of a free people. And today the C. P. R. main line is the only railway in the Dominion of Canada over which the government has no control.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his supporters in parliament, and out of it have no reason to apologize for the course taken by the Liberal leaders at the time of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract. As a matter of fact the Liberals were the first to construct part of the transcontinental railway and it was Mr.

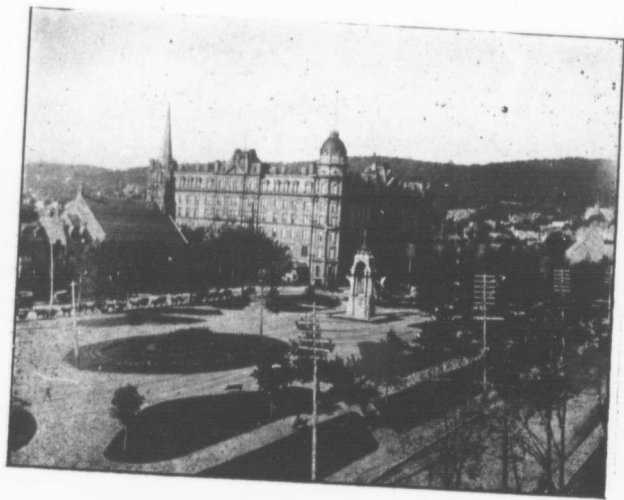
Mackenzie who built the only railway giving access for many years to Manitoba. As early as 1874 Mr. J. D. Edgar was sent to British Columbia as the agent of Mr. Mackenzie's government "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of feeling in the province with regard to certain changes which were deemed necessary in the mode and in the limit of time for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway." It was manifest, therefore, that the opposition in 1880 and 1881 was directed against the barbarous terms of a particular contract and not against the building of a railway which had already been commenced, and which under the Carnarvon terms was to be pushed with the utmost vigor and "completed on or before the 31st of December, 1890, at least so far as to connect with the American railways at the west end of Lake Superior."

Mr. Mackenzie submitted a Bill to the House to build the Canadian Pacific Railway in four sections, two east of Winnipeg and two west, with branches from Winnipeg to Pembina, and from Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay. The Bill provided for the construction of the road by private enterprise or as a government work. Mr. Mackenzie proposed a subsidy of \$10,000 a mile and a land grant of 20,000 acres per mile, with a guarantee of four per cent for a given number of years on the sum to be stated in the contract for each mile, all contracts to be submitted for parliamentary approval. The government reserved to itself the right to assume possession of the whole or any section of the railway on the payment of ten per cent in addition to the original cost, less the value of the land and money subsidies received. Mr. Mackenzie's plan was to construct the road out of the revenues of the Dominion without increasing the rate of taxation. The measure fell short of the construction of a transcontinental railway immediately on Canadian territory (the line through the State of Maine was not then contemplated) inasmuch as Mr. Mackenzie's scheme designed to utilize the American system of railways for access to Manitoba by way of Pembina, leaving the eastern section along the north shore of Lake Superior to be con-

structed at a later period. It is said that Mr. Mackenzie's speech on the introduction of this Bill was one of the ablest and most patriotic speeches ever delivered in the Canadian parliament.

We should guard against bringing up the present generation in the belief that the Liberal leaders in the seventies were small men who opposed the building of a trans-

continental railway. When Mr. Fielding states in parliament that in his opinion the Liberals were mistaken in opposing the C.P.R. it is apt to convey the impression to the younger men of the country that the course of the Liberals at that time was synonymous with opposition to a transcontinental railway scheme.



A familiar scene in Montreal, showing Windsor Hotel.

EVENTS

Published Weekly.

ARNOTT J. MAGURN, Editor.

