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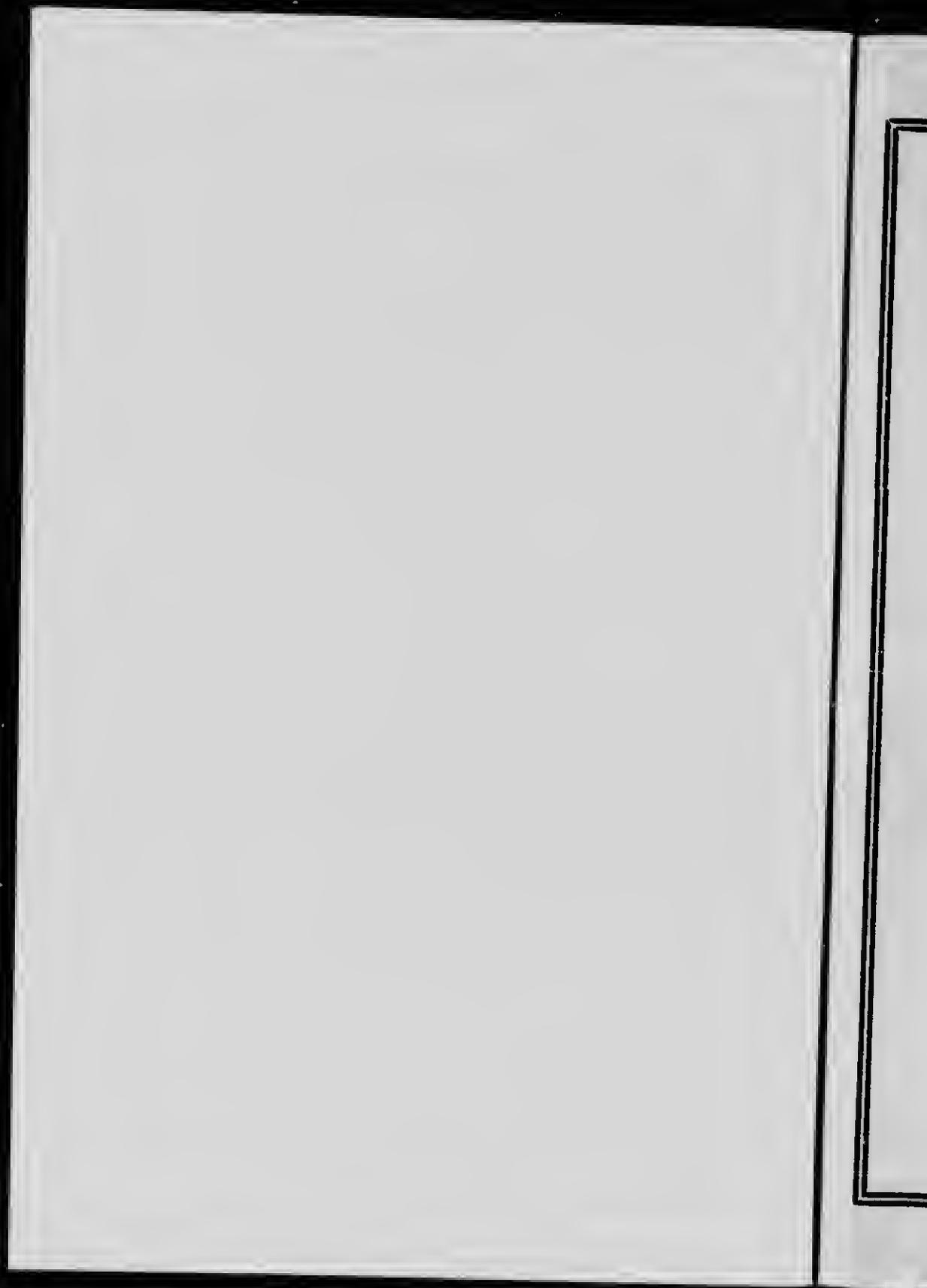
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# Ontario Provincial Elections

JUNE 29, 1914

## Liberal Campaign Hand Book

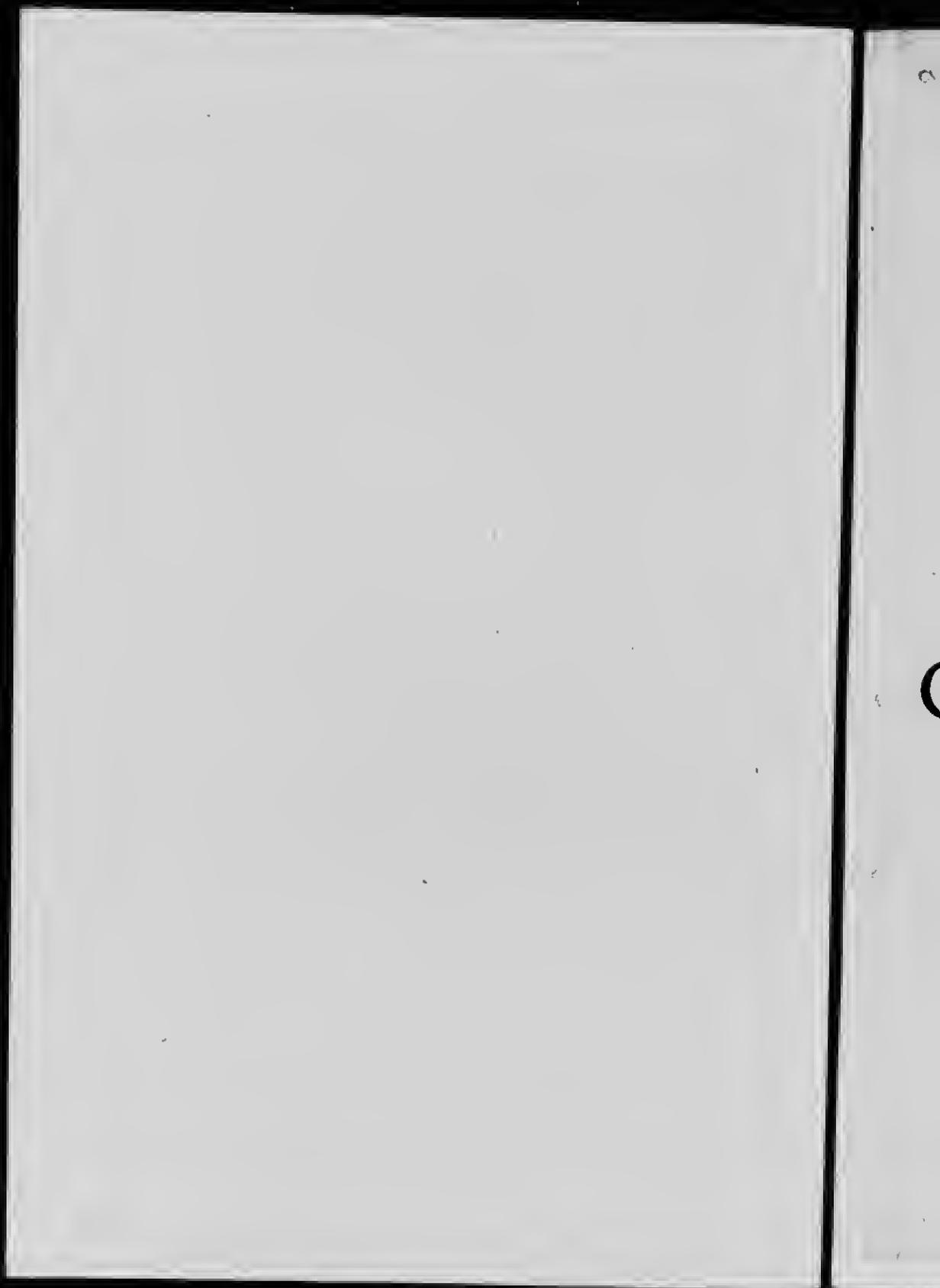


**N. W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.**  
Leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario

---

GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION  
FOR ONTARIO

36 TORONTO ST. - - TORONTO



Liberal  
Campaign Hand Book  
Ontario Elections, 1914

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# INDEX

	PAGE
Introduction	3
Summaries	7
Abolish the Bar	18
Agriculture	55
New Ontario	66
Labor	90
Tax Reform	118
Education	129
Finance	146
Hydro-Electric	162
Good Roads	171
Women's Vote	175
Gerrymander	177
Government House	184
Pembroke Lumber Company	187
Evanturel Incident	189
Ferguson Case	193
Combines and the Attorney General's Department	197
Electoral Reform	201

Note—Special booklets, containing Mr. Rowell's speeches, are also published on the following subjects:

Abolish the Bar.

Tax Reform.

Women's Votes.

There is also a separate pamphlet on the Proudfoot charges.

All these can be obtained upon application to the General Reform Association for Ontario, 36 Toronto Street, Toronto.

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# INTRODUCTION

A general election is forced upon the people of Ontario prematurely, to suit the convenience of a political party. A Legislature is elected for a term of four years. Good and sufficient reason ought to be given for shortening this term to two years and a half. No such reason is given in Sir James Whitney's address to the people. He says that some important measures have been adopted, and that others are proposed—an assertion which might be used as a reason for holding an election every year.

There is a reason, but it is not a public reason. It is not a desire to consult the people upon any measure passed or proposed. It is to have the election over before the intended reconstruction of the Government, which will be rendered necessary by the coming retirement of Sir James Whitney. The premature election is a confession of weakness, and a warning to the people of Ontario.

If, by the use of the name of Sir James Whitney, the present Government is returned to office, the Whitney regime will be followed by an interregnum, a period of weak administration and divided counsels. There will be jealousy, division, weakness and vacillation. Electors will remember the "bolt" which occurred at Ottawa in 1895-6, when half the Government resigned on account of internal rivalry and dissension. Something of the same kind may be in store for Ontario, unless the electors take the matter into their own hands, and choose their own successor to Sir James Whitney. If the electors do not take that step, they will find that instead of voting for Sir James Whitney, they have placed the affairs of this great Province in the hands of a party caucus, to be conducted according to the ideas of machine politics.

The time is ripe for a change, and for a great forward movement.

## **Government Exhausted.**

No one denies that the present Government has some good deeds to its credit, but its reforming energy seems to be exhausted. A vigorous government looks back at its own achieve-

ments as an incentive to further progress. This Government looks back at its own achievements as an excuse for standing still.

The history of the last session is a record of the rejection of one progressive measure after another, nearly always coupled with some flattery intended to soothe the ear of the ministers.

Repeatedly it is said that no reform is necessary, because Ontario is blessed with so excellent a Government.

Praise is given, not as a stimulus to action, but as an excuse for standing still; and ministers vote for and even propose resolutions landing themselves and refusing to advance.

When a Government arrives at this stage it is clearly time for a change. The time, also, is ripe for an advance. The spirit of reform is abroad in Ontario. In gatherings of young men, and men of all ages, in gatherings of women who take a serious view of their duties in life, there are perceived the stirrings of new life, the eager quest for new ideas, the desire for progress, the feeling that a splendid future lies before Ontario and before Canada, and, above all, the wish to do some real share of the work of social service.

The movement needs a leader and an interpreter; such a leader and interpreter has been found in Mr. Rowell. His earnestness, his energy, his comprehensive survey of public questions and of the whole field of public service, his faculty of clear and eloquent exposition, are convincing progressive men of all parties that he is the man of the hour. They see the need of reform and they turn to Mr. Rowell as its leader.

#### **Social Reform Keynote.**

It is well known that a keen interest in social reform was his sole motive for entering public life; social reform is the key to his whole policy. He is in close touch with the social reformers of England, and he believes that in this work, in England as elsewhere, lies the sure and firm foundation of the greatness of the commonwealth of the British Empire. With the zeal of the reformer he combines the sure, firm grasp of the law and the Constitution which was one of the strongest characteristics of Sir Oliver Mowat, and, like Sir Oliver Mowat, he has a thorough mastery of all the business of the Legislature.

The leading issue in the present campaign is the question of abolishing the bar. It is not, however, the only issue, nor

does it stand alone. It is an integral part of a great movement for improving the conditions of life in Ontario. Intemperance, in Mr. Rowell's view, is the foe of progress. In business it is fast becoming a bar to promotion, and even to employment. Similarly, it is a hindrance to education, to physical, intellectual and moral development. It is the enemy of social justice because it disqualifies the victim of injustice for asserting his rights and attaining his true position. Every advance in temperance means an advance in the standard of living, in education, in freedom, in enlightenment.

Temperance measures are often referred to as measures of repression or restraint. Mr. Rowell regards them rather as measures of freedom and development.

#### **For the Workers.**

In the same spirit, Mr. Rowell advocates the establishment of a Labor Department, whose head would be an enthusiast in labor reform, a man of the type of Lloyd George. It would not be necessary for workingmen to besiege such a minister with deputations. He would be always, of his own accord, studying labor conditions, watching the progress of labor legislation in other countries, thinking out plans of his own, taking the initiative, and keeping in close touch with the industrial community. He would, through the factory laws, improve the conditions of labor for young workers, and give them better opportunities for exchange. He would try to devise some plan for lessening the evils of unemployment.

#### **And the Farmers.**

So much for the needs of the workers in cities and towns. The great agricultural industry of Ontario also requires attention. Something is wrong with country life in Ontario. The cost of food has so increased as to cause serious hardship to those whose incomes are small. Yet the farmers are not thriving as they should, and the rural districts are being depopulated. Mr. Rowell would inquire into these evils, and see if a remedy can be proposed. He would select a progressive man, a man of ideas, for Minister of Agriculture, and greatly increase the usefulness of that department to the farmers of Ontario. Here is a splendid field for administrative work. The present ministry does not seem to grasp the idea, and is making the work of the Department of Agriculture more and more a matter of routine.

### New Ontario Demands Attention.

New Ontario is interested in the problems of old Ontario, and has also special needs of its own, such as are to be expected in a vast region with a scattered pioneer population. A great part of it is remote from the Provincial capital, and for that very reason it ought to be the subject of special care and attention. Mr. Rowell proposes for this country a comprehensive policy of publicity, selected immigration, transportation, and improved conditions of settlement. He has taken measures to acquire first-hand knowledge of New Ontario by travel and by contact with its people.

Actuated by the same progressive spirit, Mr. Rowell is in sympathy with the modern movement for tax reform, the aim of which is to relieve industry of taxation as far as possible, and throw the burden upon land held for speculation. Why should a man who serves the community by building a house or factory on his land, be more heavily taxed than his neighbor who has nothing on his land but weeds and signboards? Why, at least, should not a municipality have the right to reform its own mode of assessment and taxation? To all proposals for tax reform, Sir James Whitney and his colleagues are obstinately opposed.

Mr. Rowell is in sympathy with the modern movement for enlarging the opportunities for women. Here, again, we find the same motive as urges him to advocate tax reform, temperance reform, labor reform, industrial reform. It is the desire for social progress and the betterment of the conditions of the people. Women have a greater experience in the affairs of the family and the home than men; a keener insight into what is required to improve the daily life of the people. Men need their assistance, and there can be no broad statesmanship in this field, which fails to recognize this need.

These are some of the reforms which Ontario needs. Above all, we need the man, the reformer who is imbued with the spirit of reform. Such a leader has been found in Mr. Rowell.

## Some Liberal Proposals Rejected by the Government

### Agriculture.

1. Appointment of a commission to enquire into the condition of agricultural and rural life in the Province, to investigate the rural depopulation, scarcity of farm labor, decrease in the production of food stuffs, the decline in the strength and vitality of the rural school and rural church and other features.—Rejected.

### New Ontario.

2. A motion to the following effect:

"That in the opinion of this House, the settlement and development of New Ontario is one of the largest and most important problems confronting the Government of this Province; that good settlers are the most valuable assets this Province can secure, and that it is the duty of the Government to devise and carry out a comprehensive settlement and development policy, which, in addition to the road construction now being undertaken, shall include: (1) A more aggressive publicity campaign to make known the character and resources of the newer parts of the Province; (2) An intelligent and vigorous immigration policy to secure the right kind of settlers; (3) Adequate transportation and draining facilities to promote settlement; (4) Improved conditions of settlement."—Rejected.

3. That a citizen should be allowed to sue the T. & N. O. Railway, without having to secure a fiat, as at present.—Rejected.

4. To tax, for municipal purposes, land owned by the T. & N. O. Railway, and not required for railway purposes.—Rejected.

5. Tax reform for Northern Ontario.—Rejected.

### Labor.

6. Creation of a Department of Labor to study and promote legislative and administrative action for the betterment of the conditions of the workers. To this department should be transferred the Bureau of Labor now under the Department of Public Works and the Factory Inspection Branch now under the

Department of Agriculture, as well as other branches of the Government relating to the welfare of the industrial classes including the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act.—Rejected.

7. Investigation of the problem of unemployment which bears an important relation to other social problems of vital concern to the State, with the view of proposing measures to improve the present position of the workers, reducing unemployment to the narrowest possible limits, assisting those out of work to secure employment and providing systematic relief in case of enforced unemployment of those willing to work.—Rejected.

8. Appointment of a commission to enquire into the conditions of labor in the Province of Ontario including the hours of labor and minimum wage, particularly relating to women, youths and girls and other problems affecting the workers.—Rejected.

9. A modern Factory Act providing stricter laws against child labor, more sanitary conditions of labor, the appointment of more female inspectors, better guarantees for the adequate education of youths and girl workers, and for their health.—Rejected.

10. In connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act—to make provision for proper medical attendance in the case of all injured persons, commonly known as First Aid, and other important changes which would have benefited both employers and employees.—Rejected.

#### Liquor Traffic.

11. "The immediate abolition of the bar, including therein the abolition of all hotel and club licenses and therewith the treating system.

"Such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils. Local Option to be maintained as a means of wiping out the residue of the retail sale where the electors so decide.

"The strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with the law enforcement and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law.

"The regulation and inspection of all houses of public entertainment so as to insure reasonable accommodation for the travelling public."—Rejected.

12. After the Government refused to accept the Abolish the Bar policy the Liberals then moved to prohibit the sale of

liquor on all public holidays and to close all bars at 9 o'clock in the evening and at 1 o'clock on Saturday. Even these proposals were voted down except the one to close the bars on Good Friday.

13. Investigation of the actions of W. K. Snider, Provincial License Inspector, who went to the Counties of Welland, Peel and Huron and represented himself as a representative of the Government in opposing the Scott Act.—Rejected.

14. Investigation of charges of an agreement between the Provincial Secretary and the organized liquor interests in connection with Snider's action.—Rejected.

15. Local option should be made county-wide in its scope.—Rejected.

16. That local option should include the wiping out of club licenses.—Rejected.

17. Abolition of the three-fifths majority requirement in local option, and substitution of a simple majority.—Rejected.

#### **Tax Reform.**

18. (1). The whole Province.

To permit municipalities to assess and tax improvements, including business and income, on a lower basis than land.—Rejected.

When this Province-wide proposal was rejected by the Government, the Liberals proposed:

19. (2). Tax reform for New Ontario.—Rejected.

20. (3). Tax reform for the city of Toronto.—Rejected.

#### **Women's Vote.**

21. To grant the municipal franchise to married women, otherwise qualified.—Rejected.

22. To extend the legislative franchise to those women qualified to vote in municipal elections.—Rejected.

23. The appointment of a select Committee to consider the whole question of extending the Provincial franchise to women, and the municipal franchise to married women.—Rejected.

#### **Cost of Living.**

24. The appointment of a commission to investigate the causes of the increased cost of living and possible measures for improving existing conditions in this regard.—Rejected.

25. Prosecution of combines violating the criminal code and responsible to a certain extent for the high cost of living.—**Rejected.**

#### Finance.

26. Resolution that the expenditure of all moneys should be under the direct control of the Legislature, and not handed over to the Cabinet, as in the case of the \$5,000,000 for Northern Ontario, and in other instances.—**Rejected.**

27. That the statutory expenditure should be included in the estimates, in order that the public should see the real financial situation, and the real total estimated expenditure, as is shown in the Dominion House by the Minister of Finance.—**Rejected.**

28. That the detailed expenditure for the T. & N. O. Railway and the Hydro Electric should be presented to the House in the Public Accounts each year, as is done in other Departments, and as is done in the Federal House for the Intercolonial Railway.—**Rejected.**

29. To curtail the expenditures on Government House and Statute Revision.—**Rejected.**

#### General.

30. Publication of campaign contributions before elections.—**Rejected.**

31. Creation of a non-partisan civil service commission—all appointments and promotions in the public service to be by merit after competitive examination except in those cases where the conditions of the public service render this impracticable.—**Rejected.**

32. Publicly Owned Telephones—Resolution moved in the Legislature April 2nd, 1914, by J. C. Elliott, Liberal member for West Middlesex.

"This House regrets that the Honourable the Provincial Treasurer has not submitted to the Legislature or the people of the Province a report of the result of his investigations in Great Britain into the public ownership and operation of Telephones; and this House is of the opinion that it is the duty of the Government to take into consideration without further delay the question of the establishment of a publicly owned and operated telephone service, particularly of trunk lines, by the acquirement of the existing system or systems, or the establishment of a new one, as would appear to be most in the public interests; to be operated in connection with the Hydro-Electric system, or otherwise, as appears most practicable."—**Rejected.**

# Some Liberal Policies Adopted by the Government

## Workmen's Compensation.

The Government allowed the very important question of Workmen's Compensation to drag from 1907, year after year, and it was only after the continuous urging of the Opposition that action was finally taken, and a Bill put on the Statute Books in 1914.

## Hydro Radials.

In both the Sessions of 1913 and 1914, it was the Opposition which took the initiative in urging the construction of Hydro Radials by co-operation between the municipalities and the Hydro Electric Commission. Legislation to this effect was passed by the House. Hon. Adam Beck was from the beginning an ardent advocate of Hydro Radials, but apparently he was not able to convince his Colleagues, until the Government's hand was forced by the Opposition.

## Prohibition of Campaign Contributions by Corporations, Government Contractors, License Holders, Etc.

Opposition members in the session of 1913 introduced bills requiring the publication of campaign contributions, and prohibiting contributions from Corporations. These were withdrawn upon promises from the Government that the matter would be dealt with the following year, and action taken.

In the Session of 1914 a Liberal bill, prohibiting contributions from Corporations, Government Contractors, License Holders (including tavern, shop, brewers and distillers) and associations to further and protect the interests of the liquor traffic, was introduced. The Government, while not accepting this bill, introduced and carried, with the aid of the Liberals, one of their own, which was weaker and less definite than the Liberal bill.

The other Liberal proposal, calling for the publication, before a general election, of all campaign contributions, was not accepted by the Government.

### Liquor Traffic.

Several of the amendments to the Liquor License Act made by the Government had been previously proposed by Liberals in the house, including the closing of the bars on Good Friday. The Liberal proposals, of course, went much further than this, including the complete abolition of all bar and club licenses and the treating system; and when the Government would not accept this, the closing of the bars on all holidays, and shortening the hours of sale in the evenings and on Saturday.

### Good Roads.

After motions from the Opposition in 1912 and 1913, calling for a comprehensive and adequate scheme for the construction of good roads in the Province, particularly those leading to market towns, the Government took action and appointed a Commission which brought in its report in 1914. No legislation, however, has so far followed this report.

### Eight Hour Day

Eight hour day for underground miners.

### New Ontario Development.

Following the agitation for better treatment of New Ontario carried on by the Opposition in the last general election and in the House, the Government voted five million dollars for New Ontario development.

### Public Health.

Proposals to aid in the suppression of tuberculosis, advocated in the Liberal platform of 1911, and introduced into the legislation by Dr. McQueen, Liberal member for N. Wentworth, were incorporated by the Government in the amendments to the Public Health Act.

## Some Government Records

### Agriculture.

Entire lack of initiative and leadership on the part of the minister,—result, a second-rate Department.

"You have permitted, you are now permitting thousands of young Ontario Farmers, the cream of our agricultural people, to leave their own Province for the West, while, by your inertia you show you are not cognizant of the advantages of continued residence in this Province, if full advantage is taken of the opportunities which open in response to intelligent effort."

(Extract from a letter from Mr. J. W. Flavelle, one of the Leading Conservatives in the Province, to Hon. James Duff, Minister of Agriculture).

Appointed to succeed Mr. C. C. James, a Deputy Minister who had no agricultural training, or experience in practical agriculture.

Placed a political appointee in charge of Jordan Harbor Horticultural experiment station, where expenditure of over \$110,000 was made. Many charges of inefficiency laid against the management of this experimental station, both by the Liberals in the House, and by fruit growers outside. Superintendent finally removed, and another man put in his place.

Refused the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the conditions of agricultural and rural life in the Province, to investigate the rural depopulation, scarcity of farm labor, decrease in the production of food stuffs, the decline in the strength and vitality of the rural school and the rural church, and other features.

Failure to make adequate provision for agricultural education in rural schools.

Failure to secure an adequate supply of farm labor.

### Liquor Traffic.

Voted down in three successive years the Abolish the Bar resolution.

Refused to close the bars on all public holidays, at 9 o'clock in the evening and at 1 o'clock on Saturday.

Proposed anti-treating legislation and then failed to introduce it.

Neglected and made light of the petition of 9,000 young Conservatives asking for advanced temperance legislation.

Refused enquiry into the actions of Provincial License Inspector Snider in representing himself as having been sent by his Department against the Scott Act in the Counties of Welland, Peel and Huron and into the charges against the Provincial Secretary of having made arrangements with the organized liquor interests in connection with Snider's visits.

Failure to enforce the liquor license law, as pointed out year by year in the Reports of the Dominion Alliance.

Voted down the proposal to abolish the three-fifths requirement, and allow local option to be carried on a majority vote.

Voted down the proposal to make local option county-wide.

#### Education.

Lack of constructive leadership on the part of the minister.

Over-loading the curriculum in public and high schools.

Rigid regulations discouraging initiative and individuality in teachers and scholars.

Failure of the Government to meet the demand for properly qualified teachers by not enlarging local facilities for teacher training.

Cut down in 1913 the rural public school grant by 28 per cent. while continuing, for example, to spend large sums on the New Government House, which, when completed, probably will cost over \$1,000,000.

Failure of Government to submit to the House proposals for dealing with the financial crisis at the Provincial University which was disclosed even to the public in the year 1913.

The Government's vacillating policy on the Bilingual school question is such that it has lost the confidence of both parties.

Abolition of Model Schools.

Failure to deal adequately with question of technical education.

#### Crown Lands.

Alienated to McKenzie and Mann, or the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway, two million acres of our finest land in the clay belt, without a dollar in cash return, as a land grant to the Transcontinental Railway.

The bonds of this road have been guaranteed by the Do-

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minion Government, and last year it received from the Dominion Government a cash subsidy of \$12,000 a mile.

Voted down Opposition resolution that the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway before securing an extension of time should be required to provide for settlement along the line of its road in New Ontario.

Sold two of the finest timber townships in Northern Ontario to the Jackson Lumber Syndicate of Buffalo, for a dollar an acre, and certain very limited conditions of settlement, without knowing the quantity or value of the timber on the townships.

Refused investigation in the Public Accounts Committee during the session of 1914, into important phases of this deal. Mr. Jackson himself, although summoned, did not appear, and claimed he could not come.

Sold at the nominal rate of an average of 33 1/3 cents per acre, over 1,000,000 acres of land, to the Lake Huron and Northern Ontario Railway, under the guise of a land grant,—land which the Railway Company now claims to be worth from \$8.00 to \$10.00 an acre.

Agreed to pay \$185,000.00 to the Pembroke Lumber Company, of which Mr. Dunlap, M.P.P., one of their supporters, was President, for 185,000 acres of land which had already been lumbered over for between sixty and seventy years.

Sold in October, 1913, five timber berths in Northern Ontario to the George Gordon Company and others, by private tender, on the basis of a cash bonus, in addition to ground rental. The cash bonus is a policy which the Government had denounced for years. It is claimed that the price received in this case was much below the estimated value of the timber.

Refused to disclose in the Public Accounts Committee, the Government's own reports on the quantity and value of this timber.

Defeated a resolution moved by the Opposition in the House, to instruct the Deputy Minister to produce this information for the Public Accounts Committee.

Repeatedly changed and reduced by Order-in-Council, without submitting them to the Legislature for its approval, the mining royalties payable by Cobalt Mining Companies.

### Women's Votes.

Granted votes to corporations but refused them to married women.

Refused to grant the Municipal franchise to married women, otherwise qualified to vote.

Refused to grant the Legislative franchise to women qualified to vote in Municipal elections.

Refused the appointment of a select Committee to investigate the whole question of women's franchise.

### Finance and Public Works.

Total expenditure, including statutory expenditures:

1904, (Last year of Liberal Administration) . . .	\$ 5,267,453.02
1905, (First year of Conservative Administration)	5,396,016.74
1913 . . . . .	16,091,942.90
1914, (Estimated) . . . . .	22,000,000.00

One or two examples of increased expenditure:

Cost of Civil Government, 1904 . . . . .	344,006.28
Cost of Civil Government, 1905 . . . . .	374,975.69
Cost of Civil Government, 1913 . . . . .	720,225.93
Cost of Administration of Justice, 1904 . . . . .	482,460.67
Cost of Administration of Justice, 1905 . . . . .	501,524.78
Cost of Administration of Justice, 1913 . . . . .	715,934.43

The Government will expend over \$1,000,000 on New Government House, on a site which is generally agreed to be most unsuitable. First estimates of the cost of the building, \$400,000.00.

Applied for other purposes over \$3,500,000 of the \$5,000,000 borrowed expressly for Northern Ontario Development.

Revised the statutes at the cost of \$273,000, compared with \$76,936.01 in the year 1897 and \$79,942.25, in the year 1887.

Net revenue of the T. & N. O. Railway declined by over \$200,000.00 last year.

### Blockades.

Blocked inquiry into serious Proudfoot charges against the Provincial Secretary.

Blocked inquiry into the serious Bowman charges against the Provincial Secretary.

Passed in violation of the Rules of the House a special Indemnity Bill protecting G. Howard Ferguson, Conservative Member for Grenville and other unnamed Members of the House who had forfeited their Seats by accepting commissions

from the Dominion Government and let down the bars against such commissions in the future.

Prevented inquiry into the sales of timber limits and timber lands by the Government.

#### **Gerrymander.**

Unfairly redistributed the County of Bruce with a view of depriving the Liberals of two seats there; eliminated entirely the Liberal Riding of Monck, changed the Victorias to the disadvantage of the Liberals and also the Greys together with other changes, including the county of Essex; retained in spite of the protests, even from the Conservative newspapers the A. and B. arrangement of seats in four Toronto ridings with two single constituencies in addition.

# ABOLISH THE BAR

## WHAT IS THE LIBERAL POLICY?

(1) Immediate abolition of the bar, including therein the abolition of all hotel and club licenses and therewith the treating system; (2) such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils. Local option to be maintained as a means of wiping out the residue of the retail sale, where the electors so decide; (3) the strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with law enforcement, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law; (4) regulation and inspection of all houses of public entertainment, so as to insure reasonable accommodation for the travelling public."

This is the Liberal policy on the liquor traffic, presented to the Legislature in each of the last three years—in 1912, 1913 and 1914. Each year it has been voted down by the Government.

### Exactly What It Means.

The policy as outlined in the preceding resolution means that every hotel liquor license is wiped out; that every club liquor license is wiped out, and that the treating system is abolished. As to the shops—in nine-tenths of the municipalities of the Province there are at present no shop licenses. In nine-tenths of the municipalities, therefore, the Liberal policy means the complete abolition of the retail sale of liquor. In the remaining one-tenth, where shops now exist, they would come under further restrictions, as mentioned in the resolution, and local option would remain to wipe them out where the electors so desire. Shop licenses could not be issued in place of bar licenses abolished.

When this policy was first introduced it was subjected to much misrepresentation on the part of its opponents. This misrepresentation still continues, to a certain extent, but the true facts in regard to the policy are plain.

Under it no liquor can be sold at any hotel, either in the bar-room, or in the dining-room, or anywhere else. The sale of liquor is prohibited not only in all hotels, but also in all clubs. Shops are dealt with, but in rather a different way from the bars and the clubs. Shops can be wiped out by local option on a majority vote, in those municipalities which desire it. In the meantime, if they do exist, they will be subject to such stricter regulations as may appear necessary by experience.

### Shops.

In his speech before the Legislature on April 14th, 1914, Mr. Rowell set forth clearly his position with regard to shops, as follows:—

“Now it is said by some friends on the Government side of the House, ‘Why do you not include shops in your policy?’ We do include shops in our policy, but we treat them differently from what we do the bar and the clubs; and I want this afternoon to take a minute or two in discussing this aspect of our proposal. Honorable gentlemen refuse to support us in entirely abolishing the bar-room, and say that we are going too far, and then in the same breath they attack us for not going further and including shops. Well, one argument of my honorable friends is an answer to the other; but I want to deal with the matter quite irrespective of any such criticism. Let me say that we are going as far as the organized temperance forces of this Province asked us to go when they presented their request to us, just as they presented their request to the Government.

“I was waited upon by a deputation containing representatives of the Church of England, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches, men chosen at the gathering of the Dominion Alliance, held in the city of Toronto, and what we propose in this resolution, is the policy they asked us to adopt. I should think, Mr. Speaker, that when we have gone as far as we were asked by that influential body, no person, no temperance advocate, has a right to say that we have

not gone far enough and that our policy is not radical enough.

"Let me go a step further. As we cannot under our law prohibit the importation of liquor for consumption by the private citizen, as the private citizen is entitled to get it in, there are men in this Province who believe that on the whole it is in the interest of temperance that it should be sold for consumption off the premises in shops, rather than that it should come in in an unrestricted way under importation.

"We are not now concerned whether this view is the right or wrong view; it is maintained by many men who are opposed to the existence of the bar; and in proposing any policy we must recognize the right of private judgment and have regard to the opinions of those with whom we may not in all respects agree. Many men entertain this view, but are prepared to walk side by side with the men who are opposed to the whole business, if they are prepared to go to the polls with them and help wipe out the bars and club licenses, then I say it is the part of wisdom and patriotism to go side by side with them, and let us unitedly accomplish that upon which are all agreed. (Cheers.)

"After that important point is settled then from our vantage ground we can handle the residue of the traffic and deal with it in the way most effective to limit its operation and curtail its evils.

"Not only that, but I say we do not propose that shops should remain under existing conditions. I believe there are abuses in connection with shop licenses which can be remedied by legislation. What we promise is this, the enactment of all such legislation, and all such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show us to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils. We not only promise for the present, but promise for the future. And why do we promise for the future? Because we have set ourselves to this task, to endeavor, as best we may, to limit and curtail the evil effects of the liquor traffic. Whatever new difficulties may arise, whatever new situations may confront us, we will meet them in exactly the same spirit as we have met the present, and we will promote all such legislation as experi-

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ence may show to be necessary for the attainment of that end. (Cheers.)

"Then, further, Mr. Speaker, the Local Option law to which I have referred, a good law, will still continue on our Statute Book, and under that law we remit to the people of each local community the absolute right to wipe out the shops whenever they think it in the public interest, or in the interest of temperance, to do. We leave in their hands the complete authority and discretion, so that any community can take that step whenever it considers it desirable.

"Now, it may be suggested that the area of the present Local Option district is too restricted; there may be a village or a town where a shop exercises an influence over the whole of the surrounding country; but there is nothing to prevent the Local Option area being enlarged; there is nothing to prevent the Local Option Act being amended, so as to make it broad enough to include a county; and it can be made effective in a county, this would give you all the benefits of the Scott Act covering the county area with the Local Option provisions for law enforcement."

#### Not Question of Prohibition.

There is another section of Mr. Rowell's speech, which is important in arriving at a complete understanding of the policy:—

"As the prohibition of the export, import or manufacture of intoxicating liquors is a matter quite beyond the jurisdiction of the Province, the power of the Legislature is limited to the regulation of the retail sale of liquor. Some will say, and I have heard it said—heard it said by some of our Conservative friends—'If you would give us complete prohibition we should be heartily glad, but as your measure does not wipe it out root and branch; does not go far enough; therefore, we will not support it.' I have already pointed out that we cannot, in this Province, go to that extreme length, but what I do submit is this: that it is no excuse for any man interested in progress along the lines of curtailing the evils of the traffic and reforming social conditions, to say: 'Because you cannot go the whole distance, I will not go with you at all.' Is it not a wise thing to

say: 'The proposal you make is good, as far as it goes, and to that extent we will heartily co-operate with you.' "

"The issue, as presented in this resolution, is not a question between total abstainers and non-abstainers; it is not a question between prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists. The crucial question, Mr. Speaker, is this: Is the open bar, as it exists in the Province of Ontario; the legalized sale of liquor in hotels of the Province, with the treating habit inseparately associated therewith—a benefit or a bane to the community in which it exists? If it is for the benefit of the community then it should be protected and perpetuated, but if, on the other hand, it is not only not a benefit, but is a positive detriment to the community, industrially, socially, morally and religiously, then, should it not be wiped out?

