

THE  
LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PLATFORM

AS LAID DOWN BY

R. L. BORDEN, M.P.,

OPPOSITION LEADER,

AT HALIFAX.

AUGUST 28th, 1907.

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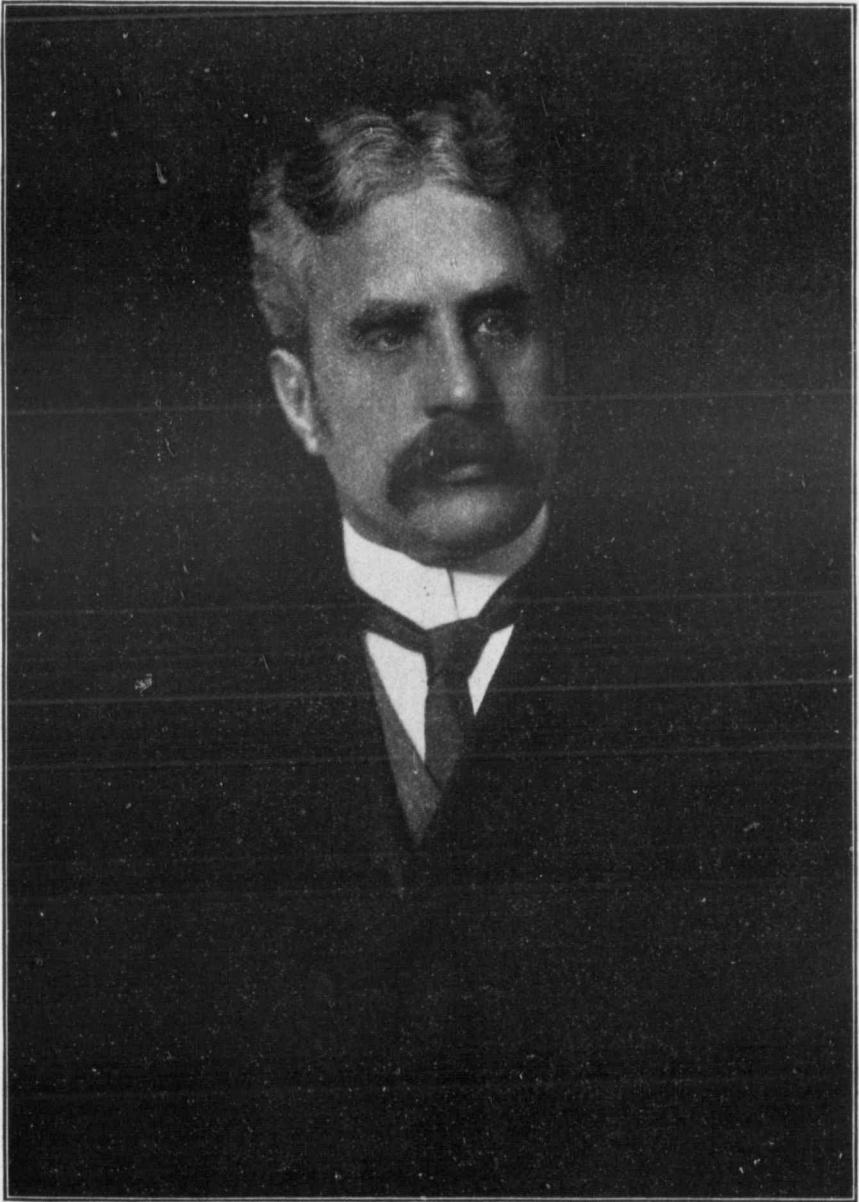
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R. A. Borden.

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AT HALIFAX, AUGUST 20th, 1907,

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## PUBLIC FINANCE.

1. Honest appropriation and expenditure of public moneys in the public interest.

## APPOINTMENT BY MERIT.

2. Appointment of public officials upon considerations of capacity and personal character and not of party service alone.

## HONEST ELECTIONS.

3. More effective provisions to punish bribery and fraud at elections, to ensure thorough publicity as to expenditures by political organizations, to prevent the accumulation of campaign funds for corrupt purposes and to prohibit contributions thereto by corporations, contractors and promoters, to expedite the hearing of election petitions and to prevent collusive arrangements for the withdrawal or compromise thereof, to provide for a thorough investigation of corrupt practices, and if necessary to appoint an independent prosecuting officer charged with that duty, to simplify the procedure therefor and to enforce the laws so amended.

## CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

4. A thorough and complete reformation of the laws relating to the Civil Service so that future appointments shall be made by an independent commission acting upon the report of examiners after competitive examination.