VOL. 5. JUNE 4, 1904. No. 23

THE celebration of Victoria Day in London, Eng., does not seem to have had the royal patronage. The Children's Aid Society made a celebration, and the Canadian Society in London celebrated the day by a banquet at which the chairman remarked that more loyalty existed in Canada than was generally found within the sound of Bow Bells. That this loyalty, however, is tempered with discretion and common sense was made evident in the address delivered by Sir Charles Tupper, who is reported as "indignant at the strictures of the English press on Canada not contributing its share to the defence of the empire." He continued by saying that "Canada was liberally doing her share by bringing in population and developing the country so as to sustain them and strengthen the weakest part of the empire. No amount of contributions to ironclads could effect such good work." It is noteworthy that Sir Charles Tupper has not changed his old views with reference to a fund for common defence. He is still opposed to any contribution by Canada to the army or navy of England whether in the name of empire or not. If Sir Wilfrid Laurier expressed that opinion he would be hounded from one end of the country to the other by the opposition press as disloyal and a traitor. Yet if Sir Wilfrid did express that opinion he would be no less right than is Sir Charles Tupper. If England is not satisfied that to build up Canada is the best way Canadians can strengthen the Anglo-Saxon world then England is pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp that will lead her into quagmires and shifting sands.

THE Ottawa Citizen thinks it is rather a coincidence that both Premier Laurier and Premier Ross withheld from the representatives of the people the fact that the Grand Trunk Pacific had applied for land grants. There is a further coincidence which the Citizen has overlooked. In December of the year 1880 a motion was placed in the hands of the Speaker of the House of Commons for a Return of other offers for the work of constructing a transcontinental railway, and Sir John Macdonald refused to bring them down, and the Conservative party sustained him to the number of 112 as against the 52 votes polled by the opposition.

THE severest criticism of the Grand Trunk Pacific scheme uttered in parliament was made by Mr. Fielding when he said that the course of the Liberal party with respect to the Canadian Pacific Railway was wrong, for that course was adopted by a leader of the Liberal party who is now the leader of the Liberal party and if he was wrong then his opponents are likely to say he is wrong now, and they can quote the Minister of Finance in support of that line of argument.

MR. FREDERICK DEBARTZCH MONK, K.C., D.C.L., whose portrait is presented on the cover this week, is the member for Jacques Cartier in the Canadian Parliament. On the paternal side his family is English; his mother's people came from France. Her name was Debartzch. He is a practising lawyer in Montreal, a professor in Laval University, and has been eight years a member of the House of Commons. He was chosen as Conservative leader for the province of Quebec three years ago but retired from that position a few months ago. He is faithful in attending to his parliamentary duties and is a type of man whose public services are certain to be of advantage to his country.

Mr. R. L. Borden's Railway Policy.

THE title of this article refers to the railway policy voted on in the House of Commons as Mr. R. L. Borden's for the reason that the leaders of the Conservative party in this country have time and again condemned anything in the shape of government ownership. They have over and over declared that it would be wholly opposed to the interests of Canada. One of the last public utterances of the leader of the opposition in the Canadian parliament when that leader was Sir Charles Tupper was in denunciation of the principle of government ownership of railways in this country. It turns out that the leader of the Opposition four or five years later speaks with a different voice, and it has yet to be determined whether in regard to this question the Conservative party will listen to Sir John Macdonald's and Sir Charles Tupper's matured judgment upon it, and recall Mr. John Haggart's opinion adverse to it, or whether they will discard these and accept the judgment of a new man speaking on this question for the first time.

Mr. Borden's course on the transcontinental railway question has been a variegated and shifting one. He first proposed an alternative line. That was last year. This year, when he spoke at great length upon the question, he could only go so far as to express an opinion in favor of extending the Intercolonial as far as Georgian Bay. He devoted the bulk of his speech to extracts from the utterances of his opponents and from Mr. Blair's speeches to show that the government was inconsistent, and at the end he moved a resolution expressing his own policy and that of the organized Opposition. It declared for the best and cheapest carriage for our products and

importations, and laid stress on making Canadian routes the most economical. In order to accomplish desirable results the resolution declared that the following objects and considerations should be kept constantly in view:—

(a) To develop and extend the government system of railways, and to free the management thereof from party political control or interference.

(b) To secure absolute and thorough control of rates and traffic facilities in return for reasonable public aid to railway construction or improvement.

There were other considerations mentioned but only one other bears upon the point we propose to discuss and that was as follows:—

It (the G. T. P. contract) not only fails to provide for the extension of the Intercolonial Railway, but it commits the country to a project which is calculated to postpone for fifty years and probably for a century any attempt to establish and develop in Canada a national system of railways owned and controlled by the people.

The railway policy of Mr. Borden and his supporters as set forth in the resolution would take up if published in full about two pages of this paper, and concluded by asking the House to declare that the public interest required the immediate construction and control by the Dominion of such lines of railway in the West as are required, and the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to Georgian Bay and thence to Winnipeg. This was on April 5 of the present year.