"Mr. Speaker, may we not fairly ask that all men, irrespective of their personal habits as to drinking or not drinking; irrespective of their party affiliations, should unite as patriotic citizens on this one broad, common platform and say: "We believe the open bar to be a public nuisance, a curse and a handicap wherever it exists, and we will agree to wipe it out."

#### Licenses and Politics.

In regard to Clause 3 of the Policy, "the strict enforcement of the law by officials in sympathy with law enforcement, and the elimination of political influence from the administration of the law."

To-day political influence is one of the most dominant factors in the majority of the constituencies in connection with the administration of the law. In the appointment of the License Commissioners and the appointment of the License Inspectors made on the nomination or recommendation of the sitting members of the House or of Patronage Committees or of defeated candidates, the Government has entirely failed to carry out its pledge. It has entirely failed to remove political influence from the administration of the law. It is important to recall the resignation of the License Commissioners of Toronto—Mr. J. W. Flavelle, the late John I. Davidson and Mr. J. A. Murray, appointed by the Government when it came into power in 1905. Before the end of the year these Commissioners resigned, and in their letter of resignation they stated, "the Commissioners accepted office reluctantly as a public duty on the personal assurance of the Premier and the writ-

ten statement of the Provincial Secretary that the Government desired a fair, fearless and non-partisan administration of the License Act."

After reviewing the causes which led to their resignation, the Commissioners add:—

"The course followed seems to have been designed by men inflamed with passion for office or for dispensing patronage, who determined to get rid of Commissioners who refused to play the part of hired men subject to the dictation of party followers. The Government, by their action, have approved of this course; hence the usefulness of the present Commissioners is at an end. They accepted at full value the statements made by the Premier and his responsible Minister, the Provincial Secretary, that they desired an honest, non-partisan enforcement of the License Act, and, as no other administration was possible while the office was held by the present Board, they stepped aside to permit the Government to secure a Board in accordance with its present policy."

#### "News" Criticizes Government.

The Toronto News, Conservative, had this to say about the affair:—

"We venture to think that these proceedings changed the whole relation of the Government to the liquor traffic in Toronto and throughout the Province. There could be no clearer intimation that the enforcement of the law is held to be secondary to the interests of the Conservative party, and that the spoils faction, which, noisy as it is, does not constitute 2 per cent. of any political party, is exercising a controlling influence over Mr. Whitney and his associates.

"The partisanship in connection with administration of the liquor license law, which became apparent even in 1905, has continued and has grown year after year.

"The Provincial Secretary has suggested on several occasions the appointment of a central Provincial Licensing Board, but the idea has never been submitted to the Legislature as a practical proposal. The Liberal Policy, however, to quote the words of Mr. Rowell himself, is as follows: "We do propose to elimi-

nate political influence from the administration of the law, and we propose to do it in this way: While the residue of the traffic continues to exist, we propose to deal with it by one or more Licensing Boards, upon which we will ask to sit not only the men who have been Liberal in their conviction and Policy, but men who have been Conservative as well, and wholly to eliminate partisanship by putting men of the highest standing from both parties on such Boards, we may eliminate the influence of the liquor traffic."

### "ABOLISH THE BAR" POLICY, AND THE LIBERALS.

The General Reform Association of Ontario contains, among its membership, two representatives named by each Riding Association of the Province, the Liberal Members of the Ontario Legislature, the last non-elected Liberal candidates in the Provincial Election, and representative Liberals to the number of fifty in the Province, selected annually by the Association.

It may, therefore, be fairly stated that the General Reform Association of Ontario is truly representative of the Liberals of the Province of Ontario.

At the Annual Meeting of the Association, held on the 13th of October, 1911, before Mr. Rowell was chosen Leader of the Liberal Party, the President of the Association, Mr. H. M. Mowat, K.C., in his Presidential address made the following statement in reference to the position of the Party on this matter:—

"In the opinion of many, the time has come when attention must be given to the views of those Liberals who believe that the distinct pledges of party leaders made in 1894 and 1897, regarding the limitation of liquor selling, should no longer be ignored. The party has got no credit for failure to keep these pledges. The support of a sincere class of men was either sought or held because of these pledges; and so long as we who are the successors of the Liberal party of those days decline to carry out its will and testament, our executorship will be called to account. The pledges were not fettered by detail, and a just manner of carrying out their spirit would be to amend the Liquor License Act by enacting that after 1913 no license be issued to sell intoxicating liquor in bar-rooms in Ontario. In cities

and those municipalities which cherish the right to regulate their own life and conduct let shops and dispensaries remain, unless abolished by Local Option vote. As a majority of voters has more than once voted for abolition in the Province, there would be no injustice by reason of want of warning or notice."

At this meeting the Association appointed a Committee to consider suggestions as to a policy of the Liberal Party in the Province of Ontario, and after Mr. Rowell accepted the Leadership, it was resolved to intrust the preparation of the Liberal platform for the ensuing campaign to the Committee on Resolutions, in conjunction with the Leader, Mr. Rowell.

This resolution was carried out, and the Liberal programme or platform so prepared, was issued to the electors by Mr. Rowell, as leader of the Provincial Liberal Party.

This platform contained the following statement of policy:—

"The evils of intemperance constitute a grave social peril. During the ensuing Parliamentary term we will consider the best form of legislation to deal effectively with these evils, and the electors will have an opportunity of passing upon our proposals at the following general election."

In explaining this policy at the opening meeting of the campaign in Massey Hall, in November, 1911, Mr. Rowell stated:—

"It is our intention to give early consideration to this matter in all its hearings, and the decisions at which we arrive will be laid before the people and the people will have an opportunity of passing judgment upon our policy at the next general election, not in the form of a referendum, but as the policy of the party, upon which we will stand or fall, and we shall not fall. The promise I now make is that I shall enter upon the investigation and consideration of the question with the sole desire to reach a conclusion which will best promote the real interests of temperance, and every step taken will be a step in advance."

#### Ascertaining Public Opinion.

Pursuant to the pledge made to the electors of the Province in the year 1911, the Liberal members of the Legislature entered upon the consideration of this question during the

session of 1912. They investigated the form of legislation which would likely prove most effective, and which the officers of the law would be able to enforce, and endeavored to ascertain the sentiment of the Liberal Party throughout the Province, and the character of the legislation which the Party would be prepared to support.

They called together all the Liberal newspaper men of the Province, and got the benefit of their views on the matter.

On probably no question in recent years have political leaders made greater efforts to ascertain not only what would be in the public interest, but what the electors might fairly be asked to support, than did Mr. Rowell and his colleagues in connection with this matter.

The result of the investigation was that they found that leading Liberals throughout the country cordially approved of the statement made by Mr. Mowat, the President of the Ontario Reform Association, with reference to the policy which the Liberal Party should adopt.

The result of all this consideration and deliberation was the policy submitted by Mr. Rowell to the Legislature and the country, hereinbefore set forth.

At the annual meeting of the General Reform Association for Ontario, held in Toronto on October 8th, 1912, the following resolution was submitted and unanimously carried:—

“J. W. Curry, K.C., of Toronto, and R. Tilson, of Manitoulin Island, moved a resolution expressing hearty approval of the policies submitted by the Provincial Liberal Leader, N. W. Rowell, K.C. The motion was carried unanimously.”

The Party in the Province, acting through its organization, the General Reform Association of Ontario, has endorsed and ratified the policy of the Liberal members of the Legislature on this important matter, and the Liberal Party, under the leadership of Mr. Rowell, now gives to the electors of this Province, as Mr. Rowell promised, an opportunity of passing judgment upon the policy of the abolition of the bar, at the next general election.

This is an opportunity for which those who have been advocates of the cause of temperance have been working for over twenty years. If they take advantage of the opportunity, they may witness the results of their years of toil and struggle. If they fail to take advantage of it, upon them must rest the responsibility for this failure.

## **POLICY OF CHRISTIAN FORCES.**

This policy is not merely the policy of the Liberal Party in Ontario. It is the policy and platform of the organized forces of Christianity in the Province. Its beginning was in a conference called in Toronto by the Executive of the Dominion Alliance, following the Provincial Referendum in the year 1902, to consider what action should be taken by the men interested in seeking to solve the problem of the liquor traffic. To that meeting were invited representatives of the various Churches and Social and Moral Reform Organizations. After a most careful consideration of the whole situation, this body of representative men reached a definite conclusion as to the policy which, in their judgment, should be urged upon the Government of the day as the best and most feasible proposal then available for dealing effectively with the evils of the traffic. The resolution was as follows:—

“That in view of the recent expression by the electors of the Province of Ontario in favor of the Liquor Act of 1902, we deem it advisable to appoint a deputation to wait upon the Government and request that effect be given to said vote by the abolition of the public bar, the treating system and drinking in clubs, and the imposition of such other restrictions on the Liquor Traffic as shall most effectually curtail its operations and remedy its evils.”

That resolution, which embodied the consensus of opinion of social reformers and leaders of thought at that meeting was moved by the Rev. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, and seconded by the late Principal Caven, one of the wisest, sanest, most moderate, most highly esteemed and public-spirited citizens of the Province of Ontario.

It was subsequently endorsed by the organized forces of temperance in the Province and the annual meetings of the Dominion Alliance. Year after year, through a long series of years, that policy has been endorsed by the recognized temperance forces of the Province as expressing, not their ultimate goal—for they hope for the complete elimination of the liquor traffic—but embodying that which they deemed immediately available as the next most important legislative step which could and should be taken to meet the conditions of the people of this Province.

### Endorsation of Churches.

Not only has it been repeatedly endorsed there, but the matter has gone further, it has been endorsed by many other organizations, and their views have been nine times presented to the people of this Province. That view was endorsed by the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, in Ottawa in 1908.

"In glancing over the several provinces of the Dominion, it is manifest that there is a great concensus of opinion concerning the bar under our present licensing system, namely, that it is a public menace; and your committee would urge upon the Synod that it is the duty of every man to endeavor to further the effort to abolish the bar."

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg declared for the same thing—for the abolition of the bar and therewith the treating system. The Presbyterian Church in Canada is on record, and this policy is affirmed and supported by this great religious organization.

The Methodist Church has repeatedly gone on record, in its Conferences, not only in favor of this measure, but in favor of more advanced ground. What is true of the Methodist denomination is equally true of the Baptist denomination and of the Congregational denomination; and, perhaps, no clearer or stronger note has been sounded in connection with the urgency of dealing effectively with the liquor traffic than has been sounded by the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

A Pastoral Letter issued by the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada following the meeting of their first great council in the city of Quebec, in November, 1909, included the following:—

"Almost everywhere the civil authorities have given their weighty co-operation, and have devoted themselves in a truly Christian spirit to the checking of this trade. It has been, above all, realized that the evils should be attacked at their source, namely, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors should be suppressed."

They went on to deal with the most effective way for suppressing the evils of the traffic, and called upon the members of their Church to assist in the work.

### Policy of the Churches.

By this it is seen that the policy submitted to the Legislature by Mr. Rowell was not the Liberal policy alone, but was

the policy framed by the religious leaders, the social and moral workers of the Province. It is the policy of the organized temperance forces of this Province; it is the policy which the Church of England in General Synod has endorsed; it is the policy which the Presbyterian Church has declared to be its own; it is the policy upon which all the other Churches have stood and are standing, in fighting the evils of the traffic; and when the fight comes on it will not be a fight between Conservatives and Liberals, but the real issue in the next election in this Province will be this:—Shall the organized liquor forces of the Province triumph over the organized forces of common Christianity along the line of the policy which those Christian forces themselves have formulated?

The second part of the Liberal temperance policy calls for:—

“Such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations, and effective to remedy its evils. Local Option to be maintained as a means of wiping out the residue of the retail sale, where the electors so decide.”

The first part of that clause, namely, “Such other restrictions upon the residue of the liquor traffic as experience may show to be necessary to limit its operations and effective to remedy its evils,” is, in substance, though slightly different in form, the same as the second clause of the original resolution adopted by the Conference of 1902, already referred to, and repeatedly affirmed by the gatherings of the temperance forces of this Province in annual conventions.

#### Alliance Asked For It.

In February, 1912, a deputation from the Dominion Alliance including representative men from the Church of England, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches, waited upon the Government and upon Mr. Rowell and his colleagues with the request for the introduction into the Legislature of legislation embodying the Alliance policy. This policy was “the abolition of the bar and the treating system and drinking in clubs and the imposition of such further restrictions upon the liquor traffic as will most effectively curtail its operations and remedy its evils.”

The policy of the Liberal party now, therefore, is the

policy submitted to it by the Dominion Alliance and which it adopted. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Dominion Alliance at its successive meetings has endorsed "Abolish the Bar" policy of the Liberals.

One of the reasons that this particular policy was originally adopted in 1902 by the Alliance was that there was no unanimity even among the men most strongly opposed to the liquor traffic, that prohibition, pure and simple, was under all conditions the best and most effective method of dealing with it. On this policy of "Abolish the Bar," however, the prohibitionists and those who believed in temperance but who did not believe in prohibition, were able to unite and make common war upon the evils of the traffic.

#### Canadian Church Papers.

We quote some extracts from some of the Canadian Church papers, endorsing "Abolish the Bar," as follows:—

From The Presbyterian, the leading paper of the Presbyterian Church in Canada:—

The question naturally arises as to how far a political party should be expected to go in order to deserve the support of those who have been enlisted in the fight against the liquor traffic. In our view it would be useless to appeal to the anti-liquor electorate of Ontario with any policy short of the complete banishment of the public bar. The bar-room is recognized as a nuisance in the communities where it exists. It is the training academy for the drinking habit, the busy workshop where drunkards are produced. The bar-room should be utterly abolished.

From The Christian Guardian, the official organ of the Methodist Church in Canada:—

The abolish-the-bar policy, while somewhat radical, is a peculiarly sane and level-headed method of facing the evils of the drink traffic as they exist among us to-day. It seems pre-eminently the next step to be taken in temperance reform, at least in this Province, and as such it will make a strong appeal to a united conviction in favor of temperance advance.

If Mr. Rowell, or, for that matter, Sir James Whitney either, will come out straightforwardly in favor of abolishing of the bar and a careful and conscientious supervising of the traffic in liquor that will remain, he will succeed in rousing such enthusiasm in the moral reform forces of this Province as no politician in many years has done.

The Province, if we can form any estimate of the situation, is waiting for just such an advanced proposal and will be ready to give strong support and backing to the political party that will honestly and unreservedly make it. Politics altogether aside, we

would like to see an abolish-the-bar plank in the platform of either party.

After the Liberal policy was announced, The Presbyterian further declared its attitude towards the bar-room and its abolition:—

The policy announced by Mr. N. W. Rowell in the Ontario Legislature in regard to temperance legislation is as far in line with what The Presbyterian has consistently advocated for years past, that we cannot but approve and applaud it. Indeed, it is hard to see why a policy which has long been approved by men of moderate views, as well as by more militant temperance reformers, should not be accepted on both sides of the House and thus removed from the arena of party politics. The advantages of the proposed legislation are manifest. The bar is intrinsically an evil. It attracts to itself what is worst in the community where it exists and becomes a breeding-ground for every form of wickedness. It takes advantage of the kindly instinct of hospitality to encourage treating, and thus promotes the acquirement of the drinking habit and excessive indulgence. To get rid of the bar would be in itself a great boon.

Further, the abolition of the bar would not only wipe out at once the greater part of the liquor business, but would make it easier to get rid of the residue. There are many municipalities in which it is difficult to carry local option laws, because an amount of sympathy is felt for the hotel proprietor and his family who have been residents of the community perhaps for long and who have served the public by providing a house of entertainment. The bar enjoys a certain protection from its association with the hotel business proper, and is thus allowed to remain in communities where an establishment exclusively devoted to the sale of liquor would not be tolerated.

### Baptists Do Not Want Bars.

The Canadian Baptist, after our policy was announced, gave it the following unqualified endorsement:—

"Banish the Bar" has been the cry of some temperance people for a considerable time, but not until last week was it announced in Ontario as a plank in a political platform. To us it is glad tidings, coming as it does from the lips and heart of the new Liberal leader, Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., who thus declares himself as a great and warm friend of the temperance movement, and as one who is ready to lead a mighty campaign against perhaps the strongest foe of the temperance movement, namely, the bar-room, or in other words, the treating system. Had the Premier of Ontario introduced such a measure, we can say with all sincerity he would have received our hearty support in that respect at least. Temperance people of all shades of politics will surely join hands in seeking the banishment of the bar, which, if it does not mean entire prohibition of the liquor traffic, means very much towards the overthrow of that traffic.

**Reverend Father Minehan, of Toronto, has this to say:—**

"For my part I do not believe that it will be necessary to go to this extreme (speaking of prohibition). I believe that the spinal column of the liquor curse is the bar-room. Practically every drunkard with whom I have been brought in contact received his initiation in the bar-room and graduated from that seminary of drunkenness.

"It may be said that if you close the bar-room a man may bring liquor home and enter upon a debauch in his own house. Yes, he can, but the number of men who will swill at home is, according to my observation, very small, and their number will grow smaller as their nursery, the bar-room, is cut off, for they are mainly bar-room products. Rarely have I seen the police van drive up to the door of a home; whenever I have seen it on its gloomy errand it is generally going towards or coming from some bar-room. When I meet any member of my flock who has been on a spree, I almost invariably hear this confession 'Father, I did not intend to get drunk; they pressed me to have a drink with them. I had to order my treat like the rest, and the moment we had two or three rounds of drink we were all ready to sing, 'We won't go home until morning.' And sure enough some of us did not go home until morning, or until well on to noon, for we found ourselves figuring in the daily parade of drunks that interview the police magistrate.'"

"The Tablet," a Roman Catholic weekly newspaper, published in England, on the 20th of April, 1912, stated:—

"'Banish the Bar' is the temperance policy of the Liberal Party for Ontario. Clear, definite and straightforward, the Liberal Leader has stated his position on one of the great issues before the Province to-day."

### **BRITISH LIBERAL OPINION.**

**Lloyd George:—**

"If you are going to deal with the problem of the housing of the people, what is the good of doing it when you know that so long as drink is allowed a free hand on the hearth the result will be that although you may convert every slum into a garden city, that garden city would soon be reduced to shums again."

"Wherever you find those poor creatures gathered together whose brain is shattered—wherever you find human beings huddled together in loathsome, squalid wretchedness—wherever you find men living in a condition of vice and crime—they all bear testimony that drink is the prime agency in the creation of all this unsightly mass of pain and degradation, and I may say this Government would fail abjectly in its duty if through any base fear of any force or combination of forces, they would shrink from doing all in their power to cut out from the social organism this most malignant growth that drains the vitality of the nation."

Herbert Samuel:—

"If social reformers were to leave intemperance unfought, it would be like an invading army that left unchallenged behind it the strongest positions of the enemy. Their work would be incomplete and what little they had accomplished would soon be undone."

### LABOR OPPOSED TO THE BAR.

Rt. Hon. John Burns:—

"The liquor trade is an unmitigated curse to any community that claims to be Christian or civilized."

Keir Hardie, M.P.:—

"Those best acquainted with the labor movement would bear him out that the strongest ally on the side of reaction was intemperance. It made every movement more difficult and tended to thwart all well meant effort."

Philip Snowden, M.P.:—

"If we could get rid of the drink traffic, the task of the social reformer would be much easier. If we could only get the people to have clear heads we should begin to have clear thinking."

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., one of the most influential labor leaders in the House of Commons in England, who was a member of the Board appointed to settle the railway strike:—

"I have no hesitation in saying that there is no factor which is keeping the workers back more than is to be found in connection with the liquor traffic." Again he says: "The money invested in the liquor traffic is invested to the least possible advantage. It is said that 400,000 persons are engaged in the trade, but the same amount of money, if invested in other employments, would give employment to three millions of people."

John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, says:—

"I am against the saloon without any qualifications. . . . The unions make every possible effort and use every influence they can command to increase wages. The stream of influence that runs from a saloon continuously tends to decrease wages, for the reason that every cent a union man spends in a saloon is an absolute waste, and consequently his wages are reduced by whatever amount the saloons get from him. The union, therefore, is on one side of this question and the saloon on the other."

### LOCAL OPTION—HISTORY.

The Local Option Law was passed by the Liberal Govern-

ment of Sir Oliver Mowat, but at first it was not much used, as the temperance forces were working for a Province-wide law. When they did begin to use it, they were handicapped by the action of some Municipal Councils in refusing to submit the by-law. The Liberal Convention of 1904 proposed to make its submission compulsory upon a petition from twenty-five per cent. of the ratepayers.

The Conservative Government carried out this policy, but at the same time more than counterbalanced this advantage by introducing the three-fifths clause.

### **LOCAL OPTION NOT SUFFICIENT.**

Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, member of the Asquith Government:—

“It has been most clearly recognized that Local Option might prove an ineffective weapon and be enforced least often in the localities where reform is needed most, for where the public houses have the greatest number of patrons, there also they are likely to find at the poll the greatest number of defenders.”

Mr. Ben Spence, Secretary of the Dominion Alliance, declares that they have gone almost as far as they can with Local Option in Ontario.

Mr. N. W. Rowell, in the Legislature, April 15th:—

“I venture to say that it is impossible to carry Local Option with the vote now required in any of the large cities of the Province, as it has proven impossible to carry it in many of the smaller cities and towns of the Province in the contests which have already taken place. Unless we are prepared to concede to the liquor traffic the right to retain the full power it now enjoys in the larger centres of population in the Province, unless we are prepared to concede to it the enormously increasing power it will enjoy in the future as our cities increase in population, we must deal with the traffic by some Province-wide measure. . . . It is in the larger centres of population where under the existing conditions we cannot carry a Local Option law that the social problems are the most serious and the most difficult to solve.”

## HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR PROVINCE-WIDE LEGISLATION.

The question of Province-wide legislation, which would abolish all hotel licenses in the Province, is not a new one in this Province, and has been, in some form or other, a political issue for almost twenty-five years.

During the first half of this period, the question of the jurisdiction of the Province to prohibit the retail sale of liquor, was seriously questioned, and some of the best Constitutional Lawyers we had were of the opinion that this power was vested in the Dominion Government alone.

In the year 1893, Mr. G. F. Marter, then a very influential member of the Conservative Opposition, and subsequently Leader of the Conservative Party in this Province, introduced a bill into the Legislature to prohibit the retail sale of liquor, and that bill had the support of Sir William Meredith, the then Leader of the Conservative Party in the Province, and of his Colleagues in the Legislature.

The Government of Sir Oliver Mowat, recognizing the importance of the issue, met the proposition in a sympathetic spirit, but considered that it was in the public interests that the question of disputed jurisdiction should be determined before legislation was enacted. The Government, therefore, proposed, in answer to Mr. Marter's bill, that the question of jurisdiction should be at once referred to the Courts for decision and carried through to the Privy Council, and also that a plebiscite should be taken to ascertain the views of the electors of the Province on the desirability of passing a Provincial prohibitory law, if the Province had the necessary jurisdiction to do so.

The following was the resolution submitted by the Government to the House and carried by the Legislature:—

"The extent of the power, if any, of the Provincial Legislature to enact a Prohibitory Liquor Law is uncertain and doubtful; that a case involving the question of whether or not the Legislature has even a limited power of this character is now pending before the Supreme Court of CANADA; that, before attempting to deal with the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic, the extent of the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature should first be ascertained by

the authority of the judicial tribunal of last resort in that behalf; that to deal with this question of Prohibition now, and whilst the jurisdiction of the Legislature is so doubtful and uncertain, would, in the opinion of this House, militate against the best interests of temperance and the public, and would practically result in an indiscriminate and unlicensed traffic in liquor; that this House has confidence that the Government will, without delay, take all necessary and proper steps to secure the judgment of the said judicial tribunal as to the extent, if any, of the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature to enact a law for the total or partial prohibition of the liquor traffic; that if and when it shall be adjusted by said judicial tribunal that the Legislature has any power to enact such a law, this House will be prepared to consider and decide upon any measure in that behalf which may be brought before it; that, for the reasons aforesaid, this House is of the opinion, that the question of prohibition of the liquor traffic by the Provincial Legislature should not be further dealt with during the present session, save and except to make and enact all necessary provisions for securing a Provincial plebescite on the question of the prohibition of the said traffic, and this House accordingly orders, that said Bill be not now read the second time, but, be read a second time, this day six months."

#### Referendum 1894.

At the same session of the Legislature, the Government introduced and carried through a Bill to enable the electors of the Province to pronounce upon the desirability of prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, the vote to be taken on the 1st of January, 1894. This vote was duly taken, and the result was as follows:—

For Prohibition . . . . .	192,489
Against Prohibition . . . . .	110,720

Majority in favor of Provincial Prohibition. 81,769

This was a municipal vote, and included fully-qualified men and women voters.

In the meantime the question of the jurisdiction of the

Province had been referred to the Courts for a decision, with the intention that it should be carried through to the Privy Council.

### What Mowat Said.

In view of the strong vote in favor of Provincial Prohibition, a deputation representing the organized temperance forces of the Province waited upon the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat, and asked him to introduce legislation to carry out the expressed will of the people. In answer to this deputation Sir Oliver Mowat gave the following pledge:—

“If the decision of the Privy Council should be that the Province has the jurisdiction to pass a prohibitive liquor law, as to sale, etc., I will introduce such a bill in the following session, if I am then at the head of the Government. If the decision of the Privy Council is that the Province has jurisdiction to pass only a partially prohibitive liquor law, I will introduce such a prohibitive bill as the decision will warrant, unless the partial prohibitive power is so limited as to be ineffective from a temperance standpoint.”

The decision of the Privy Council on the case submitted was inconclusive, and still left the matter in doubt, and it was not until the decision of the Privy Council in the year 1900, on the Act of the Manitoba Legislature, introduced by Hugh John Macdonald, that the right of the Province to prohibit the retail sale of liquor, was clearly established.

In the meantime, Sir Oliver Mowat resigned as Premier in the year 1906, and became Minister of Justice in Canada. He was succeeded by the Hon. A. S. Hardy, who, in the year 1907, in answer to a further deputation of the organized temperance forces of the Province, renewed the pledge given by Sir Oliver Mowat.

When the decision of the Privy Council was received in the year 1900, Hon. G. W. Ross was Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario, and in answer to the request of delegations from the temperance people of the Province he introduced in the year 1902, and carried through the Legislature, an Act prohibiting the retail sale of liquor in the Province. This Act, however, was not to come into force until approved by the electors of the Province, the vote required being equal to fifty per cent. of the total vote cast in the preceding general election.

### Conservatives Opposed.

Under the leadership of Sir James Whitney, the Conservative Party in the Legislature reversed their former attitude on this question, and when the Government introduced its Bill in 1902, to prohibit the retail sale of liquor in the Province, it was opposed by Sir James Whitney and his colleagues in the Legislature, with the exception of Mr. Marter, who supported the Government in introducing the Bill.

All the members of the then Conservative Opposition voted against the second reading of the Bill with the exception of Mr. Marter who voted with the Government. Among those who so voted against the second reading were:—

Sir James Whitney,  
 Hon. Mr. Pyne,  
 Hon. Mr. Foy,  
 Hon. Mr. Duff,  
 Hon. Mr. Lucas.

On the third reading of the Bill, Mr. Marter moved to strike out of the bill the provision requiring more than a mere majority of the votes. This amendment was opposed both by the Government and Sir James Whitney; and every member of the present Government then in the House voted against this amendment.

The referendum on this Bill was taken on December 4th, 1902, with the following result:—

In favor, 199,749; against, 103,548.

The question was submitted to the Parliamentary voters. The vote required to bring the Act into operation was 212,723, and the actual vote fell short of the vote required by less than 13,000 votes. The vote therefore in favor was not sufficient to bring the Bill into operation.

It was contended at the time by leaders in the temperance cause that this Bill should not have been submitted to a referendum, but should have been passed into law on the direct responsibility of the Government; and, further, that if submitted to a referendum, it should have been brought into operation on a majority vote.

It was after the failure of this vote that the policy of the Abolition of the Bar was agreed upon by the organized temperance forces of the Province and urged upon the Government for its consideration and support; and because the then

Liberal Government did not adopt the proposal, the Liberal Government was strongly opposed by many of the leading temperance men throughout the Province in the ensuing general election—not because the Conservative Opposition proposed any advanced programme, but on the ground that the action taken by the Government was not an adequate fulfilment of the pledges of Sir Oliver Mowat and Mr. Hardy.

While the pledge given by Sir Oliver Mowat and Mr. Hardy is no more binding upon the Liberal leaders of to-day than the policy of Mr. Marter is upon Sir James Whitney and his colleagues, yet there are thousands of electors in the Province who feel that the Liberal Party owea it to itself and to the pledges given by its past leaders to take strong and advanced ground on this issue.

The present policy of the Liberal Party in Ontario should not only commend itself to all interested in the cause of temperance reform—to all those who have advocated this policy for years—but should command the support of the united Liberal Party, as an honest effort to carry out obligations which, though no longer binding, may still be recognized as debts of honor.

### RECORD OF THE GOVERNMENT.

It has not accepted the following offer from Mr. Rowell, made on July 1, 1912, and repeated on numerous occasions:—

“Sir James, join with us, and should both political parties unite to wipe out the licensed bar-room in this Province, would it not be a splendid spectacle for all the Provinces of the Dominion, and for all the countries of the world to witness the union of both political parties in this Province to wipe out the curse of the licensed bar.”

Not only has the Government refused to accept the “Abolish the Bar” policy, and co-operate with the Liberal Party to put it into effect, but it has taken other steps which show its lack of sympathy with the forces of temperance and its active alliance and sympathy with the liquor interests. For one thing, the Government in 1912 brought in a resolution to abolish treating, and has never proceeded further. The resolution, which was obviously intended as a counterblast to the “Abolish the Bar” policy, was as follows:—

“This House recognizes the duty cast upon it to minimize as far as possible the evil effect of the drink habit by wise restrictions upon the traffic in intoxicating liquors. This House also

recognizes that, having regard to the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as to the respective jurisdiction of the Dominion and of the Provinces, it is impossible for the people of the Province through its Legislature to abolish or control the manufacture within or the importation into, the Province, of intoxicating liquors; that the treating habit is now almost universally recognized as the most powerful factor in the evil results of the said traffic and habit, and no good object would be served by simply diverting the habit from the bar to some other place. That in the opinion of this House legislation to prevent and put a stop to the said treating habit should be enacted, and, if necessary, supplemented by regulations under which retail licenses are granted and held."

This resolution was supported in speeches of great fervor. Among other things stated by Government speakers at that time, were the following:—

#### Sir James on Treating.

"There should be no two opinions," said Sir James Whitney, "regarding the silly, ridiculous and disgraceful habit of treating. Public opinion on this question is a matter of slow development and of evolution and growth. Those who think they can either accelerate it or retard it are utterly and entirely mistaken. I believe the time is in sight when the break will be made in this ridiculous and senseless habit of treating. I earnestly hope so, Mr. Speaker. There have been times in the history of nations, of this Province, and I hope there will be similar times repeated—when individuals are willing, have been found to be willing to give up some of their cherished personal liberty and rights in order that the general welfare of the community might be served. Would legislation against the treating system be unwarranted? I say I cannot answer that question in the affirmative. Under certain circumstances, such legislation would be justified, and under the circumstances, I am prepared to stand sponsor for legislation of that kind. . . . There is no question but that it will be a difficult law to enforce, but it is possible that it can be enforced; perhaps not completely, but how many laws are enforced completely? How many laws are there in which people do not evade the consequences of violation? . . . What it would do is this,—although it might not result in abolishing forever the system of treating, it would minimize and practically do away with it. And here is where I find myself at the cross-roads. Here is the point that determined me in favor of this legislation. It is quite believable that in putting

a check upon the freedom of treating, we would destroy the desire for and the habit of treating in the bar. Our young men and boys of the present day would grow up so that in five years it would never occur to them to enter upon this habit of treating, because they would not see other people doing it. That is the reason, the great governing reason, which is causing me to say that I would favor legislation of that kind with reference to this question. . . . I have kept my finger on the pulse of the people in this matter. I have observed what is going on in the minds of the people. To-day I say, without fear of successful contradiction, that if a ballot were to be taken in the Province, there would be a practically unanimous vote in favor of legislation to destroy the treating system, and further, in order to make my meaning clear, I say that of these two questions, the abolition of the bar and the abolition of the treating system, an enormously larger number of the people would choose abolition of treating rather than abolition of the bar."

Albert Grigg, Conservative Member for Algoma, stated:—

"There has never been advanced anywhere on this Continent any such progressive legislation as has been brought in by the Prime Minister of this Province on the floor of this House this afternoon."

He stated that the Government's measure would take away the main artery of the evil.

W. K. McNaught, Conservative Member for North Toronto, stated that the Government had been considering the question of anti-treating for the past six years and strongly supported and eulogized the policy.

#### No Action Taken.

In spite of the resolution, however; in spite of the laudatory speeches in favor of anti-treating made by the Prime Minister and his supporters, and in spite of the Government majority, which could put into effect any policy desired, no action was taken upon this resolution in the sessions of 1912, 1913 or 1914. There is still no anti-treating legislation on the Statute Books of the Province, and none apparently in prospect. The actual fact, however, is that the Government voted down the resolution of the Opposition in the Session of 1914, to the following effect:—

"This House would respectfully represent to your

Honor that, after the adoption by this House at its Session in 1912, at the instance of your Honor's advisers, of a resolution declaring that legislation should be enacted to prevent and put a stop to the treating habit, and in view of the Representations then made to this House by your Honor's advisers, as to the beneficial effects of such legislation in curtailing the already great evils of the open bar, this House regrets that your Honor's advisers have not proposed legislation to abolish the public bar, to prohibit the treating system, or otherwise to curtail the evils of the traffic."

#### **Three-Fifths Clause.**

As far back as 1906 this Government, although it improved the local option law which was previously in force, by making the submission of local option by-laws obligatory when petitioned for by twenty-five per cent. of the electors,—which was part of the Liberal platform adopted at the Convention in 1904, made another innovation at the same time which more than counterbalanced the advantage of the first. This change was the introduction of the three-fifths clause, which, although safeguarding local option in repeal contests in seven Municipalities, has prevented the carrying of the by-law in one hundred and fourteen municipalities.

#### **Poor Law Enforcement.**

For a few years after this Government came into power, its record of law enforcement in certain counties of the Province seemed to be good, but during the last four or five years conditions have become decidedly bad, and numerous complaints from many sections of the Province are coming in continually in regard to lax enforcement of the law. In this connection the reports of the Executive Committee of the Dominion Alliance for the last few years are interesting:—

In 1911:—

"To-day, instead of praise, there must be censure of the present Government for laxity along this line. Conditions in the Province of Ontario now are not as good as they were three or four years ago, so far as the local officers are concerned."

In 1913, they state:—

"We regret that we cannot record any improvement in the

general enforcement of the law in the Province of Ontario during the past year. What was said in our report of last year in regard to the conditions is still true. There is great need for a decided tightening up in the administration of the liquor license law throughout the Province. Recognizing, as we do, that the measure of good results from any restrictive legislation depends upon the efficiency of enforcement, the question is to us one of vital importance."

In 1914, they state:—

"During the past year there has been little change in the situation throughout the Province regarding law enforcement. Certainly there has, on the whole, been no improvement in conditions. The criticisms made in the last report of the Executive Committee can be repeated with added emphasis. The enforcement of the Liquor License Act in the Province of Ontario to-day is exceedingly lax, and the permitted violations, together with the incompetence, or worse, of some local License Inspectors, is a positive menace to the permanence of local prohibitory laws, and prevents the obtaining of those good results which might be secured were the will of the people effectively carried out."

In addition to general laxity of enforcement in many sections of the Province, two examples stand out vividly.

First, conditions in New Ontario, and Secondly, the farce of the liquor selling in the steamboats running out of Toronto.

In regard to the steamboats running out of Toronto: The official return brought down to the House by the Provincial Secretary upon request from the Opposition, showed that many of the passenger steamers running out of Toronto have been fined once a year since 1908, the fine ranging from \$60.00 to 100.00 in 1908 up to \$200.00 in 1913.

Although this matter was brought to the attention of the House by an Opposition resolution in the session of 1913, there was no improvement in the fall of 1913, and in the session of 1914 the Provincial Secretary again reported that the steamboats had been fined \$200.00 apiece.

The farce of an annual fine for the violation of a law is obvious.

Since the last election the Government has made some amendments to the Liquor License Act, but the net result has been an advance so small as to discourage profoundly Conservative temperance men who had hoped to see a really substantial advance.

### The O. Y. M. A.

Among those bodies dissatisfied with the Government's policy on temperance is the Ontario Young Manhood Association, a temperance organization formed in 1913.

The membership in this Society includes both Liberals and Conservatives, but the Conservative members, acting for and by themselves, early in 1914 circulated petitions to be signed by Conservatives, proposing a more radical and far-reaching temperance policy on the part of the Government. The petition was as follows:—

"We, the undersigned, being young men having votes, and all Conservatives in the Province of Ontario, humbly petition your Honorable Body to pass an Act in the Legislature, abolishing all liquor shop, bar and club licenses in the Province of Ontario, such legislation to come into effect only—and thereupon automatically—after a majority of votes have been cast in its favor in a plebiscite on the question presented to the people within a year after the passing of the said Act."