## REFORM OF THE SENATE.

5. Such reform in the mode of selecting members of the Senate as will make that Chamber a more useful and representative legislative body.

## IMMIGRATION.

6. A more careful selection of the sources from which immigration shall be sought, a more rigid inspection of immigrants and the abolition of the bonus system except under very

special circumstances and for the purpose of obtaining particularly desirable classes of settlers.

#### PUBLIC LANDS AND FRANCHISES FOR THE PEOPLE.

7. The management and development of the public domain (in which are to be included great national franchises) for the public benefit and under such conditions that a reasonable proportion of the increment of value arising therefrom shall inure to the people.

#### NON-PARTISAN MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

8. The operation and management of our government railways by an independent commission free from partisan control or influence.

#### NATIONAL PORTS, TRANSPORTATION AND COLD STORAGE.

9. The development and improvement of our national waterways, the equipment of national ports, the improvement of transportation facilities and consequent reduction of freight rates between the place of production and the market, whether at home or abroad, and the establishment of a thorough system of cold storage.

#### A PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION.

10. The reorganization of the present Railway Commission as a Public Utilities Commission with wider powers and more extended jurisdiction, so as to establish thorough and effective control over all corporations owning or operating public utilities or invested with franchises of a national character.

#### PUBLIC TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES.

11. The establishment, after due investigation, of a system of national telegraphs and telephones under conditions which shall be just to capital already invested in those enterprises.

#### IMPROVED POSTAL FACILITIES.

12. The improvement of existing postal facilities, especially in newly developed portions of the country, and the inauguration, after proper inquiry as to cost, of a system of free rural mail delivery.

#### TARIFF POLICY.

13. A fiscal policy which will promote the production within Canada of all useful articles and commodities that can be advantageously produced or manufactured from or by means of our natural resources, having due regard to the interests of the consumer as well as to the just claims of our wage earning population.

#### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

14. The promotion by negotiation, legislation and other constitutional means of a system of mutual preferential trade within the Empire.

#### JUSTICE TO THE NEW PROVINCES.

15. The restoration of the public lands to the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan upon fair terms.

#### PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

16. The unimpaired maintenance of all powers of self-government which have been conferred upon the Provinces of Canada under the Constitution.



# SPEECH

DELIVERED BY MR. R. L. BORDEN

AT HALIFAX, 20th AUGUST, 1907.

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At this, the first meeting of a series which will embrace every province in Canada except the fair province of Prince Edward Island, and which will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it is fitting that I should give to you some statement of the attitude and policy of the Conservative party with respect to certain great questions. Time compels me to leave for future meetings any extended arguments in their favor. The same consideration obliges me to postpone to-night necessary criticism of the misgovernment which has stained the record of the present Administration during the past three years.

## THREE ESSENTIALS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.

There are three essential features of good government upon which all men should unite, and in respect of which they should feel themselves absolutely unshackled by the ties of any political allegiance:

**Honest appropriation and expenditure of public moneys in the public interest.**

**The appointment of public officials upon consideration of capacity and personal character and not of party service alone.**

**Elections untainted by the corrupting influences of bribery and fraud.**

These essentials are not to be denied, for they have a moral significance and they involve the future of democracy.

**We boast of our representative institutions, but these cannot be enduring if they develop a debased public service, or**

bring into existence legislatures representing not the will of the people but the degradation of electoral corruption.

How brazenly the present Administration has voted and expended public moneys for private and partisan purposes, and has offered bribes to greedy followers and to the baser element of certain communities—all these are set forth in the records of parliament during the past three sessions and will be emphasized on due occasion.

#### OUTRAGEOUS ABUSE OF PATRONAGE.

The same may be said of the abuse of patronage. A government holds the power of patronage for the benefit of the public, and it is entitled to fill public offices solely in the public interest. The duties of those officials are for the public benefit and are fixed by the laws of the country; their salaries are paid out of the people's money. To use the power of filling such positions as a reward for party service and without regard to the character and capacity of the individual selected is a **gross breach of a solemn public trust**. A private trustee so dishonoring his office would be subject to punishment by the criminal law, but the one punishment which can be meted out for such abuse of a public trust is dismissal by the electorate.