On May 26 Mr. Borden appeared to desire to place before the country another policy, which was not the one of the session of 1903, and was not the one of April 5 of the present session, but one

which was expressed in the following resolution:—

The House is of opinion that instead of ratifying the proposed agreement it would be more in the public interest that the Dominion should assume the whole obligation necessary for extending across the continent the present government system of railways thereby completing a transcontinental railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific entirely owned by and under the control of the people of Canada.

The difference between this resolution and the clauses of the omnibus resolution of April 5 which are reprinted above is quite marked, and of course there is a remarkable difference between either of them and Mr. Borden's policy of last session. The resolution of April 5 declared in favor of developing and extending the government system of railways and it reproached the government for the contract which a subsequent clause of the resolution declared would postpone any attempt to establish and develop in Canada a national system of railways "owned and controlled by the people." These are general observations.

Last session Mr. Borden went elaborately into particulars as to the best course to be pursued, and declared emphatically against an all rail route and in favor of using the water route. He was clearly in favor of extending the Intercolonial to the Georgian Bay rather than let it what he termed "stagnate." At the terminus of the Canada Atlantic he described a steamer service to Fort William, told what low freight rates would prevail, and in addition advocated the acquisition by the government of the C.P.R. from North Bay to Fort William operating it by means of an independent commission and giving all roads equal running powers over it. Then he proceeded to say — "The fourth feature of the policy which I propose is this, I would assist the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway on reasonable terms to build a line north of the Canadian Northern Railway and as far west as Edmonton or some adjacent point. This assistance should be coupled with complete control of the rates."

Mr. Borden's railway policy is therefore divided into three chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 (1903)—Use of water routes,

lake, canal and river and extension of Intercolonial to Georgian Bay; also assistance to the Grand Trunk Pacific (p. 9001, vol. 4, Hansard 1903.)

Chapter 2 (April 5, 1904)—Control of rates in return for reasonable public aid (clause b); also to extend Intercolonial as a government road and free it from government control, (viz. to "free it from party political control")

Chapter 3, (May 26, 1904)—Extend the Intercolonial across the continent owned and controlled "by the people."

It will be noticed that in all his various utterances and resolutions and amendments the Opposition leader has carefully avoided the use of any expression indicating government operation of a railway. His last resolution reads, a railway "entirely owned by and under the control of the people of Canada." In the resolution of April 5 of this year the expression was used "the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to the Georgian Bay and thence to Winnipeg." meaning we presume the purchase of the difficult North Shore Section of the C.P.R. As Mr. Borden does not propose to operate his government owned and controlled road it means that the government should build a road from the Atlantic to the Pacific and hand it over to some persons to operate. The operation by the government of the Intercolonial Railway has been such a disastrous financial failure that Mr. Borden's Ontario supporters would not agree that the people should operate his road after they had built and paid for it. The satisfaction of the people of Canada in spending \$70,000,000 on a railway that suffer annually from a huge deficit is to be increased by extending the white elephant's trunk line. If the present annual deficit on 2,000 miles of road is \$2,500,000 a year what amount would we have to pay in interest on the public debt to operate 4,000 miles? If it is not to be operated and managed by government then it must be leased to a company and that would be open to the objections raised by the opposition against the government construction of the difficult portion of the new transcontinental line known as the G.T.P.

By the way isn't it a descent into the arena of the labor agitator to use an expression

"controlled by the people". The people can only control it through a control of the government. The Intercolonial if extended to the Pacific would be controlled, man-

aged, operated and directed by the government. Why this use of the word "people" thus infringing on the vocabulary of the Socialist?

A Point Clearly Settled.

IN the Montreal Star of last Tuesday there is an editorial entitled "The Degradation of Parliament" beginning as follows:—

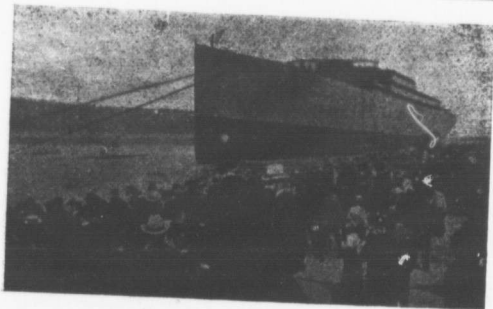
The suppression of the original Grand Trunk Pacific Memorandum like the suppression of the Blair Memorandum, is only one more indication of the tendency to supersede parliamentary government in Canada by cabinet government.