This petition was signed by nine thousand men, almost exclusively Conservatives. It was presented to the Government on April 8th, accompanied by a memorial signed by the Executive of the Ontario Young Manhood Association, which contained, among others, the following clause:—

"The Ontario Young Manhood Association will be found waging a vigorous campaign in the next Provincial General Election. By its constitution it will be obliged to support that political party which promises the more advanced temperance legislation. We are Conservatives, and compose a majority in the Executive of the Association, supporting loyally, as we have done, and as we do now, the general record of the present Government. It will be with reluctance that we should find ourselves obliged to forsake the Conservative party in order to see the Liberal temperance proposal through, but if the present situation continues we will feel morally bound to pursue that course."

The answer of the Government was very indefinite:—

"We know the evils of intemperance as well as anybody," said Hon. Mr. Foy, "and we wish as much as any person, to minimize these evils. . . . I do not believe that if there was complete abolition of the bars there would be less drunkenness in the country than there is now."

Later in the Session several jocular and almost alighting references were made to this petition of the O. Y. M. A., by Government speakers.

On the other hand, Mr. Rowell in the House made the following offer to the Government, which was not accepted.

"If you think the policy advanced by these nine thousand young Conservatives is the best one to follow out—that there should be a plebiscite—and if the Government will promise to carry out that policy, then we will join with you. We will join with the Government, not only in going to the people upon a plebiscite, but also in urging upon the people its adoption. We cannot stand still and permit the bar to continue its damning influence."

### Snider Case.

This is not the end of the story. The Liberals claim that in addition to refusing the "Abolish the Bar" policy; in addition to going back on their "Abolish Treating" proposals; in addition to allowing lax enforcement of liquor license laws; in addition to penalizing temperance voters by the three-fifths majority requirement in local option contests, and in addition to refusing even the request of nine thousand of their own young men, the Government is still more blameworthy, and is putting itself in a still more serious position by contracting an alliance with the organized liquor interests of the Province to fight the Liberals and the Liberal temperance proposal.

The shortest and plainest way in which this alliance can be shown is the fact that the Government in the closing hours of the session of 1914 refused to grant a Royal Commission to investigate the most serious charges made in the House by C. M. Bowman, Liberal member for North Bruce, in which he definitely charged the Provincial Secretary with having made an agreement with the Liquor interests involving the liquor men's help in by-elections and prospective help in the general election, in return for which the Government sent its Provincial License Inspector, W. K. Snider, into the counties of Welland, Peel and Huron, to advise Conservatives to work and vote against the Canada Temperance Act.

The gravity of these charges cannot be fully realized without reading them word for word. Such a perusal will make one amazed that the Government dared to refuse an investigation into such serious charges, and the fact that they did so, and would not even go as far as they did in the Proudfoot charges, (where they at least granted a Committee even if they did afterwards blockade it and make it useless) leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Government is in alliance with the Liquor Interests against the temperance forces and against the Liberal Party. Such an alliance is only natural, as was admitted in the

House by one of the Conservatives themselves,—A. E. Donovan, Member for Brockville.

The Liquor Interests of the Province are opposed to the abolition of the bar. The Government is also opposed. What could be more reasonable or more inevitable than that the liquor Interests should support the Government candidates?

We quote here the full text of Mr. Bowman's charges in the House:

#### Text of Bowman Charges.

"I, Charles Martin Bowman, a member of the Legislature for the electoral district of North Bruce, in the Province of Ontario, Dominion of Canada, charge that an agreement or understanding was corruptly and improperly made between the Provincial Secretary, acting in and for his department and as such representing the Government, and the organized liquor interests of the Province of Ontario, as represented by its organizations and representative, that he (the Provincial Secretary) and his department of the Government would co-operate with the organized liquor interests in helping to procure the defeat of the Scott Act in the Counties of Welland, Huron, and Peel; and that the said understanding or agreement was arrived at under the circumstances and conditions hereinbefore set forth.

"I further charge that the said W. K. Snider did not go to the said counties in performance of any official duties of his office, or because he thought it a part of his official duty to do so (as alleged by the Provincial Secretary), but went to the said counties upon the request and direction of the said Provincial Secretary in order to carry out the said understanding or agreement so arrived at by the said Provincial Secretary and the representative of the organized liquor interests.

"I further charge that the said W. K. Snider in so visiting in his official capacity the said counties, then and there stated that he represented the department of the Provincial Secretary and the Government, and endeavored to persuade the parties he interviewed to work for the defeat of the Scott Act, and advised them that it was the desire of the department and of the Provincial Secretary that the Scott Act should be defeated; and that the said statement of the said W. K. Snider in the said counties that he was there representing the said department and acting upon instructions from the said department was true in substance and in fact.

### Recital of Facts.

"I am creditably informed and believe that I can establish by satisfactory evidence the following facts:

1. That in the month of January, 1914, the question of the adoption of the Canada Temperance Act, commonly known and hereafter referred to as the Scott Act, was submitted to the electors of the counties of Welland, Huron, and Peel, respectively, and the vote on the said question was taken in the said counties on the 29th day of January, 1914. For some weeks prior to the said vote an active campaign was carried on in the said counties, both by those in favor and those opposed to the adoption of the Scott Act in the said counties.

2. The organized liquor interests of the Province of Ontario considered it of the utmost importance to them, as well as to the men engaged in the "trade" in these counties, that the Scott Act should be defeated in the said counties; for not only would the adoption of the Act in the said counties wipe out liquor licenses, but they thought it might lead to a general movement for the adoption of the Scott Act throughout the Province of Ontario. By reason of the importance which the liquor interests attached to the said contests, they raised and expended the sum of \$80,000 or thereabouts in the said counties to procure the defeat of the Scott Act, and they procured to be formed strong organizations in each of the said counties to work for the defeat of the Scott Act. As the said contests developed the liquor interests became increasingly concerned about the situation in the said counties, and appealed to the Provincial Secretary for assistance to help procure the defeat of the Scott Act in the said counties.

"3. The liquor interest, through its organization, had supported the Government in the bye-elections in the Province of Ontario, and had contributed or expended substantial sums of money to help secure the election of the Government candidates in such bye-elections, and had given the Government or some member or members of the Government assurance that in the next general election they would support the Government. The organized liquor interests had decided to raise very large sums to procure the election of candidates who would support the Government and oppose the policy of the abolition of the bar, and they had already raised a very large and substantial sum for such purpose. By reason of the assistance which the organized liquor interests had given the Government candidates in the bye-election, and by reason of the assurance of support to the

approaching general election given to the Government or a member or members thereof, it was agreed between the Provincial Secretary and the organized liquor interests, through their representative, that the Government or some member thereof would co-operate with the organized liquor interests to procure the defeat of the Scott Act in the said three counties.

"4. Pursuant to the understanding and agreement above set forth, it was arranged between the Provincial Secretary and the said representative of the organized liquor interests that a statement should be prepared which should set forth the alleged weaknesses of the Scott Act as compared with local option, and that this statement should be used to persuade Conservative temperance men that it was not in the interests of temperance to support the Scott Act; and such statement was prepared by officials of the License Branch of the Provincial Secretary's Department, in consultation with the representative of the organized liquor interests.

"5. In further pursuance of the understanding and agreement above set forth, Mr. William K. Snider, Provincial License Inspector, whose duties were to inspect the accommodation and equipment of the hotels in the Province of Ontario, was sent by the Provincial Secretary to the Counties of Welland, Huron, and Peel, and instructed to take with him this statement and interview leaders of the Conservative party in the said counties, and Conservatives prominent in the temperance cause, and endeavor to persuade them to assist in procuring the defeat of the Scott Act.

#### Change of Double Dealing.

"6. In order to assist the said William K. Snider in his work and to further the object and arrangements arrived at between the Provincial Secretary and the organized liquor interests, he, the Provincial Secretary, caused the said statement so prepared to be handed to the press for publication on the distinct understanding that it should not be published as coming from the Government, and this course was taken by the Provincial Secretary as the Government wished to maintain outwardly the attitude of sympathy with the temperance cause.

"7. The said W. K. Snider, acting under the authority and instructions of the Provincial Secretary, visited the County of Welland on the 26th and 27th days of January, 1914, and while there spent some time at Ridgeway, Stevensville, and the Town of Welland in his efforts to carry out the instructions he had received to endeavor to procure the defeat of the Scott Act. In

carrying out the instructions so received from the Provincial Secretary, the said W. K. Snider called upon or interviewed prominent parties whose names appear in the records of the Legislative Assembly, and others. The said W. K. Snider, in his capacity as license inspector, in interviewing the said parties, made clear the object of his visit, namely, to procure the defeat of the Scott Act, and stated to them, or some of them, that he was in the said county representing the Government, and that the Government, or members thereof, desired the defeat of the Scott Act; and to such of the said parties as were favorable to the adoption of the Scott Act, he represented the difficulties there would be in enforcing it, and endeavored to persuade them that it was not in the interests of temperance to carry the Scott Act.

"8. The said W. K. Snider, acting under the authority and instructions of the Provincial Secretary, visited the county of Huron on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th days of January, 1914, and while there spent some time at several places in the said county in his efforts to carry out the instructions he had received to help to procure the defeat of the Scott Act in the said county. In carrying out the instructions so received from the Provincial Secretary the said W. K. Snider called upon or interviewed prominent parties whose names appear in the records of the Legislative Assembly, and others. The said W. K. Snider, in interviewing the said parties, made clear to them the object of his visit, namely, to endeavor to procure the defeat of the Scott Act, and stated to them, or some of them, that he was in the said county representing the Department of the Provincial Secretary, and that the said department desired the defeat of the Scott Act; and to such of the said parties as were favorable to the adoption of the Scott Act he represented the difficulties there would be in enforcing it, and endeavored to persuade them that it was not in the interests of temperance to carry the said Act.

"9. The said W. K. Snider went to the County of Peel on the 23rd day of January, 1914, and while there visited Brampton and interviewed prominent persons whose names appear in the records of the Legislature Assembly, and he explained to the said parties the object of his visit, and that he had been sent by the said department to assist in procuring the defeat of the Scott Act in the said county.

"10. Prior to the vote being taken on the said Scott Act in the said counties, complaint was made to the Government with respect to the actions and representations of Mr. Snider; and on the 27th day of January, 1914, the Provincial Secretary

gave to the press for publication the following statement in reference to the alleged appearance of Mr. Snider in Welland, and the representations alleged to have been made by him there: "I know Mr. Snider, but I do not happen to know where he is at present. If Mr. Snider said any such thing, he said it without the authority or the knowledge of the department. The Mr. Snider I know would never say any such thing. Such statements entirely misrepresent the department, the Government, and the Conservative party."

The said statement made to the press by the Provincial Secretary I believe was not correct in substance or in fact, and the said Provincial Secretary was well aware, I verily believe, that the said Snider had gone to Welland, and that he had gone there at his (the Provincial Secretary's) request, and for the purpose of helping to procure the defeat of the Scott Act.

"11. When it became public that the man who had visited the County of Welland was Mr. W. K. Snider, the Provincial License Inspector, the Provincial Secretary gave an interview to a representative of the press, and the following further statement was published in the Mail and Empire of Feb. 7th:

"Mr. Snider was in Welland before the date of the election," said Mr. Hanna, "and as he himself says, he was without instructions from myself or the department. Mr. Snider explained to me that this visit was made in the regular performance of his duties, which constantly keep him moving throughout the Province." The said statement so made to the press, I believe, was not correct in substance or in fact, but on the contrary, I believe the Provincial Secretary sent the said W. K. Snider to the said counties; and I believe the said W. K. Snider, in the representations and work he did in the said counties, was acting at the request and upon the instructions of the Provincial Secretary."

#### Mr. Steele's Letter.

Copy of letter from Charles Steele, Port Colbourne, Ont., Warden of Welland County, Ex-President of the Conservative Association, and "Abolish the Bar" Candidate in Welland at the present elections.

Port Colbourne, Ont.,  
April 25th, 1914.

I note from the discussion in the House last week there

appears to be a great difference of opinion as to what really took place in Welland County on the occasion of Mr. Snider's visit. I have no desire to get mixed up in any political controversy or to take sides in any question where it is merely a political issue; but as this is a question touching the Temperance issue, I feel that in justice to myself and the people of the County generally, I should make plain to you just what the nature of the conversation was between Mr. Snider and myself and the circumstances under which that conversation took place.

I may say that as Reeve of the Village of Port Colbourne, I was attending the Session of the County Council at Welland on the 27th January last. At the close of the session, which adjourned for one week, a co-member of the Council intimated to me that the Provincial Secretary or his assistant was at the office of Messrs. Raymond & Spencer in town and wished to interview the Conservative Reeves of the various municipalities. We went together to Raymond & Spencer's office and there met Mr. Spencer, who, by the way, was the active Secretary of the so-called "Business Men's and Manufacturers' Association" during the Canada Temperance Act campaign, which association was formed to oppose the passing of the Canada Temperance Act. I was there introduced to a Mr. Snider who represented himself to me as representing the Provincial Secretary's Department. He stated he was visiting the County for the purpose of explaining to the Conservative voters the undesirability of passing the Canada Temperance Act. Mr. Snider gave certain reasons for this attitude, one of which was that should the Canada Temperance Act carry, it would be exceedingly difficult for the Government to enforce it, and if they failed in so doing, it would cast discredit upon the Department and the Party, May further say that he made clear to me the fact that the Government were not favourably disposed toward the Act and desired to see it defeated.

It is only fair to say that at the time I had doubts that Mr. Snider was really representing the Government; and I have noted with satisfaction that the Hon. Mr. Hanna has repudiated any connection with the visit of Mr. Snider to Welland County.

It seems to me that in fairness to the Government there is only one course open, namely: the dismissal of an official who would so far go out of his way as to interfere with a local issue in which he, as such an official, had no right to interfere, and particularly in going so far as to throw the weight of the Government in favour of the Liquor Interests.

I feel that the people of the Province will not be satisfied

until this whole question of Snider's conduct is thoroughly investigated. May further say that it appears to me that there should be no difficulty in fixing the responsibility of Mr. Snider and the Department of which he is a paid member. If the Government will not permit investigation into Mr. Snider's conduct, I fear a great many Temperance Conservatives will be compelled to believe what they would be very reluctant to believe, namely: that the Government sent him there and authorized him to do what he did.

I wish again to state that while I have no desire to take a conspicuous part in the incident in question, if the Government grants an investigation (which I should hope they will not hesitate to do) I would be willing to give my evidence before the Commission appointed.

Yours truly,  
(Sgd.) CHAS. STEELE.

P.S.—I should add, my interview with Mr. Snider was a brief one, as, as soon as he stated the object of his visit, I at once protested against any such interference in our matters. I had heard prior to Mr. Snider's arrival that there was likely to be some political surprise sprung upon us, and when I met him, I at once concluded that this was what had been rumoured for some days.

#### Mr. Buchanan's Statement.

Statement of Mr. Frank Buchanan, of Wingham, President of the County Council Dominion Alliance, and on the General Executive of that body, and a Conservative,—re License Inspector Snider's visit to Huron:

"This gentleman called on me for a confidential talk, and represented that he was sent by the Department or the proper authorities to see what could be done, as The Canada Temperance Act was in no way to be compared with local option, and if the thing went on, it would jeopardize the Government. He wanted to see if something could not be done to prevent the vote carrying. He represented himself as the Inspector of Inspectors, and came here as an official of the Government, and wanted me to use my influence to call the vote off. Mr. Snider said he was willing to try to influence fellow Conservative workers along that line. He also said he had been at an all-night meeting in Toronto, and they had agreed that they were in a bad position if the Canada Temperance Act carried."

### Appendix to Liquor Traffic Section.

Conservative Members in the Legislature who rejected the "Abolish the Bar" Policy. April 14, 1914.

#### MESSIEURS:

Anderson,	Fraser,	Mills,
Bennewies,	Galna,	Nesbitt,
(Essex)	Gooderham,	Norman,
Black,	Grant,	Pattinson,
Brewster,	Grigg,	Peck,
Brower,	Hanna,	Pratt,
Carscallen,	Hartt,	Preston,
Chambers,	Hearst,	(Durham)
Cook,	Henry,	Preston,
Dargavel,	Jamieson,	(Lanark)
Devitt,	Jarvis,	Syne,
Donovan,	Lucas,	Rankin,
Duff,	McFarlan,	Reanme,
Ebbs,	McGarry,	Regan,
Eilber,	McNaught,	Ross,
Ferguson,	McPherson,	Scholfield,
(Simcoe)	MacArthur,	Shillington,
Ferguson,	Macdiarmid,	Sulman,
(Grenville)	Mason,	Thompson,
Foy,	Mathieu,	(Simcoe)
(Peterboro)	Miligan,	Thompson,
Torrance.		

Conservative Members in the Legislatnre who rejected the proposal to include Club Licenses in the operation of Local Option. April 10, 1913.

#### MESSIEURS:

Anderson,	Charters,	EMis,
(Essex)	Crawford,	Ferguson,
Bennewies,	Dargavel,	(Simcoe)
Black,	Devitt,	Ferguson,
Brewster,	Donovan,	(Grenville)
Brower,	Duff,	Foy,
Carscallen,	Ebbs,	Fraser,
Champagne,	Eilber,	Galna,

Godfrey,  
 Gooderham,  
 Grigg,  
 Hanna,  
 Hartt,  
 Hearst,  
 Hendrie,  
 Hogarth,  
 Jamieson,  
 Jarvis,  
 Jessop,  
 Johnson,  
 Lennox,  
 Lucas,  
 McGowan,  
 McCrea,

McElroy,  
 McGarry,  
 McKeown,  
 McNaught,  
 MacArthur,  
 Macdiarmid,  
 Machin,  
 Mason,  
 Mathieu,  
 Milligan,  
 Musgrove,  
 Neely,  
 Owens,  
 Pattinson,  
 Peck,

Preston,  
 (Lanark)  
 Pyne,  
 Rankin,  
 Reaume,  
 Regan,  
 Ross,  
 Scholfield,  
 Shillington,  
 Thompson,  
 (Peterbro)  
 Torrance,  
 Vroomar,  
 Westbrock,  
 Whitesides,  
 Whitney.

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# AGRICULTURE

## HON. JAMES DUFF.

In striking contrast to the Hon. John Dryden, who, as outlined a few pages further on, put the Department of Agriculture in Ontario on a plane of effective usefulness, the Hon. James Duff has let the Department sink into a position of secondary importance. Under him the Department has lacked initiative and progressiveness.

Hon. Mr. Duff has shown his weakness, for example, by his appointments; whereas the Hon. John Dryden appointed as his Deputy Minister Mr. C. C. James, Mr. Duff appointed to the same post a man who had had no agricultural experience or special training for the position. He also put a political appointee in charge of Jordan Horticultural Experimental Station, where an expenditure of over \$110,000 was made. Charges of inefficiency poured in against the management of this experimental station, both from Liberals in the House and from fruit growers outside. The Government at last yielded to pressure and the Superintendent resigned.

It is not only Liberals who criticise the Department of Agriculture as administered by the Hon. James Duff. Mr. J. W. Flavelle, one of the leading Conservatives in the Province, wrote a letter to Mr. Duff in which occurred the following criticism:

"You have permitted, you are now permitting, thousands of Young Ontario farmers, the cream of our agricultural people, to leave their own Province for the West, while, by your inertia, you show you are not cognizant of the advantages of continued residence in this Province if full advantage is taken of the opportunities which open in response to intelligent effort."

Extract from the **TORONTO WORLD**, February 14th, 1914.

"Ontario is in need, and in bad need of something being done to rescue the agricultural interests of the country from the rut into which they have fallen, and which grows deeper every year."

## MAIL AND EMPIRE. (CONSERVATIVE.)

"It is true that the Agricultural Department has not kept pace with the advance in other branches of industry."—July 15th, 1913.

**LIBERAL MOTION FOR AN AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION.—Rejected.**

The following resolution moved by Lt. Col. Mayherry, Liberal Member for South Oxford, in the Legislature, Session of 1914, follows the same lines as a similar motion presented by the same member in 1913. Both the resolutions were rejected by the Government:

“That in view of the serious decline in our rural population, as disclosed in our last decennial census, accompanied by a decline in the strength and vitality of the rural school and the rural church in many sections the Province, and in view of the general scarcity of farm labor throughout Ontario, which for some years past has caused grave concern to the farmers of the Province and contributed to a material diminution in the agricultural production of the Province, this House is of the opinion that a non-partisan Commission of practical men should be appointed to inquire into the conditions of agricultural and of rural life in the Province, and report to this House the facts with their recommendations as to steps which can and should be taken to remedy or improve existing conditions.”

That there is need for such an Agricultural Commission is shown in the following sections:

1. Rural depopulation.
2. Decline in food products.
3. What the “WORLD” said.

**RURAL DEPOPULATION.**

The Dominion Census shows that from 1901 to 1911 the rural population of old Ontario declined by 97,124.

Even taking into consideration New Ontario, where the population has been on the increase, the total decline in rural population in the ten years was 52,184.

The following examples will illustrate the seriousness in this decline:

	1901	1911	Decrease
County of Bruce .....	42,624	34,702	7,922
County of Grey .....	53,698	42,862	10,836
County of Huron .....	44,877	37,190	7,687
County of Simcoe .....	54,754	47,155	7,599
County of Lambton .....	36,873	31,077	5,796
County of Perth .....	31,192	27,400	3,792

Not only does the comparison between the population in 1901 and 1911 show a decline, but the population of rural Ontario to-day is over 110,000 less than it was even 40 years ago. The figures are as follows:

Rural Population, Ontario, 1871, .....	1,306,405
Rural Population, Ontario, 1911 .....	1,194,785

Loss in Forty years .....	111,620
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The city population, on the other hand, has increased by 1,000,000.

City Population, Ontario, 1871 .....	313,446
City Population, Ontario, 1911 .....	1,328,489

Increase in forty years .....	1,015,043
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### DECLINE IN FOOD PRODUCTS.

Since the year 1900 there has been a decline in acreage in the following products:

- Fall wheat.
- Spring wheat.
- Corn for husking.
- Peas.
- Potatoes.
- Turnips.

Since the year 1907 there has been a decline in acreage in the following products:

- Fall wheat.
- Spring wheat.
- Oats.
- Barley.
- Corn for husking.
- Peas.
- Potatoes.
- Turnips.

Since the year 1900 there has been a decline in the number of bushels in the following products:

- Fall wheat.
- Spring wheat.
- Peas.
- Rye.
- Corn for husking.
- Potatoes.
- Turnips.

Since the year 1907 there has been a decline in the number of bushels in the following products:

Spring wheat.  
Peas.  
Potatoes.  
Carrots.  
Mangel Wortzels.  
Turnips.

Since the year 1900 there has been a decline in the number of domestic animals as follows:

Sheep and Lamba.  
Swine.

Since the year 1907 there has been a decrease in the number of domestic animals as follows:

Milch cows.  
Other cattle.  
Sheep and Lamba.  
Swine.

There has also been a decrease since 1907 in the quantity of cheese.

Detailed figures are here given for the years 1900, 1907, 1913 for:

- 1st. Acreage of field crops.
- 2nd. Number of bushels of field crops.
- 3rd. Live stock.
- 4th. Dairy products; and
- 5th. Orchard and small fruit acreage.

#### COMPARISON—FIELD CROPS—ACRES.

Product.	1000	1907	1913	Increase or Decrease.	
				1900-07	1907-13
Fall wheat ....	1,068,000	676,000	646,000	1900-07	*392,000
				1907-13	*30,000
Spring wheat ...	376,000	144,000	116,000	1900-07	*232,000
				1907-13	*23,000
Total wheat ...	1,444,000	820,000	760,000	1900-07	*624,000
				1907-13	*60,000
Oats. . . . .	2,398,000	2,900,000	2,700,000	Total	*684,000
				1900-07	†502,000
				1907-13	*200,000
Barley. . . . .	577,000	766,000	623,000	1900-07	†189,000
				1907-13	*143,000
Corn for husking	330,000	338,000	299,000	1900-07	†8,000
				1907-13	*39,000

Produce.	1900	1907	1913		Increase or Decrease.
Peas. . . . .	661,000	340,000	177,000	1900-07	*321,000
				1907-13	*163,000
Potatoes. . . . .	163,000	171,000	159,000	1900-07	†14,000
				1907-13	*13,000
Turnips. . . . .	156,000	123,000	97,572	1900-07	*33,000
				1907-13	*26,000
Hay. . . . .	2,526,000	3,289,000	3,428,000	1900-07	†760,000
				1907-13	†140,000
All field crops ..	3,794,000	9,300,000	(1912) 9,574,000	1900-07	†510,000
				1907-13	†270,000

†—Increase. \*—Decrease.

It will be noticed that there is a great increase in the acreage of hay, which is big enough to affect the acreage of all field crops, and to show an increase. This increase, however, is not in the acreage of food products, which, as shown in the table, has declined on the whole.

#### COMPARISON—FIELD CROPS—BUSHELS.

Product.	1900	1907	1913		Increase or Decrease.
Fall wheat ....	23,300,000	15,545,000	15,900,000	1900-07	*7,800,000
				1907-13	†500,000
Spring wheat ...	6,900,000	2,400,000	2,000,000	1900-07	*4,500,000
				1907-13	*400,000
Total wheat ....	30,200,000	17,945,000	17,900,000	1900-07	*12,300,000
				1907-13	*45,000
Oats. . . . .	39,600,000	83,500,000	98,400,000	1900-07	*6,100,000
				1907-13	†14,900,000
Peas. . . . .	14,000,000	7,300,000	3,100,000	1900-07	*6,700,000
				1907-13	*4,200,000
Beans. . . . .	320,000	790,000	1,000,000	1900-07	*30,000
				1907-13	†210,000
Rye. . . . .	2,300,000	1,000,000	1,900,000	1900-07	*1,300,000
				1907-13	†900,000
Buckwheat. . . .	1,800,000	2,500,000	4,000,000	1900-07	†700,000
				1907-13	†1,500,000
Corn for husking	27,000,000	21,300,000	22,206,000	1900-07	*5,200,000
				1907-13	†400,000
Potatoes. . . . .	21,400,000	20,000,000	19,100,000	1900-07	*1,400,000
				1907-13	*900,000
Mangel wurtzels	.....	30,200,000	21,900,000	1907-13	*9,300,000
Carrots . . . . .	.....	1,500,000	592,000	1907-13	*908,000
Turnips. . . . .	59,300,000	48,200,000	41,800,000	1900-07	*11,100,000
				1907-13	*6,400,000
Hay, tons . . . . .	3,100,000	3,800,000	3,900,000	1900-07	†700,000
				1907-13	†100,000

†—Increase. \*—Decrease.

## LIVE STOCK COMPARISON.

	1900	1907	1913		Increase or Decrease.
Horses . . . . .	617,000	725,000	751,000	1900-07	†108,000
				1907-13	†26,000
Milch cows . . . . .	976,000	1,152,000	1,032,000	1900-07	†176,000
				1907-13	*20,000
Other cattle . . . . .	1,453,000	1,774,000	1,596,000	1900-07	†321,000
				1907-13	*178,000
Sheep and lambs . . . . .	1,797,000	1,106,000	996,000	1000-07	*691,000
				1907-13	*110,000
Pigs . . . . .	1,700,000	2,000,000	1,618,000	1900-07	†300,000
				1907-13	*332,000

†—Increase. \*—Decrease.

## DAIRY PRODUCTS.

	1900	1907	1913		Increase or Decrease.
Poultry . . . . .	9,500,000	13,400,000	13,500,000	1900-07	†3,900,000
				1907-13	†100,000
Cheese . . . . .	127,700,000	157,400,000	129,600,000	1900-07	†30,000,000
				1907-13	*28,000,000
Creamery Butter . . . . .		2,300,000	4,400,000	1907-13	†2,100,000

†—Increase. \*—Decrease.

## ORCHARD AND SMALL FRUIT ACREAGE.

1900 . . . . .	339,411
1904 . . . . .	369,495
1906 . . . . .	352,306
1913 . . . . .	330,000

WHAT "THE WORLD" SAID:—

"We believe the Government will be well advised to pay some attention to Mr. Rowell's proposal (for a Commission), not because it is Mr. Rowell's proposal, or some English Statesman's proposal, but because Ontario is in need, and in bad need, of something being done to rescue the agricultural interests of the country from the rut into which they have fallen, and which grows deeper year by year."—Feb. 14, 1914.

DR. CREELMAN'S PROPOSALS.

Dr. Creelman, head of the Ontario Agricultural College, estimates that we could easily double our agricultural production in this Province, if the best methods of agriculture were put into practice on every farm.

- 1st. Careful selection of the best variety and quality of seeds.
- 2nd. Suitable and adequate drainage.
- 3rd. The use of proper fertilizers.
- 4th. The due rotation of crops.
- 5th. Careful selection of feeding and breeding of live-stock.

To these should be added:

- 6th. A sufficient supply of labor.

### AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES.

Although the work being done by the Ontario Agricultural Colloge at Guelph deserves great praise, yet this institution is only touching a fragment of the farm life of the Province.

#### **What Mr. Rowell Says:—**

"The problem is how to distribute expert knowledge on agriculture and make it available to every farmer. The present system is like having a University without public and high schools. We should have more agricultural schools. In Alberta there are three and they are going to establish three or four more. The small Province of New Brunswick has two and in European countries there are agricultural colleges by the tens and by the scores."

### QUOTATIONS FROM GULLIVER'S TRAVELS.

"Whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together."

#### **Mr. Rowell's Comment on This.**

"If the man who can double the production of food is such a public benefactor, as he undoubtedly is, a politician cannot do better than bend his efforts to help the farmer grow two ears of corn or two blades of grass where only one grew before. This is the ideal and objective which the Liberal party of Ontario offers to the people."

### HON. JOHN DRYDEN.

In the year 1880 the Liberal Administration of Sir Oliver Mowat appointed a commission of representative and practical men interested in the problem of agriculture to study the agricultural conditions of the Province of Ontario. This commission made a most thorough and comprehensive investigation and presented its conclusions to the Legislature in the year 1881. The work of this commission marked a new era in the agricultural development of the Province of Ontario. In order to make provision for more adequate attention and supervision of the great work of agriculture in the Province Sir Oliver Mowat introduced a bill in the year 1888 for the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture.

The Bill was opposed by the Conservative Opposition in the House, and Mr. Whitney and all the other members of the Opposition voted in favor of an amendment to strike out the third section of the Bill, which provided for an increase in the membership of the Executive Council so as to make possible the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture. Notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Whitney and his associates, the department was created, a Minister of Agriculture was appointed, and under the Liberal Minister, particularly the Hon. John Dryden, who occupied the position for so long a period, great constructive measures were introduced and carried forward for the purpose of improving the condition of agriculture in the Province.

The Agricultural College at Guelph was the subject of a constant and incessant carping criticism by the then Opposition in the House, but, notwithstanding this criticism, under the guidance of the Hon. John Dryden, the College steadily improved its courses, increased the number of students, strengthened its staff, so that before the Hon. John Dryden retired, the College had obtained such a commanding position in the agricultural life of the Province that even the Opposition had ceased further to oppose it.

#### **Liberal Record.**

The following are a few of the things done by the Department of Agriculture during the last ten years of the Liberal Administration:

Enlarged the course of study and investigation in the College and farm.

Conducted for several years courses of instruction by means of travelling dairies.

Established dairy schools at Guelph, Strathroy and Kingston.

Distributed reports and bulletins with respects to agriculture.

Established Farmers Institutes, also Women's Institutes.

Established an extensive system of experimental fruit stations.

Conducted investigations in the dehorning of cattle, tuberculosis and scale insects in fruit.

Conducted a course of instructions to farmers and fruit growers in spraying.

Established a pioneer farm in Algoma.

Appointed a commissioner to give instructions in good roads.

Assisted in the development of a large and very remunerative trade in pure bred stock with Manitoba, Northwest, Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland.

Inaugurated the most successful Farmers' Fair in America, The Fat Stock and Dairy Show held annually at Guelph.

#### **Received Small Encouragement.**

In these important advances the Government received little sympathy or encouragement from the then Opposition.

In the Session of 1899 (see Journals, page 264) Mr. Carnegie moved, seconded by Mr. Little, "that the resolution (respecting grants in aid of agriculture) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply with instructions to reduce the item by \$8,100, being \$2,500 voted for instructions in fruit spraying, \$1,000 Pioneer Dairy Farm and \$2,600 Western Dairy School, and \$2,000 reduction in vote for printing." Here, again, Mr. Whitney proved himself to be an obstructionist in the development of our agricultural interests.

#### **Good Roads.**

Closely allied with the development of Agriculture may be placed the improvement of our highways. In 1896 the Government placed the item of \$1,500 in the Estimates for the salary of a Provincial Highway Commissioner whose duty it would be to direct and instruct Municipal Councils in improved methods

of constructing public highways. In many parts of the country, owing to the character of the roads, farmers were unable to bring their goods to market often at times when prices were most favorable. It was also found that the work done by Statute Labor was unsatisfactory, and although about \$4,000,000 a year were spent on highways in the Province, the results were far from satisfactory. Instead of accepting the progressive policy proposed by the Government, Mr. Whitney, with the other Conservative members of the House, opposed it strenuously and voted for the following motion (see page 185, Journals) :

Moved by Mr. Meacham and seconded by Mr. Magwood, "that this House views with alarm the tendency of the Government to create new offices and is of the opinion that the office of Provincial Highway Commissioner with a salary of \$1,500, exclusive of expenses, is unnecessary and places an additional and useless burden on the Province."

#### Inspiring Leadership.

More important in many respects than the practical measures introduced by the Government was the splendid leadership in agriculture by the Hon. John Dryden, who went about the Province of Ontario helping to inspire the men interested in agriculture with the dignity and the importance of agriculture and, above all, of the great practical advantages, as well as the large public benefits to be secured by the adoption of improved methods in dairying, stock-raising, grain growing, fruit growing, etc. There was not only the inspiring leadership of Mr. Dryden, but he gathered around him in his Department, in the College, and through the Province, a staff of enthusiastic and skilled assistants to whose work the Province is largely indebted for the measure of progress which has been made since the present Government came into power. Not only had these great advance steps been taken by the Liberal Government, but in addition they developed the Good Roads policy along the lines on which it has been since prosecuted by the present Government, and they planned other large improvements in the interests of agriculture.

Among the other important proposals which they embodied in their policy, but which they were prevented from carrying into effect by the change of Government, was the establishment of Agricultural schools throughout the Province in order to place within the reach of the sons and daughters of the farmers of the Province the benefits of an agricultural education.

### LIBERAL PROPOSALS.

The following are some of the progressive measures in the interests of Agriculture, for which the Liberals stand:—

- (1) A thorough investigation by a non-partisan Commission of the whole problem of rural conditions in Ontario, including the question of rural depopulation and diminished food production, with a view of remedying or improving existing conditions.
- (2) The appointment of a Minister of Agriculture with an appreciation of the importance of the agricultural interests of the Province; in sympathy with progressive ideas, and with the faith, courage and capacity to work them out. And of a Deputy Minister, with a knowledge of agricultural conditions and the expert training qualifying him to assist the Minister in leadership in the agricultural matters of the Province.
- (3) The development of a system of good roads.
- (4) The extension of the Hydro-Electric as rapidly as practicable, to the farms of the Province.
- (5) As conditions of country and traffic will warrant, the development of a system of Hydro-Radial railways.
- (6) The establishment of suitable schools of Agriculture to meet the needs of the Province.
- (7) Increased attention to agriculture in the rural schools of the Province.
- (8) Close co-operation between the Departments of Agriculture and Education.
- (9) Establishment of suitable demonstration farms throughout the Province.
- (10) Development of co-operative methods, so as to secure better returns for the producer.

# NEW ONTARIO

## Conservative View.

Aside from the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway, which owes its origin to Hon. Geo. W. Ross, and its ever-growing efficiency to Sir James Whitney's choice of J. L. Englehart, the whole Department of Mines & Forests has not done as much to open up New Ontario in six years as an adequate Department should do in six months.—TORONTO TELEGRAM (CONSERVATIVE).

## DEVELOPMENT, SETTLEMENT OF COUNTRY.

Ontario, according to its present boundaries, contains an area of 451,252 square miles. The portion which we commonly call Old Ontario contains but 85,330 square miles. This gives us some idea of the great heritage which the people of this province have in land, in timber and in mineral resources.

The opening up and settlement of this immense territory constitute one of the greatest opportunities of the Government of the Province of Ontario. Admittedly one of the dangers facing us in Canada to-day is a difference in sentiment and interest between East and West. Ontario is the connecting link between the two; and the settlement of that great stretch of territory between Sudbry and Port Arthur, situate to the north of the height of land, with sturdy and progressive agricultural settlers, would be a great contribution to the solidarity and unity of the Dominion. The settlement of that territory would also provide an outlet for the products of the manufacturers and workers of the cities and towns of the province, and would give a remarkable impetus to the industrial centres.

## The Liberal Policy.

With this object in view, Mr. Rowell embodied in his platform in 1911 the following statement of policy with reference to the opening up and settlement of this new territory.