#### ELECTORAL CRIMES THAT DISGRACE POLITICAL HISTORY.

The present Government came into power upon pledges of electoral purity; but since 1896 a series of electoral crimes has been brought to light from time to time which are a disgrace to our political history. The probabilities are that not one-tenth of the iniquity has been revealed. Inquiry into the elections in West Huron and Brockville; the St. James Division, Montreal; West Hastings; St. Antoine and St. Ann's Divisions, Montreal; Sault Ste. Marie; Prince Albert; Queens and Shelburne, and last but not least London, has disclosed a conspiracy to retain power founded upon an unlimited command of money, the source of which can only be surmised, carried out by the most unscrupulous and audacious methods, and supported in many cases by a control of the administration of criminal justice which rendered the criminals absolutely fearless. In 1898, the Government of this country in its unwisdom saw fit to repeal the act providing for pensions to retired civil servants. In taking this course it set

aside the example of every prudent business corporation which would have led it to extend and improve that act.

**But while abolishing pensions to retired civil servants the party in power did not fail to establish, out of secret funds at its command, a pension system for bribers and ballot switchers, who, upon discovery, were forced to leave Canada and seek an asylum in the United States.**

The existence of a bribers' pension fund has been demonstrated by affidavits of men who have enjoyed it. Witness the affidavits of Prichett some seven years ago, corroborated a few months ago by his sworn testimony in the London conspiracy case, and the recent confession of the deputy returning officer, James Farr.

#### THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

If I am right in asserting that untainted elections are essential to the success of democracy, am I not right in believing that the Conservative party has to-day an opportunity of performing a service to the country greater than any which it has rendered in the past. That service will include a determined and vigorous effort to reform and enforce our electoral laws; **but it will chiefly consist in the future conduct and management of election campaigns.** Fight the ballot thief and the briber. Strike not only at them, but expose and send to the penitentiary, if possible, the respectable gentlemen who supply the funds and superintend the work from a safe distance. **Fight also any influences within your own party which favor corrupt methods.** Let there be no party fund, the details of which may not be known and the expenditure of which cannot be made public. Let your elections be conducted according to honorable, decent and clean methods. A campaign of education to this end should be begun and persisted in. But above all these there should be an unflinching determination to pursue, by every punishment known to the law, the respectable conspirators themselves and not alone their infamous instruments employed and paid to subvert the will of the people by bribery, ballot switching and every other fraudulent and corrupt practice.

#### AN ESSENTIAL ARTICLE OF CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

At the opening of the past session, the Government pledged itself in the speech from the throne to introduce a bill

amending the electoral laws. No such bill was introduced. I criticised their inaction and moved a resolution, which was voted down by the usual government majority. The substance of that motion, which I submit to you as an essential article of conservative policy, is as follows:—

**More effective provisions to punish bribery and fraud at elections, to ensure thorough publicity as to expenditures by political organizations, to prevent the accumulation of campaign funds for corrupt purposes and to prohibit contributions thereto by corporations, contractors and promoters, to expedite the hearing of election petitions and to prevent collusive arrangements for the withdrawal or compromise thereof, to provide for a thorough investigation of corrupt practices and if necessary to appoint an independent prosecuting officer charged with that duty, to simplify the procedure therefor and to enforce the laws so amended.**

#### ANOTHER PLANK FOR OUR PLATFORM.

What I have said concerning appointments to public office leads me to submit to you another article which should find a place in the conservative policy, and it is this:

**A thorough and complete reformation of the laws relating to the civil service, so that future appointments shall be made by an independent commission acting upon the report of examiners after competitive examination.**

I need not dwell upon the importance of this. Of necessity some appointments must be left to the responsibility of the executive. Appointments to the judicial bench and certain other high public offices are of this character, and the people have it in their power to compel an honorable and decent performance of this great public duty. There are also many minor appointments which could not for the present be brought within such a system.

**But for the rest I prefer a competitive system of appointment to the present partisan system. .**

Three-fourths of the time of members supporting a government is occupied in dealing with matters of patronage. Party patronage and party service have more weight than character and capacity. The public service is cumbered with useless officials. I am convinced that we shall perform a great public duty by establishing in this country that system which prevails in Great Britain, under which a member of parliament has practically no voice in or control over any appointment to the civil service.

Upon attaining power we shall without delay enter upon and complete the necessary investigation to guide us as to details; and this investigation will be promptly followed by the requisite legislation.