We are afraid that the Star's knowledge of either parliamentary or cabinet government is not complete enough for the expression of an opinion. Prerogative government was replaced long ago by parliamentary government and there is no such thing as cabinet government. The cabinet administers the government. As to the particular point of the non-production of the memorandum or petition dated at Montreal, Nov. 3, 1902, and addressed to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and signed by Geo. A. Cox, C. M. Hays and Mr. Wainwright, its production is not required by the parliamentary rule.

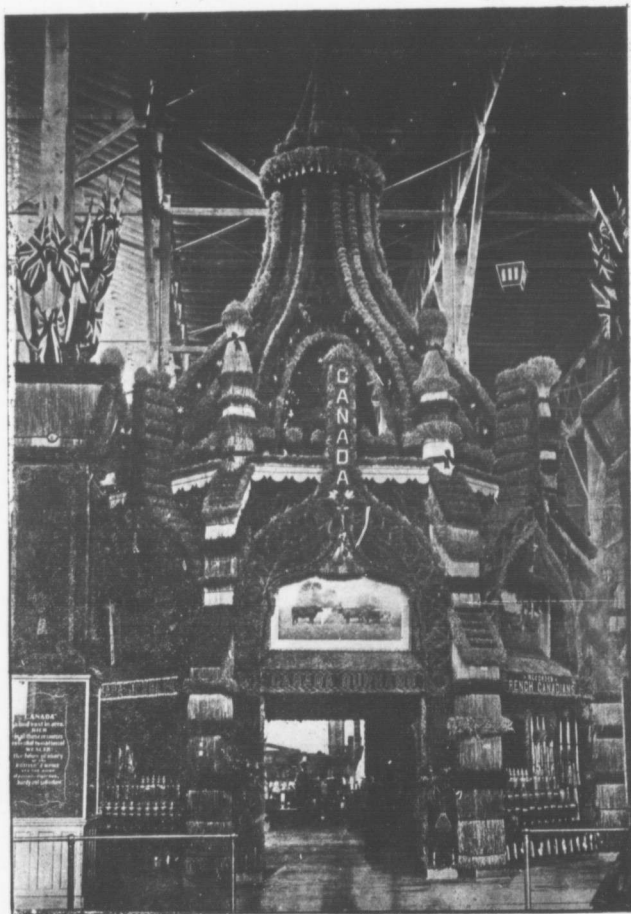
We will quote two rules, one general and the other applying specifically to the case

in point. The general rule says:—"If the ministers possess the confidence of parliament, it is inexpedient and unwise, as a general rule, to interfere with their decisions in regard to details of administration, except in cases wherein it may appear that the public interests have been injuriously affected by the action of ministers."

The specific rule is to be found on page 159 of Walpole's Todd, as follows:—"The House ought not to insist upon the production of papers and correspondence which concerned the preparation and preliminary consideration of measures." If the Star will examine the speech of Mr. Disraeli on this point (to be found at page 1273 of volume 193 of the English Hansard (it will be forced to conclude that in not producing papers which concerned the preparation and preliminary consideration of a measure the government acted upon the lines of the best parliamentary authorities in England. This is a stronger argument than the statement that the document was marked confidential.



The Launching.



Photographic reproduction of the exterior of the Canadian Exhibit in the Agriculture Building, World's Fair, St. Louis.

An Alarming Attitude.

A REMARKABLE circular has been sent to the members of the Canadian Parliament entitled "The Ruin of the Canadian Woollen Industry." It is headed: "Editorial from the May number of Textile World Record, Boston, Mass., the leading publication devoted to the textile manufacturing interests of the United States. This article is devoted to a demonstration of the assertion that the Canadian woollen industry requires as high protection as is accorded to the industry under the United States tariff. It also discloses a concerted movement on the part of certain manufacturers in Canada to join hands with the manufacturers of the United States and make common cause. They are shrewd enough to see that tariff legislation at Washington and tariff legislation at Ottawa bear very close relation one to the other, and they also know that at the present time the Democratic leader in Congress is leading his party back to the tariff issue as one upon which they can best appeal to the electors of the Union.