"In order that the Government may enter seriously upon the problem of the settlement and development of New Ontario, we propose the creation of a Department of Immigration and Colonization, to be presided over by a Minister of the Crown, who shall devote his whole time and energies to this important work, among other matters, to the promotion of settlement, building of roads, insuring other necessary transportation facilities, providing drainage requirements, assisting pioneer settlers to secure loans to a limited extent on the security of the lands occupied by them, repayable over a term of years, giving special assistance to pioneer schools."

### The Government Policy.

Contrast with this the statement of the Government's policy as set forth in Sir James Whitney's election manifesto of 1911, from which the following extract is taken:—

"The question of the further opening up and development of New, or Northern Ontario is obviously of great importance and should be dealt with without delay. In this great work of development the Government has been handicapped in the past. Ordinarily the Provincial Government spends large sums of money annually for immigration purposes resulting in large additions to the population. The Dominion Government expends money for similar purposes on a much larger scale, but so far with practically no benefit to Ontario, and this for more than one reason.

"The only result of the additions to our population in the newer districts, as far as the Government of the Province is concerned, is that the annual general Provincial expenditure is increased while the Dominion Treasury receives large sums annually by reason of the increased consumption of goods paying tariff duties, and in the older sections of the province the amounts received for municipal taxation are increased.

"Under these circumstances we have felt that in face of the facts as stated, financial aid should be afforded us by the Dominion Government in the work of immigration and development generally" \* \* \*

### Difference in Parties.

The difference between Mr. Rowell and his followers and Sir James Whitney and his followers is this: Mr. Rowell looks upon every new settler as an asset—one of the most valuable assets the Province can secure; Sir James Whitney, judged by his manifesto, looks upon the settler as a liability, with which the Dominion Government is much more concerned than the Province.

Since 1911, owing to the persistent protest from Northern and North-western Ontario against Governmental apathy and

indifference; owing to the continued agitation of the Boards of Trade of the Province for a more progressive policy on the part of the Government; and owing to the vigorous onslaught which the Liberal members of the Legislature made upon the Government's failure to grapple with the great problems of New Ontario, the Government has been forced, during the last three years to make some real progress in connection with the opening up of these new territories, but even at this time the Government has apparently failed to grasp the significance and importance of the trust committed to it.

#### Lacks Constructive Policy.

The Government has taken authority to borrow \$5,000,000 for the development of the roads and the opening up of New Ontario. This is good. The building of roads is necessary and urgently needed; but the Government apparently fails to realize that what is required is a constructive policy for the opening up and settlement of New Ontario, of which the building of roads would form but a part—a policy which would mean the bringing in of good agricultural settlers and the settlement of the people on the land under conditions which would ensure permanent success. Settlers are needed in order to justify the expenditure already made and to be made on roads, in order to ensure that the roads will be maintained when once constructed. Settlers are needed to provide a traffic for the T. & N. O. Railway. Settlers would provide a market for the products of the factories and of the laborers of the cities and towns of Old Ontario.

Mr. Rowell and his colleagues submitted the following Resolution during the Session just closed, embodying their views as to the necessity for action dealing with this problem:

"That in the opinion of this House the settlement and development of New Ontario is one of the largest and most important problems confronting the Government of this Province; that good settlers are the most valuable assets this Province can secure, and that it is the duty of the Government to devise and carry out a comprehensive settlement and development policy, which, in addition to the road construction now being undertaken, shall include: (1) a more aggressive publicity campaign to make known the character and resources of the new parts of the Province; (2) an intelligent and vigorous immigration policy to secure the right kind of settlers; (3) adequate transportation and drainage facilities to promote settlement; (4) improved conditions of settlement.

### **Government not Aggressive.**

This resolution was defeated by the Government, which substituted therefore a long resolution expressing gratification with what the Government had done and satisfaction with all their past conduct.

If the people of Ontario are satisfied that the Government has done everything possible for the settlers and for the development of the country, then there is no necessity for a change; but if, on the contrary, they believe that a more aggressive and statesmanlike policy is required, it is certainly time for a change.

### **SECURING FOR UNDERGROUND MINERS AN EIGHT HOUR DAY.**

Another of the important planks of the Liberal platform in the general election of 1911 was an eight hour day for underground miners; and Mr. Rowell in the Session of 1912 introduced a bill to give effect to this policy. The Government, however, rejected the bill, but such was the pressure brought to bear upon the Government by the Liberal and Labor members of the Legislature that the Government appointed a Commissioner to investigate the question; and upon his report being made in favor of an eight hour bill, the Government introduced legislation giving effect to this report at the Session of 1913, which was carried with the unanimous approval of the House.

### **T. & N. O. RAILWAY.**

A third plank in the Liberal platform for New Ontario was the maintenance of the colonisation character of the T. & N. O. Ry., removing just grounds of complaint by permitting actions at law against the Railway without the necessity of first obtaining permission from the Attorney-General. This policy the Liberal members have urged upon the Government, and in the Sessions of 1912, 1913 and 1914 they introduced a bill to amend the law respecting the T. & N. O. Ry., so as to permit settlers and merchants and others, having dealings with the Railway, to settle their disputed claims through the courts without the necessity of the expense, annoyance and delay of applying to the Attorney-General for a fiat. The bill, however, has been always opposed by the Government and voted down,

all the present members for Northern Ontario voting with the Government against this reform so much desired by the people of Northern Ontario.

### TAXATION OF T. & N. O. RY.

The Liberals also proposed to remove the present disability of local municipalities in Northern Ontario to impose taxation on the T. & N. O. Ry. in respect of the lands held by them for speculation, and not required for railway purposes. This proposal, which would be of such great advantage to the struggling municipalities of Northern Ontario was also opposed by the Government and voted down, all its members, including those from New Ontario, voting against it.

### TAX REFORM.

Another plank of the Liberal platform was tax reform, as to give municipalities in Northern Ontario the right to shift a portion of the burden of taxation from improvements to land. The Liberals have fought for this reform through the last three Sessions of the Legislature, but in every case they have been opposed by the solid Government force, including all the Government members from New Ontario.

Is it not time that New Ontario had a chance to have its views on these important legislative proposals carried out? There is no chance with the present Government. It apparently will require a change of Government before New Ontario's voice on these matters is heard.

### WHAT HAS THE GOVERNMENT DONE FOR NEW ONTARIO?

1. Land Grant to Mackenzie & Mann—2,000,000 acres.
2. Jackson Lumber Co. Deal—Grant of 100,000 acres.
3. Lake Huron & Northern Ontario Railway—Grant of 1,000,000 acres.

### 1. LAND GRANT — 2,000,000 ACRES TO MACKENZIE & MANN.

This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Liberals in the House during the Session of 1909. They not only voted squarely against the proposed land grant, but when they failed

to defeat the measure they sought to render it as little harmful to the Province as possible by imposing conditions of settlement and development. They moved the following Resolutions:—

### Resolutions Voted Down.

1. "That all the words of the motion after the word 'that' be omitted, and the following inserted in lieu thereof: 'this House is of opinion that the public lands should be reserved for the settlers and that no lands whatever should be granted to assist in railway construction, and therefore this House orders that the Bill be not now read the third time, but be read a third time on this day six months.'"

2. "That all the words of the Motion after the first word 'that' be struck out, and the following substituted in lieu thereof: 'the bill be not now read the third time, but be forthwith re-committed to a Committee of the whole House with instructions to amend the same by adding the following clause: 'This Act shall not come into force until an Order-in-Council to that effect, shall have been passed and published, but that said Order shall not issue until the following question has been submitted by the various Municipal Councils, to the electors entitled to vote at an election for members of this Legislature, at the time of holding the Municipal Elections in January next, or at such earlier date as the Government may appoint, and a majority of the said electors shall have answered the said question in the affirmative, namely: 'Are you in favour of Bill (No. 228), conditionally passed at the last Session of the Local Legislature and entitled, 'An Act respecting aid to the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway,' becoming law?'"

3. "That all the words of the motion after the word 'that' be omitted, and the following substituted: 'the Bill be not now read the third time, but be forthwith recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House with instructions to amend the same by striking out Clause (b) of Section 4 of the said Bill and inserting in lieu thereof as said Clause (b) the following:

"The price at which the said lands shall be sold shall be fixed and determined not later than the thirty-first day of December of the present year and the price so fixed shall not thereafter be changed."

And by adding as Clause (c) to said Section 4, the following:

"The company shall not be allowed to sell any portion of said lands except to intending bona fide settlers."

All these were voted down by the Government.

### Opposition Fought the Grant.

In the Session of 1913, as the Railway had not proceeded with the construction of the road within the time required by

the terms of the Land Grant, the Canadian Northern Ontario Ry. applied for a renewal of the Land Grant, or an amendment of the Act extending the time for earning it. Mr. Rowell and his colleagues insisted, before this favor was granted to the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway, that the company should be obligated to undertake the work of settlement in connection with this land, so as to give it a direct and practical interest in the opening up of the country and placing settlers upon it. They, therefore, in the Session of 1913 moved in amendment to the Government's proposals the following provisions; as sub-section (a) of the bill:—

“(a) That in addition to the conditions imposed by the Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of his late Majesty, and chaptered 71, the extension hereby granted shall be subject to the condition that the railway company shall in each of the first five years, commencing two years after the passing of this Act, place upon their said lands or the lands of the Crown, adjacent to the line of the said railway, at least 500 male settlers, and in each of the next following five years at least 1,000 male settlers, who shall be each of the age of 18 years or over, and who shall each build or have built for him before or within one year of his being placed upon the said land a house thereon fit for habitation, at least 16 feet by 20 feet, with other necessary buildings, and who shall also each perform within the time specified by the Free Grants Act the settlement duties as to residence, clearing and cultivation by the said Act required, in order to entitle a Free Grant settler to a patent of 160 acres of land. Provided, that every settler's son who is of the age of 18 years or over, and who resides with his father shall count as a settler within the meaning of this paragraph, and the foregoing requirements as to the building of a separate house and other buildings shall not apply in the case of any such settler's son resident with his father.”

This was also voted down by the Government.

### 2. JACKSON LUMBER CO. DEAL.

During the year 1912 the Government sold two of the finest Timber townships in Northern Ontario to the Jackson Lumber Company syndicate of Buffalo for \$1.00 an acre and certain very limited conditions of settlement, the principal of which were “that within two years from the date hereof (14th June, 1912), they will cause at least two thousand four hundred acres of the said lands to be occupied and settled by at least sixteen bona fide farmers or settlers, and that during each succeeding period of one year thereafter, for a period of nineteen years, they will cause at least two thousand four hundred

additional acres of the said lands to be occupied and settled by at least sixteen additional bona fide farmers and settlers."

These conditions of settlement could be easily complied with by the syndicate, because it was necessary for them to bring in men to operate the mills which they were to erect to manufacture the lumber and timber on these limits.

#### Deal an Improvident One.

The improvidence of the Government in entering into this deal was made clear before the Public Accounts Committee at the sessions of 1913 and 1914. Mr. White, Deputy Minister of Crown Lands was examined with reference to this deal before the Public Accounts Committee in the year 1913, and in the course of his evidence stated as follows:—

Q. Did the reports in the department at the time this matter was dealt with show the quantity of timber in these townships?

A. No, no; they show the varieties, but not the quantity.

Q. Had you any information in the Department by which you could arrive at the value of the timber in these townships?

A. No.

Q. Have you any information in the Department as to the quantity of timber in these two townships?

A. No, not as to quantity.

Q. No information as to the value of the timber?

A. No.

#### Inquiry Was Blocked.

The Liberal members were not able to complete the investigation into this matter at the session of 1913, owing to the absence of material witnesses, and they resumed the investigation in the year 1914. It appeared that two Ontario Conservatives were associated with Mr. Jackson in the original syndicate which purchased these two townships from the Government. On the very day the agreement between the syndicate and the Government bears date, these men executed a new agreement bearing the same date by June 14, 1912, whereby they assigned the townships to W. K. Jackson and E. T. Jackson (p. 277 Appx. Pub. Accounts, 1913). These men were summoned to appear before the Public Accounts Committee in the session of 1914, and were asked as to the consideration they received in connection with this deal, but the Chairman

of the Committee hlocked inquiry into the vital part of the transaction as appears from the following extracts from the evidence:—

### Objected to Evidence.

Mr. Rushworth examined.

Q. What was the transfer for to W. K. Jackson, George Jackson, Annette Jackson & Tyndall?

A. They advanced us the money for the initial financing.

Q. They paid you so much for your rights?

Mr. McGarry:—We have nothing to do with that part of it. There is no use going into a private agreement made by this witness and Jackson. We are only concerned with what dealings he had with the Government.

Mr. Elliott: I understand the witness said that the agreement here set out the transaction between him and Messrs. Jackson and Tyndall, but it doesn't state the consideration.

Mr. McGarry: Or it doesn't need to be stated.

Mr. Chairman: That is the usual form. We have no right to go beyond that document to find out what his private arrangements were.

Mr. Elliott: Mr. Rushworth hasn't objected. I do not think then my Hon. friend should.

Mr. Rushworth: I was going to object seriously to giving away our private affairs. That is among ourselves.

Mr. Wigle examined.

Q. Was Jackson present at any of the interviews with the Minister before the agreement was entered into?

A. He was.

Q. How many?

A. I cannot tell you how many.

Q. Not approximately?

A. It would simply be a guess.

Q. Well, give us the best guess you can give.

A. I cannot say, I know he was there at several meetings. I wouldn't make a guess at it. More than half a dozen I should say.

Q. How far had matters progressed before he was taken into the arrangement?

A. Preliminary talks.

Q. Between?

A. The Minister, Rushworth and myself. I had seen the Premier before Jackson met him.

Q. Had you arrived at a basis of agreement?

A. A general outline was talked of.

Q. Nothing definitely concluded?

A. You mean before Jackson was taken in?

By questioner, yes.

A. I don't think so.

Q. To your recollection there was not?

A. No.

Q. Had you personally any experience in colonization matters before this?

A. No.

Q. Will you tell us the terms on which you and Mr. Rushworth took Jackson in on the deal?

A. The agreement speaks for itself, so far as the Department is concerned. Any arrangement between Rushworth, Jackson and myself, I regard as personal matters. I do not think the committee is interested in that or that the public is.

Mr. Chairman: I think we had a ruling on that. I thought we were all agreed on that.

Mr. Wigle: That is the way I feel about it anyway.

Further pressure failed to elicit the information, the Chairman ruling that they would not permit inquiry into the matter.

#### **Government Supporters Benefitted.**

Here was a sale of two of the finest timber townships in the north to two friends and supporters of the Government, American Lumbermen, without any evidence in the department as to the quantity or value of the timber on the property. The Government supporters immediately transferred their interest in the property to the Jacksons, and the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee blocks investigation into the circumstances of the transaction and the relations between the parties.

Mr. Jackson, Chief member of the syndicate was summoned to appear before the Committee on the 9th day of April (p. 153), but although different requests were made that he should be present, the Government failed to procure his attendance during the session, and the Opposition were not permitted to complete the investigation into this transaction.

#### **3. LAKE HURON AND NORTHERN ONTARIO RAILWAY.**

In the year 1913, certain railway promoters acquired the charter of the old Bruce Mines Railway, and obtained an Act

of the Legislature changing its name into Lake Huron and Northern Ontario Railway, and thereupon the Government granted to them 1,000,000 acres, said to be among the finest timber lands of the Province, at the average sum of 33 1-3c. per acre, by way of land grant or bonus, subject to the regulations set forth in the Act—3 & 4 Geo. V., chap. 134.

The Liberals strongly protested against this method of dealing with the assets of the Province. Their contentions were:—(1) That a careful investigation should be made to ascertain if such a road was needed; (2) if such a road was needed it should be constructed as part of the extension to the T. & N. O. Railway by the Province for the benefit of the whole people of the Province; (3) the natural resources of the Province should be utilized for the benefit of the people of the Province and not for railway promoters; (4) that the proposed grant was simply putting in the hands of railway exploiters an opportunity of exploiting the timber, mineral and agricultural wealth of the Province for their own personal advantage; and it was not a grant to men who really intended to build the road, or had the financial standing to do so.

#### Rowell Opposed the Deal.

The Opposition submitted the following amendment:—

"This House recognizes that it is not only the duty of the Government to secure the opening up and settlement of the newer parts of the Province by the construction of the necessary railways, but also to conserve the natural resources of the Province for the benefit of the whole people;

"That the promoter of the railway propose to run their line directly through the Misassauga Forest Reserve, the most valuable area of pine timber in the Province, estimated in the Reports of the Department of Crown Lands to contain between three and four billion feet of pine of a present value to the Province of between thirty and forty million dollars;

"That the construction of the railway through the Forest Reserve, the pine and other valuable timber will be exposed to serious damage by fire, and the possible consequent loss of millions of dollars to the Province;

"That the line runs through territory chiefly valuable for its timber, and that so far as can be ascertained from the Government reports the line as projected by the promoters will not open up any substantial area of agricultural land for settlement, except the extreme northerly end of the line, where it enters into the Clay Belt;

"That if in the public interests the road should be built in order to open up these timber areas, the road should be constructed by the Government directly or through the T. & N. O.

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Railway Commission or in such other way as would not involve the alienation from the Crown of the Public Domain, and would ensure the safeguarding and perpetuation of the timber wealth and resources of the Province.

"That before proceeding further with the Bill, the T. & N. O. Railway Commission should be requested to investigate and report to this House at its next session:

"(1) As to whether it is in the public interests that the railway should be constructed at the present time along the proposed route;

"(2) Whether the same should be undertaken by the Government at the public expense.

"That the Minister of Crown Lands should be requested to secure from the Director of Forestry and present to this House at its next Session a report:

"(1) On the timber areas which would be affected by the construction of the proposed railway;

"(2) As to the best method of conserving and utilizing these timber areas for the benefit of the people of the Province;

"(3) As to the effect of the construction and operation of the proposed line of railway upon the utilization and conservation of these timber areas for the benefit of the people of the Province, and that the Bill be not now read a second time, but be read the second time on this day six months."

This resolution was voted down by the solid Government majority, as was also a further amendment moved on the third reading, that Section 2 of the Act be amended by adding thereto the following:—

"Provided, however, that no lands shall be selected or sold under the provisions of this Act in the area now set apart as the Mississauga Forest Reserve."

The Liberals, if they could not protect the Province from the alienation of this immense tract, at least hoped to save the Mississauga Forest Reserve from the railway and timber exploiters, but even this amendment was voted down by the solid Government majority.

### Exploited for Friends.

The happening of this past year have more than justified the contentions of the Opposition. No substantial construction work has been undertaken, and the company has been exploiting the timber and the agricultural wealth of the Province for the benefit of the promoters, as will appear from the following extract from the prospectus issued by the company:—

\$1,000,000  
**LAKE HURON AND NORTHERN ONTARIO RAILWAY**  
**COMPANY.**

(Lake to Ocean Route.)

**FIRST MORTGAGE 5% GOLD BONDS.**

Dated April 1st, 1913.

Due April 1st, 1943.

Being part of an issue of \$12,000,000 secured by a first mortgage on the right-of-way, track, sidings, branch lines, telephone line for operating road, franchises and all land grants secured or which shall be secured as a bonus from the Province of Ontario.

Interest payable April 1st and October 1st of each year at Toronto, New York and London.

Coupon bonds, \$1,000 and \$500 each (or their equivalent in sterling).

Bonds may be registered as to principal. Callable at 105 at any interest period on sixty days' notice.

**TRUSTEE**

**TORONTO GENERAL TRUSTS CORPORATION.**

Reference as to legality of mortgage can be had by applying to Lennox & Lennox and Young & McEvoy, Toronto, for the company, and to Malone, Malone & Long, Toronto, for the Trustees.

**CAPITALIZATION.**

Common Stock ..... \$12,000,000  
 Authorized Bond Issue ..... 12,000,000

In the report of the Engineer, J. N. Goodall, C. E., which forms part of the Prospectus, the estimated cost of the construction and equipment of the road is summarized, after giving details, as follows:—

**SUMMARY.**

Section 0 miles to Mile 30-30 miles, at \$29,350.00.	\$ 880,500.00
Mile 30 to Mile 90-60 miles, at \$33,450.00.....	2,007,000.00
Mile 90 to 306, or Transcontinental—216 miles at \$25,240.00 .....	5,451,840.00
Plus fees paid upon lands .....	375,000.00
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Total cost of new line .....	\$8,714,340.00
Average cost per mile .....	28,478.24

### COST OF EQUIPMENT.

Eight locomotives, at \$19,000 .....	\$ 152,000.00
Four locomotives, at \$16,000 .....	64,000.00
Eight passenger coaches, at \$12,000 .....	96,000.00
One hundred box cars, at \$1,200 .....	120,000.00
Five hundred flats and coal cars at \$1,100 .....	550,000.00
Machine shops, round houses, freight sheds, water tanks, small equipment and tools .....	294,560.00

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\$1,276,560.00

Reduced to per mile .....

4,171.76

Total per mile construction and equipment ....

32,650.00

The value of the Cash subsidy and land grant is given as follows:—

“The Cash subsidy and land grant associated with this charter gives us a basis of estimating an unquestionable present worth value of \$9,338,400, made up as follows:—

306 miles, at a subsidy of \$6,400 per mile .....	\$1,958,400.00
1,230,000 acres of land, at \$6 per acre .....	7,380,000.00

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Total . . . . . \$9,338,400.00

### Subsidy Is Claimed.

It would appear from the above statement that the value of the land and the cash subsidy exceeded by \$652,500 the total estimated cost of the construction of the line. But in the body of the prospectus the land is valued still higher, as will appear from the following extract:—

“The bond issue is protected by a subsidy of \$6,400 per mile granted by the Dominion Government and 4,000 acres of land per mile granted as a bonus by the Province of Ontario, which land is adjacent to the line, and which, at a reasonable valuation, is worth from \$8 to \$10 per acre.”

If the land is taken at \$9 per acre, the value of the land grant alone would be \$9,000,000, or nearly \$300,000 more than the total cost of the construction of the railway.

### Press Opinions.

The “Financial Times” of Montreal, commenting upon this prospectus and certain other material issued by the company on the sale of its bonds, states as follows:—

"For the sake of Canadian credit in the United States in general and for the good repnte of Canadian Government bonds in particular, it is devoutly to be hoped that prospective purchasers of an issue of bonds being put out by the Lake Huron and Northern Ontario Railway Company will look before they leap. First, because the issue of a million dollars of bonds is being offered in centres like New York and Boston, where Canada can ill afford to suffer any damage to credit; and second, because the promoters declare the bond is practically a Government bond, which it most decidedly is not.

"This is only one of a number of extravagant statements made concerning the road projected from Bruce Mines on Lake Huron to a point on James Bay, in a prospectus and other 'come on' literature which has fallen under the notice of the Financial Times.

"According to the prospectus the company is to be capitalized by the issue of \$12,000,000 of bonds and \$12,000,000 common stock.

"The bond issue, one is told, 'is protected by a subsidy of \$6,400 per mile granted by the Dominion Government and 4,000 acres of land per mile granted as a bonus by the Province of Ontario, which land is adjacent to the line, and which, at a reasonable valuation, is worth from \$8 to \$10 per acre.'

"On these concessions from a beneficent Government the promoters apparently hope to hoodwink the American investor into believing that the bonds are tantamount to Government bonds." And while the company, or, the same thing, the promoters value the land granted at \$8 to \$10 per acre, the prospectus omits to mention that any amount of land adjoining that so granted could be purchased at a flat rate of about thirty cents per acre."

It is perfectly clear from the foregoing, either that this great tract of fine timber lands has been placed at the disposal of unreliable and untrustworthy exploiters, who have been seeking to mislead the investing public and to secure from them their money on false representations as to the character and value of the territory secured from the Government, or the Government has made a most wanton sacrifice of the agricultural and timber resources of the Province, by selling to these exploiters, who have no standing or stake in the country, one million acres of our lands at 33 1-3c. per acre, which are worth from \$6,000,000 to \$8,000,000.

#### Liberals Again Protest.

The Liberals renewed their protest against this manner of dealing with the Province's resources in the last session of the Legislature. The following is the resolution moved by the Liberal Opposition:—

"In view of the statements contained in the prospectus of memorandum offering \$1,000,000 of the First Mortgage Bonds of the Lake Huron & Northern Ontario Railway Company (which prospectus or memorandum includes the statement of the Vice-President and General Manager and the Engineer's Report), and in view of the further statement of the Engineer's Report that the cash subsidy and land grant associated with this charter gives us a basis of estimating an unquestionable present worth value of \$9,338,400, made up as follows:

306 miles at a subsidy of \$6,400 per mile .....	\$1,958,400.00
1,230,000 acres of land at \$6 per acre .....	7,380,000.00
Total .....	<u>\$9,338,400.00</u>

"And in view of the further statement that 'the bond issue is protected by a subsidy of \$6,400 per mile granted by the Dominion Government and 4,000 acres of land per mile granted as a bonus by the Province of Ontario, which land is adjacent to the line and which, at a reasonable valuation is worth from \$8 to \$10 per acre.'

"This House condemns the policy of the Government in alienating large and most valuable areas of the Public Domain to railway exploiters without adequate return to the people of the Province."

## HISTORICAL REVIEW.

### Liberal Record.

If there is any record of which the Liberal Party has reason to be proud, it is in connection with its policy for the building up and development of New Ontario, and the contrast between the attitude of the two parties with reference to this work is most striking.

During the whole period the Liberal Government was in power, they were constantly fighting, first, to secure the territory to the Province of Ontario, and, secondly, to secure its opening up and settlement, as the growth and development of the Province warranted. In the fight for the disputed territory, the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat was bitterly opposed by the Conservative Government of Sir John Macdonald at Ottawa, supported by the Conservative Opposition in the Provincial Legislature. Had it not been for the splendid manner in which the electors of the Province supported Sir Oliver Mowat in his fight for Ontario's rights, Ontario would have been one of the smaller, instead of second largest Province of the Dominion as she is now. The Government of Sir Oliver also had to fight the same battle for the timber and mineral resources of this territory, which were claimed by the Dominion Government, and in this fight he was also backed up by the electors of the Province.

When the question of the opening up of this new territory arose as a practical proposition, the Liberal Government from time to time submitted definite proposals to the House. In 1893, when there was some activity in the movement of settlers to Ontario, the Government proposed to spend \$35,000 on surveys of townships in new districts. The estimates came before the House on the 26th May, when it was moved by Mr. Clancy, seconded by Mr. Miscampbell, "that the resolution (respecting the expenses of Crown Lands) be not now concurred, but be forthwith referred back to a Committee of the Whole House with instructions to strike out the item of \$35,000 proposed to be voted for surveys of Townships in New Districts." (See page 197, Journals 1893.) For this resolution Mr. Whitney and all his followers voted.

#### The Ontario and Rainy River Railway.

In 1899, the Government proposed to assist to open up the Rainy River District by a subsidy to the Ontario and Rainy River Railway (since acquired by the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway), sufficient to ensure its speedy completion. It was considered that the early construction of this road was most important, as it passed through a large belt of iron mining lands west of Port Arthur, and also through the Rainy River valley, said to contain nearly a million acres of arable land.

Owing to the difficulties of construction, the usual subsidy was deemed insufficient, and when the bill was before the House, Mr. Whitney moved an amendment for reducing the subsidy from \$505,000 to \$225,000. Had the House supported him it is quite possible the promoters of this road would have failed in their undertaking, and the large areas through which it passes might not be opened up for years to come. It should be remembered also, that in addition to opening up the country, this railway gives a competing line with the C. P. R. from Port Arthur to Winnipeg and the West; the effect of which on freight rates from Ontario to the North-West cannot fail to be beneficial.

#### A Change in Opinion.

In 1900, the Liberal Administration proposed to aid in the construction of the Algoma Central Railway, by way of land grant (subject to strict conditions of settlement and the es-

tablishment of important industries (see Act.) This was to assist in the opening up of the territory lying to the north of Sault Ste. Marie. Mr. Whitney strongly and violently opposed this proposal, in the course of which he used the following language:—

“I have no hesitation,” concluded Mr. Whitney, “and I meet the jeers of the Hon. gentlemen opposite with patience, I have no doubt that public opinion will say with regard to it that it is the most phenomenal steal, the greatest attempt at public robbery, the most heinous public crime that was ever attempted by men in authority in the Dominion of Canada, and I don't think I would be exaggerating to say, on the continent of North America.”

This was the spirit in which the Liberal Government's proposals were received by Mr. Whitney and his colleagues when they were in Opposition. And yet this very land grant which Mr. Whitney so denounced has been renewed from time to time by his Government to this railway, and has not only been renewed, but the obligations imposed upon the company under this Act for putting in settlers and performing other important work as a condition of securing the land grant, have been removed from the Act by Mr. Whitney and his colleagues.

#### **The Exploratory Surveys of 1900.**

The determination of the Government to ascertain further the great resources of the partially or wholly undeveloped parts of the Province was shown in the exploratory surveys of 1900.—one of the most important and comprehensive steps yet taken by any Provincial Government in Canada; important in the results achieved, and comprehensive in the areas of territory covered; and, it might be added, one of the most economical, the total cost of the undertaking reaching but a trifle over the \$40,000 originally voted for the purpose. This, of course, did not include the printing and publication of the reports, which were in great demand.

#### **The Scope of the Surveys.**

Ten surveying parties were sent out, to each of which was assigned approximately 100 miles square for examination, comprising a territory larger in extent than the whole settled portion of Ontario, aggregating nearly one hundred thousand square miles. The region lies for the most part north of the main line of the C.P.R., and includes the major portions of

the districts of Nipissing, Algoma, Thunder Bay and Rainy River.

The Government had three objects in view:—To acquire information, (1) as to the soil; (2) the timber; and (3) the minerals of this great Northland. Thus the three great industries of Ontario—agriculture, lumbering and mining—were in the minds of the Government. Incidentally, many miles of permanent base lines were surveyed, valuable water powers noted, and animal, plant and fish life studied. Each of the ten parties was composed of a land surveyor, a land and timber estimator, and a geologist, with necessary assistants.

### The General Results.

The combined results were more satisfactory than the most sanguine looked for. Speaking broadly, the belief was verified that in the region north of the height of land—covering over one-half of the area of the entire Province—there are large tracts of good agricultural land, that forests of spruce and other pulp woods exist to a much greater extent than was anticipated, and that nature has provided a succession of waterways on which to float the timber to the mills or markets. In addition, there was located a great pine forest stretching northward from Lake Nipissing and the C.P.R. towards the height of land. Nearly three billion feet board measure of standing timber has been reported from this section alone.

When these exploring parties returned and made their reports, doubts were cast upon the value of the territory explored by members of the then Opposition, and Mr. Whitney is reported to have described the territory in an address delivered in Massey Hall in 1902 as "the land of the stunted poplar."

Further exploration and surveys, and the further opening up and development of the territory have more than confirmed the reports made by these pioneer exploring parties in 1900, and justified the policy of the Liberal Government in endeavoring to open up and settle this territory.

### Settlement of New Territory.

In the year 1900 the Government felt the time had come when the Province should directly take steps to secure settlers for the unsettled portions of the Province, and they started in

by the establishment of an immigration agency at Liverpool. What was the attitude of Mr. Whitney and his colleagues to this proposal?

### **Vote to Abolish European Immigration Agency.**

In the estimates for 1900 appeared an item of \$4,825 for maintaining an immigration agency at Liverpool, and other expenses. The sum, though small, was effective in directing a considerable number of agricultural laborers and domestic servants to Ontario. The Government felt, as an increase of population was important, that such an agency should be continued. Mr. Whitney and his colleagues apparently were opposed to immigration, notwithstanding that we have millions of acres of land unsettled, and the moderate efforts of the Government to find settlers could not be entertained, and accordingly it was moved by Mr. Morrison, seconded by Mr. Allan, "that the resolution (respecting immigration) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith recommitted to the Committee of Supply with instructions to reduce the item by \$4,825, being the first five items for the Liverpool Emigration Office." No surveys for settlement and no settlers for New Ontario appear to have been Mr. Whitney's line of action.

### **Opposed the Appointment of a Clerk of Forestry.**

Mr. Whitney's interests in the protection of the timber resources of the Province is shown by the fact that on April 30th, 1894, Mr. Monk moved, seconded by Mr. Preston, "that the resolution respecting grants (in aid of agriculture) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith recommitted to a committee of the whole House with instructions to reduce the item by \$2,000, being the salary and disbursements of the Clerk of Forestry, which office was now vacant, and in the opinion of this House, should be discontinued." (See page 181 Journals, 1894.)

Mr. Whitney joined with the Opposition in voting for this resolution, and yet no branch of Government was more needed, or has proved more valuable, than the Forestry Branch of the Department of Crown Lands. Mr. Whitney has never grasped the importance of the great subject of forest preservation and reforestry.

On March 29, 1899, for the third time Mr. Whitney voted to abolish the office of Clerk of Forestry, and when his Government come into power they permitted the Chief Forester

to leave the service of the Province because of the failure of the Government to proceed with this work, and it was not until the year 1912 that a new Chief Forester was appointed.

### **The Colonization Work of the Government.**

In 1900 the Government created a Bureau of Colonization for the purpose of looking after the settlement of the large areas of new land in the Province. The Bureau was placed under the charge of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and during the four years of Liberal administration splendid results were obtained.

The work of the Bureau was directed not alone to looking after immigration from outside, but to show our own people who were looking for land the advantages possessed by the different parts of the new districts of this Province, and further by securing reduced railway rates, employing land guides, directing the building of wagon roads and bridges, and in many other ways aiding them in settling upon the land and getting it under crop.

It was the policy of the Liberal Government that while it welcomed intelligent, law-abiding strangers, it gave them no aid or advantage that it did not give to people of Ontario. Through the system of land guides, settlers were directed to good agricultural land of which there was an abundance in the Province. After location, they had advantages probably superior to that of settlers in any other Province or country from the fact that in addition to being able in most cases to dispose of considerable timber at a fair price, they also had opportunities for employment on colonization roads and in connection with the mining, lumber, and other industries of the newer parts of Ontario.

By encouraging industries, and through the building of railways in the various districts, the Liberal Government sought to provide local markets for labor and produce in all the new settlements.

### **Settlement.**

In June of 1901 an excursion was run to the Temiscamingue Townships. Nearly two hundred took advantage of it, most of whom remained to take up land. New townships were opened up to settlement as fast as requirements demanded.

There were located and sold in New Ontario, during 1901, according to the returns of Crown Lands agents, farms of from 100 to 160 acres each to the number of 2,541, amounting to three hundred and thirty thousand acres, representing a population of nearly ten thousand. These official figures do not, however, fully represent the total influx of people into New Ontario. Had this aggressive settlement policy been continued by the present Government during the past nine years, what a difference it would have made in New Ontario.

### **T. N. O. Railway.**

In view of the success which attended the Liberal Government's efforts in securing the settlement of the agricultural land immediately surrounding Lake Temiscaming, and of the undoubted value of the agricultural territory lying to the north of the height of land, commonly known as the Clay Belt, the Liberal Administration decided on a new and radical departure in Government ownership by commencing the building of the first Provincial Government-owned railway, and before the Liberal Administration left office they had completed the construction of the railway from North Bay to New Liskeard, and passenger trains were running on that portion of the line, and the contract had been given for the extension of the road to the junction of the Grand Trunk Pacific in the neighborhood of Lake Abitibi.

### **Cobalt Discovered.**

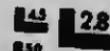
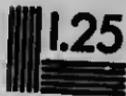
During the course of construction of the T. N. O. Ry., in the year 1903 the Cobalt mines were discovered, which have added so much to the fame of Ontario as a mineral producing Province; to the wealth of the people of the Province of Ontario; and the revenues of the Government; and to the opening up and settlement of Northern Ontario.

Here again the early commencement of this road and its rapid construction was criticized by Sir James Whitney and his colleagues, who claimed that the work should not have been commenced without taking time to make further explorations and surveys of the territory and of the route of the proposed line of railway.



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### Reorganization of Sault Industries.

In 1904 when the Soo industries had collapsed, the Government of the Province proposed to come to the relief of these industries—not by the expenditure of a dollar of public money, but by guaranteeing to the extent of \$2,000,000 the bonds of a company incorporated to carry out the reorganization of these industries in order to put them on a sound financial basis.

Sir James Whitney and all his colleagues in the Legislature offered the most aggressive and protracted resistance to this measure; and Sir James Whitney declared that the whole \$2,000,000 would be lost, that the Government might as well throw the money into the lake. The Government, however, proceeding on prudent and business-like lines, embodied in its proposals provisions which required the giving of security which would absolutely protect the Government from one dollar of loss; and the result has been that every dollar of the guarantee has been repaid, and the Province has not been out of pocket one dollar by the transaction. What has been the result? Those industries were reorganized, revived, re-established; Sault Ste. Marie, instead of being a town is now one of the most progressive and prosperous industrial communities in Canada. In addition to the capital expended at the time, new capital has since been put into these industries to the amount of upwards of \$25,000,000, and about 7,000 men are now employed in connection with the various enterprises commonly known as the Soo industries, whereas if the policy of the men now in charge of the present Government, but then in Opposition, had been pursued, no Government assistance would have been given, no relief afforded, and the industries would have collapsed.