#### REFORM OF SENATE IN PUBLIC INTEREST.

It may not become a member of the Commons to criticise too severely the merits or performance of the other branch of the Legislature; but those who have watched with any care the work of our Senate in recent years must be convinced that it is not playing the part which was intended by the framers of our Constitution. There seems little sense of individual responsibility, little desire to grapple with public questions, little disposition for effective work, but intense inclination, and indeed resolve, to make its sittings as infrequent and as brief as the barest decency will permit. In saying this I do not overlook important individual exceptions. When one considers the problem to be solved he is met with the declaration, not easily disproved, that the present method of appointment is sufficiently good if the power were properly exercised. It is beyond question that while some appointments to the Senate by the present Administration have been excellent, a very considerable number have been absolutely improper and even absurd, so that the status, character and tone of that house have notoriously deteriorated since the advent of the Laurier Government. The Senate if properly constituted under the present system should be greatly superior to the House of Commons in the chief essentials of a legislative body, and should be one of the main safeguards of our Constitution. It does not occupy that position either in fact or in public estimation. I realize certain possible dangers of an elective senate, but conditions may force it upon us; and I shall stand for

**Such reforms in the mode of selecting future members of the Senate as will make that chamber a more useful and representative legislative body.**

It is necessary to add that a constitutional change of such importance could not take place without the consent of every province of the Dominion.

#### THE QUALITY OF OUR IMMIGRATION.

Not only in our great western heritage, but in the eastern provinces as well, we offer splendid homes to the best class of

settlers that any country can produce. The attention of the world has been directed to Canada through the remarkable development of the West and through that industrial and commercial expansion of recent years, for which, world-wide though it has been, the Laurier Government has not failed to claim entire credit. The watchword of the present Administration in regard to immigration has been quantity rather than quality. The splendid opportunities which we afford and the homes which we offer entitle us to the very best class of settlers from the British Islands, from the United States, and from chosen and selected races of Continental Europe. In future our watchword should be quality rather than numbers. Let us adopt as another article of our policy,

**A more careful selection of the sources from which immigration shall be sought, a more rigid inspection of immigrants and the abolition of the bonus system, except under very special circumstances and for the purpose of obtaining particularly desirable classes of settlers.**

#### TO PREVENT ROBBERY OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

The people of a great undeveloped country like Canada have within their possession and control an opportunity of solving many difficult questions which have disturbed older communities where conditions have become so fixed as to admit little possibility of change. Canada has a vast public domain, and in that term we should include not only lands and minerals but great franchises national in their character, involving the ownership, development and operation of public utilities, such as transportation, heat, light and other necessary conveniences of the people. I will not do more than allude to the outrageous and scandalous transfer to partisan speculators of enormous areas of public lands, timber and minerals in the West.

**The policy of the present Administration has permitted robbery under form of law, and that robbery has been of a more far reaching and serious character than the public at present realize.**

Future generations will suffer in order that certain friends of the present Administration may now become millionaires. Let me give but two illustrations of what has been accomplished in other countries with less opportunity than those which Canada affords. In the United States there are vast tracts of irrigable

lands. There are certain areas of the same character in Canada. In the United States a reclamation commission, whose works have been carried on most economically and successfully, is engaged in the work of reclaiming the public lands and disposing of them at cost in small holdings, not exceeding 160 acres, and in many cases not exceeding 40 acres, to settlers who will carry on an intensive system of agriculture. This system, reclaiming the land for the benefit of the people, builds up a large agricultural population, and it is upon agriculture that the whole basis of our national prosperity must be founded. In Canada the system recently inaugurated is to grant huge areas of such lands to favored friends of the Government under conditions which contain no restriction of price to the settler, and afford opportunity for stock jobbing, excessive profit and an enormous tax upon the farmers. One more illustration.

#### THE GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC DEAL.

Canada, in 1903 and 1904, granted a great national franchise to certain gentlemen who had associated themselves as a corporation under the name of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company. The Conservative opposition regarded the contract as improvident, but the people ratified it, probably in ignorance of its real effect, and it must be carried out in good faith according to its terms. This great railway is to be constructed very largely upon capital provided by the credit of this country under a guarantee of its bonds, but the Company is also permitted to issue \$50,000,000 common stock which will not represent one dollar of actual cash invested. **We demanded that three-fourths of that stock should be retained for and should belong to the people of Canada.** The Government refused this demand and handed over the entire \$50,000,000 to the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which had guaranteed only one-fourth of the construction bonds. At the present moment that stock is worth nothing. In twenty years it will be worth one hundred or perhaps two hundred cents on the dollar. The increase in value will be due to the influx of settlers, the development and progress of the country and the expansion of commerce. **In that increment of value the people of Canada will not participate to the extent of one dollar.** How different is this from the progressive policy of the British Government under Lord Beaconsfield, who secured for reasons of state a controlling interest in the shares of the Suez Canal, and accom-

plished not only a great political gain for the Empire, but a remarkable financial success as well.