Let us proceed to prove the above assertions. The article starts out with the decision of the directors of the Canadian Woollen Mills to sell the property and discontinue manufacturing. This calls attention to what they term the desperate straits into which the Canadian woollen industry has been brought by a low ad valorem tariff. It will be noted before the conclusion of these remarks low stress is laid on the inadequacy of an ad valorem tariff for the purposes of protection and the consequent necessity for a tariff of specific duties if adequate protection is to be afforded and, further, we will find an official definition of that famous term, adequate protection.

Another feature of the case presented by the Canadian protectionists who have caus-

ed this article to be distributed in parliament is the necessity disclosed of attacking British goods. British goods must be kept out of the market at all hazards. There is no loyal disquisition in this circular about preference and a united empire, and all the tommyrot which is crammed into some of the jargon that goes by the name of editorial in some of the Canadian papers. This is a straight business proposition and consequently as frank as it could be made. Mr. W. R. Brock, M.P. is quoted, as the president of the company, as follows:—

"Canadian made woollens suffer from Old Country competition only in the matter of price. One Canadian mill turns out as many different patterns as half a dozen Scotch mills, and the Canadian manufacturers have nothing to fear when the quality and style of the goods are contrasted. The tariff preference, however, has given Old Country manufacturers the opportunity to lay their goods down here cheaper than goods could be turned out from our own factories, and the plants controlled by the company could be kept in operation only three or four days a week, which meant a loss."

The article goes on to state that:

"The Canadian preferential tariff on British woollens is but 23 1-3 per cent, the rate on woollen goods from other countries being 50 per cent higher or 35 per cent. The result of this preferential rate has been an avalanche of attractive, cotton and shoddy goods from England sold at ridiculously low prices. Ninety per cent of the woollens imported into Canada come from England. These cheap fabrics have invaded all parts of the Dominion and merchant tailors, accepting the fact that the goods were imported from England as a sufficient guarantee of their quality, have been duped with cotton worsteds, shoddy woollens and slazy fabrics loaded and stiffened with weighting materials."

The Canadian consumer is reproached for "becoming imbued with the desire for cheap clothing", and so the Canadian

manufacturers "find themselves unable to compete with the imported rubbish." It will be news to most of the Canadian consumers to find that nine out of every ten dollars they spend on woollen goods are spent on imported rubbish and that they have been duped with cotton worsteds and shoddy wollens. It may also be of interest to Mr. Chamberlain and his supporters in the United Kingdom to find that the market the "British manufacturer requires in Canada is being warned against him as the producer of shoddy goods in the sale of which he must perforce obtain money under false pretenses. This indictment of the British manufacturer will give much comfort to Mr. Chamberlain and, perhaps, cause him to revise his telegram sent to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association expressing his appreciation of their sympathy with his movement.

Those who inspired the circular declare as an important consideration that "the low ad valorem rate in Canada means practically free trade in cheap goods." The result of the low preferential tariff is stated to be that "the people of Canada are clothed in foreign goods" and as a result of the high Dingley tariff the people of the United States are clothed in domestic goods. This gratifying condition of affairs is attributed to a ninety per cent protective tariff. The object, therefore, of the protectionists in Canada as set forth in this circular is to bring about a highly gratifying state of things in the woollen industry of Canada by the same means, namely the imposition of a specific duty which would conceal behind it the protection of ninety per cent.

This is illustrated further by a declaration in the official organ of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, May issue. In a leading article entitled "Preference Without Sacrifice" the mask is thrown off and hostility to the entrance of British goods into this market is no longer disguised. It starts out by quoting the resolution of that association declaring for a substantial preference to the mother country, "recognizing always that under any conditions the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian pro-

ducers", and the definition of adequate protection is set forth later on in the same article where an argument is made to depend upon the proposition, "if our general tariff approximated closely to that of the United States with a preference in favor of Britain." In the paragraph preceding the statement is made that:

Canada cannot even agree not to make increases in the tariff on British goods when such increases are necessary to preserve Canadian home industries. For instance the Canadian woollen industry is now in danger of extinction owing to British competition resulting from the tariff preference in favor of the United Kingdom. Canadian manufacturers advocate the raising of the general tariff to such an extent that when the preference is allowed on British imports Canadian industries will not be destroyed, but at the same time British manufacturers will have a great advantage over foreigners in supplying us with whatever we require to import.