### Mr. Rowell's Services.

It was in connection with the giving of this guarantee and the work of reorganization of these industries that Mr. Rowell acted as counsel and legal adviser for the Government. In 1905 after Mr. Rowell had finished his work, the **TORONTO NEWS (CONSERVATIVE)**, made the following editorial comment upon Mr. Rowell's services to the Province:—

“It would be hard to overestimate the value of Mr. Rowell's services as representing the Government in

untangling the extraordinary maze of confusion and embarrassment which had developed in connection with these enterprises. It is not understood by the public, and probably never will be fully understood, that his was the master mind which adjusted the relations between the Province and the company and solved the almost insuperable difficulties which were met at every step of the reorganization. Nor is it understood that although he performed these great services for the Province, he drew no money from the Provincial Treasury. While it was perhaps natural that the Whitney Government should have accepted his resignation as one of the Board of Directors, it is satisfactory to know that he is still a solicitor for the company, that in this connection no political considerations can enter, and that therefore the company and the Province will continue to profit by his experience, ability and integrity."

In view of the unsympathetic attitude which Mr. Whitney and his colleagues had assumed toward the Government proposals for the development of New Ontario, it is perhaps not to be wondered at, that since he came into office, the same spirit has marked the Government's record in the administration of the great trust committed to it, the trust of opening up and settling what is virtually a new Province.

# LABOR

## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

"That in the opinion of this House the growing importance of social and industrial problems demand the creation of a Department of the Government, presided over by a responsible Minister, whose chief concern should be to study and promote legislative and administrative action for the betterment of the conditions of the workers of the Province; and to this Department should be transferred the Bureau of Labor from the Department of Public Works, the Factory Inspection Branch from the Department of Agriculture, as well as the other branches of the Public Service particularly relating to the welfare of the industrial classes, including such administrative work as may be required in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act; and that provision should be made under this Department for the study of social and industrial problems, including the legislation in force in other industrial communities of the world, and the effects of such legislation in the betterment of social and industrial conditions.

This resolution, moved in the House this year by Mr. Rowell, represents a policy which the Liberals have been urging for years—the creation of a Department of Labor, under a responsible Minister, to study and promote legislative and administrative action for the betterment of the conditions of the workers. At present the various branches of the Government dealing with labor are scattered and under different heads. For example—the Bureau of Labor is a side line of the Minister of Public Works, the Factory Inspection Branch is placed under the control of the Minister of Agriculture, and the work in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act up to the present has been under the direction of the Provincial Treasurer.

Such a condition of affairs is obviously ridiculous and opposed to the best interests of labor.

Under the Liberal policy all these branches would be grouped together under a Minister of Labor, who would deal with Workmen's Compensation, the Factory Act, Unemployment, Hours of Labor, Fair Wages and other problems affecting the workers.

## FACTORY ACT.

The Factory Act of Ontario is, on the whole, antiquated. In the year 1907 a special Committee of the Legislature, in-

cluding members from both sides of the House and two Cabinet Ministers, considered the existing Factory legislation, reported that it was entirely inadequate, and recommended that a comprehensive measure should be introduced at the next Session. The report concluded as follows:—

“Your committee recognize the fact that at this late stage of the Session a revision of the law is impracticable in 1907. They, therefore, submit their recommendations for consideration during recess, with the view to a comprehensive measure, dealing with the whole subject of factory and shop inspection, being brought down at the next session of the Legislature.”

Although a few amendments, of more or less importance, were passed, the sessions of 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1912 all passed without a comprehensive measure dealing with the whole subject being brought down.

At the Session of 1913, the Government, through its Minister of Agriculture, announced its intention of revising the Factory Act. It was expected that after six years' neglect and delay, radical and far-reaching changes would be made. In spite of the protest, however, not only of the Liberal party, but of the workmen themselves, the Government put through a bill, which, in its essentials, except in a few respects, resembles the old and outworn legislation.

### Specific Proposals.

Mr. Rowell and the Liberals and Allan Studholme, Lahor Member for East Hamilton, worked hard to secure and introduce amendments for the following, among other reforms:—

The appointment of additional female Factory Inspectors.

That no child under fourteen years of age shall be employed in any factory.

That no child under fourteen years of age shall be employed in any shop.

That a Factory Inspector shall have power to prevent the employment of any child at work for which it appears to be physically unfit.

That the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council shall by statute issue a proclamation defining hazardous and dangerous occupations.

That the hours of employment for children be limited to eight hours a day, and not more than forty-eight hours a week, and of all youths and young girls to nine hours a day, or fifty-four hours a week.

That the provisions in the existing law providing that the "custom or exigencies of a trade" may permit youths or young girls to be employed beyond the prescribed time, be stricken out.

That no child, youth or young girl under the age of eighteen years shall be employed in any basement or any part of a factory or shop building below the surface of the ground.

That no child, even of legal age, shall be permitted to be employed in any factory or shop, who cannot produce a proper school certificate.

That no one under eighteen years of age should be allowed to run an elevator.

Mr. Rowell proposed these and other specific reforms, but the Government voted them down, and voted against the working men, working women, working youths and working girls.

**A Little Advance.**

During the Session of 1914 the Government, although they had opposed the same amendments in 1913, incorporated the two following amendments in the Factory Act:—

1. That in a factory, shop or office building no person under the age of eighteen years shall be allowed regularly to operate or control an elevator.
2. That the hours of labor for a child between twelve and fourteen years of age (in a canning factory) shall not be longer than eight hours a day.

The other Liberal amendments proposed again in 1914 were once more voted down by the Government.

Mr. Rowell has pointed out time after time that more Factory Inspectors should be appointed. He affirmed that the interests of the women and children employed in factories were being sacrificed by insufficient inspection. He pointed out that Ontario was behind the United States in such matters as child labor legislation, and contended that the increase in the industrial life in the Province demands an enlargement in the present staff of inspectors.

Public opinion was behind the demand. Among other bodies, the National Council of Women had urged upon the Government the providing of more adequate inspection.

Quotation from OTTAWA CITIZEN (CONSERVATIVE).  
May 1, 1913:—

"Last Thursday was Child Labor Day in the Provincial Legislature and when the debate was finished, Ontario, under

the direct lead of her Premier, took her place at the bottom of the list of those communities and countries that are trying to make the profits of commerce secondary to the rights of the child. In Ontario commerce is still first.

"All that day there was witnessed the strange spectacle of a Government atolidly opposing its majority hulk against every attempt to emancipate the helpless child from the grasp of the competitive system which virtually forces employers into Child Labor. Every suggestion made by the lone representative of the working class, who was fighting for human betterment as against trade advantage was swept aside, mostly, even, without careful consideration by the Government and the pieces of Mr. Rowell, Leader of the Opposition, all in favor of the child, were dealt with on a partisan basis which had no place for the claims of justice or altruism."

### UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment, which is always a subject of much importance to workmen, was particularly acute in Ontario, as in other Provinces and countries, during the winter of 1913-14.

The Liberal Party recognized the crisis, and on February 19, 1914, at the very beginning of the Session, Mr. Rowell moved an amendment to the Speech from the Throne on employment, as follows:—

"That the following words be added to the motion, 'The present conditions of unemployment, and the failure of the Government to attempt to seriously deal with the problem, again emphasizes the urgent need for the creation of a Department of the Government, presided over by a Minister whose chief concern should be to study and promote legislative and administrative action for the betterment of the conditions of the workers of the Province; and to which should be transferred from the Department of Public Works, the Bureau of Labor, and from the Department of Agriculture, the Factory Inspection Branch. That in view of the hardship and suffering which thousands of our citizens who are willing and anxious to work have been compelled to endure during this present winter by reason of unemployment, and that periods of unemployment are invariably associated with periods of trade depression; and in view of the important relation which the question of unemployment bears to other social problems of the most vital concern to the State, this House is further of the opinion that action should be at once taken by the Government to investigate the conditions of labor in this Province and the causes and results of unemployment, with a view of proposing measures suitable to our needs for improving the present position of the workers, reducing unemployment to the narrowest possible limits, assisting those out of work in securing employment, and providing systematic relief in cases of enforced unemployment of those willing to work.'"

In moving this resolution, Mr. Rowell not only discussed the local situation in Ontario, and quoted figures to show how many men were out of employment in the various centres of the Province, but reviewed what had been done in other countries to relieve a similar situation. He traced the history of efforts to cope with this difficulty in Great Britain and Continental countries, and told of the labor exchanges and unemployment insurance of Great Britain and the Labor Colonies of Holland, Belgium and Germany. Mr. Rowell showed that this question of unemployment was linked up, in a very close way, with the whole problem of social reform. He made it clear that Ontario was not an exception in suffering from unemployment at this time, but showed that periods of trade depression followed periods of trade expansion inevitably, throughout the world. He emphasized the need of systematizing the treatment of the difficulty.

#### Government Humorous.

Not only did the Government reject the Liberal motion on unemployment, but it treated the whole matter in a surprisingly light way.

Mr. Hanna, who replied to Mr. Rowell, did not deal with the actual problems and difficulties of unemployment; did not say what the Government would do in studying and relieving the distress; did not take up Mr. Rowell's proposal for the grouping of labor branches into one Department of Labor. Mr. Hanna was practically silent on the subject; he announced no policy, and outlined no plan. The Government simply stood pat.

There is in Ontario a Bureau of Labor, which should have been giving special attention to this acute problem of unemployment. There are branches of this Labor Bureau Employment Exchange at Brantford, Hamilton, London, Ottawa, Berlin and Walkerville. Although these Bureaus did a certain amount of good, their scope is nothing compared with what it should be, and this is frankly recognized throughout the Province.

This Bureau is under the direction of the Minister of Public Works, who, at the very time when drastic and thorough-going precautionary measures should have been taken, was visiting the castles and chateaux of Europe, to get suggestions for the furnishing of the new Government House, which, together with this furnishing, will cost the people of the Province over one million dollars.

### HOUSING.

While the permissive legislation unanimously passed by the Legislature at the request of the promoters of the Toronto Housing Co., is admirable as far as it goes, it is admittedly inadequate to meet the problem of proper housing accommodation in our larger cities and towns. Liberals stand for more legislative and administrative measures, so that we in Ontario may remedy the congested conditions now existing and prevent, as far as possible, the development of new congested areas as our cities increase in size.

### TAX REFORM AND THE WORKMEN.

Tax reform would substantially reduce the municipal taxation of workingmen;

Would help make rents and houses cheaper;

Would reduce the cost of living;

Would give greater comfort.

The Labor Organizations have asked for tax reform.

The workingmen want tax reform.

The Government has refused to grant tax reform.

The Liberal policy is tax reform.

### FAIR WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR.

Mr. Rowell and his colleagues proposed in the sessions, both of 1913 and 1914, that a Commission should be appointed by the Government to enquire into the conditions of labor in the Province of Ontario and particularly into the matters dealt with in the Bill of the Labor member, Mr. Studholme, for fair wages and hours of labor and to report to the House at the next Session as to what legislative or administrative action should be taken to improve the condition of the workers of the Province. In 1913 the Government opposed this proposal and voted it down, and Sir James Whitney himself moved a six months' hoist to the Bill introduced by the Labor member. In 1914 the Liberal proposal for a Commission was also defeated by the Government.

# Workmen's Compensation

## SEVEN YEARS' DELAY!

A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in the Legislature in the Session of 1914, with the co-operation of both the Government and the Opposition, but that date was seven years after the time of the introduction of the first Workmen's Compensation bill in the Legislature.

### Behind Spain and Russia.

Ontario was so slow that it let the following countries get ahead of it, and pass Workmen's Compensation laws before it did:—

Great Britain,  
British Columbia,  
Alherta,  
Quebec,  
Manitoha,  
Nova Scotia,  
Saskatchewan,  
Illinois,  
Michigan,  
Ohio,  
New Jersey,  
Massachusetts,  
Washington,  
and other States.

Italy,  
South Australia,  
Western Australia,  
Queensland,  
New Zealand,  
Cape Colony,  
Transvaal,  
Germany,  
Norway,  
France,  
Spain,  
Holland,  
Belgium,  
Russia.

## WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS DELAY?

Ever since Allan Stndholme, Lahor Member for East Hamilton, entered the House in 1907, he has urged this reform. The matter was also brought to the attention of the Government in the year 1907 by the introduction of a bill by the Hon. Thomas Crawford. The bill, in the form in which it was introduced, did not meet the situation, and was not satisfactory to either the employers or employees. The Prime Minister, therefore, instead of giving the bill a second reading, which would accept the principle, and then amend it in Committee,

requested the bill should be withdrawn, and stated that the Government was prepared to consider the question between then and the next Session. The bill was, accordingly, withdrawn.

The year 1907 passed, and the Government could not make up its mind to help the workingman, and nothing was done. The year 1908 passed with the same result. The year 1909 passed, and still the Government did nothing.

As the result of repeated urging, the Government, in the Speech from the Throne in 1910, again promised to investigate the matter, with a view to legislation, but in the Session of that year, the Liberals, wearied by the repeated promises of the Government and its inaction, introduced through Mr. Wm. Proudfoot, Member for Central Huron, a bill based on the principles of the British Act, modified to meet our conditions—a bill which would have given the industrial workers of Ontario reasonable compensation for injuries sustained by them in the course of employment.

On the second reading of the bill, Sir James Whitney asked Mr. Proudfoot to withdraw it, and promised that the Government would appoint a Commissioner to investigate the matter and would introduce legislation.

Mr. Proudfoot, relying on the assurance of the Prime Minister, and believing that the Government would not further procrastinate, withdrew his bill. The year 1910 passed, and no investigation was undertaken, although Sir Wm. Meredith was appointed a Commissioner, and in the Session of 1911 no legislation was introduced by the Government.

Mr. Proudfoot again brought the matter to the attention of the House and the country, and enquired of the Government what progress the Commissioner had made with his investigation, and whether it was the intention of the Government to introduce legislation. The answer of the Government was that the Commissioner had not completed his investigation, and there would be no legislation.

As a matter of fact, the first session of the Commission was not held until October 23, 1911, in the very face of a general election, and evidently to avert the indignation of the workmen at the Government's delay.

The Commissioners went thoroughly into the matter in the years 1912-13, and legislation was introduced in the session of 1914, and put into law.

### Rowell's Pledge.

In the Liberal policy submitted to the electors in 1911 by Mr. Rowell and his colleagues, there was the following pledge:

"We promise the passage of a measure to provide for compensation to workmen injured in our industries, and to their dependents, where such injuries result in death, modelled after the recent legislation in Great Britain; and to insure in all cases the payment of such compensation."

During the campaign, the Liberals pointed out the urgent necessity for this legislation. The Government, on the other hand, emphasized their opposition to the demands of the workmen, by the Prime Minister himself going up to East Hamilton to secure, if possible, the defeat of the one Labor Member in the House—a man who had been most persistent in pressing upon the attention of the House the need of an adequate Workmen's Compensation Act. Mr. Studholme, however, was returned by a greatly increased majority.

During the Session of 1912, the Liberals again pressed the Government to deal with the question. A resolution was introduced by Mr. Proudfoot in the following terms:—

"That this House is of the opinion that the Government, having failed to carry into effect its pledge given upon the second reading of bill No. 220 of the Session of 1910, to introduce a bill with respect to the compensation of workmen for injuries incurred in the course of their occupation, and having sought to escape the carrying into effect of the said pledge by the appointment of a Commission, and having failed to see that the said Commission reported in time to have such a bill enacted in the Session of 1912, the Government has failed to do justice to the workmen of the Province."

Not only Mr. Proudfoot and the Liberal members, but also Mr. Studholme, Labor Member for East Hamilton, in speaking in support of this resolution, pointed out that from 1907 to 1912 was a long time for the workmen of the Province and for their widows and orphans to wait for a just recognition of their claims.

Towards the end of the Session of 1912, an interim report of the Commission was laid before the House.

"Sufficient progress," it said, "has, however, been made to warrant the statement that the law of Ontario is entirely inadequate to meet the conditions under which industries are now carried on, or to provide just compensation for those employed in them who meet with injuries or suffer

from occupational diseases contracted in the course of their employment."

This report thoroughly justified the Liberals and the Labor Member in their constant agitation for a Workmen's Compensation law.

### LIBERALS' ACTIVITY.

The Government delayed seven years before joining with the Opposition and putting a Workmen's Compensation Act on the Statute Books. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, and Mr. Rowell, from the moment he became Leader, emphasized and re-emphasized the necessity of workmen's compensation. Mr. Rowell's predecessors did the same.

At the Session of 1913, for example, Mr. Rowell declared:

"It is the plain duty of the Government to take some immediate action. Unless a law is passed at this session of the House, the workmen will have to wait another year to get plain justice, and hundreds of homes in the Province will be affected and may have to suffer. A bill should be introduced this session, and the Liberals are prepared to wait until it can be passed."

### SOME RESULTS OF THE DELAY.

The total delay lasted seven years.

In the seven years, although it is difficult to get accurate statistics, it is estimated that about 6,500 workmen were killed and 27,000 seriously injured in Ontario.

WHAT OF THEIR FAMILIES? WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

### HISTORY UP TO 1907.

The first Workmen's Compensation law in this province was introduced and carried through the House by the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat. This legislation was modelled after the British legislation in force at that time and was a most advanced and progressive piece of legislation as such legislation was viewed at that period.

When in the year 1897 Mr. Joseph Chamberlain persuaded the Unionist Government, of which he was a member, to adopt a new and radical Workmen's Compensation law, he succeed-

ed in introducing into British legislation the modern principle of Workmen's Compensation, namely: that reasonable compensation should be provided for all injuries sustained in the course of employment not due to the wilful act or misconduct of the employee. The Chamberlain Act, however, was limited in its scope to certain occupations, which were no doubt considered of a more hazardous character than other occupations which were not included. This Act came into operation in Great Britain on 1st July, 1898. In the year 1900 the Liberal administration of the province, seeking to keep in touch with progressive legislation in the interests of the working men, appointed Professor Mavor, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto, as a special Commissioner to go to England to investigate the workings of the new British Act, as also the acts of Germany and other countries, and to report upon the desirability of the enactment of similar legislation in this province. Professor Mavor presented his report in the year 1900, and this report will be found in the Sessional Papers of that year. Professor Mavor after setting out the results of his investigations embodies the following among his conclusions:—

#### Prof. Mavor's Conclusion.

"On all grounds so far as any definite conclusion is suggested by the foregoing, it would appear to be wise to wait for some time in order to ascertain more fully what has been the effect of the change of principle in the English law; and to ascertain also whether further change in the direction of the German legislation or otherwise was not imminent in England. The mere drafting of the English act has proved to be so defective that amendments are indispensable."

Prof. Mavor also points out that in considering the question of the adoption of such an act, one must take into account the industrial development of the province in order to see whether they are in a position to bear the heavy additional burden which would be imposed by the adoption of a Workmen's Compensation law embracing the new principle of the British Act.

In view of this report coming from so eminent an authority, the Government evidently decided that the course of wisdom and sound public policy would be to accept the advice of the Commissioner and to await the experience of Great Britain

in the operation of this act before embodying its principle in the legislation of Ontario. The Government, however, as evidence of their sympathy with the growing importance of social legislation in the interests of labor, in the year 1900 passed an act creating the Labor Bureau of the Province of Ontario, and placed at its head an able, efficient and representative working man, Mr. Robert Glocking. The object of the creation of this department was for the purpose of collecting and publishing from time to time statistics as to the general conditions of the wage-earners in all the important and recognized industries, so as to secure for the Government the necessary data upon which to deal with problems affecting the interests of labor.

#### **Liberals and Labor Department.**

The development of the work of this department, as well as the growing importance of questions affecting labor, induced the Liberal Convention in the year 1904 to declare as part of the platform of the Liberal Party, in favor of the creation of a Department of Labor and Colonization, to be presided over by a minister who would give his whole time and thought to the work of this department, and that to this department should be transferred the Bureau of Labor, the Factory Inspection branch, and other branches of the Government service particularly relating to the interests of labor.

The Liberal Party did not have an opportunity to put this policy into effect, as they were defeated at the polls at the ensuing election. But, instead of the present Government adopting the policy of the Liberal administration and making the Labor Bureau into a department of the Government, which its importance not only warranted but demanded, the Bureau of Labor ceased to be an important factor in the labor or industrial life of the province. Had such a department been created, undoubtedly one of its earliest acts would have been to investigate further the operation of the new British Workmen's Compensation Act as suggested in Prof. Mavor's report, and to recommend such legislation as this investigation would have warranted. After eight years' experience of the operation of the new law in Great Britain, the British Government was satisfied that the results were highly beneficial to the workers affected, and the Liberal administration of Campbell Bannerman in 1906 extended the operation of the British act so as to include all classes of employees, and

brought under its operation over six million additional workers.

In the meantime, during the seven years which followed Prof. Mavor's report, there was a remarkable industrial development in the Province of Ontario. Not only had the necessity for the new act become increasingly manifest by reason of the great increase in hazardous employment and in the number of men employed, but the growth of industrial enterprises has proceeded on such a sound financial basis that they were in a much better position to bear the increased burden. Sufficient opportunity also having been given thoroughly to test the operation of the British Act, there was no further justification for delay in enacting legislation in Ontario. The new Government, however, did nothing until the matter was brought up in the legislature in the year 1907, when a bill was introduced by one of the Toronto members substantially a transcript of the British Act, but not modified to suit the conditions of this province, and which would have been satisfactory neither to the employers or employees.

#### REVIEW OF 1911-1914.

In the year 1911 the State of Washington, U. S. A., passed an Act embodying the principle of the British act that compensation should be granted to workmen for all injuries sustained in the course of employment, but departed from the principle of the British Act and provided for a system of collective liability administered by the state, rather than the individual liability system in force in Great Britain.

The Liberal Leader in his address to his constituents at Woodstock before the General Election in 1911, and also in the address he delivered on August 29th, 1912, set forth the principles which should be embodied in new legislation to meet industrial conditions in this province. He pointed out the defects in the existing law and described the principles briefly as follows:—

1. The prevention of accidents and occupational diseases should be the first and primary consideration in any legislation because no scheme of compensation, no matter how generous, can ever adequately compensate for the loss of the breadwinner or the permanent impairment of his industrial efficiency.

2. Compensation should be provided for all injuries sustained in the course of employment, unless possibly where

caused intentionally by employee and even in such cases in the event of death or permanent disability. What difference does it make to the widow and the orphan whether the death of the husband and father was due to the negligence of the employer or to a pure accident in the course of the employment, or through a thoughtless and careless act of his own? They have lost the breadwinner; his life has been taken. Or, what does it matter to the wife and the children whether the accident was due to the fault of the employer or not, if the breadwinner has sustained injury which impairs his earning capacity, and thereby deprives him of the ability to supply their needs? The interests of the whole community require that he should be able to maintain himself and his wife and family, and not be dependent upon charity or compelled to mortgage his future by going seriously into debt.

### Industry Should Bear Loss.

3. As accidents and injuries to employees appear to be inseparably connected with almost every industry to-day, the industry should bear the cost of compensating for these accidents and injuries. Let me illustrate the matter to you. Every manufacturer in endeavoring to arrive at the actual cost of his product must take into consideration the element of breakages and wear and tear in his machinery; he must make provision for them in his estimates of cost. It is part of the cost of production. If the industry demands in addition a toll of human life or of human energy, why should not this also be taken into account by the manufacturer in arriving at the cost and in fixing the price of his finished product. In other words, the industry should bear the cost of compensating for the injuries inseparable from the carrying on of the industry, and the community which demands the establishment and maintenance of the industry will ultimately bear the expense in the increased cost of the finished article.

4. There are diseases incidental to certain occupations, particularly where chemicals are used in the process of manufacture. These diseases should be treated as accidents and covered by a Workmen's Compensation Act, just as they are in England.

5. The Compensation should be based upon and bear a definite relation to the earning capacity of the workman.

6. The employee or his dependents should be entitled to secure payment of this compensation without the necessity of litigation.

7. Where injuries have been sustained, the payments should in some form be guaranteed to the employee, and he should not be compelled to run risk of losing his claim in case of the insolvency of the employer.

8. To ensure the satisfactory operation of the law, care must be taken to guard against trumped up claims, or "malingering" as it is called.

#### Precedents For This Legislation.

"Legislation embodying these principles would be such a radical departure from our present law, would beneficially affect such a multitude of workmen and their families, you ask is there any precedent for such legislation? You may be surprised to hear that the statute books of almost every civilized and progressive manufacturing country contain legislation embodying these principles in one form or another. The British Act of 1897, as amended in 1906, seeks to embody all these principles, though it may be improved upon in some respects. British Columbia adopted the principle of the British Act in the year 1903; Alberta in 1908; Quebec, which some are disposed to suggest is not as progressive as the other provinces, in 1909; Manitoba in 1910; Nova Scotia 1910; Saskatchewan in 1911. None of these provinces have nearly as many working men as has the Province of Ontario, and in none of them therefore is the problem so urgent, and yet all have left Ontario behind in keeping abreast with this legislation, so essential to the welfare of the working classes. Not only is Ontario behind the other provinces, but she is also away behind the other self-governing portions of the Empire. New South Wales adopted the principle of the British Act (with reference to its mining industries) in 1900; South Australia in the same year; Western Australia in 1902; Queensland in 1905, and New Zealand in 1900. We are already from seven to twelve years behind these Australian provinces. We are also behind South Africa. Cape Colony adopted this legislation in 1905, and the Transvaal in 1907. Ontario, in dealing with this question, is the most backward of all the progressive communities in the empire. Not only is she most backward in the empire, but the most backward as compared with the other countries of Europe. Germany was one of the pioneers in this legislation, and their Act of 1884, with the amendments from time to time made down to the year 1900, is one of the most complete. Australia adopted such a law shortly after.

Norway in 1895. France in 1898. Spain in 1900. Holland in 1901. Belgium in 1903. Italy in 1903. Russia in 1903. We think of Spain and Russia particularly as representing the most unprogressive of the European peoples, and yet even these most unprogressive are from ten to twelve years ahead of us in this important matter. Is it not humiliating for any citizen in this province to be compelled to make this confession?

We must admit that the working men have not had a square deal and no time should be lost in remedying their grievances."

### Comparison of Acts.

In dealing with the new Act the Liberal leader stated:—"Until the Commissioner completes his investigation of the working of the various acts now in operation in different countries and presents his report thereon it would be premature to pass a final judgment on the exact form which our legislation should take, but I have set before you the principles which must be embodied in any satisfactory Act, and it would look as if a combination of the best parts of the British and Washington Acts might prove a solution of the problem in this province. In applying the principles of the British Act, we must, however, bear in mind the difference in the scale of wages and in the cost of living in this province, and the payments under the Act would have to be increased to meet the conditions in Ontario. The new Act should cover all classes of employment covered by our present Act. What an unspeakable blessing it would be to the working men of this province if we had on our Statute Books an adequate Workmen's Compensation Act, providing reasonable compensation for all injuries, and under which the workman or his dependants could secure the payment of the compensation due without the necessity of litigation. Why have we not had such an Act when nearly all other countries have such legislation?"

Great credit is due to both the representative of the employers and of the employees for the manner in which they presented their views on this question of Workmen's Compensation to the Commissioner, Sir William Meredith; and it is said that it was the joint representations of the employers and the employees to Sir William Meredith, and the evidence they called in support of these representations, that led him to change the view which he evidently entertained at the commencement of the investigation in favor of the individual

liability system, to that of the collective liability system, as embodied in the German and Washington Acts; and in his report and draft Bill presented to the Legislature in the year 1913, he adopted important principles of the British and Washington Acts, and the new bill is a combination of the two, as was suggested by the Liberal leader in his address in the year 1912.

#### **Those Responsible for Act.**

That an Act as broad and comprehensive in its character as the one passed during the last session of the legislature, has at last, after years of delay and procrastination, been secured, is due to the persistent and untiring effort of the representatives of labor in pressing their claims upon the Government; to the equally persistent and untiring efforts of the Liberal members of the Legislature, and of Mr. Studholme, the labor member, in the Legislature and throughout the Province, and to the frank manner in which the representatives of the manufacturers met the commissioner and the representatives of labor, and acknowledged the inadequacy of the present legislation, and offered to co-operate and did co-operate in laying before the Commissioner evidence and arguments in favor of a modern Workman's-Compensation Act.

#### **Liberal Amendments Rejected.**

The Liberals in the Legislature, after struggling for years to induce the Government to bring down a Compensation Bill, welcomed the introduction of the present bill, although they felt it could be improved in a number of important respects. It is unfortunate, however, that the Government declined to accept a number of amendments proposed by the Liberals which would have greatly improved the present act—amendments which would have benefitted both employers and employees, of which the following are some of the most important:—

1. **FIRST AID.**—It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of first-aid provisions in Workmen's Compensation Act. If proper medical attendance is provided as soon as an injury is sustained, the chances are that the period of disability will be greatly shortened, with a consequent saving to the employer or the industry of the amount of compensation, and an even greater saving to the workman himself by reason of his ability to return to his labor in good physical condition at

a much earlier date than he otherwise could. In many cases also the effect of neglecting prompt medical attention may be permanent injury, where prompt attention might have resulted in an early and permanent cure.

When the Washington Act was drafted it included provision for First Aid, but opposition in the Washington legislature compelled the abandonment of this provision. The Commissioners, of the State of Washington, in their first annual report (1912) have pointed out the serious defect in the Washington Act due to this omission, as will appear from the following extract:—

#### Extract From the Washington Report.

"The burning issue of the industrial situation to-day is the need of a first-aid fund"\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*"It will be seen that the law provides simply for the bare necessities of life during disability or after the death of a workman, and the expense of doctor's bills, hospital dues, etc., is absolutely unprovided for. It is clearly up to the employers and employees of the State to give this question of first-aid careful and serious consideration in as much as it constitutes, in the opinion of the commission, the most imminent problem in connection with the administration of industrial insurance in this State to-day."

The experience of Germany where First-aid constitutes so important a part of their industrial insurance, is well illustrated by the following statement:—In the report of the investigation conducted by Messrs. Schwedtman and Emery for the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States into the subject of Accident Prevention and Relief, page 50, they state:

"Probably the most important requirement in the direction of efficiency is prompt and proper medical aid. Authorities all agree, and are very emphatic on the point, that immediate attention to all injuries saves much suffering, many lives and limbs, and a great deal of money. This principle has been recognized by progressive employers and insurance companies in the United States, but prompt relief is still lacking in too many instances. It would seem almost impossible to have relief extended more promptly and more systematically than it comes forward in Germany.

Under the German laws every injured worker and his dependants are taken care of automatically and immediately

after the occurrence of an accident. The first thirteen weeks medical attendance and compensation are provided out of the Sickness Insurance Fund.

### European Experience.

A recent special volume on this subject, written for the Berlin celebration, devotes pages to specific cases, illustrating the tremendous saving that can be accomplished in this direction. Let us quote one or two illustrations. The Bavarian Building Industries Employers' Association established, to its own satisfaction, that the expenditure of approximately \$8,000 in prompt and expert medical attention to its injured workmen, saved approximately \$160,000 in compensation expenses. A Vienna insurance institution figured the net savings in compensation due to the establishment of an ambulance and First-aid medical station to be \$27,000 in nine months."

All parties, not only employers and employees, but the public as well, must agree that from a human as well as from an economic point of view, it is most important "to bring back every worker from the position of a consuming member of society to that of a producing member."

It must be borne in mind that under the new bill the right of a workman who sustains an injury to recover the expenses he incurs for medical attendance, is taken from him, and his sole relief is the percentage of his wages allowed him under the Act; and in view of the present cost of living, the danger will be that a workman will hesitate to go to the expense of securing prompt and continuous medical treatment which he so often secures at the present time through the care of his employer, with a consequent injury to both employer and employee. At the present time, where the workman is injured in a factory where the employers are humane, medical attendance is promptly summoned or other provision is made for First Aid, and the Medical Practitioner who is summoned receives the payment of his fees from the employer or the insurance company which has underwritten the risk.

### Definite Advantages.

(1) First Aid would be a great benefit to the workers, as it would ensure prompt and continuous medical treatment.

(2). It would be a real and lasting benefit to the employers because, as experience has shown, it would

greatly reduce the period of disability and consequently the amount they are otherwise called upon to pay.

(3). It would ensure for the medical profession payment of a compensation for the services they so often unselfishly render those in need, without being compelled to resort to the percentage of wages which the workman receives, which may be scarcely sufficient to keep the workman during the period of disability.

From the time the bill was introduced, through all the stages in the House, Mr. Rowell and his colleagues pressed upon the Government the great importance of amending the bill so as to provide First Aid. The Government admitted the importance of the matter and the necessity for it, but simply did nothing, and voted down the proposal submitted by the Liberals.

## TRANSPORTATION CORPORATIONS VS.

### MANUFACTURERS.

One of the most serious defects in the present bill is that it establishes two systems, the collective liability system administered by the state for general manufacturing and other industrial employers, and the individual liability system for Transportation companies, Public Service corporations, etc. The representatives of the Manufacturers' Association have protested most strongly against this discrimination in favor of the Railway Corporations, and Mr. Dawson, the insurance expert, who gave evidence before the commissioner on behalf of the Manufacturers' Association, has pointed out, that to permit this discrimination was to start the act out on a wrong principle which may seriously militate against its usefulness.

On the other hand, the employees of these corporations are compelled to deal directly with their employers, and it is only in case of disputed claims that the matter comes before the Government Board, whereas in the case of employees of manufacturing and other industrial corporations, their claims are presented directly to the Board and they do not deal with their employers at all. From the standpoint of the employees, this is a serious discrimination against the employees of transportation and public service corporations. A very important consideration from the standpoint of the employer is that all the employers under the collective system and grouped in Schedule (1) of the act are responsible to make good any de-

iciency in the fund in case of failure of any particular group to make good. In other words, all employers of labor in Schedule (1) are in fact, guarantors to the Government for the sufficiency of the payments of every group in the collective system. By segregating the railway and navigation and other corporations above enumerated into a separate class on the individual liability basis, they are wholly relieved from this general guarantee which the other employers of labor must give; the other employers must bear the burden alone. The Liberal position on this was clearly stated from the start by Mr. Rowell. In his address in Woodstock in August, 1912, he stated:—

“One of our great railways has filed a brief strongly dissenting from the collective liability system administered by the State. I have no hesitation in saying, whatever may be the exact form the legislation ultimately takes, the railway companies of Canada should stand on the same basis as the other employers of labor similarly situated.”

During the whole discussion in the House the Liberals urged the abolition of Schedule (2) and the transfer of these companies to Schedule (1); but this transfer was opposed by the Government, and the Government defeated the following amendment moved by Mr. Prondfoot on behalf of the Opposition.—

“That all the words of the Motion after the first word “That” be stricken out and the following substituted therefor:—

“The bill be not read a third time, but be forthwith recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House with instructions to amend the same by striking out Schedule 2 of the bill, and transferring all the industries enumerated in Schedule 2 to Schedule 1 thereof; and to make such further amendments to the said Act as the said change may render necessary.”

### TENURE OF OFFICE OF COMMISSIONERS.

III. The Commissioner, in drafting the bill, made provision for the appointment of a Board composed of three Commissioners to be appointed for ten years. The period of appointment for the Dominion Board of Railway Commissioners and the period of appointment for the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board. The success of the new legislation largely depends upon the character of the Commissioners appointed and upon

their administering the law free from all partisan considerations in a broad, sympathetic and business-like spirit. The Government, in the House, moved to amend the Commissioner's Bill by striking out the ten year limitation so as to make the appointment virtually a life appointment. This looks like a provision for some political supporter. This change was strongly resisted by the Liberals as well as by the labor member, Mr. Studholme. They pointed out that if a man proved his qualification in the period of ten years he was sure of re-appointment, but if a political partisan or some other inefficient man was appointed who was not administering the law satisfactorily, it should be possible to remove that man at the end of a reasonable period, and the work of the Board should not be handicapped by life appointees. The Government, however, insisted on this change being made in the bill, and voted down the amendment proposed by the Opposition and Labor members to restore the time limit embodied in the Commissioner's bill. The following was the vote against restoring the time limit and in favor of a life appointment:—

## MESSIEURS:

Anderson (Essex)	Ferguson (Grenville)	McFarlan
Armstrong	Foy	McGarry
Beck	Fraser	McKeown
Black	Galna	McNaught
Brewster	Gooderham	McPherson
Brower	Grant	MacArthur
Cameron	Grigg	Machin
Carscallen	Hanna	Mason
Chambers	Hartt	Mathieu
Champagne	Hearst	Milligan
Crawford	Hendrie	Mills
Dargavel	Hendrie	Morel
Devitt	Henry	Musgrove
Donovan	Hogarth	Nesbitt
Duff	Jamieson	Norman
Dunlop	Jarvis	Owens
Ebbs	Jessop	Pattinson
Eilber	Lucas	Peck
Ellis	McCrea	Pratt
Ferguson (Simcoe)	McDonald	Preston (Durham)
	McElroy	

Preston  
(Lanark)  
Pyne  
Rankin  
Reaume  
Ross

Scholfield  
Shillington  
Sulman  
Thompson  
(Simcoe)

Thompson  
(Peterboro)  
Torrance  
Vrooman  
Westbrook  
Whitesides

Other important amendments were suggested by the Opposition members which would have proved for the benefit of both employers and employees, but they were not accepted by the Government.