#### PEOPLE SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN PROFITS OF FRANCHISES.

The tendency of the present day is to criticise and rail at corporations, especially those controlling or operating public utilities. Would it not be better both for the corporations and for the people that franchises of a public character should be granted under such conditions that while the capitalist will receive not only a fair but a generous reward for his enterprise, the people will also participate in the profit which arises through national development and progress. This can be accomplished by participation in the stock issue, or by applying a principle frequently acted upon in street railway franchises. Montreal and Toronto receive from their street railways what is virtually a rental based upon a percentage of earnings. Those earnings and the consequent percentage increase with the growth and development of the city. The Conservative party thus presents as another article of its political faith,

The management and development of the public domain (in which are to be included great national franchises) for the public benefit, and under such conditions that a reasonable proportion of the increment of value arising therefrom shall inure to the people.

#### MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS BY COMMISSION.

Whether or not state ownership and operation of railways can be made a success in Canada remains to be determined. State ownership, or at least State operation, is repeatedly challenged because of incompetent or corrupt administration, apart from which there does not seem to be much argument against it. Let us not forget that all private enterprises afford instances of failure or incapacity. The denial of our capacity to operate successfully a great public railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific seems no less than the denial of our capacity for self-government. Shall all private enterprises be condemned because of business failure or corrupt methods? Are we to renounce our right of self-government because of repeated acts of maladministration, because of political graft, because of Saskatchewan Valley land deals and grazing lease scandals? And last, but not least, because government operation and management of the

Intercolonial Railway has been very greatly discredited, are we to hand over our government railways to private corporations?

**Speaking for myself, I believe that state ownership is no more to be condemned for errors of administration than is the general principle of self-government. The remedy is to amend the methods.**

Gross maladministration is rife to-day in many public departments in Canada. Outrageous election scandals have been disclosed during the past ten years, but **we do not, therefore, propose to repeal our Constitution, or to abandon altogether our system of responsible government.** The Intercolonial Railway has suffered from lack of business management, from lack of discipline, from partisan use and partisan interference. The remedy seems an obvious one. Let us place our government-owned railways under an independent commission and select for that purpose the best available person or persons with the requisite knowledge and experience. The commission should be accorded a status similar to that of the Railway Commission of Canada. It would demonstrate to our satisfaction in a very few years whether or not operation of State railways in Canada can be carried on honestly, efficiently, with proper discipline and by business methods. **Personally, I do not doubt the issue.** A Canadian has made state ownership and operation successful in Australia. The Ontario Government Railway Commission has a successful record of good business management and business results. I do not overlook the necessity of safeguarding the interests of the whole country by proper provision for the continuance of any existing rates which may be essential for the development and progress of commerce between the maritime provinces and other portions of Canada.

**We stand, therefore, for the operation and management of our government railways by an independent commission free from partisan control or interference.**

#### EXTENSION OF INTERCOLONIAL TO THE WHEAT FIELDS.

In 1903, and again in 1904, we advocated the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to the shores of the Georgian Bay. We believed that policy sound, and that the Government of Canada should have acquired and developed the Canada Atlantic Railway as part of the Intercolonial instead of permitting it to pass into the hands of one of the great railway corporations. That oppor-

tunity having passed, I believe it better first to demonstrate the possibility of efficient and successful business management in the operation of the 1,700 miles of state railway which Canada now possesses. When that demonstration shall have been successfully made, and when the interests of Canada and especially our great West shall render necessary the construction of another transcontinental railway, I do not doubt that the country will be ready and the Conservative party then in power will be prepared to extend a successful system of government railways to the great provinces of the West.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF OUR TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

We do not depart from the best traditions of the past, but the national policy of to-day must take account of conditions which have arisen since 1878. In no part of the world is the question of transportation of more vital concern than in Canada, and nowhere are the opportunities more favorable on the whole for its solution. **The problem begins at the farm or the factory and ends with the market, whether at home or abroad.** Our national advantages include a remarkable series of wonderful inland waterways, undeveloped water power of untold possibilities and great national ports on two oceans. The issues are provincial as well as federal, for the problem must take account not only of great railway systems and inland navigations, but of the tramway and even of the ordinary public highway. The development of our unrivaled natural facilities for transportation and the equipment of our great national ports on both oceans must be vigorously advanced if our producers are to compete on fair terms in the countries where we find our best markets. The substance of our resolution on this great question, offered as another article of our political faith, is as follows:--

**The development and improvement of our national waterways, the equipment of national ports, the improvement of transportation facilities and consequent reduction of freight rates between the place of production and the market, whether at home or abroad, and the establishment of a thorough system of cold storage.**

#### GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

When the present Government, in 1903, introduced the Railway Act providing for the establishment of a Railway Com-

mission, I at once declared that I would support the proposal and would give my best assistance towards making the measure as perfect as possible. It received the consideration of the House of Commons for many weeks, and hundreds of amendments were made before it was finally passed. Since then it has been amended at various times, and its powers and jurisdiction now extend to telephone companies and express companies. **I see no reason why its jurisdiction should not be further extended to telegraph companies and, indeed, to all public utilities.** It is true that the work of the Commission has pressed severely upon its present members, and especially upon its able and indefatigable chairman. We believe that it should be reorganized, that additional members should be appointed if necessary, and that its powers and jurisdiction should be extended. It has outgrown its name, and in future **it should be called the Public Utilities Commission of Canada.** The Railway Commission of Canada is at present the most important judicial tribunal in this country. Its work touches more closely the every-day life of our people than does that of any other court. It has powers judicial, semi-judicial and administrative. It should probably be reorganized in two divisions, one dealing with matters of judicial or semi-judicial nature and the other concerned more especially with matters of administration. On this point, however, I would be very much guided by the advice of the chairman of that Commission, for whose experience and ability I have every respect.

#### A SAFEGUARD TO CAPITALIST AND PEOPLE.

A commission so constituted is at once a safeguard to the capitalist and to the people. It safeguards the people against the oppression or greed of any public corporation. It protects their lives, their property and their general interests. For the capitalist it affords a safeguard against hasty or unjust legislation based upon impulsive and unreasonable demands. **Let one cardinal principle of the Conservative party be never forgotten—the sanctity of public contracts must always be respected.** Any legislative action which in effect amounts to confiscation of private property must be carefully avoided. Canada requires for the development of its enormous resources a vast amount of money which can be thus profitably invested. It must, therefore, remain for many years a borrowing country. **To sanction or enact legislation of a confiscatory character would be the worst possible service that any government or parliament could**

render. A commission such as I have outlined would constitute a sufficient safeguard of public rights and interests, and at the same time would stand as a bulwark against unjust or hasty legislative action. I submit as another article of our policy,

**The reorganization of the present railway commission as a public utilities commission, with wider powers and more extended jurisdiction, so as to establish thorough and effective control over all corporations owning or operating public utilities or invested with franchises of a national character.**

#### TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE OPERATIONS.

It has been demonstrated in Great Britain that telegraphs and telephones can be successfully operated in connection with the post office department. I see no reason why a similar system should not be inaugurated and carried out successfully in Canada. Few people realize that at the present time Canada owns and operates 6,586 miles of State telegraph lines. These lines have not been remunerative for the reason that they have been established in thinly settled portions of the country where private enterprise could find no adequate return. If we are prepared to invest national capital in thinly peopled and unremunerative localities, why should we hesitate in those portions of the country where operations can be carried on at a profit? I do not forget the necessity that our great railways must be equipped with telegraph and telephone lines, nor do I forget the principle of justice to invested capital which I have already invoked. Having regard to these considerations, our policy should include

**The establishment, after due investigation, of a system of national telegraphs and telephones under conditions which shall be just to capital already invested in those enterprises.**

#### IMPROVED SERVICE IN THE POST OFFICE.

In its desire to make an annual announcement of surplus in the post office department, the Government has failed to meet effectively the legitimate demands for increased postal facilities, especially in newly developed portions of our country. Postal facilities in the West have not kept pace with railway development in that part of our country. Consequently, there is just ground for complaint, and that complaint should be remedied as rapidly as possible. We must not forget that in the more progressive countries of the world the system of free rural mail delivery has been

adopted. In the United States one sees before every farmer's house, on each free delivery route, a mail-box, which is visited daily by a government carrier, who delivers and collects mail, gives receipts for registered letters, takes money for postal orders and sells stamps, post cards and stamped envelopes. The system has been attended with considerable outlay in the United States. I have not examined any report later than 1904, and in that year the postal routes numbered 25,000, and the expense of maintaining them was no less than \$12,500,000. Since then I believe that there has been considerable increase. There is, of course, some compensation in the reduction of the number of post offices and ordinary stage routes. The cost of a system of rural mail delivery depends altogether upon the standard. In the United States each route must comprise at least 100 families, and the length must not exceed 25 miles. The time has arrived when we should make a beginning in Canada. It must be preceded with proper inquiry as to cost, and as to the standard which should be adopted. I submit, therefore, as another article,

**The improvement of existing postal facilities, especially in newly developed portions of the country, and the inauguration, after proper inquiry as to cost, of a system of free rural mail delivery.**

The fiscal policy of the Conservative party has been announced on many occasions since 1878, and while constantly adhering to the principles then laid down, it necessarily has given consideration to new conditions arising out of the development and progress of the country. While realizing the prime importance of agriculture in a country like Canada, whose natural resources comprise vast and diversified areas of richly fertile soil, suitable for the cultivation of every product of the farm, we realize also the boundless undeveloped wealth of our forests, our mines and our fisheries, and we do not forget that Providence has endowed this country with every resource necessary for the development and support of great manufacturing industries. Our policy is based upon considerations of advantage not to any class or section, but to the people and the country as a whole.