Well, isn't this beautiful. The same people rage against the preferential tariff as letting in foreign rubbish (namely, goods imported from the mother country) and the tariff is to be raised to a 90 per cent basis on wollens at all events, so as to "afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers." Only when the Canadian factories get through with supplying the Canadian people at their own prices will the people of Great Britain be allowed to have a running jump at a tariff wall at a point where it is not quite as high as the wall separating us from the United States. By this means of lofty jumping the British manufacturer is told that he will have a great advantage over foreigners. As regards his own goods the circular now being distributed by the protectionists of Canada to members of parliament describes them as foreign rubbish.

The same article also contains a complaint against the Wilson Bill because it left the domestic products of the United States with only a 40 per cent duty and under that low tariff eighteen out of every twenty woollen mills closed down. Here is proof positive that the adequate protection which is demanded by parliamentary resolution regards a forty per cent duty as too low and a ninety per cent duty as about the proper example for the Canadian people to copy from the United States.

Party Fidelity and Ontario Purism.

ON the editorial pages of the June number of the Canadian Magazine there appears a signed article entitled "Party Fidelity" which is such a complete misconception of the subject and contains so much that can only be properly termed inane that we feel impelled to notice it. Any article on political matters emanating from the office of the Canadian Magazine is usually amusing, for that publication does not appear to feel at liberty to express an opinion one way without also expressing an opinion the contrary way on the same page. This time, however, the magazine expresses two or three unqualified opinions. One is that the debates in the House of Commons at Ottawa are "a farce". This striking observation is followed by the remark that "the government whips its followers into line by saying that the policy it has laid down must be upheld or there will be no distribution of patronage by the members who oppose it, and after all what is the position of a member of the ruling party without patronage?" It would be interesting to know where the magazine gets the information as to what the government says to its followers, and also to have an answer to the question, what is wrong in a government whipping its followers into line? Every government has a whip and every government expects its followers to get into line.

Would the magazine be surprised to know that what it seems to regard as an outrage, and as connected with a farce, is a strictly constitutional and British practice in the mother of parliaments? Todd in his standard work on parliamentary government in England points out that government would be impossible if the supporters of the government did not regard it as a duty to sustain the government, even though in some of the details of policy or adminis-

tration they might not wholly approve. The magazine, if it made any inquiry at Ottawa, would learn that the supporters of the government do not require to be whipped into line in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. They were elected to support the government and they are only too willing to support it, and most of them have to return and answer for the discharge of the trust reposed in them by the majority which elected them for the purpose of supporting the government. As to patronage it is laid down by May that it has ever been used to promote the interests and consolidate the strength of that party in which its distribution happens to be vested, and, "as a means of rewarding past political service and of ensuring future support."

A practice to be strongly reprobated is rapidly growing up in Ontario of trying to lead the public to believe that politics in Canada are corrupt, and politicians impure and self-seeking. No one reading the daily press of Ontario, particularly the goody press of Toronto, would imagine that our legislatures contained any members possessing the ordinary instincts of personal honor or that public spirit necessary to the right conduct of the public business. A cry is being raised in these publications against party, and yet the very existence of parliamentary government upon which we rely for the preservation of our liberties depends upon party and party fidelity. Fidelity to party is as praiseworthy as fidelity to an employer. Yet we are told in the Canadian Magazine that, "there are some members of parliament, some publicists, and some journalists who are struggling against this undue exercise of party fidelity. The undue exercise is detected in Mr. Borden's followers all voting with him on the one side and the government