### THE ACT ITSELF.

The bill as finally passed makes provision for: Compensation to all workmen injured in the course of employment, except where the injury does not disable the workman for at least seven days from earning full wages, or is attributable solely to the serious and wilful misconduct of the workman, unless the injury results in death or serious disablement.

Sections 33 to 40 are the principal provisions dealing with the scale of compensation, and are as follows:—

#### SCALE OF COMPENSATION.

33.—(1) Where death results from an injury the amount of the compensation shall be:—

- (a) The necessary expenses of the burial of the workman not exceeding \$75.
- (b) Where the widow or an invalid husband is the sole dependant a monthly payment of \$20.
- (c) Where the dependants are a widow or an invalid husband and one or more children, a monthly payment of \$20, with an additional monthly payment of \$5 for each child under the age of 16 years, not exceeding in the whole \$40.
- (d) Where the dependants are children a monthly payment of \$10 to each child

under the age 16 years, not exceeding in the whole, \$40.

- (e) Where the workman was under the age of 21 years, and the dependants are his parents or one of them, a monthly payment of \$20, ceasing when the workman would have attained the age of 21 years or at such later period as the Board may deem just.
- (f) Where the sole dependants are persons other than those mentioned in the foregoing clauses a sum reasonable and proportionate to the pecuniary loss to such dependants occasioned by the death, to be determined by the Board, but not exceeding in the whole \$40 per month.
- (2) In the case provided for by clause (f) of subsection 1, the payments shall continue only so long as in the opinion of the Board it might reasonably have been expected had the workman lived he would have continued to contribute to the support of the dependants.
- (3) Where there are both total and partial dependants the compensation may be allotted partly to the total and partly to the partial dependants.
- (4) Where the Board is of opinion that for any reason it is necessary or desirable that a payment in respect of a child should not be made directly to its parent, the Board may direct that the payment be made to such person or be applied in such manner as the Board may deem most for the advantage of the child.
- (5) The compensation payable as provided by subsection 1, shall not in any case exceed 55 per cent. of the average monthly earnings of the workman mentioned in section 37, and if the compensation payable under that subsection would in any case exceed that percentage it shall be reduced

accordingly, and where several persons are entitled to monthly payments the payments shall be reduced proportionately.

34.—(1) If a dependant widow marries, the monthly payments to her shall cease, but she shall be entitled in lieu of them to a lump sum equal to the monthly payments for two years and such lump sum shall be payable within one month after the day of her marriage.

(2) Subsection 1 shall not apply to payments to a widow in respect of a child.

35. A monthly payment in respect of a child shall cease when the child attains the age of 16 years or dies.

36. Where a workman leaves no dependants such sum as the Board may deem reasonable for the expenses of his medical attendance and of his burial shall be paid to the persons to whom such expenses are due.

37. Where permanent total disability results from the injury the amount of the compensation shall be a weekly payment during the life of the workman equal to 55 per cent. of his average weekly earnings during the previous twelve months if he has been so long employed, but if not then for any less period during which he has been in the employment of his employer.

38.—(1) Where permanent partial disability results from the injury the compensation shall be a weekly payment of 55 per cent. of the difference between the average weekly earnings of the workman before the accident and the average amount which he is earning or is able to earn in some suitable employment or business after the accident and the compensation shall be payable during the lifetime of the workman.

(2) Where the impairment of the earning capacity of the workman does not exceed 10 per cent. of

his earning capacity instead of such weekly payment the Board shall, unless in the opinion of the Board it would not be to the advantage of the workman to do so, direct that such lump sum as may be deemed to be the equivalent of it shall be paid to the workman.

39. Where temporary total disability results from the injury the compensation shall be the same as that prescribed by section 37, but shall be payable only so long as the disability lasts.

40. Where temporary partial disability results from the injury the compensation shall be the same as that prescribed by section 38, but shall be payable only so long as the disability lasts and subsection 2 of that section shall apply.

41.—(1) Average earnings shall be computed in such a manner as is best calculated to give the rate per week or month at which the workman was remunerated but not so as in any case to exceed the rate of \$2,000 per annum.

(2) Where owing to the shortness of the time during which the workman was in the employment of his employer or the casual nature of his employment or the terms of it, it is impracticable to compute the rate of remuneration as of the date of the accident regard may be had to the average weekly or monthly amount which during the twelve months previous to the accident was being earned by a person in the same grade employed at the same work by the same employer, or if there is no person so employed then by a person in the same grade employed in the same class of employment and in the same locality.

(3) Where the workman has entered into concurrent contracts of service with two or more employers under which he worked at one time for one of them and at another time for another of them his average earnings shall be computed on the basis of what he would probably have been earning if

no man been employed solely in the employment of the employer for whom he was working at the time of the accident.

(4) Employment by the same employer shall mean employment by the same employer in the grade in which the workman was employed at the time of the accident uninterrupted by absence from work due to illness or any other unavoidable cause.

(5) Where the employer was accustomed to pay the workman a sum to cover any special expenses entailed on him by the nature of his employment that sum shall not be reckoned as part of his earnings.

42.—(1) In fixing the amount of a weekly or monthly payment regard shall be had to any payment, allowance or benefit which the workman may receive from his employer during the period of his disability, including any pension, gratuity or other allowance provided wholly at the expense of the employer.

(2) Where the compensation is payable out of the accident fund any sum deducted from the compensation under subsection 1 may be paid to the employer out of the accident fund.

#### **Some Rights Lost.**

It should be borne in mind that the new Act takes away from the working man his rights at common law. It also takes away from him his rights under the existing Workmen's Compensation Act, under both of which, if a claim were established, he was entitled to full compensation for the injury sustained.

In considering the position of the working men in our Act, comparing it with the British Act, it should not be overlooked that under the British Act both of these rights are preserved to the working men. These are valuable rights which the working men have been compelled by the report of the Commissioner and the action of the Government to surrender in consideration of the benefits conferred by the new Act as above set forth.

May we not confidently hope that the introduction of this measure though capable of great improvements will help do for Ontario what Social and Industrial Insurance have done for Germany. You will be interested to hear the opinion of a man who speaks with authority on the question. Dr. Kaufman, President of the German Imperial Insurance Office, states:—

“The workers’ lives preserved mean the maintenance and increase of our natural resources, and therefore give splendid returns for the heavy financial burdens which social insurance places upon economic structure. It is not an accident that the unprecedented expansion of German commerce and industry and the wonderful improvement in the economic welfare of the nation during the last twenty years have happened concurrently with thorough-going improvement in the condition of our workers. There is a close connection between the two events.”

# TAX REFORM

**What is the Tax Reform Policy of the Liberal Party?**

**ANSWER.**—Local option for municipalities to assess and tax improvements, including buildings, business and income, on a lower basis than land. No municipality need adopt the law unless it so desires.

## WHOM IT WOULD BENEFIT, AND HOW?

(a). All progressive citizens who are improving their property and thereby benefitting the community, because it would decrease the tax upon their improvements.

(b). The Manufacturer and Merchant, because it would reduce their business tax, as well as the tax upon the factories and stores or shops occupied by them.

(c). The workingmen and men receiving a moderate income, because it would substantially reduce their municipal taxation.

(d). The farmers, because it would place a premium on industry and thrift; it would relieve the progressive farmer who is improving his property from being penalized by increased taxation for the improvements he makes; and it would discourage the holding of land idle and unimproved, which is to the detriment of the community.

(e). The average dweller in city and town, because:

(a). It would take for the benefit of the community a portion of the increased value of lands which the community itself creates;

(b). It would discourage the holding of lands idle for speculative purposes, and tend to bring it into the market, either for sale at a reasonable price to the party who desires to purchase and erect a home of his own, or it would induce the owner to improve it by building on it in order to earn a revenue to pay the increased taxation. In either case it would be helping the average man to secure a home at a reasonable price for rent.

(c). By discouraging the holding of land idle and forcing it into the market or forcing its improvement, it would help solve the question of overcrowding in our cities and towns,

which is rapidly becoming one of the grave social problems of our time.

**Who Has Asked for It?**

**ANSWER.**—One hundred and sixty-nine Ontario Newspapers, including the following well-known Conservative Papers:

- (a). Toronto Mail and Empire.  
     Toronto Telegram.  
     Toronto World.  
     London Free Press.  
     Hamilton Spectator.  
     Hamilton Herald (Independent).  
     Ottawa Citizen.  
     Ottawa Journal.  
     Brockville Times.  
     Kingston Standard.  
     Stratford Herald.
- (b). Two hundred and nineteen Municipalities, including six cities, thirty-two towns, thirty-eight villages and one hundred and forty-four townships.
- (c). Two hundred and thirty-three labor organizations.
- (d). Citizens of Toronto, who, on the first of January, 1913, expressed their will as follows:
 

For Tax reform .....	25,424
Against .....	6,404
	19,020
- (e). Toronto Methodist Conference, June, 1913.

**What Has the Liberal Party Done to Secure Tax Reform?**

**ANSWER.**—Each year during the last Legislature the Liberals have brought in their Tax reform proposals, both by way of resolutions, and amendments, and by bills.

In 1914 three distinct proposals were made by the Liberals.

1st. Tax reform as stated in the Liberal Policy, for the whole Province.

2nd. When the Government voted down the general proposal—a proposal that local option in taxation be granted New Ontario.

3rd. Tax reform for the City of Toronto alone.

### What is the Government's Attitude?

ANSWER.—All the Liberal proposals for tax reform voted down by the Government.

What Sir James said:—

“The Tax Reform proposals of the Leader of the Opposition belong to the Henry George brand of Socialism. The next step would be the abolition of the home, marriage and of religion.”

What Hon. W. J. Hanna said:—

“That there existed no need for assessment reform, because there had been no real demand for such legislation within the Province, and he could not see that any such demand was rising.”

### Government Vote Against Tax Reform.

The following was the Government vote against Tax Reform in the Legislature on February 26, 1914:

#### Messieurs:

Armstrong,	Gooderham,	Musgrove,
Black,	Grant,	Nesbitt,
Brewster,	Grigg,	Nixon,
Brower,	Hartt,	Owens,
Cameron,	Hearst,	Pattinson,
Carscallen,	Henry,	Peck,
Chambers,	Jarvis,	Preston
Cook,	Jessop,	(Durham),
Dargavel,	Johnson,	Pyne,
Devitt,	Lennox,	Rankin,
Donovan,	Lucas,	Reaume,
Duff,	McElroy,	Ross,
Ebbs,	McFarlan,	Scholfield,
Eilher,	McGarry,	Sulman,
Ferguson	McKeown,	Thompson
(Simcoe),	McNaught,	Simcoe),
Ferguson	McPherson,	Thompson
(Grenville),	MacArthur,	(Peterboro),
Foy,	Macdiarmid,	Torrance,
Fraser,	Mason,	Vrooman,
Galna,	Mathieu,	Westhrook,
Gamey,	Milligan,	Whitesides.

**What Do Conservatives and Independents Think About the Government's Stand?**

**OTTAWA CITIZEN. (CONSERVATIVE.)**

Under the heading of "Rip van Winkle in Ontario."

"The Tory attitude towards tax reform in Ontario may soon give this hanner province the proud distinction of being more reactionary than Spain."—July 8, 1913.

"If Sir James refuses even to re-consider, or to have considered such measures as tax reform, the rank and file of the party will very soon either refuse to endorse such obstinate obstruction, or to stay in the Party. The break must be unset."—Dec. 23, 1912.

"The growing sentiment in favor of tax reform in Ontario has been too pronounced to need proof. So great has it been that it ontgrew mere partizanship. People of all kinds of political opinions united in the advocacy of this essential principle in taxation. The press of both sides warmly endorse it. Manufactnrers, farmers, trades unionists, husine. men and practically all other classes have clearly expressed their wish for a radical change in taxation methods. Seldom has any reform been more definitely or strongly demanded."—Dec. 27, 1912.

**OTTAWA JOURNAL. (CONSERVATIVE.)**

"Dozens of important Municipalities have petitioned for it (Tax Reform). The Canadian Manufacturers' Association have advocated it. The Dominion Grange, representing the farmers, urges it. Newspapers all over the Province—and newspapers aim to please their readers, and do not unnecessarily clamor for things not popular—argue in favor of the proposition. We are inclined to think that if Sir James Whitney, and apparently also Mr. Hanna, were not in an attitude of opposition—though this does not look like Mr. Hanna's usual common sense—there would hardly be a dissenting voice, and not a dissenting newspaper in the whole Province."—Dec. 23, 1912.

"This tax question is of such importance in these days of real estate booms and civic growth, that the Province is liable to be driven into the necessity of preferring a principle to a man. Why should the Conservative Leader and the Conservative Party run this risk without tremendous reason?"—Dec. 23, 1912.

Under the Heading "Premier Canute and Tax Reform":—

"Sir James Whitney sits tight in the Council Chamber in Toronto—a modern King Cannte on a political seashore—and defies an advancing tide of progress and common sense."—Jan., 1913.

"If Sir James Whitney is going to maintain his present attitude against tax reform, we think that the Province can afford to retire Sir James Whitney from power.... The Conservative Party in Ontario can, if need be, get along without Sir James; but if it cannot, Ontario, anyway, can get along without the Conservative Party, if the Conservative Party is going to stand in the way of both common sense and civic rights. The Liberals in Ontario have had a short lesson now about the foolishness of rotten politics. They have a good man and clean politician at their head; they are as much supporters of the Hydro Electric policy as the Conservatives are, and we see no conclusive reason why Ontario should hesitate to put the Liberals in power again, if the majority of the Conservatives wish to stand in the way of progress. At any rate, so far as the Journal is concerned, this Newspaper does not feel inclined to worry much whether the Whitney Administration continues or not. If that administration proposes to maintain a policy of stolid stupidity on the question of tax reform."—Jan. 9, 1913.

TORONTO WORLD. (CONSERVATIVE.)

"Mr. Rowell is getting the ears of the people on the tax reform question, whether he eventually gets their votes or not ..... There is less difference of opinion upon it than upon any reform topic before the Province."—Jan., 1913.

"Sir James Whitney is evidently suffering from the advice of the Conservative Machine Politician. There is no other way to account for his attitude on the tax reform question."—Jan. 11, 1913.

TORONTO NEWS. (CONSERVATIVE.)

"There is strong sentiment in favor of reduced taxation on improvements, and most People realize that the business tax is unfair and oppressive."—Nov. 26, 1912.

MAIL & EMPIRE. (CONSERVATIVE.)

"That there are assessment grievances no one will deny. It is notorious that the assessment system, as at present worked, distributes the burden of taxation very unfairly. Assessment, as we now have it, is erratic rather than systematic."—Jan. 3, 1913.

**TORONTO TELEGRAM. (CONSERVATIVE.)**

"The Ontario Government's adherence to unjust and unprogressive methods of taxation."—Nov. 19, 1912.

**GALT REPORTER. (CONSERVATIVE.)**

"The tax reformers may be erratic, visionary, incapable of taking a practical view of things, and otherwise unbalanced, but lined up behind Mr. Rowell the combination would make a formidable one. Does Sir James Whitney feel strong enough to drive them into the Liberal ranks? That is the question."

**SATURDAY NIGHT. (INDEPENDENT.)**

"In his attitude on the question of tax reform, Sir James Whitney is proving himself a reactionary. Ontario's Premier has his head in the sand, his coat-tails in the air, and refuses to budge. Parties are bigger than men, and principles are bigger than parties. The People of Ontario will not long tolerate an absurd obstructionist, and the sooner our doubting Premier finds this out, the better he will rest o' nights."—January 4, 1913.

**HAMILTON HERALD. (CONSERVATIVE.)**

"One scarcely knows whether to admire Sir James Whitney's determined opposition to tax reform as a fine example of courage, or to deprecate it as a case of unreasonable obstinacy. In spite of the evidence accumulating that radical changes in the present assessment law would be popular, the Premier still persists that the law as it stands is an excellent law, and required very little amendment."—Dec. 1912.

**COBALT NUGGET. (INDEPENDENT.)**

"With the examples that we have in this District, the inhabitants of Northern Ontario, if called upon to vote, would cast an almost unanimous vote in the same direction as did the Citizens of Toronto."—Jan. 3, 1913.

**J. H. BURNHAM, CONSERVATIVE M.P. FOR WEST PETERBORO.**

"If Sir James Whitney realized that to take the tax off

buildings means the virtual obliteration of most of the slums. If he knew that much of the two per cent. of municipal tax would go to the tenant of the tenements, he might talk less of wrecking homes by tax reform.—Feb. 1913.

**INDUSTRIAL CANADA. (ORGAN OF THE CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.)**

"The special committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association which had the subject under consideration for several months, came to the unanimous conclusion that public opinion and the experience of other jurisdictions justified, and, in fact, demanded at least two further changes in the assessment system—the abolishment of the business tax, and the imposition of some form of tax upon unimproved land——. We have no hesitation in saying that if Sir James has been accurately reported as saying that there is no demand for radical changes, he has been ill-advised."—Feb. 10, 1913.

**THE FARMERS' MAGAZINE. (INDEPENDENT.)**

"The movement for assessment reform is growing stronger in Ontario. Already the leaven of the progressive Western municipalities is working. The unfairness of taxing improvements on property is being seen by every property owner. Farmers for years have suffered for their thrift in erecting new buildings and in improving the soil, to be taxed at a higher rate. Their shiftless neighbors have thus been bonused. The assessment law was made to put a premium on extensive farming and rural depopulation."—Jan., 1913.

**LETHBRIDGE (ALBERTA) NEWS. (CONSERVATIVE.)**

"Sir James Pliny Whitney, Premier of Ontario, has surely reached the limit of absurdity in his consideration of the very reasonable proposals of the tax reformers of that Province."—Feb., 1913.

**What About the Special Legislative Committee on Assessment Reform?**

**ANSWER.**—A special committee of the Legislature, to consider the whole question of tax reform, and particularly the

two bills on that subject introduced by Mr. N. W. Rowell, Leader of the Opposition, and J. A. Ellis, Conservative Member for West Ottawa, met in November and December, 1912.

Representatives were heard from the Trades and Labor Councils, the Tax Reform League, the Locomotive Firemen, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and a number of Assessment Committees, Aldermen and Mayors of various municipalities.

The great bulk of the evidence submitted was in favor of tax reduction.

Mr. Ballantyne, of the Trades and Labor Council said:

"So long ago as 1893, the Trades and Labor Congress framed the following resolution:

"To impose taxes on improvements is to discourage the beneficent use of capital in the employment of labor, and the enrichment of the country, while encouraging its use injuriously in speculation and monopoly. Therefore, be it resolved that we urge upon the Provincial Government to grant Municipalities the power to remove all taxes from the products of industry."

Mr. Ballantyne also said:

"Therefore, you may be doing organized labor their share of justice, if you endeavor to apply these proposals, which we believe would be for the betterment of the working classes. The first is to grant municipal local option in regard to local taxation, and the second is to have a law that would discourage speculation in land, and encourage the building of better homes for the working classes, and improve their general condition."

Mr. A. B. Farmer, Secretary of the Tax Reform League, quoted Mr. J. N. Baine, Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs, to the effect that there were in Saskatchewan one hundred and seventy-two rural municipalities and ninety-seven local improvement districts, all of which assess only the land.

Mr. Allan Thompson, Assistant Secretary of the Tax Reform League, stated that in Manitoba, for twenty years, it had been the practice to assess farm lands on the unimproved value, and that there was no tax on the improvements on the farm.

These exemptions had worked so well that there had been no attempt to repeal them.

Mr. E. G. Henderson of Windsor, representing the Canadian Manufacturers' Association said:

"In my opinion the business tax is the most absurd and unjust system ever put into effect. You judge what taxes a man ought to pay by the standard of the building he puts up."

Mr. H. B. Cowan, of Peterboro, Editor of "Farm and Dairy" told of a subscriber who had a grievance because, when he had improved his farm a short time before, his taxes had been increased. Mr. Cowan put a small item in his paper, and was soon overwhelmed with letters from farmers all over the country, making the same complaint.

At first it looked as though the Government was going to yield, and that tax reform was to be an accomplished fact. Hon. W. J. Hanna had been Acting Chairman of the Committee during the absence in Great Britain of Sir James Whitney. Mr. Hanna expressed himself in what is now a famous sentence:

"What is running through my mind is this: The feature of these two bills is local option; can we have local option? The other proposal (i.e. of a general reduction throughout the Province of the assessment on improvements) might not have so much difficulty; it might not be a matter of very great difference of opinion."

This statement undoubtedly was indefinite, and yet it gave hope to Newspapers and the People of Ontario, that Mr. Hanna was looking favorably on some scheme of tax reduction, and that relief was in sight. Sir James Whitney, however, returned from England, visited the Committee, and, although he had not attended any of the previous meetings, he settled the matter in a minute or two, and killed the whole proposal. His members lined up, behind him, and tax reform was defeated.

What the Government majority on the Committee did formally decide was that the present assessment act was satisfactory if properly carried out.

After the Committee had disbanded, instructions were prepared and sent out to all the assessors.

These instructions did not appeal to the Toronto World

(Conservative), which, on the 20th of February, 1913, commented as follows:

"We confess to some disappointment over the circular, or the proof of the circular, that is to be issued to the Assessment Commissioners of the Province. There is not a word in it about that phase of the question upon which Sir James Whitney has laid stress,—the necessity of taxing real estate up to its market value."

The criticisms of the Toronto World were not isolated. The instructions forwarded were received by the general public either with indifference or hostility, and the fact that the desire for tax reform is as strong, or stronger than ever, shows that this attempt of the Whitney Government to settle the question was not effective.

#### Notes.

##### (Tax Reform Tour.)

In January, 1913, Mr. N. W. Rowell, together with some of the Liberal Members of the Legislature, made a week's tour of various parts of the Province, discussing the different aspects of tax reform.

##### (Mr. Rowell's Summing Up.)

During the last debate on tax reform in the 1914 session of the Legislature, Mr. Rowell, in summing up conditions as they were, said that the Provincial Secretary and the Government entirely misunderstood the sentiment and feeling of the Province, if they thought the existing law was giving general satisfaction.

Mr. Rowell also showed how the tax reform movement was spreading in the Western Provinces, and said that once local option had been granted and the differential rate levied on improvements and land, the exemptions on improvements had gradually increased.

The recent investigation in Great Britain was directly along the line of taxing the value of the land; not the improvements. Tax reform never had been so alive in Great Britain as at present. Forty thousand people sought to hear Lloyd George announce his land scheme in Glasgow.

##### (What Studholme Said.)

Mr. Allan Studholme, Labor Member for East Hamilton,

said that Mr. Hanna, in his speech, had not argued the question at all. He thought Mr. Rowell, on the other hand, had put up a good argument for tax reform. It was absurd of the Provincial Secretary to say that there was no demand for a change in the existing assessment law. As far as sending deputations to the Government was concerned, there was no use doing so any longer, since those had been sent time after time, have had no success, and had failed to move the Government.

# EDUCATION

The Department of Education and the Department of Agriculture are the two most important Departments of the Government, and of the two Education is, on the whole, the more important, because of the vital relation it bears to the youth of the Province. And yet under the Whitney administration, education has shared with agriculture the handicap of the complete lack of initiative on the part of the Minister in charge. This is so generally conceded by Conservatives that it has become a recognized factor in the educational situation throughout the Province. The following extracts from the Conservative Press with reference to the present Minister of Education indicate the inside view:—

The KINGSTON STANDARD (Con.) has declared:—

“He seems to lack both administrative and executive ability. This is bad enough, but that he should lack backbone is absolutely inexcusable in a Cabinet Minister.”

The HAMILTON HERALD (Independent Conservative):

“It could be wished that Ontario had a Minister of Education with a backbone which does resemble a piece of string so much as does that of Hon. Dr. Pyne’s moral anatomy.”

The TORONTO TELEGRAM (Conservative):—

“It is idle to expect that anything but wobbling, weak-kneed compromise will be the policy of the Department of Education while the Hon. R. A. Pyne is at its head. The Minister is totally unable to see into the future. His gaze is apparently concentrated on the depths of the ballot boxes—and he is very myopic at that. Where the call is for a statesman who will stand up, Ontario is invited to respect a politician who seems incurably supine.”

But it is unfair to blame the present Minister for all the failures in the Department of Education. The whole Administration must share the responsibility with him.

The TORONTO TELEGRAM (Conservative) very clearly and forcibly points this out:—

“Sir James Whitney is his own Minister of Education. Hon. R. A. Pyne received undeserved praise for the triumph,

and equally undeserved blame for the tressons of the Ontario Education Department. Sir James Whitney is Commander-in-Chief of the Education Department. Hon. R. A. Pyne is merely a 'General-under.' "

No more serious wrong could be done the youth of the Province than to put at the head of this great Department a man—no matter how amiable—who lacks the qualifications for the position. One of the reforms most urgently demanded in connection with Education in this Province is the placing at the head of the Department of a man with modern ideas of education, with sympathy, courage and capacity for constructive leadership. This is a reform which cannot be accomplished under the present administration. It can only be secured by the defeat of the present administration, and the placing in power of men who are prepared to recognize the importance of the position of Minister of Education. Is it any wonder that under these conditions there is a general complaint throughout the Province in connection with the present administration of the Department of Education?

#### **The Liberal Platform on Education in 1911.**

##### **Liberal Platform, 1911:—**

"If the youth of this Province are to receive an education to fit them for citizenship, a more progressive and adequate educational policy is urgently needed. We propose: To promote a more co-operative relation between the primary schools, the high schools and the universities; more liberal grants in aid of primary education; the promotion of industrial training and technical instruction in urban and rural communities; the restoration of model schools, with a view to increase the supply and efficiency of teachers. To provide through adequate training schools a sufficient supply of competent teachers, and thus ensure under proper regulations that the pupils in every school in the Province receive a thorough English education."

During the present Legislature the Liberal Opposition have been pressing upon the Government the importance of these reforms.

In the year 1913 the Liberals submitted to the House the following Resolution, and urged the Government to take action along the lines mentioned in the Resolution:—

"1. This House regrets the failure of the Government to adopt adequate measures to improve the serious situation created by the great scarcity of properly qualified teachers for the public schools of the Province.

"2. This House is of the opinion that the overloading of the curriculum of the public and high schools of the Province and the rigidity of the present regulations and the manner in which they are administered by the Department of Education tend to prevent initiative and the development of individuality on the part of both teachers and scholars, and are inimical to the highest efficiency of the schools.

"3. This House regrets the failure of the Government to recognize the importance to the workers and manufacturers of the Province of a suitable system of technical education, and by reason thereof Ontario is behind Great Britain, Germany, the United States and many other countries in making proper provision for the technical education of the youth of the Province.

"4. The failure of the Government to deal with these and many other educational problems of pressing importance is depriving many of the youth of the Province of educational opportunities which they are entitled to enjoy, and is handicapping the educational progress of the Province."

But the answer by the Government was the voting down of the Resolution.

In 1914, the Liberals submitted another Resolution along somewhat similar lines, which met the same fate.

Notwithstanding the decline in attendance at rural schools, due to the decline in the rural population; notwithstanding the great difficulty of securing properly qualified teachers; notwithstanding the large number of children in the Province who are not regularly attending school at all, as the returns show, the present Government does not appear to be alive or awake to the critical situation thus created, nor to the serious effect which the continuance of such conditions will have upon the future welfare of the Province.

Several questions of particular importance have called for action at the hands of the Government during the present Legislative term.

1. Rural schools—condition and grants.
2. Agricultural education.
3. Technical education.

4. Bi-lingual schools.
5. The University situation.

### **1. RURAL SCHOOLS—PUBLIC SCHOOL GRANTS OUT.**

In order to improve the efficiency of the rural schools, the Government has made the payment of the grants conditional upon compliance with certain regulations, and the amount of the grants depends, under the regulations, upon the salary and grade of certificate of the teacher. When these regulations were issued by the Government, the rural public schools understood that whatever grant they earned under these regulations they would receive; and until the year 1913 these grants were paid by the Department. When the amount voted by the Legislature proved insufficient, treasury orders were issued to make up the balance, so that every rural public and separate school of the Province received the amount earned under the regulations.

In the year 1913, while the extravagance and wasteful expenditure was still continued on Government House, the Government cut down the grants to rural public schools by 28%. When, during the present Session, the Government was charged with doing this, the Provincial Treasurer denied that the grants had been cut down 28%. He said (quoting from the Globe of March 13th), "that the Opposition Leader was not correct in his statement that the school grants had been cut by 28%. The grant was the same as last year." But the Liberals summoned the accountant of the Department of Education before the Public Accounts Committee, and there under examination he admitted that the grant had been cut down just as the Liberals had charged. His testimony is as follows:

#### **Sworn Testimony.**

Mr. John R. Humphreys called and sworn:

Mr. Bowman: Mr. Humphreys, I want to ask you a few questions in regard to the item on page 67 of the Public Accounts of 1912-13, I see there "General grants, Rural Public and Separate Schools, \$382,585.26."

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And according to the detailed statement, a portion of that was paid to rural public and rural separate schools, I am right in saying that?

A.—Yes.

Q.—In what way does the Department arrive at the grants which are given to the various counties? I see in Bruce there was given to the public schools \$13,760.85, and to the separate schools \$1,082.36. How were those arrived at?

A.—We first divide the total vote on the basis of average attendance between the public and separate schools of the Province. The public school share, approximately, of the \$400,000 vote is a little over 92 per cent. and the share of the separate schools amounts to a little over 7 per cent. That is on the average attendance. The amounts obtained by that method are then divided between the public and separate schools on the basis of the regulations, covered by Instruction 12, that is, as to salaries, certificates and so on. The only difference is that we take from this \$400,000, \$60,000 which is an equipment and accommodation grant for which the counties furnish an equivalent amount. In arriving at the reduction of 28 per cent. that \$60,000 is not touched.

Q. Referring to the reduction of 28%, I understand you to say that that only applies on the amounts given in connection with salaries and certificates? That is correct?

A. Yes.

Q. How is that reduction of 28% arrived at?

A. The total amount of grants earned by the public schools under headings 1, 2 and 3, that is, grants on salaries, certificates and fixed grants, amounted to \$434,528.65. Those grants are grants on salaries and certificates alone, and exclusive of the equipment grants. The total appropriation we had to share was only \$369,178.71, so that we had to make a pro rata reduction of 28% in order to keep to the amount.

Q.—Was last year the first year you had that experience?

A.—No, sir, for the last two or three years we have had that.

Q.—In previous years you didn't have enough money?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Was last year the only year any reduction was made?

A.—Yes. We had always been able to get the Treasury Board to give us the deficit.

Q.—And last year you couldn't get the Treasury Board to do so?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—And for that reason you were obliged to make a reduction of 28 per cent.?

A.—Yes.

Q.—In what way are these payments made? Are they not payable to the county treasurer?

A.—To the county treasurer, yes. They are subdivided by him and turned over to the township treasurers.

Q.—In connection with the school grants of last year, did the reduction of 28 per cent. apply to both rural public schools and rural separate schools?

A.—No, only to public schools.

Q.—The separate schools got 100 per cent. of their grants?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And the public schools?

A.—A 28 per cent. reduction.

The Liberals also produced in the House the actual notices sent out by the public school inspectors, advising of the cut of 28%, of which the following is a copy:—

#### INSPECTOR'S OFFICE.

To the Secretary S. S. No.....

August ..... 1913.

Dear Sir:—

The amount of the General Legislative Grant to your school, based upon the salary and the grade of certificate of the teacher for the year ending June 30th last, would be \$230, but as previously announced the sum voted by the Legislative Assembly is not sufficient to pay these grants in full. In order therefore to keep the total amount of the grants within the sum so appropriated a reduction of 28 per cent. has been found necessary. This leaves the grant to your school \$165.60. This will be paid to you by your Township Treasurer about August 15th. The Special Legislative and County Grant, based upon the character of the accommodations and the value of the equipment will be paid in December.

Yours truly,

P. S. INSPECTOR.

#### Further Confirmation of Cut.

On December 1, 1913, the following circular was sent out by the Department of Education:—

“As you will no doubt recollect, a circular letter was sent you in November, 1912, calling attention to the large sum of money, which, for several years, it had

become necessary to obtain by special order-in-council in order to supplement the amount voted in the estimates for grants to the County Rural Public and Separate Schools. This necessity was due to the fact that the sum earned under the regulations by the Rural Public Schools were much larger than their share of the appropriation.

"The circular, while stating that the percentage provided was to be continued, also informed the inspectors that it was for the purpose of computation only, and that in the event of the Rural Public or Separate Schools earning a larger sum than that voted by the Legislature a pro rata reduction would be made in the grants provided for in I. II. and III. of instruction 12.

"As you are aware, the amounts earned in 1913 under the regulations by the Rural Public Schools exceeded their share of the appropriation by a larger sum, and accordingly, it became necessary to make a pro rata reduction of 28%.

"For 1914, no alteration will be made in the scheme as set forth in instructions 12, but the inspector is again requested to advise the Boards of the schools under his charge that, as in 1913, the percentages will be used only for computation purposes, and that a pro rata reduction under the headings above recited will in all probability again become necessary to keep the total of the grants within the amount voted by the Legislature.

"It is possible that in the future the Legislature may vote a larger grant for this purpose, when the Department will pay in full or with a less pro rata reduction the amounts earned. For this reason this scheme of 1913 is retained without change."

#### Schools vs. Government House.

During the present Session, while the Government voted \$225,000 additional for Government House, they left the vote for rural public and separate schools the same as in the preceding year; so that during the present year every rural public school will have its grant cut down by 28% or more, depending on the amount earned under the regulations.

So long as the public monies are being expended in such a wasteful way as they are now being expended by the present Government, there is neither justification nor excuse for the cutting of the grants to rural public schools.

## **2. AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.**

The question of agricultural education is engaging the serious attention of educators in all countries where agriculture forms one of the staple industries. Students of education, as well as men of practical affairs, are commencing to realize that to provide one course of education for all classes of pupils and to require them to pursue this course regardless of their individual characteristics, or the industry in which they are likely to engage in after years, is a most unwise course. And in this Province we should realize that there must be greater flexibility in our system—larger opportunities given to develop the individuality of both teacher and pupil, and make more adequate provision for a common school education better adapted to the needs of the pupils than our present system.

We are complaining of the drift of population from the country to the city; we recognize that this is little short of a national calamity; but is not our educational system in a measure responsible for it? Have we not trained our children away from the country rather than trained them to love the country, its free life and its fresh air, the beauty of its landscape, and above all the dignity and importance of agriculture.

### **Definite Needs.**

While something is being done to introduce agriculture into our rural schools, we have failed to deal at all adequately with the situation. We need (1) Greater co-operation between the Department of Education and the Department of Agriculture in the development of the whole scheme of agricultural education. (2) We need more comprehensive plans for the teaching of agriculture and other aspects of life in our rural schools. (3) We need agricultural schools standing between our rural school and our agricultural college. In the agricultural communities of Europe which have made such a great success of modern agriculture, they have numbers of agricultural schools. They seek to bring within the reach of the youth of the country—the boys and girls and young men and young women, by short courses in schools adjacent to their homes, the benefits of modern agricultural knowledge. Our present short courses, valuable as far as they go, are not adequate. (4) We should interest, as they are doing in many of the states of the United States, the Clergymen, those who

have charge of our rural congregations, and others who are in positions of leadership in rural communities, in the knowledge of agriculture and the problems of rural life. All these things might be done by a wide-awake department under capable and energetic leadership.

### 3. TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

The report of the Technical Education Commission appointed by the Dominion Government which has been recently issued, shows the great progress made in technical education in Great Britain and in the industrial countries of Europe; and by a study of this report one is able to form some idea of how important a factor technical education is to the industrial development and progress of the country.

The cities and towns of Ontario are growing with remarkable rapidity, and are becoming increasingly important industrial centres. If Ontario is to make the best of herself industrially, is to hold her own with the other industrial communities of the world, we must give a great deal more attention than we are now giving to industrial education. And another indictment of the present Government is its failure to deal adequately with this question. The present schools and night schools are doing good work as far as they go; but we have not yet dealt with the question in any large or comprehensive way, and in order to do so there should be co-operation between the Dominion and the Provincial Governments on this vital matter.

The manufacturers of the province have been urging action along these lines. The working men of the province have also been urging action. No member of the House has pointed out more fairly or forcibly, than has the Labor Member for East Hamilton (Mr. Studholme), the complete failure of the Government, either to appreciate the importance of technical education, or to deal with it in a broad and adequate way.