**Thus it necessarily takes account of the interests of the consumer; but it also aims at the maintenance within our borders of a large industrial population who shall receive a fair living wage, and who shall not be reduced to the low standard of living.**

**to the hard fierce struggle for existence which prevails in many countries.**

In short, our policy firmly endeavors to preserve for our producers the advantage of the home market; and strongly maintains that the labor necessary to convert our natural resources into products suitable for the use and convenience of the people, should as far as possible be performed in Canada, and not in foreign countries; so that our own working men, not those of other countries, may find employment at that work. We therefore stand for

**A fiscal policy which will promote the production within Canada of all useful articles and commodities that can be advantageously manufactured or produced from or by means of our natural resources, having due regard to the interests of the consumer as well as to the just claims of our wage-earning population.**

#### PREFERENTIAL TRADE WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

The Conservative party has always stood and still stands for a policy of preferential trade within the Empire. The attitude of the present Government has been almost purely negative. There has been a half-hearted reaffirmation of desire for better trade relations with the mother country based on preferences given and received; but the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture have repeatedly assured the British public that the people of Canada have no desire for a preference in the markets of Great Britain. It is not by such means nor by such attitude that we can expect success. The recent change of government in the British Islands has been regarded as the postponement of all hope that this great imperial scheme propounded by a far-seeing and patriotic imperial statesman can be consummated in the early future. It is nevertheless true that the British Government was returned to power not upon that issue, but upon a dozen issues which had various effects in different constituencies throughout the British Islands. The cause of mutual preferential trade received a great stimulus, not from the Prime Minister of Canada, but by the efforts of Australian, New Zealand and South African representatives at the recent Colonial Conference. The Canadian representatives adopted a policy of comparative indifference. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, with the exception of the Transvaal, urged upon the British people the infinite importance of cementing together the British Islands and the great

dependencies of the Empire by a system of mutual trade preferences. Our Prime Minister is quite ready to interfere in the domestic affairs of Great Britain when he considers that his political interests call upon him to take that course. On this great question, however, his action, or rather inaction, seems to have resulted from a singular reluctance to advocate that which he admits to be for the advantage not only of Canada, but of the Empire. I submit to you as another article of Conservative policy,

**The promotion, by negotiation, legislation and other constitutional means, of a system of mutual preferential trade within the Empire.**

#### PROVINCIAL CONTROL OF PROVINCIAL DOMAIN.

In 1905, the Conservatives took the position that under our constitution the public domain within each province ought to be committed to the management and administration of the people of that province through their provincial governments. That was the basis of arrangement between the four provinces originally constituting the Dominion. At the present time every province in Canada controls and administers its public lands except the three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In Manitoba very little public domain now remains except the swamp lands, a considerable portion of which has already been transferred to the provincial government. Curiously enough the Dominion Government thoroughly admits the justice of the claims of the two new provinces by providing in their constitution for an annual payment to each province as compensation for the lands which have been withheld. There was no substantial argument against committing the lands to the administration of the provinces. The principal objection raised was that immigration might be checked by an unwise provincial policy.

#### PROVINCES THEMSELVES MOST DEEPLY INTERESTED.

Let it be remembered that the new provinces are more deeply interested in continuing the volume of immigration than are the people of Eastern Canada. The future of those provinces, the value of the holdings of every inhabitant therein, will depend in some considerable measure upon the advent from year to year of additional population. Evidently the true reason which caused the Dominion Government to withhold the lands is the desire to retain them for the purpose of influencing votes of new settlers, and in order to provide vast fortunes for certain favored

friends. This reason cannot commend itself to sound public opinion. We have not receded from the policy which we announced two years ago, and therefore we are prepared

**To restore their public lands to the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan upon fair and reasonable terms.**

#### THE MAINTENANCE OF PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

The tendency of the present Administration has been to disregard and override provincial rights. This has made itself manifest in various ways. There has been a standing alliance between the Dominion Government and certain Liberal provincial governments. The Prime Minister of Canada declared that the Liberal Government of Ontario was his right arm. It has been amputated with happy results to the country as a whole, and to Ontario in particular. There has been undue interference in the affairs of various provinces, notably in those of Quebec and Saskatchewan. The Prime Minister of Canada has practically admitted in parliament, and his friend, Hon. Walter Scott, has openly stated in a letter which was read on the floor of the House, that not the Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan, but Sir Wilfrid Laurier, made the selection of the first prime minister of that province.