followers all voting on the other. It might as well be said that for a man to draw his breath is an undue exercise of his functions. It is the primal and essential function of a political party to be loyal, constant and subordinate. If it wasn't for the solidarity of party the Crown would never have been compelled to surrender its power and the people would never have been enabled to take into their own hands the governing of themselves. In his fight against an English King, who could not even understand the English language, for the transference of power his majesty was not fit to exercise, Walpole, the first great English Prime Minister, resorted even to bribery so that he might make the House of Commons, that is, party, the seat of power. These gentlemen in Ontario are very fond of quoting their distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Goldwin Smith, and his weekly paper is quoted in the magazine article under discussion. In writing on the dreadful state of party politics in Canada they unfold a dire apocalypse of woe, to use a phrase of Mr. Goldwin Smith's in the effort to impress their point on the public mind. Let us, as it were, appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. We take the first to be represented by a man who is writing in controversy upon current affairs and the second to be represented by the historian who is writing under a sense of responsibility in the calm atmosphere of his study. Mr. Goldwin Smith in dealing with the party system which he sometimes pronounces a failure in connection with such subjects as the granting of subsidies to railways, has laid it down that 'the system, which was first established nearly two hundred years ago and which has produced every single liberty that we enjoy, and which made troublesome, incapable, weak and corrupt monarchs in England constitutional, is today practically the state. Under the old system the nation was governed by a council which included men of different principles and was not connected with a party in parliament. The cabinet system of today has as a fundamental basis an organised party in parliament. It is true that in the same history Mr. Goldwin

Smith criticizes party as wanting a permanent basis in human nature, but he finds that in doing this he has to enter into an argument with Burke and other great parliamentarians. The magazine writer should, therefore, remember, in quoting Mr. Goldwin Smith as condemning party fidelity, that he will be unable to quote anything from the serious writings of that distinguished publicist in contradiction of the statement that for the working of the system party fidelity is indispensable.

The magazine article goes on, in that peculiar tone of the professional purist to which we have referred, to suggest that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. R. L. Borden should 'loose the reins which they now hold so tightly over their followers.' The question is asked why Canada should not have 'a parliament of free men instead of a parliament of party-bound slaves and conscienceless adventurers.' The members of the House of Commons are also referred to as 'brass-mouthed graphophones and voting puppets', and an appeal is made to 'the journalists of Canada to place the good of the country before the success of their respective political parties.' This exhibition of Toronto Pharisaism is so obviously earnest and sincere as to be positively refreshing. The gentleman who signs the article is not entitled by experience or authority to lecture the journalists of Canada. The experienced and capable journalists of Canada believe that success at the polls of one of the political parties means the good of the country. One would be interested very much to see how the magazine would point out a method of placing the good of the country before the success of respective political parties, and it might also say whether a public description of the House of Commons of Canada as a slave-like body of conscienceless adventurers is calculated to advance the interests of the country which created the House? A writer who sends abroad through the mails a public slander on the parliament of his own country does not establish his right to participate in even the discussion of public affairs, much less to advise what he terms the journalists of Canada. It is to be regretted that an admirable publication like the Canadian Magazine should not confine itself to those departments in which it is admirable.

According to Cocker.

(Master Cocker, with Wisbech and Luddendenfoot is at the New Gallery. The exquisite expression of boredom on Cocker's cherubic face shows that he is in a perfect state of health, and is even better pleased with himself than ever. The other mere men are as glossy as usual. Having examined the walls with minute and laudicrous care they return to Cocker, who has never left the middle of the gallery, where he is staring vacantly at his ferrule.)

Wisbech!: It's great my dear old boy, gr at.

Luddendenfoot: England is looking up.

Wisbech: I say, you surely haven't been here all the time Cocker?

Cocker (who has been encouraged by Clement Shorter's enthusiastic denunciation of Chesterton to glance at Britain's one great writer's work): Art is a sinful waste of time. I cannot conscientiously give it my encouragement.

Wisbech: Good Lord!

Luddendenfoot:(anxiously): What is it? Lumbago or neuralgia?

Cocker (looking from one to the other with pity): Vaultin' sheep! You throw your shillings into the lap of convention and utter indiscriminate words of enthusiasm, because you consider it one of the things to do—like takin' mustard with beef.

Wisbech: I beg your pardon. I'm frightfully keen on Art. So's Footy.

Luddendenfoot: Rather. If I could afford it I'd have every square inch of my room covered with Alden and Hassel's advertisement designs.

Wisbech: Art a waste of time! Well!

Cocker: I said "sinful." It is the wrong word. I should have said criminal.

Wisbech (to Luddendenfoot sotto voce): He's off!

Cocker: For this reason. Every man and woman is born into the world for a

definite purpose. 'If it is his fortunate lot not to be born in the pages of Burke, he is here to be useful, not ornamental; plain, not coloured. A man who paints not only wastes his life, but a great deal of good canvas.

Wisbech: But suppose he paints well?

Cocker: No man paints well enough to be excused. Further, a man who paints does not only criminally misuse his life—this is a free country in which it is illegal to prevent a man going to the bad his own way—but he leads others astray.