### 4. BI-LINGUAL SCHOOLS.

The difficulties which have arisen in connection with the bi-lingual schools of the province are not difficulties arising out of the law, but defects inherent to the situation, seriously aggravated by mismanagement in the administration of the law. The most acute difficulty in connection with the whole bi-lingual situation is the lack of an adequate supply of proper-

ly trained teachers to teach in these schools with the result, as pointed out in the report of Dr. Merchant, that many of the children attending these schools are going out without the educational equipment necessary to fit themselves for citizenship in the province; as in truth are many of the children from our purely English-speaking schools, owing to the lack of a sufficient supply of properly trained teachers.

The Liberal policy of 1911, as set forth in their platform of that year, was as follows:—

“To provide through adequate training schools a sufficient supply of competent teachers, and thus insure under proper regulations that the pupils in every school in the province receive a thorough English education.”

Mr. Rowell, in his speech at Massey Hall, in opening the campaign in the General Election, 1911, stated the Liberal policy as follows:—

“At the present time our French-Canadian fellow-citizens in this province number about 250,000. They constitute almost one-tenth of our entire population, and their number is increasing. Apparently the teaching in many of their schools is neither satisfactory to them nor to us, their children are not receiving the education they should have to fit them for their life-work. Two very divergent views have been presented as to the policy we should pursue in dealing with these schools. First, the view of some who would prohibit the use of French in any of the schools of the Province and would compel all the scholars to learn English and learn English alone; in short, would entirely wipe out of existence any school except a school where English alone is taught. And at the other extreme are those who claim that there should be no requirement that the children should learn English or in our schools study or acquire any language other than the French language. The supreme consideration in determining the policy to be pursued must be the welfare of the children, how best to promote their interests, and viewed from the standpoint of the interests of the children we cannot approve or support either of these extreme positions. English is the language of this continent. It is the official language of this province. Our French-Canadian citizens will agree with us that any child in this province who does not acquire at school a good working knowledge of English is handicapped in the struggle for life, and has fewer avenues of advancement opened to him than he otherwise would have. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to see that in every school of the province every child receives a thorough English education. But, on the other hand, we should not seek to prevent the children of our French-Canadian fellow-citizens retaining the use of their own mother tongue. What we are concerned about is that they should master English and not that they should be ignorant of French. The problem in its working out is

largely ours of teachers and administration, and it is in this view that we have adopted the policy on which we stand."

### **Liberals Steadfast.**

Notwithstanding the shifting and changing ground of the Government; from that day to this Mr. Rowell has stood by the policy he then announced and declared. Speaking on the bilingual school issue during the present session of the legislature, Mr. Rowell summed up the Liberal policy as follows:—

"In every school in the province it is the duty of the State to see that every child receives a good English Education. If that were done—that is the law to-day, and the breakdown is in the administration of the law—I believe there would be no ground of complaint in any section of the province; and consistent with that, if the French-Canadian parents desire that their children should also in the schools study their own language, so that they may acquire a facility to use that efficiently and well, I can see no ground for objection on the part of any citizen of the province."

This policy may not suit the extremists on either side, but it is a fair and just policy, and one upon which moderate men of all races, classes and creeds should be able to unite.

### **Government Vacillation.**

On the other hand, what has been the course of the Government? While there is great difficulty in securing properly qualified and trained teachers for the English speaking schools, our French-Canadian fellow citizens have still greater difficulty in securing properly qualified and trained teachers for the English-French schools. How has the present Government dealt with this serious problem? The present Minister of Education has been in charge of this Department for over 8 years. He has known the conditions during all this period, or should have known if he kept in touch with the affairs of his department, but until an agitation sprang up throughout the province some three or four years ago, the Government took no action; they were prepared to let things drift so long as votes were not involved. But in view of the agitation, they felt something must be done, so they appointed a Commissioner to investigate the condition of these schools. They knew what the character of his report would be, and they brought on the

General Election in 1911, a year before the expiry of the Parliamentary term, in order to have it out of the way before the report was presented. They wished to escape, if possible, a declaration of policy on this important issue. But the public were not satisfied, and the electors demanded from the Government a statement of what the Government's position was.

Sir James Whitney sought to still the situation by declaring that there were no bi-lingual schools in Ontario. How the Prime-minister of this province could bring himself to make such a statement in view of the facts within his own knowledge, within the knowledge of the Department of Education, and within the knowledge of the people of this province, passes comprehension. The people knew there were bi-lingual schools, and the denial by the Prime-minister of their existence only increased public suspicion. Some of the influential supporters of the Government asked specific pledges as to what the Government would do. One would have thought that the Minister of Education under whose jurisdiction these schools are, would have been put forward to voice the Government's policy.

Evidently he was better employed in looking after the commissariat, and so the Attorney-General, Mr. Foy, made the statement of the position of the Government on bi-lingual schools.

His statement, prepared and handed out for publication was, "that there cannot lawfully be any bi-lingual schools in the Province of Ontario; and if any are found they must cease to exist, and care should be taken to make all schools conform to the law."

This statement of Mr. Foy's gave trouble in the French-speaking sections of the Province, and so another statement had to be issued to satisfy the French-Canadian sentiment and hold the French-Canadian support. Dr. Reaume, Minister of Public Works, was chosen for this duty. In a statement handed to the Press he said, referring to Mr. Foy's statement:—

"That was made on Mr. Foy's own hook, and was the expression of his public opinion on the subject. You know I find the biggest opposition to bi-lingual schools is where people have not got them and consequently do not know much about them. However, the Government has taken a stand. Sir James Whitney's attitude is that while English should be made the language of the schools as far as practicable, and while every child should receive an English education, we are not against the French-Canadians and Germans having their children started in their mother-tongue as a means to an end, and having their

mother-tongue taught in the schools as a subject when so desired by trustees representing the people of the school section."

But this was not all. Speaking at Hawkesbury on the 4th December, he is reported to have said:

"The Hon. Prime Minister (Sir James Whitney) said to me: 'Go and tell the electors of that district (Prescott) that the teaching of the French language will not be abolished in the Province of Ontario.'"

The Government appealed for support in the English-speaking sections of the province on the basis of Mr. Foy's statement, and in the French-speaking sections on the basis of Mr. Reaume's statement.

After the publication of Dr. Merchant's report, public sentiment demanded action, and after the adjournment of the House for the session of 1912, the Government issued the new regulations dealing with the English-French schools. The Hon. the Provincial Treasurer, has gone up and down this country telling the people what a courageous and valiant Government we had, and that they were going to stand by the regulations they issued. He proclaimed this in North Grey, he had scarce died away before the Government changed their ground and quietly issued modified regulations, regulations which have called forth such indignant protests from many Conservative papers and from the Orange Lodges in the province. Is it any wonder that they are protesting? They feel they have been deceived. The Government has broken faith with them and entirely failed to carry out the pledge made by the Attorney-General before the election. Is it any wonder that the French Canadians are dissatisfied with the Government? The Government has also broken faith with them. They had not only the pledge of the Minister of Public Works, made on behalf of the Government before the election, but they also had the statements of the Minister and other members of the Government to rely on.

#### Some Government Quotations.

In a pamphlet issued by the French-Canadian Educational Association, they set out representations and statements made by the various members of the Government, among others the following:—

The Hon. Frank Cochrane, representing Sir James Whitney at the Civic Reception tendered the French-Canadian

Congress at Ottawa on the 19th of January, 1910, stated:

"The Government will not cease to work for the improvement of provincial schools, in a way to give better recognition of the needs and aspirations of the English and French population.... I have done much towards opening the first bilingual training school in New Ontario, and I wish to say to the French-Canadians that they can rely on me."

Speaking at the banquet given the French-Canadian Congress at Ottawa on the 20th January, 1910, Mr. Cochrane also stated:

"The French-Canadians can reckon upon my sympathy and my support as well as upon the spirit of justice of the Government which I have the honor to represent."

The Hon. Adam Beck, in a speech delivered at Ottawa on January 19th, 1910, said:

"I join with the Hon. Frank Cochrane in vouching that French-Canadian claims will always be favorably received by the Government."

After the General Election, the Deputy Minister of Education, upon instructions from the Prime Minister, wrote the following letter:--

Toronto, Jan. 25th, 1912.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Prime Minister, Sir James Whitney, to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 21st, and to state that no change has been made in the school law or in the department regulations affecting the study of the French language in the schools.

I am directed to point out that the question is one entirely under the control of the Board of Trustees.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) A. H. W. COLQUHOUN.

Deputy Minister of Education.

Rev. A. M. Chaine,  
Arnprior, Ont.

All parties have been deceived by the Government, and all are naturally and justifiably dissatisfied. How can the people of this province hope to secure the solution of a great and difficult problem at the hands of men whom none of the parties feel they can trust?

## HISTORY OF BILINGUAL SCHOOLS.

The question of English-French schools is not a new one, and has called for consideration by the Educational Authorities of Ontario for over sixty years.

It came up in an acute form under the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat, and the following statement of Sir Oliver shows the spirit in which the Government undertook to deal with the matter:—

“In dealing with these schools, in order to raise them to a higher standard and to secure a satisfactory teaching of English in them, time must be allowed and patience must be exercised. For many years the French people were allowed to conduct their schools in their own way, no exception being taken thereto, either by the Education Department or by the public. Special provisions were made to secure French teachers for them; and French text-books were authorized for schools. They have lived for a long period in the localities where they are found, enjoying the use of their native language. They are strongly attached to it. It is the language of their fathers, and the language used in their homes and spoken by their children. It is natural that they should cherish it with affection, and desire their children to acquire a knowledge of it. If the schools are dealt with justly, and with due considerations for the feelings of the people, we believe that within a reasonable time they will be raised to a degree of efficiency that will be satisfactory both the English and the French people.”

The problem was being steadily worked out when the present Government came into power and bungled the situation. There can be no satisfactory solution of the problem at the hands of a Government which appears to have no real convictions on the matter, but is solely concerned with votes. It needs for its solution, courage, patience, sympathy and broad, far-seeing statesmanlike qualities. Judged by past experience, no one need expect to find these qualities displayed by the present Government in dealing with this question.

### 5. THE UNIVERSITY.

Under the legislation providing for the re-organization of the Provincial University, the annual appropriations for the

University have been taken out of the hands of the Legislative Assembly, and are dealt with by the Board of Governors of the University and the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.

The University is the property of the Province of Ontario, and any expenditures or obligations incurred by the Board of Governors in the performance of their duties under the law, constitute in the last analysis, obligations of the province, and the province must provide for them. This being the situation, particularly in view of the fact that the Government has taken out of the hands of the House control of the expenditure, a peculiar obligation must rest upon the Government to see that the expenditures of the University do not exceed the revenues, or if, in the public interests they should exceed the revenues, that the moneys are provided to meet these expenditures. The Government has completely failed to do either.

Sir Edmund Walker, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Toronto University, more than a year ago publicly stated that the University was facing a financial crisis. This statement has since been publicly repeated.

It is undoubtedly a fact that the unsatisfactory condition of the finances of the University has been presented by the Board of Governors to the Government, and the Government was fully seized of the situation before Sir Edmund Walker made any public announcement. What is the position disclosed by Sir Edmund Walker? The University, with its present staff on their present scale of stipend, is now running behind in its account between \$80,000 to \$90,000 per annum; and the public have been assured that it is essential both to increase the staff, if the work is to be properly attended to, and also to increase the stipend of many of the men on the staff, if first-class men are to be retained to the province in connection with our provincial University.

Sir Edmund Walker has also stated that they need for new buildings no less than \$1,400,000, and that part of this money has already been pledged with the sanction and approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council—one instance being \$100,000 towards the new gymnasium, and students' building, which is now in the course of erection.

#### **Government Denied Knowledge.**

What was the position of the Government during the present Session in the face of these serious statements by the Chairman of the Board of Governors? The Minister of Educa-

tion denied that he had any knowledge of the situation until the public statement made by the Chairman of the Board of Governors, and he had no opinion to express upon it. Could there have been a greater confession of incompetence than this? It was the duty of the Government to have made up its mind to one of two courses, either to intimate to the Board of Governors that they must cut down the expenditure to come within their income, or to ask the Legislature to provide the additional funds to meet the obligations which the Board of Governors is incurring. But the Government had not the courage to do either. They put through a vote to provide for the deficit of last year, but they made no provision for the deficit for the year ending 31st of October, 1914, although the House has voted the Main Supplementary and the Further Supplementary Estimates for this year. They made no provision for the obligations which the Board of Governors had incurred for new buildings, although some of these obligations had already been approved by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The utmost the Government had to suggest was that they might appoint a Commission to investigate the whole matter. The Western University of London, and the Queen's at Kingston have also been pressing the Government for a declaration of their policy with reference to these two Universities, particularly as to financial assistance. Here again the Government has shirked the issue, and is temporizing with the whole question. A review of the university situation abundantly confirms the opinion expressed of the administrator of education by the "Kingston Standard."

"He seems to lack both administrative and executive ability:"

**It is time for a change.**

# FINANCE

The estimated expenditure for the current fiscal year of over twenty-two millions of dollars has aroused the attention of the people of Ontario to the reckless and wasteful manner in which the present Government has been handling the finances of the province.

Those who are interested in the public affairs of the province will recall the fact that when the Liberal Government was in power, the members of the present Government severely criticized the Liberal administration for extravagance in public expenditure, and complained that it was costing entirely too much to run the Government. What should be said of their method of handling the finances of the country?

The total expenditure for the year 1904, as shown in the public accounts was \$5,267,453; the total expenditure for the year 1913, as shown in the public accounts was \$16,091,942.90. If we deduct from this the Capital Expenditure on the T. & N. O. Railway, amounting to \$950,000.00, it still leaves us with an expenditure for the year of \$15,141,942.90. The estimates for the years 1913-14 as adopted by the House are as follows:—

Main and Supplementary .....	\$11,263,711.15
Further Supplementary .....	6,174,027.55

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17,437,738.70

If we add Statutory Expenditure (taking the figures for 1913) ...	4,694,677.79
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Total Estimated Expenditure .. \$22,132,416.49

The Statutory Expenditure for 1914 will almost certainly be substantially in excess of the expenditure for 1913, for on the one item alone of interest on the public debt, the amount will be substantially larger than in the year 1913; but to be conservative, the figures for the year 1913 have been taken.

If, therefore, the Government expends all the money it has called upon the Legislature to vote, the province will face this year the enormous expenditure of over \$22,000,000.

### Net Amount Enormous.

This estimated expenditure includes, however, two important public utilities, which should be treated in a different manner from the other expenditures as they should be revenue producing. The estimated Capital Expenditure for the Hydro-Electric for the current year is \$4,835,000.00; the estimated Capital Expenditure for the T. & N. O. Railway is something less than \$1,000,000.00. But putting it at a million dollars, it gives us for these two public utilities an estimated Expenditure of \$5,835,000.00. Deducting these two amounts from the total estimated expenditure, it leaves an estimated expenditure for the other public purposes of the province of \$16,297,416.49, compared with a public expenditure in the year 1904 of \$5,267,453.00.

When the Liberals came into power in the year 1872, the total public expenditure of the province was \$2,522,000.00, or about \$1.50 per head of the then population. In 1904 it had increased to \$5,267,453.00, or a total increase in 32 years of \$2,745,453.00, or \$85,795.40 average increase per year—an increase of about \$1 per head of the population.

Upon the basis of the estimates of 1914, and leaving out Capital Expenditures on the T. & N. O. Railway and the Hydro-Electric, the expenditure of the province has increased in ten years \$11,029,963.49, or an average of \$1,102,996.35 per year, compared with \$85,795.40 per year under the Liberal Government.

Even if one takes from the expenditure of the last ten years the Capital Expenditure for the T. & N. O. Railway and the Hydro-Electric system, the expenditure by the Conservative Government during that period shows an immense increase over the corresponding expenditures for the preceding 10 years.

### COMPARATIVE STATEMENT.

Year Ending:	Liberal Expenditure.
31 Dec. 1895 .....	\$3,758,595
“ 1896 .....	3,703,380
“ 1897 .....	3,767,676
“ 1898 .....	3,803,081
“ 1899 .....	3,710,421
“ 1900 .....	4,003,729
“ 1901 .....	4,038,834

31 Dec.	1902	.....	4,345,004
"	1903	.....	4,888,953
"	1904	.....	5,267,453
Total for 10 years .....			<u>\$41,287,126</u>
Average for 10 years .....			<u>\$4,128,712</u>

#### Conservative Expenditure.

Year Ending:			
31 Dec.	1905	.....	\$6,932,181
"	1906	.....	8,592,465
"	1907	.....	10,143,575
"	1908	.....	11,010,368
31 Oct.	1909*	.....	7,545,241
"	1910	.....	12,581,530
"	1911	.....	13,903,208
"	1912	.....	13,887,601
"	1913	.....	16,091,943
"	1914**	.....	22,132,416
Total for 10 years .....			<u>\$122,830,528</u>
Average for 10 years .....			<u>\$12,283,053</u>
*Ten Months.			**Estimated.

#### Conservative Expenditure Excluding Capital Expenditures on T. & N. O. Ry. and Hydro Electric.

Year Ending:			
31 Dec.	1905	.....	\$5,396,017
"	1906	.....	6,720,178
"	1907	.....	7,714,246
"	1908	.....	8,705,387
31 Oct.	1909*	.....	6,430,386
"	1910	.....	9,676,073
"	1911	.....	11,132,186
"	1912	.....	12,197,496
"	1913	.....	13,780,535
"	1914**	.....	16,297,416
Total for 10 years .....			<u>\$98,049,920</u>
Average for 10 years .....			<u>\$9,804,992</u>
*Ten Months.			**Estimated.

Is it any wonder that in view of this enormous increase in public expenditure, the Government finds itself compelled to resort to new taxation, and to borrow millions of money to meet the expenditure of the province?

During the last session of the Legislature the Government took authority to borrow eight millions of dollars, and the Provincial Treasurer, in introducing the bill, announced to the House that he expected this sum would be necessary to carry the Government through to another session, when another borrowing bill could be introduced.

#### Gladstone on Finance.

Gladstone was Great Britain's greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his greatness was nowhere more strikingly manifested than in his keen appreciation of the relation of public expenditure to the welfare of the people; and he frequently reminded the House of Commons of the mischiefs of the "spirit of expenditure." He said in the House of Commons: "I mean this, that together with the so-called increase of expenditure, there grows up what may be termed a spirit of expenditure, a desire, a tendency, prevailing in the country, which, insensibly and unconsciously perhaps, but really, affects the spirit of the people, the spirit of parliament, the spirit of the public departments, and perhaps even the spirit of those whose duty it is to submit the estimates to parliament." He was deeply convinced, he said and kept saying, "that all excess in the public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste but a great political, and above all, a great moral evil. It is a characteristic of the mischiefs that arise from financial prodigality that they creep onwards with a noiseless and stealthy step, that they commonly remain unseen and unfelt until they have reached a magnitude absolutely overwhelming." Men who 10 years ago predicted direct taxation with provincial expenditure of a little over \$5,000,000 have now plunged the Province into an expenditure of 3 or 4 times as much.

This spirit of expenditure has certainly taken possession of the present government. They have been wasting the peoples' substance of which they are Trustees, and which it is their bounden duty to safeguard and protect.

### Some Definite Examples:

A few illustrations are sufficient to show how the public money of the province is being wasted:

#### Government House.

When the Conservative Party in this province was in opposition, it advocated the abolition of all further public expenditure on Government House; but when they get into power the spirit of expenditure apparently having taken possession of them, they are in the process of spending a sum probably substantially in excess of one million dollars on a new Government House. (For particulars, see chapter dealing with Government House). This expenditure has been properly described as a "sheer, wanton waste of public money."

**2. Statute Revision.**—The revision of the Statutes under Sir Oliver Mowat in the year 1887 cost the province, including printing, \$79,942.25, and occupied a period of two years; the revision of the Statutes in the year 1897, under the premiership of the Hon. A. S. Hardy, cost the province \$76,935.01, including printing, and occupied less than two years; the revision of the Statutes under the Government of Sir James Whitney, will cost the province, on the information furnished by the Government during the present session about \$273,354.32, and has taken from the 23rd June, 1906, down to about the month of February, 1914, or a period of nearly eight years. It has cost the province more than three times as much to get the statutes revised under the Government of Sir James Whitney as it did under either of the prior Liberal administrations. Some of the items of this enormous and wasteful expenditure are not without interest.

For instance a return tabled before the Legislature on March 29, 1912, shows that up to that date the lunches of the various Commissioners amounted to an expenditure of \$6,150.95. In addition, the luxury of taxicabs and other cab hire for the Commissioners was provided, to the cost of \$327.25.

**3. Guelph Prison Farm.**—The new prison farm at Guelph will accommodate 500 prisoners; under pressure they might accommodate a few more. The total estimated expenditure for building and plant complete is \$1,343,777.81. Of this amount Mr. Armstrong, the Deputy Minister, stated that the sum of \$25,000 or thereabouts should be deducted in respect of expenditures which were properly applicable to other pro-

vinoial institutions, leaving the total estimated expenditure \$1,318,777, for lands, building and plant complete, or a capital expenditure of over \$2,500 for each prisoner. In other words, the capital expenditure for each prisoner is much more than the cost of most working men's houses in this province, and many good farms in the province can be secured for the capital necessary to make provision for two prisoners.

While all are interested in the work of Prison Reform and approve of its humanitarian character, apparently the spirit of expenditure has entered into this department of the public service as well as is evidenced by the above figures.

**4. Colonization Roads.**—All interested in the development of the new parts of the province will approve of the expenditure of the sums necessary to provide roads for the settlers and to open up properly the newer parts of the province. The difficulty with the present Government is that thousands of dollars of public moneys are being expended not so much for making roads as for making votes.

The present system of public expenditure on Colonization Roads, putting into the hands of the sitting member the power to farm out these expenditures as a means of securing political support, is providing a large corruption fund at public expense to aid Government candidates.

The whole system should be remodelled and the expenditure systematized, and either carried out under municipal authority where the are municipal authorities, or where there are none, in such a way as will secure the construction of a system of good roads for the benefit of the settlers regardless of political conditions or how the individual settlers choose to vote. Even in the case of expenditures under by-law where the Township does the work itself subject to Government supervision, the Government endeavors to insist that no one shall have employment unless he be a political supporter.

**5. Pembroke Lumber Company Deal.**—Payment of \$185,000 to political supporters of the Government for the extinction of their rights under licenses to cut timber issued between 60 and 70 years ago; limits which have been lumbered over during this period.

If there has been such reckless and wanton waste of public money in these public works, as is illustrated in the expenditure on Government House and on the Statute Revision, where the facts are known, and the public can see for themselves, it is but reasonable to infer that similar if not greater waste will be found in the expenditures which are not so easily

discovered and examined into. (For further information re Pembroke Lumber Co'y. Deal see separate section on that subject.

### Comparison Revenues and Expenditures.

How are these enormous public expenditures to be met? Fortunately for the province, owing to its growth and development and the increase in wealth of its citizens, the revenues of the province have steadily increased; and under the new arrangements for Federal subsidy worked out between the several provinces while the Liberals were in power and given effect to by the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the revenues received by way of subsidy from the Dominion Government have also greatly increased.

In view of the great excess of expenditure over revenues during recent years only two courses were open to the Government:

(1) New Taxes, so as to increase substantially the revenues; or

(2) Borrowing on the public credit.

The Government has sought to stave off the day of reckoning by making large borrowings year after year, and during the present session of the legislature they were compelled to impose increased taxation, as well as to increase the borrowings of the province.

No one will seriously question the borrowing by the province of the money necessary to build the T. & N. O. Railway and the Hydro-Electric Power system, and a very substantial part of the debt of the province in the year 1904 consisted of moneys borrowed to aid in the construction of the T. & N. O. Railway, and large sums have been since borrowed to extend it as well as to construct the Hydro-Electric. But these necessary and proper public borrowings only emphasize the importance of prudence and economy in the administration of the other revenues, so as to secure the very best results for the province.

Another illustration of the growing expenditure under the present Government is the increasing cost of the public service. Electors will remember how the members of the present Government when in opposition denounced the Liberal administration for what they claimed was the herd of officials feeding at the public trough, and how public money was being wasted in employing so many officials. This Government has been continually increasing them; and while no one should

reasonably object to proper increases in salaries to public servants who are honestly and efficiently discharging their duties, there is every ground to protest against wasteful extravagance in these departments, such as in the expenditures above enumerated.

To Illustrate:

#### Cost of Civil Government.

1904 . . . . .	\$344,000.00
1913 . . . . .	720,000.00
1914	
Estimated . . . . .	\$831,000.00
Statutory (on basis of 1913) . . . . .	55,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$886,000.00

What justification can the Government show for this enormous increase in public expenditure for the inside officials of the Government of the province, more than 2 1-2 times what it was ten years ago?

#### Legislation.

1904 . . . . .	\$200,000.00
1913 . . . . .	302,000.00
1914 (estimated) . . . . .	332,000.00

Is the work of legislation better done to-day than it was ten years ago? The public know that it is not nearly so carefully done.

#### Administration of Justice.

1904 . . . . .	\$482,000.00
1913 . . . . .	715,934.00
1914 (estimated) . . . . .	853,000.00

Is justice better administered to-day than in 1904? Everybody knows the dissatisfaction with the administration of justice in the province.

#### Expenditure in Crown Lands.

1904 . . . . .	\$286,000.00
1913 . . . . .	582,000.00
1914 . . . . .	759,000.00

These are the outside officials of the Crown Lands Department.

These are but a few of many illustrations that might be given of the enormous increase in the expenditure under the present Government.

The following statement taken from the Public Accounts shows the growth in the Public Debt of the province under the present Government:—

<b>Public Debt.</b>	
1904	..... \$11,709,651
1905	..... 13,161,939
1906	..... 15,041,986
1907	..... 14,986,567
1908	..... 17,282,592
1909	..... 20,668,031
1910	..... 22,083,430
1911	..... 24,765,923
1912	..... 27,580,538
1913	..... 32,287,229
1914	..... (If the Government expends during the present year the amount which the Provincial Treasurer has estimated they should borrow, the public debt at the end of the year 1914, will be in the neighborhood of \$41,000,000, an increase in 10 years of approximately \$30,000,000).

#### **Thrift is Spendthrifts.**

The trouble with the present Government appears to be that they consider the test of their financial success, the amount of money they have expended or wasted, and they seek to glory in the amount expended as an illustration of their capacity to handle the country's finances. That is a characteristic of the spendthrift—his happiness consists in spending or wasting money.

The position of the Liberals is that the only proper tests are:—

- (1) Is the expenditure necessary for the proper development of the province?
- (2) Is the Government getting a dollar's worth for every dollar expended?

No one would object to needful public expenditure for useful public services if these tests were properly applied. The

protest of the Liberals is not against necessary public expenditures or useful public services, but against extravagant and wasteful expenditures, not needed for the public service of the province, and for which the Province is not receiving value in return.

### New Taxes.

The new taxes imposed this session will place a substantial additional burden on those inheriting estates, and the Government expects from this new source of revenue it will realize about \$500,000 per year. The increased tax on Banks, Insurance Companies, Street Railways and other financial and public service corporations, will bring in possibly another \$500,000 per year. But this increased taxation will not nearly meet the increased expenditure. To illustrate, take the present year. The total estimated revenue for the present year, as per statement submitted by the Provincial Treasurer to the House, is \$9,793,378.88. The total estimated revenue for the present year from the new taxation is \$700,000, making a total estimated income for the present year of \$10,493,378.

As already pointed out, the estimated expenditure for the year is over \$22,000,000 so that even after taking into consideration the total estimated income, there is an estimated deficit for the current year of nearly \$12,000,000. That is assuming the Government spends the money it has taken authority to spend, and its income does not exceed the estimated income furnished to the House by the Provincial Treasurer.

Even if we deduct from this amount the Capital Expenditures on the Hydro-Electric and the T. & N. O. Railway, amounting approximately to \$5,835,000, we have an estimated deficit for the year of \$6,165,000.

Has not the time come for the people of the province to protest against this method of managing the country's finances?

### Direct Taxation.

At this rate of expenditure there is only one possible result, namely, Direct Taxation upon the people of the province. Apparently the Government has increased the Succession Duties and Corporation Tax at the present time as much as they think they properly can. They are borrowing millions of dollars which must be paid back, and the interest of which must be borne by the people.

How is the province to meet the present financial situation? Are the people prepared to continue such a spendthrift Government in power, which neither proposes to put an end to extravagance in expenditure nor to provide adequate revenues to meet it?

The people of this province are to-day facing direct taxation. The Government is seeking to conceal this fact from them. This explains why it has been impossible during the last two sessions of the legislature to obtain a full and frank statement from the Provincial Treasurer of the total estimated expenditure for the year, and of how he proposes to meet that expenditure. It also explains the difficulty of getting the Provincial Treasurer, in presenting his estimates to the House, to give to the House and to the people of the province the information necessary to enable them to see at once what the Government's expenditures involve.

#### Legislature Loses Control.

The Government has seriously departed from sound constitutional principles in dealing with the finances of the province. It is seeking, year after year, by special legislation, to withdraw from the control of the people's representatives the expenditure of large sums of public money and providing for the expenditure of these sums under Order-in-Council. When the Government decided to expend \$5,000,000 for development purposes in Northern Ontario, instead of asking the House each year to vote the moneys necessary for this work, and giving to the House the time the vote was asked the information showing the districts where the money was to be expended, and the object for which the expenditure was to be made, the Government put through an Act under which they withdrew from the control of the legislature the whole expenditure of this money and put it under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. If there is one cardinal principle of sound finance in countries where British institutions are established, it is that the elected representatives of the people control the purse-strings, and determine how public moneys are to be expended. In defiance of this long-established and well settled constitutional principle, the Government has taken this power into its own hands.

That serious and grave abuses have already arisen in the management of the funds of the province, under this system, was clearly demonstrated this present session in connection

with the handling by the Government of the \$5,000,000 Northern Ontario Loan Fund.

The Deputy Assistant Provincial Treasurer, Mr. C. H. Sproule, was called by the Liberals to give testimony before the Public Accounts Committee in reference to the manner in which the Government had dealt with this fund, and Mr. Sproule produced under oath the following statement showing the record of this fund in the books of the Government.

**Sproule's Statement.**

**STOCK AND TREASURY BILLS ISSUED UNDER  
AUTHORITY OF 2 GEO. V. CAP. 2.**

1912 .....	£200,000	\$ 973,333.33 3	\$ 954,101.62
.....	100,000	486,666.66 6	476,895.93
1913, Feb. 13	£20,547-18-11	100,000.00 2	100,000.00
July 30 ..	400,000	1,946,666.66 6	1,887,989.77
Sept. 3 ...	200,000	973,333.33 3	943,851.40
	<u>£920,547-18-11</u>	<u>\$4,480,000.00</u>	<u>\$4,362,838.72</u>

**Expenditure for Northern Ontario Development to  
November 1st, 1913.**

To November 1, 1912 .....	\$236,833.57
To February 14, 1913 .....	239,746.32
To July 1, 1913 .....	443,181.05
To August 1, 1913 .....	543,899.45
To September 4, 1913 .....	944,616.97
To November 1, 1913 .....	<u>1,300,489.12</u>

Expenditure for other services included in Estimates for 1912 and 1913 .....	\$3,062,349.12
	<u>\$4,362,838.72</u>

Upon this statement Mr. Sproule was examined by Mr. Bowman, and the following are extracts from Sproule's examination:—(p. 188).

Q. I see "stock and treasury bills issued under authority of 2 Geo. V, Cap. 2.

A. That is simply a record of the transactions as they appear in our books and the public accounts and you can make

what disposition you choose of them. The following extract from the evidence of Mr. Sproule is both interesting and illuminating:—

Q. The proceeds of the first sale in 1912—the first amount sold amounted to \$954,101.62. That is correct?

A. Yes.

Q. And the proceeds of the second sale in 1912 were \$476,895.93?

A. The total of these two would be \$1,430,997.55.

Q. The amount expended to the end of the fiscal year of 1912 was \$236,833.57?

A. Yes.

#### Some Queer Financing.

(If we deducted the amount expended from the proceeds of the loan we find the government had on hand of this fund \$1,194,163.98. With this large sum on hand to the credit of this account, what possible object could the Government have in making further borrowing under this Statute? This was one of the things the Liberals tried to find out.)

Q. Can you tell me what purpose was served as far as the Treasury Department was concerned in selling more securities when there was a large unexpended balance at that date?

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Sproule cannot answer that.

A. No; the Treasurer had better answer that.

Mr. Chairman: These funds were for general purposes.

Mr. Bowman: What is meant by general services?

A. Expenditure on other services included in the estimates of 1912-13.

Mr. G. Howard Ferguson, the Chairman, endeavored to prevent Mr. Sproule from answering the question, as he later prevented him from answering a great many others, but Mr. Bowman succeeded in securing from him the frank statement which already appeared in the extract from the books produced by him, that the additional borrowings were not for the purpose of this fund at all, although borrowed under the statute for the fund, but for other public services included in the estimates of 1912-13.

The Chairman and other Conservative members of the Committee recognized the damaging character of this admission, and that while there was a large surplus in the treasury, the proceeds of the sale of securities under the act, 2 Geo. V. Chap. 2 (commonly referred to as the Northern On-

tario Development Fund), the Government had parted with these securities, not for the purpose authorized by the act, but had diverted the securities and the funds to entirely different purposes; and they sought to get the Assistant Provincial Treasurer to say that the transaction was all right.

Mr. Bowman: The total expenditure on Northern Ontario development on the 1st November, 1913, was \$1,300,489.12. The total net proceeds of all the securities in the shape of stock or treasury bills issued under the authority of 2 Geo. V. Chap. 2 was \$4,362,838.72. So that the difference between the amount expended on Northern Ontario Development and the net proceeds would amount to \$3,062,349.60—might I understand—do you consider that money all expended?

A. That is all expended, yes.

#### What Will New Ontario Do?

The position of the Assistant Provincial Treasurer cannot be challenged. The Government, with authority to borrow \$5,000,000 for Northern Ontario Development, has borrowed with securities to the amount of approximately 4 1-2 millions, and has diverted the proceeds to other purposes to the extent of over \$3,000,000; and either Northern and Northwestern Ontario will not get this \$3,000,000 which has been diverted from its proper use, or the Government must pass new legislation and borrow more money to recoup this fund for the benefit of Northern Ontario.

If there had been such a juggling with the finances of this province under the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat or his successors, such a cry would have been raised from one end of the country to the other, as would have forced the retirement of the Provincial Treasurer and every member of the Government who had knowledge of or was responsible for such a misapplication of the securities of the Province of Ontario.

If any municipal Treasurer, authorized by by-law, to raise money for one public purpose, such as for sewers in the town, or some public building in the town, had upon receiving the money so raised, misapplied it and used it for the general purposes of the municipality, would not he have been dismissed from office, and all members of the municipal council who approved or condoned his conduct have forfeited their seats at the approaching election? Will the electors of this province condone such mismanagement of the finances of the province? The disclosures made during the present session in the

Public Accounts Committee, notwithstanding the efforts of the Chairman to block investigation, should be sufficient to defeat the Government.

The Liberal Opposition in the House voiced their protest against the mismanagement of the finances of the province in the following resolution:—

“This house disapproves of and protests against (1) the presentation to the House by the Hon. the Provincial Treasurer of financial statements which do not fairly set forth the real character of the financial transactions of the Government; (2) the extravagant and wasteful expenditure on the new Government House, when important public services such as Education and Agriculture are in great need of further funds; (3) the vicious system of raising moneys on the credit of the province for particular purposes authorized by the Legislature, and then applying these trust funds to other purposes—as illustrated by the use during the year 1913 of over \$600,000 raised for Northern Ontario for other purposes.”

All the members of the Government side voted against this resolution.

#### Misleading Financial Statements.

In addition to the moneys improperly withdrawn from the control of the legislature, of which the Northern Ontario Development Fund is an illustration, there are certain expenditures under statute—and necessarily made under statute—such as interest on the public debt, which constitutes a first charge upon the Consolidated Revenue Fund. The Provincial Treasurer always submits to the House a financial statement showing the estimated receipts and expenditures for the current year's finances. This was a clerical error in the resolution and should have been \$3,000,000. This information goes out to the country for the information of the public.

It has been the uniform practice of the Finance Minister at Ottawa since Confederation to show in the estimates of expenditure in parallel columns, the amounts to be voted by the House and the amount voted by statute, so that an examination of the estimates brought down to the House would show the total estimated expenditure for the current year, and a comparison might thus be made between the total estimated expenditure and the total estimated receipts for the year.

When the public debt was of small amount, and the expenditure under statute was not large, the matter was not of such vital moment. But when the statutory expenditure has risen to the enormous sum of between four and five millions of dollars—a sum almost equal to the total general expenditure

of the province when the present Government came into power, it is essential, to any proper understanding of the country's finances that the statutory expenditure should be shown.