**Promoters, not only from Ontario, but from Quebec, have come to the Dominion Parliament for charters which should have been granted only by the provincial legislatures.**

One charter, obtained nearly twenty years ago from the Ontario Legislature when under Liberal control, was brought before the Dominion Parliament upon some flimsy pretext and was renewed by the Dominion Parliament in defiance of provincial rights, simply for the reason that no further renewal could be obtained from Ontario. So far has this disregard of provincial rights extended that the Dominion Government has attempted to possess itself of valuable timber lands in the Province of Ontario without regard to the rights of the province or its lessees. We advocate and stand for

**The unimpaired maintenance of all powers of self-government which have been conferred upon the provinces of Canada under the Constitution.**

#### THE ALL-RED IDEA A CONSERVATIVE ONE.

George IV became firmly convinced that he had commanded the British forces at Waterloo, and a similar mental aberration

has fastened itself upon our Prime Minister, who stoutly maintains, notwithstanding the most convincing evidence to the contrary, that he is the author of the All-Red line project. Sir Charles Tupper hardly needed to remind us that the proposal was his own, or that it was defeated by the action of Lord Aberdeen and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Our Prime Minister conveniently forgets his bottle-necked proposals of 1898 and the shout of triumph from his party friends at the supposed establishment of a fast Atlantic service. He apparently forgets what the Allans have accomplished on the Atlantic and what the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has achieved on the Atlantic and the Pacific as well, since his famous scheme broke down. Upon his return from the Colonial Conference he said at Quebec. "During the last days of the conference I announced a new idea which has become almost historic, the All-Red line."

**His motion was moved before the Colonial Conference on the 14th May, but the proposal which he claims as a new idea and as his own was that of Sir Charles Tupper in 1896.**

And more than a month before Sir Wilfrid's resolution was moved, certain capitalists had addressed to each member of the conference a proposal "to link together the different parts of the Empire by a service of fast steamers and fast trains working in conjunction and forming through routes through British territory." Yet this is the new and original idea which Sir Wilfrid announced a month afterwards.

#### INTERESTS OF CONSUMERS MUST BE CONSERVED.

We have no details of the Government's proposal, and we cannot profitably consider it until these are made known. The best possible passenger service is desirable, but we must not sacrifice the interests of our producers for spectacular effects. Conditions have changed since 1898. The necessity of a thorough and efficient freight service with a complete system of cold storage at the lowest possible rate is more apparent now than ten years ago. Eighty per cent. of our population are directly interested in low freight rates and a cold storage system. Less than one per cent. are directly interested in a faster passenger service.

#### ELEVEN YEARS OF LIBERAL RULE TIRES THE COUNTRY.

The Toronto *Globe* has courteously expressed its approval of my proposed tour, as well as the hope that after the next election I

may lead a steadier, more responsible and more capable opposition.

**May I be permitted to pass on that patriotic aspiration to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or some of his lieutenants, for I do not expect to lead an opposition after the next general election. The country has had eleven years of Liberal rule and is tired of it.**

No government in Canada ever had so splendid an opportunity as that which is now in power, and no government ever failed more signally in its duty. Even its most partisan supporters have become weary of voting to condone scandal, to deny investigation, to conceal the trail of the grafter.

#### THE MEANING OF POWER TO THE LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

Shall our advent to power mean no more than a mere party triumph? Are the experiences of the past ten years to be repeated in all their degrading details of broken pledges, opportunist policy, stolen elections, indecent public appointments and robbery of the public assets? **Those who know me best are aware how little I have desired a public career; and if I thought such an outcome possible I would turn with unspeakable aversion from the task before me. Victory must mean for us more than party triumph.** The power to control the destinies of this great country in a most interesting and important period of its history should be received with a solemn and abiding sense of responsibility. In the Commons of Canada to-day there are Conservatives, good men and true, who at my urgent request have entered and continued in public life at the sacrifice of their personal interests and inclinations. These men were impelled by the duty of public service, a duty too lightly regarded by the representative men of Canada. **Let the people send to our aid at the next election a reinforcement of sixty men, the best that Canada can produce, pledged to stand for a progressive policy, to maintain the rights of the people, to uphold honest government and no other, to enforce decency in public life. In return you have my pledge that any administration which I am called upon to form shall be so constituted that it will not be unworthy of the great country which it is to serve.**