Wisbech:How, for goodness' sake?

Cocker: He seduces his fellow-creatures who have no brains of their own away from Nature; he entices them away from the true to the false, from things as they are to things as he thinks they ought to be. Art is the glorification of the untrue. The greatest painting ever perpetrated is no better than the song of a divine singer heard through the phonograph.

Wisbech (gasping) Must you? Is it absolutely necessary?

Luddendenfoot (sulkily): Keep it up!

Cocker: The great problem of the hour, according to Mr. Chaplin, is how to get the people back to the land. It would be very easy to get them back to nature. Make art, like loitering, a punishable offence. Issue a summons against any person caught painting with intent, and admit no bail. Make the sale of colours illegal. In this way one of the curses of the country would be stamped out.

Wisbech (with a touch of anger): You might as well stamp out acting.

Cocker: There is precious little acting to stamp out as things are. Now that Tree has floated his school, that little will not remain with us long. What we have to do is to exert ourselves to revive the first-hand observation which culture—a dreadful word, almost as bad as serviette—has pretty nearly killed among the frock-coat

public. There are thousands of people—look how they swarm!—who talk glibly of foliage and undergrowth and the female form divine who know nothing of either. If one were to tell them that the famous painters young persons lolling round marble pillars in the sort of fancy dress which even smart society has not yet arrived at were monstrosities, they would turn upon one a scornful look and murmur the word Philistine. Measure them and you will see that they stand eight feet eight without any socks. They are not grown. Barnum has not yet discovered them.

Wisbech: That is poetic licence.

Cocker: In plain English it is misrepresentation, just as that other great and popular painter's landscapes, in which the shadows of his churches and yewtrees upon the river are eight times as long as the churches and the yew trees, are misrepresentations. To those who have travelled and observed all these paintings are valueless, in that they do not bear any resemblance to nature. If, instead of painters, these people were photographers, then one could have nothing but praise for them. The whole point of a good photograph is that it shall bear no resemblance to the person it represents. If there were no painters, all these over-dressed people would get their ideas of men, women and places first-hand, and the cant of culture—the grossest of all humbug—would die the death. Every man has two picture galleries if he chooses to use them. These puerile coloured pieces are valueless.

Wisbech: I remember that your walls in the High were covered with works of art.

Cocker: Ah, being very young I wanted to impress people with the idea that I was a sad dog, a tremendous blood. There was no other excuse for it.

Wisbech: But you must allow that pictures have their use.

Cocker: To convey impressions, yes. To the man who wishes to make his friends

believe that he had ancestors they are invaluable.

Wisbech: What about the National Gallery?

Cocker: As a shelter from the rain it is an excellent institution. From an artistic point of view it cannot hold a candle to Madame Tussaud's.

Wisbech: Then you mean to say that you consider the Academy—

Cocker (with a shudder): Don't! That rendezvous of suburbia must not be brought into the argument.

Luddendenfoot (sadly): Let's go.

Wisbech: Yes. Come on, Cocker. You've choked me off.

Cocker: Don't let me keep you. I shall stay and study these people.

Wisbech: Do you find them interesting?

Cocker: All sheep are interesting. I like to see the plucky way they have of givin' themselves headaches in lookin' at things they don't care tuppence about in order to get the value for their entrance fee. I love to hear their comments also. Nothin' pleases me more than to see the look of bewildered admiration flit over the faces of over-taxed householders when they make the tremendous discovery that their favourite artist has given his anemic lady in the sad-coloured nightshirt six toe.

Wisbech: It doesn't interest me.

Luddendenfoot: All you've made me feel like is lifting weights and punching the ball.

Cocker: Then leave me here. I cannot tear myself away. I am going to follow that young man and young woman he is walkin' out with. See how happy and shiny they look now. I shall not leave until they do—miserable and wretched, surfeited with Art. Art, forsooth!

(Cocker waves his hand to his friends as they hurry away. Allowing them time to leave the building, the admirer of Chesterton hurries away also. His destination is the Criterion bar.)

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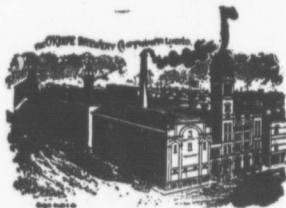
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