When the present Government came into power, even when the statutory expenditure was small, compared with the present, in the first or second financial statement presented by the Hon. Mr. Matheson, he showed that there was this additional amount of statutory expenditure to be taken into account; but as the public expenditure mounted up and the statutory expenditure steadily increased, apparently, unwilling to let the electors have full knowledge of the situation, the Government discontinued giving this information, and to-day the estimates presented to the House, which profess to be estimates of expenditure for the year, are not only untrue, but are out to the extent of the total statutory expenditure. The Liberals in the House have sought to rectify this so as to secure for the people of the Province a fair, candid and honest statement, and they submitted to the House the following resolution, which was voted down by the Government and everyone of their supporters:—

"In view of the fact that the financial statements and estimates presented to the House by the Government are so incomplete that it is not possible for the members of the House to properly estimate the total expenditure for the year, this House should not be called upon to vote further supply until the Government lays before the House a fuller statement of the total estimated expenditure for the current year, particularly the statutory expenditure, which for the year 1913 amounted to \$4,694,676.79, in order that the members of the House will see what will be the prospective deficit on the year's financial operations."

**Has not the time come to change the management of the finances of the Province?**

# HYDRO-ELECTRIC

## HYDRO RADIALS.

### Importance of Radials.

No question is of more urgent moment to the people of Ontario than that of improved transportation both for the urban and rural sections of the Province. Good radial railways would help the cities, first, by permitting the working men to get away from the crowded centres, and live where they can get cheaper land, and have plenty of room for garden plots. This would be a good thing for them, particularly for their families, and it would cheapen the cost of living; it would help relieve the congestion of population, which is becoming one of the most serious problems of our cities. It would also help all classes of citizens to find homes for themselves away from the crowded thoroughfares of the city. It would help the cities by increasing the facilities for the transportation of the food products of the farm to the cities, and would bridge the gulf between producer and consumer. It would mean better prices to the producer and lower prices to the consumer. It would benefit the rural communities by giving them more convenient and speedy access to the market towns as well as to the cities, not only for themselves but also for the products of their farms, and would greatly improve the conditions of rural life.

The question of radial railways has been more or less discussed in this province for some years, more particularly during the past five years. In the year 1909 the "Globe" conducted an investigation through Mr. Stewart Lyon, its present Associate Editor, into the development and operation of the radial railways in the United States, and the result of this investigation was published in a series of articles in the "Globe" during that year, which to-day constitute one of the most valuable sources of information for all interested in radial railway development.

### A Liberal Motion.

The development of the Hydro-Electric Power System has given a new impetus to the movement for radial railways, and

in the year 1913 the Liberal opposition through Mr. Marshall, member for Monck, presented to the House the following Resolution dealing with the conservation of our water powers, the extension of the Hydro-Electric System to the farms of the Province and the development of the System of the Hydro-Electric Radial Railways:—

"1. This House approves of this policy of the Province retaining control over the water powers of the Province, in order thereby to assist in securing the benefits of cheap electric power for all sections of the Province.

2. That the conditions of farm life would be substantially improved if the farmers of the Province could secure the benefit of electric power and light in connection with the operation of their farms on a satisfactory financial basis, and that it is the duty of the Government to promote so far as practicable, the extension of power and light services throughout the rural sections of the Province by rendering assistance to rural as well as urban municipalities which desire to secure cheap power.

3. That cheap and convenient electric railway transportation facilities are one of the most urgent needs of many rural sections and towns of the Province, and it is the duty of the Government to assist, so far as practicable, in the development of these transportation facilities.

4. That this house will view with satisfaction prompt and vigorous prosecution of these objects by the Government and the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of this Province."

This Resolution was the first definite action taken in the Legislature by either party towards the promotion or development of the Hydro Radial Railway System. The Government held over the discussion of this Resolution for some weeks, and finally called upon their followers to vote it down, and the Liberal Opposition tried, but tried in vain to secure from the Government any statement of their intentions with reference to the matter.

#### Mr. Beck's Stand.

It was well known that the Honorable Adam Beck was at this time strongly in favor of the movement for the development of radial railways, and was no doubt urging the Government to take action, but he was apparently unable to convince his colleagues; hence the Government's action in voting down the Resolution. The Liberal Opposition kept up this pressure on the Government to take action, and just before the House closed for the year 1913 they introduced a bill to deal with the matter. The Liberals welcomed the introduction of this bill, but pointed out that it was quite inadequate to meet

the situation, and that legislation more radical and advanced in its character was necessary.

### **Liberals Again Lead.**

In view of the general expression of opinion throughout the Province in favor of immediate action on this important matter, the Liberals during the Session of 1914 again brought the matter to the attention of the Legislature, and Mr. Marshall submitted the following Resolution:—

“That in the opinion of this House, cheap and convenient electric railway transportation facilities is one of the most urgent needs in many rural sections and the towns of the Province, and this House is gratified to see the general movement among the municipalities of the Province to secure improved electric railway transportation facilities through the Hydro-Electric Power Commission. That this House views with satisfaction the prompt manner in which the question has been taken up by the Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, and would respectfully memorialize the Government of the Dominion of Canada to grant the Hydro-Electric Power Commission a subsidy in all respects equal to that granted to steam railways under the provisions of the Act governing the granting of subsidies to aid in the construction of railways.”

The Liberal members of the House felt it was only right and fair that the Legislature should recognize by Resolution the ability, energy and enthusiasm which Mr. Beck was throwing into the work of promoting the development of radial railways throughout the Province, and they, therefore, embodied such an expression of appreciation in the Resolution submitted by them to the House.

On this occasion Mr. Beck apparently was able to convince his colleagues of the desirability of co-operating in this important matter, and the Government accepted the principle of the Resolution submitted by the Liberals, but desired to change the form of the petition or request to the Dominion Government. They, therefore, moved to strike out the last clause of the Resolution commencing with the words, “and would respectfully memorialize,” and to substitute therefor the following:—

“and would respectfully urge upon the Dominion Government the importance of the question and the wisdom of encouraging the construction of Municipal Hydro-Electric Radial Railways, and that this House further respectfully urge upon the Dominion Government the great importance of co-operating with the Province in the development of the water powers created by

existing and projected canals and canals now under construction and capable of such development, by the utilization of the waters necessarily supplied thereto, and not required for navigation purposes."

While this amendment was less definite and less satisfactory than the specific provisions in the Liberal Resolution yet as the Liberals were in accord with the provisions of the amendment, it was accepted by them and unanimously passed by the House.

#### No Government Enthusiasm.

One of the significant incidents of the discussion in the House was that neither Mr. Hendrie nor Mr. McNaught would say anything whatever on the matter, and although urged by the Opposition could not be induced to state their position on Mr. Beck's Hydro Radial Railway proposals, nor would any member of the Government, except the Acting Premier, Mr. Foy, who said but a few words of a general character in favor of the Resolution. When the vote was taken, although carried unanimously, there was a significant absence of either enthusiasm or gratification on the part of the members of the Government or the men on the Government side of the House. Whether this was due to their disinclination to concur in the expression of appreciation of Mr. Beck's services, or due to lack of sympathy with the proposal and because they had only supported it because they could not see any way out, one could only surmise.

Later in the Session Mr. Beck introduced his new Hydro Radial Bill, which it is generally understood he had great difficulty in persuading his colleagues to accept. By the introduction of this new bill, the Government recognized that the Act of last Session was insufficient and unworkable, and that the Liberal criticism made on it at that time was sound. The new bill is much more advanced than the one of last Session, and was supported by the Opposition of the House. The Liberal policy is embodied in the Resolutions above set forth, and in the action taken by the Liberal members of the Legislature in endorsing and supporting the bill introduced by Mr. Beck.

#### HYDRO-ELECTRIC FOR THE FARMS.

In the Liberal platform of the year 1911, the policy of the Liberal party was set forth as follows:—

"One of the most important planks in the Rowell platform is that dealing with conservation. A part of that plank deals with control of water powers.

"The principle of the Government assisting municipalities to secure cheap power is a good one. But as applied to Niagara Falls it is a partial policy. Its benefits are confined to one section of the Province.

"The Rowell policy contemplates the extension of these benefits to the whole Province as rapidly as circumstances warrant. Niagara is not the only source of possible power supply in Ontario. It is only one of a number of sources. We should secure control of enough of these to bring the benefits of electrical energy, at cost, to other parts of Ontario. By controlling the sources of power the Province can control the cost of power for manufacturing; it can secure the placing of cheap power and cheap light within reach of the villages and farms of the Province; it can largely control the cost of transportation by ordinary electric railway as well as by the great trunk roads which in no long time will be using electrical energy for motive power.

During the whole period of the present Legislature, the Liberal party has endeavored to extend in every feasible way light, power and telephone services to the farms of the Province, and the following statement appearing in the Resolution introduced by Mr. Marshall in the year 1912 sets forth the Liberal position:—

"1. This House approves of the policy of the Province retaining control over the water powers of the Province, in order to thereby assist in securing the benefits of cheap electric power for all sections of the Province.

"2. That the conditions of farm life would be substantially improved if the farmers of the Province could secure the benefit of electric power and light in connection with the operation of their farms on a satisfactory financial basis, and that it is the duty of the Government to promote so far as practicable, the extension of power and light services throughout the rural sections of the Province by rendering assistance to rural as well as urban municipalities which desire to secure cheap power."

### HYDRO HISTORY.

In view of the claims so constantly made by Conservative members in the House and the Conservative press with reference to the Hydro Electric movement, it is interesting to note the history of this movement, written not from the Liberal standpoint, but written and published by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, from which the following is taken:—

"The public had, however, been watching with interest the development of power on the American side of the Niagara Falls. It had been claimed that the "white coal" of the Falls could be economically transmitted to supply the needs of 1,600,000 people in the Province of Ontario, out of a total population of 2,000,000, and the trend of public opinion was that this great national heritage should be conserved in the interests of the people.

"The first concrete step in line with this growing sentiment was the appointment of a Committee by the Toronto Board of Trade on the 25th of April, 1900, of which the Late Mr. W. E. H. Massey was Chairman. Their investigation, naturally, had specific reference to the needs of Toronto, and in the report submitted by that Committee it is significant to note the following words:—'Our hope for cheaper power is to bring the current from one of the great Niagara generating plants.' 'The Toronto Electric Light Company have signified their intention of bringing power from Niagara Falls, and the question arises whether or not Toronto, as a city, should control this proposed Niagara power connection.....' Public opinion, however, was gradually being aroused to the necessity of preserving this vast asset for the use of the people to whom it belonged, and in the early part of 1902 this found expression in several meetings of representatives of different cities in the Province, as well as those from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and Boards of Trade. . . .

"On June 9, 1902, a meeting of the manufacturers of mid-western Ontario was held in Berlin, at which were present representatives from Toronto, Galt, Guelph and a number of the surrounding towns, to confer respecting the best method of securing electric power for manufacturing purposes from Niagara Falls.

#### Commission Asked.

"The chief speaker was Alderman Spence of Toronto, who suggested that the municipalities 'should ask for the appointment of a Government Commission which would have the power to arrange for the transmission of electricity to the various municipalities desiring it. This Commission to issue its own bonds in payment of

transmission lines, which bonds would be covered by bonds of municipalities interested. Under this scheme the Government through a Commission would undertake the transmission to the municipalities desiring power, the latter guaranteeing by their bonds the cost, and selling in turn to all manufacturers at an even rate, preventing in this way the power from falling into the hands of any monopoly, and in this way securing to the industries of this Province advantage of cheap electrical power.'

"A representative of the Ontario Power Company who was present, stated that he believed power could be delivered in the manufacturing towns of mid-west Ontario at \$17.00 per year per horse-power, and urged immediate action as the price of copper had gone down to 13 cents a pound.

"A Committee was appointed to draft a practicable scheme and report to a convention of those interested at a later date.

"In July 1902, the matter was again taken up at a meeting of the municipal representatives held at Berlin, and W. B. Snyder, D. B. Detweiler and Ald. F. S. Spence were appointed a Committee to obtain information. This Committee prepared a report which was read at a meeting called at Berlin, 17th of February, 1903, which was attended by about 90 municipal and manufacturing representatives. The report stated that, after discussion with the officials of the various power companies, the Committee believed that power could possibly be obtained in large quantities at a price of about \$7.00 to \$8.00 per continuous horse-power per annum, delivered at Niagara Falls, or from \$14.00 to \$15.00 per horse-power delivered to the various municipalities. The report also recommended that prompt action be taken to obtain from the Legislature powers enabling municipalities to purchase and sell power, and to cooperate, to develop and transmit or distribute electrical energy, or to buy power and to sell and distribute the same to the several municipalities.

#### Appeal to Government.

"After discussion of the report, Mayor Urquhart of Toronto, submitted the following motion:—

"That we respectfully suggest and urge upon the Government of Ontario the advisability of the Government building and operating, as a Government work, lines for the transmission of electricity from Niagara Falls to the towns and cities of Ontario, or that they extend the powers of the present Niagara Falls Park Commission so that they may as a public work build and operate the necessary lines to transmit electric energy from Niagars Falls, and that for this purpose they be empowered to issue debentures which might be guaranteed by the Government, but which would be eventually paid out of the receipts from the sale of electrical energy, thus entailing no charge upon the Provincial funds, and that the municipalities here represented call their representatives in the Legislature to urge upon the Government to carry out this resolution." This was subsequently amended by leaving out all reference to the Park Commissioners. . . . .

"On the 27th of February, 1903, a committee waited upon the Government and were promised a measure giving the municipalities the right to transmit power from Niagara Falls, and to co-operate for that purpose. In furtherance of this promise, on the 12th of June, 1903, an Act was passed by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, entitled "An Act for the construction of municipal power works and the transmission, distribution and supply of electrical and other power and energy., (3 Edward VII. Chap. 25). . . . .

### Beck Begins His Fight.

"Acting under the powers given in the Act above recited, a meeting of the representatives of the seven municipalities chiefly interested was held in Toronto on the 12th of August, 1903; money was voted and a Commission formed, consisting of four prominent manufacturers of the Province, viz., Messrs. E. W. B. Snyder, Waterloo; Adam Beck, London; W. F. Cockshutt, Brantford; and P. W. Ellis, Toronto. Associated with them were Prof. Fessenden of Washington, D.C., an Electrical Engineer of international repute; R. A. Roas, Electrical Expert; and Henry Holgate, Hydranlic Expert, both of Montreal. This Commission prepared a very comprehensive report of some 76 pages, giving full information

upon the subject referred to, which was published under the date of March 28, 1906.

"The Lieutenant-Governor having, in the meantime, chosen new advisors, the Hon. Adam Beck, who, as a member of the first Commission, had experienced and appreciated the almost insurmountable difficulties attached to the grouping together of a number of municipalities for this specific purpose, took the matter up with the Government, of which he was a member, with the result that on the 5th day of July, 1905, a permanent Hydro-Electric Power Commission of the Province of Ontario was incorporated by the Legislature. (5 Edward VII. Chap. 19)."

#### **Movement Non-Political.**

From the foregoing, it will appear clear that the movement for Hydro-Electric power development was a movement by, and on behalf of the municipal and the business interests of the Province, and was entirely non-political in its origin. It is, however, interesting to note that the pioneers in this movement, whose names are so honorably mentioned in this history were all Liberals—Walter E. H. Massey, Ald. Spence, W. B. Snyder, D. B. Detweiler and Mayor Urquhart. It is of further interest to note that the Hon. Adam Beck came into the matter as a representative of the municipalities, and was appointed on the Commission under the Act passed by the Liberal Government in the year 1903.

The success of the Hydro-Electric movement has been due to the fact that it has been non-political in character, and has received the support of the public, both Liberals and Conservatives, as well as the press, both Liberal and Conservative, and its future success depends upon it being kept free from political manipulation in its management and development.

# GOOD ROADS

To secure the building up of a good roads system throughout Ontario by the issue of Provincial Bonds or by other assistance on an adequate scale, thereby facilitating traffic and ensuring quick delivery of farm and garden products," was one of the important planks in the Liberal platform in the general election of 1911. The Liberal party in the Legislature has not ceased to urge this policy upon the attention of the Government.

## HISTORY OF MOVEMENT.

To the Liberal Government of this Province is due the credit of initiating the Good Roads movement. The Ontario Government, realizing the importance of country roads as a factor in transportation, and recognizing their value to the farmer—making agriculture more profitable, farm life more agreeable, and increasing the value of farm property—in 1896 appointed an expert in roadmaking to the office of Provincial Highway Commissioner, now a branch of the Department of Public Works. With an annual expenditure aggregating three and one-half million dollars being made by municipalities of the Province on road construction and maintenance, the need for skilled direction of this large outlay, if only to prevent waste, was apparent.

This proposal to appoint a Provincial Highway Commissioner for the development of good roads was opposed by Mr. Whitney and his colleagues, and they moved to strike out the appropriation, the following being the Resolution:—

"Moved by Mr. Meacham and seconded by Mr. Magwood, 'that this House views with alarm the tendency of the Government to create new offices and is of the opinion that the office of Provincial Highway Commissioner with a salary of \$1,500, exclusive of expenses, is unnecessary and places an additional and useless burden on the Province.'"

The Liberal Government, however, not deterred by the opposition from Mr. Whitney and his colleagues proceeded with the movement and in the year 1901 such a process of education had been carried on throughout the Province under

the direction of Mr. Campbell that the Government felt justified in passing the Good Roads Act, by which \$1,000,000 was set apart to assist in the development of a system of good roads throughout the Province. When the Liberal Government went out of power, the present Government continued the work under the Legislation passed by their Liberal predecessors, and that legislation, with certain minor amendments, still remains in force.

The original vote of \$1,000,000 having been exhausted, further appropriations have since been made.

### **Need for Further Advance.**

After ten years' experience in operating under the Good Roads Act, it became apparent that a new and larger measure was urgently needed in order to secure a system of Good Roads in Ontario, hence the adoption by the Liberals in 1911 of the large and progressive policy above set forth. The importance of this policy to the people of the Province was emphasized by the Liberals throughout the entire campaign in the year 1911. Mr. Rowell's address at Bowmanville on November 20, 1911, indicates the Liberal position.

Mr. Rowell turned to the Government report and read from it: "It is generally conceded that comparing the progress in Ontario in road-building with that of other countries, the standard of roads is extremely low, and that what should be one of the greatest pleasures of farm life, a country drive, is too often a hardship. This is true in spite of the fact that we are spending large sums annually on the repair of these roads. During the past twenty years there has been spent on the township roads of Ontario by township Councils alone over \$19,000,000 in cash and over 22,000,000 days of statute labor, an aggregate exceeding in value \$40,000,000. It is true of the greater part of Ontario that the township roads are to-day little, if any, better than they were twenty years ago."

Assuming that to be a fact, declared the Liberal leader, then the time has come for another forward movement in connection with good roads. "A Liberal Government," he said, "started the agitation for good roads. A Liberal Government forwarded it, and a Liberal Administration, if you put us in power, will carry that movement forward on a still larger

scale to improve the roads of Ontario on a broad Provincial basis."

#### Relation of Automobiles.

"We all recognize," continued Mr. Rowell, "that all road-making countries have to deal with conditions, not theories. The effect of heavy automobile traffic is very serious upon the roads and their maintenance is a serious question. We have to recognize, too, that the automobiles are here to stay. That fact makes it more obligatory upon the legislators of the Province to render assistance to the municipalities in establishing and keeping up good roads notwithstanding the automobile traffic upon them. It is only right that the owners of automobiles should pay a special tax, the proceeds to be devoted to the maintenance of good roads."

#### The 1912 Proposals.

When the Legislature met in the year 1912, the following Resolution was introduced by Mr. Rowell, but was voted down by the Government:—

"1. That this House is of the opinion that a thorough system of good roads in this Province would increase the value of farm lands, lessen the cost of transportation, improve marketing facilities, increase the comfort and convenience of farm life, and generally promote the general progress and prosperity of the Province.

"2. That this House is gratified at the progress so far made in road improvement under the Highway Improvement Act, passed in 1901, but this House is of the opinion that the time has come for a more comprehensive and adequate policy to promote the construction of good roads throughout the Province, particularly roads leading to market towns.

"3. That this House has learned with satisfaction of the proposals of the Government of Canada to contribute out of its revenue towards the establishment of good roads in the several Provinces of Canada, and this House would respectfully represent to the Government of Canada that such contributions should be on a fixed basis, which would be fair to all the Provinces of Canada, and which would prevent the possibility of provincial political "log rolling" on the part of any Province to secure a larger proportion or share of the money appropriated by the Dominion for good roads than might

otherwise be received by such Province, and that the present basis of population upon which the several Provinces are paid their Dominion subsidy would appear to provide a reasonable and convenient basis on which such grants might be made.

"4. That as the title to the Highways of this Province is vested in the Crown, as represented by this Province, and the construction, repair and maintenance of such highways are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature and municipalities of the Province and must in the interests of the Province and the municipalities remain so, this House respectfully insists that all grants made by the Government of Canada to assist in the construction of good roads in this Province should be paid over to the Province and expended by it, together with adequate Provincial appropriations, under a well-considered policy to secure a thorough system of good roads throughout the Province."

A like Resolution in the Session of 1913 met with a similar fate. The agitation on behalf of the Liberal policy, voicing as it does, the sentiments of the people of the country on this important matter, has had its effect, and the Government in the Session of 1913 announced that they would appoint a Commission to investigate the matter. The report of this Commission was presented during the last Session of the Legislature, but no legislative action has so far been taken.

If the people of the Province desire a thorough system of good roads, particularly roads leading to the market towns so as to improve the conditions for the average farmer, they should place the matter in the hands of Mr. Rowell and his colleagues, who have been the promoters of this advanced policy.

# MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE FOR MARRIED WOMEN

Proposed by the Liberals in the Legislature.  
Rejected by the Government.

## The Demand.

City of Toronto Municipal Elections, 1914, vote re granting Municipal Franchise to Married Women, otherwise qualified. For 26,288; against 12,575.

Requests for this legislation have also come from Ottawa, Hamilton, Port Arthur, Fort William, Etobicoke, Bosanquet, Arthur, Tisdale, Medone, Artemesia, Griffith and Matawatchan, Albermarle, Harley, Charlotteville, Bruce, East Zorra, Pittsburg, Blenheim, Strathroy, Ayr, Watford, Kincardine, Welland, Matheson, Keewatin, Gosfield, Biddulph, Paisley, St. Mary's, Onondaga, Galt, Chesley, Mitchell, Midland, Halleybury, Paris, Renfrew and Saice.

Mr. Rowell: "With the possible single exception of Tax Reform we have not had in recent years a greater demand presented to this House in favor of any legislation than the demand in favor of this bill."

## Where They Have It.

Great Britain, and several European countries.  
Australia and New Zealand.

United States—9 States (complete women's franchise).

## Who is Opposed?

1st.—The Ontario Government, who voted it down.

2nd.—The Liquor interests. Why? If the vote is extended to married women in Municipal Elections it means the carrying of local option in many municipalities where, by reason of the three-fifths requirement, local option has been defeated by a few votes.

Mr. Rowell: "When the organized liquor interests of this Province undertake to oppose, and apparently successfully oppose, the extension of the Franchise to Married Women is it not time for every public-spirited citizen to arise and protest against such action, and against the Government yielding to the pressure to defeat this bill?"

#### Corporations vs. Women.

At the Session of 1913 the Government, while denying to married women the right to vote in Municipal Elections on money bills, granted that right for the first time to Corporations.

#### Other Liberal Proposals re Women's Vote Rejected by the Government.

1. To extend the legislative franchise to those women qualified to vote in Municipal Elections.
2. The appointment of a select committee to consider the whole question of extending the Provincial Franchise to women and the Municipal Franchise to married women.

(Note.—See also separate pamphlet on Municipal Franchise for Married Women, with Mr. Rowell's speech."

# GERRYMANDER

## COUNTY OF BRUCE

Formerly three ridings, with Liberal majorities.

Under the gerrymander—one Liberal majority and two Conservative majorities.

Liberal Members affected, Mr. Wm. MacDonald, Centre Bruce, and Mr. J. G. Anderson, South Bruce.

North Bruce, with a Liberal majority of 391, becomes West Bruce, with a Liberal majority of 1040.

Centre Bruce, with a Liberal majority of 104, becomes North Bruce, with a Conservative majority of 234.

South Bruce, with a Liberal majority of 305, remains South Bruce, with a Conservative majority of 7.

The constituencies of the Provincial ridings of Bruce have never been changed since the original creation of these ridings until the present gerrymander. When the present Government redistributed the Constituencies of the Province in 1908, Bruce was left untouched. Why? Because at that time Bruce sent two Conservative members and one Liberal to the Legislature. Bruce, in the meantime, has committed the crime of sending three Liberals to the Legislature, and, therefore, the Government must legislate two of these out of the House, in order, apparently, to restore conditions as they existed in 1908.

The Town of Southampton, Mr. Bowman's home, has been legislated out of his old riding of North Bruce, into West Bruce. Mr. MacDonald's home town of Paisley has been legislated out of his old riding of Centre Bruce into North Bruce, and Mr. Anderson's home town of Lucknow has been legislated out of South Bruce into West Bruce.

## COUNTY OF ESSEX

This riding was gerrymandered in the hope of providing a supposedly safe Conservative seat for the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. Dr. Beause, and for the present member for South Essex, Dr. Anderson.

By the Gerrymander, one Conservative seat in the County of Essex has been strengthened, and in addition, the new

urban riding of Windsor has been created, with a Conservative majority of 348.

This is a big increase over the former Conservative majority of 53 in North Essex, which included the City of Windsor.

The Liberal vote has been grouped, in the new riding of North Essex, with a Liberal majority of 339.

South Essex, formerly with a Conservative majority of 130, is now increased to 174.

### COUNTY OF GREY.

**NORTH GREY.**—The re-distribution in Grey is intended to strengthen the Conservative members in North and South Grey, both of whom fear to face a general election on their old constituencies. The Government boasted greatly over winning North Grey in the by-election last year, but they were afraid to go to a general election in the same constituency. They have, therefore, taken out of North Grey the municipalities of Meaford and St. Vincent,—two of the most northerly municipalities of the County—both of which are dry, and which together gave a Liberal majority of from 25 to 100, and have transferred them to Centre Grey, and have transferred from Centre Grey to North Grey the town of Sullivan and the village of Chatsworth, with a Conservative majority of 139, and both of which are wet.

**SOUTH GREY.**—Where the Conservative majority in the last election was 360, but where they were fearful of the result if a strong Liberal candidate ran, they have increased the Conservative majority to 501 by transferring the Town of Artemisia from South Grey to Centre Grey.

**CENTRE GREY.**—The seat of the Hon. Mr. Lucas is very strongly Conservative, and in spite of the re-arrangement, is still left with a Conservative majority of 869.

### NIAGARA DISTRICT.

Formerly two Liberal majorities, Monck and Haldimand, and two Conservative majorities, Welland and Lincoln.

Under the gerrymander: Two Liberal Majorities, Lincoln and Haldimand; three Conservative majorities, Niagara Falls, St. Catharines and Welland.

**MONCK.**—Which has existed since Confederation, a Liberal riding with a majority of 154, is eliminated entirely, being divided among Haldimand, Welland and West Lincoln. Liberal Member affected, Mr. Thos. Marshall.

**HALDIMAND.**—Formerly Liberal majority of 425, is given part of the Conservative vote for Monck, reducing the Liberal majority to 227. The Conservatives figure that the vote which the Liberal member Mr. Kohler received in the last election in Haldimand was abnormal, and they hope, by putting into Haldimand municipalities with a large Conservative vote, to change the character of the riding.

**NIAGARA FALLS.**—Conservative majority under re-distribution 389. Into this riding is put part of the strong Conservative vote from the former Constituency of Welland.

**WELLAND.**—This riding now represents the balance of the old Welland, with the Conservative vote added from the riding of Monck, giving a Conservative majority for the new Welland of 230.

**ST. CATHARINES.**—This riding takes the Conservative vote from the old riding of Lincoln, where the Conservative majority was 1112, and makes a Conservative riding with a majority of 1138.

**LINCOLN.**—The new Lincoln represents the Liberal vote for the old Lincoln, plus the Liberal vote for Monck, giving a Liberal majority of 190.

### TORONTO AND THE YORKS.

The effect of the re-distribution is to give Toronto practically twelve members, for while there are only ten members specifically allotted to the City of Toronto, the suburban sections of the City of Toronto are included in the electoral districts of East and West York. The substantial majority of the voters in East and West York reside within the portions of these constituencies which form part of the City of Toronto.

In the City constituencies the Government has continued the outrage of four double member constituencies with the "A" and "B" seats. Separate Candidates must be nominated for each of the seats "A" and "B". This anomalous and unfair arrangement is continued solely to serve the interests of the Conservative Candidates and Party in the City of Toronto, and it imposes a serious handicap upon the minority, whether the minority be Liberal or Labor, or representing other interests.

The following among other serious objections were strongly urged in the House by both the Liberal and the Labor interests:

1. The result of having this double-member constituency is that it makes it almost impossible for any party successfully to contest one seat, because of the necessity of double the number of workers which the usual-sized constituency would require, and almost double the expenditure of funds.

2. By reason of the two-seat arrangement, with separate nominations for each, it permits a minority candidate to be elected. The man having the second-highest vote for Seat "A" might have several thousand votes more than the man having the highest vote for Seat "B", and yet the man who had the highest for Seat "B" would be elected in the same constituency and by the same electors.

3. It perpetuates plural voting, which is abolished in all other sections of the Province. Nowhere else except in the City of Toronto is a man entitled to more than one vote. In the City of Toronto, in the double-member constituencies, every man has two votes.

The whole plan is carefully worked out to enable the Conservative party to control the situation in Toronto, and to deny their opponents a fair and square fight.

### VICTORIA.

The ridings of East and West Victoria have been changed into the ridings of North and South Victoria.

Municipalities in West Victoria—now South Victoria—which gave a Liberal majority in the last election of over a hundred, have been transferred into North Victoria, and municipalities from East Victoria, in which the Conservative majority is estimated, under normal conditions, to be about 150, are transferred into the new riding of South Victoria. Old East Victoria had a strong Conservative majority, and the Government evidently thought they could spare a portion of this majority to help strengthen their hold on the other section of the riding.

West Victoria as it stood was a riding which made the Government fear the Liberals would win in the approaching election. They, therefore, seek to strengthen their Candidates in these two ridings by re-adjusting constituencies, and taking out of the strong Conservative constituency of East Victoria—now North Victoria—such municipalities as they think will materially strengthen their hold upon the riding.

### SOUTH PERTH.

Mr. Valentine Stock, of Tavistock, represented the electoral district of South Perth until the general election of 1911, when he was defeated by the present member by a majority of 73.

Apparently in the hopes of preventing Mr. Stock from again contesting the riding, and in any event with a view of diminishing the chances of the Liberals regaining South Perth, the North half of Tavistock, Mr. Stock's village, which was formerly in South Perth, has been transferred to North Oxford. This portion so transferred from South Perth to North Oxford gave Mr. Stock a Liberal majority in the last election of 78.

### WHAT MR. ROWELL SAID.

"I cannot allow this Bill to pass without registering my emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government. This Bill deliberately takes away three members from the minority in this House. It is designed to render the redemption of the other ridings affected, most difficult. It is an unfair and shameful exercise of power by the dominant party in this House."—In the Legislature.

"There is absolutely no excuse for perpetrating the A and B seats in Toronto. There is no reason why Toronto should not be treated as every other section of the Province and sub-divided so as to give each member a seat of his own. The only reason for retaining the existing arrangements is, if possible, to prevent the Liberals having a representative from the City of Toronto."—In the Legislature.

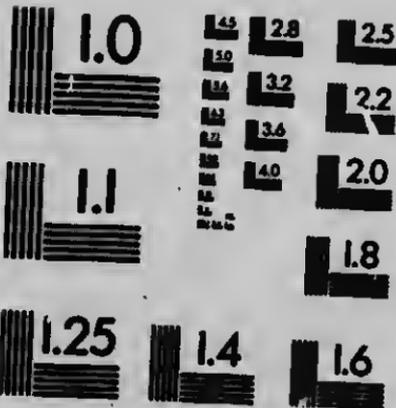
### WHAT WILLIAM McDONALD, LIBERAL MEMBER FOR CENTRE BRUCE, LEGISLATED OUT OF HIS SEAT AND NOW CANDIDATE IN NORTH BRUCE, SAID:

"What has Bruce done to be treated like this? It has committed the awful iniquity of sending three Liberals to this Legislature."



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"The old Conservative slogan has now been changed to 'Bold enough to be dishonest and dishonest enough to be hold!'"

**WHAT J. G. ANDERSON, LIBERAL MEMBER FOR SOUTH BRUCE, LEGISLATED OUT OF HIS SEAT AND NOW CANDIDATE IN NORTH HURON, SAID.**

"The new arrangement in Bruce is clever, but is as dishonest as it is clever."

**WHAT CONSERVATIVE PAPERS SAY.**

**THE TORONTO WORLD (CONSERVATIVE).**

"It is rather a melancholy reflection for Conservatives that the Party does not feel strong enough in Toronto to risk such an arrangement of the Provincial ridings as would give every citizens the same chance with his vote that other citizens have in other constituencies of the Province.

**TORONTO WORLD (CONSERVATIVE), APRIL 30, 1914.**

"The Question will be asked why Bruce is selected out of so many other counties where readjustment is fully as necessary. It will be asked also if the Government is losing faith in itself, or if Conservatives are losing faith in their own cause, when they have recourse to the hatcher's cleaver and the ax.

"The Government may legislate me out of the house," said Mr. McDonald, but they can't legislate me out of a life of usefulness in social and moral reform." This is the spirit that wins battles. Mr. McDonald has been reeve in his county and a member of the county council for many years. He is the sort of man who would ornament any legislature in Canada, and Ontario cannot afford to lose him. He deserves the support of all independent electors, and he will probably achieve re-election on personal grounds, quite apart from the desire to rebuke the perpetrators of a piece of political joggery.

"Bruce and the double-harreled seats in Toronto are signs of decadence which all true friends of the Whitney Government will heartily regret."

THE TORONTO TELEGRAM (CONSERVATIVE), MAY 1, 1914.

"The Whitney Government can do without even one supporter from Bruce County better than the Conservative party can do with a continuance of surrenders to the demands of local partizan schemers.

"Gerrymandering will continue so long as gerry-mandering is profitable. Leaders of the Ontario Government should not have listened to the small town patriots who sought to re-adjust Liberals out of the Legislature. It is to be hoped that these Liberals will be kept in the Legislature by Bruce County's sense of fair play."

# GOVERNMENT HOUSE

When the members of the present Government were in Opposition they were strong supporters of the policy of economy; they believed that Government House was entirely an unnecessary public expenditure, and Sir James Whitney himself moved the following resolution on the 12th of March, 1895:

“That in the opinion of this House the maintenance of Government House and the establishment connected therewith, at the expense of the Province, should, after the expiration of five years from the appointment or other earlier termination of the term of office of his Honour, the present Lieutenant-Governor, be discontinued.”

The Liberal Government, while it continued Government House, continued it on a moderate scale of public expenditure, which amply met the needs and requirements of the Province. But this spirit of expenditure having taken possession of the present Government, what is the Government now doing?—erecting a new Government House in an entirely unsuitable location; on an entirely unsuitable site; at a cost when completed and furnished exceeding one million dollars, and which may possibly amount to one million and a quarter of dollars. It is quite impossible to rely on the Government's estimates with reference to expenditures.

The following is a comparison of the estimated total cost as presented by the Government in reply to questions in the House in the three successive years, 1912, 1913 and 1914:

Estimated cost of building and site, 1912.....	\$400,000.00
“ “ “ “ 1913.....	622,108.35
“ “ “ “ 1914.....	875,015.65

The 1914 estimates are more than double those of 1912.

The actual expenditure up to February, 1914, was \$609,015.65, and if the present estimate for the year 1914 is as much astray as the previous estimates, the building will no doubt cost over a million dollars, and this does not include even the furnishing.

### A Lordly Castle!

The following details of the expenditure to date were furnished by the Government to the House in February, 1914:

Cost of site and legal expenses .....	\$147,054.00
Laying out the grounds .....	109,178.34
Buildings .....	352,783.31

The above estimates do not include anything for furnishing.

The Minister of Public Works made a special trip to Europe during the past winter at a cost to the Province of \$1,000, to examine the styles of furniture on the Continent of Europe, and the castles and palaces of the Old Land.

What use will this enormous and wasteful expenditure be to the people of the Province of Ontario? There is no only the enormous first cost of such a building, but there is the large increase in the annual cost of upkeep and maintenance. It was estimated by Mr. Bowman, representing the constituency of North Bruce, in discussing this matter in the House, that when we took into account the probable total expenditure for the lands, the laying out of the grounds, the buildings, the furnishings, and the capitalized value at 5 per cent. of the increased annual expenditure for maintenance and upkeep, the Province would be involved in the total expenditure for Government House of no less than \$2,250,000. And no member of the Government challenged these figures. The only member of the House who discussed them was the Hon. member for South Wellington, who expressed his surprise that the expenditure was not larger.

### Billiard and Ball Room.

Some idea of the magnitude of the new Government House and of the extravagance connected with its construction may be obtained from the following description of some of the details of the palace.

The grounds consists of 14 acres, costing nearly \$15,000 an acre.

The basement contains twenty-six separate rooms.

In the basement are installed two 100 horse power steam boilers to be used for heating purposes, and the cost of the heating and ventilating alone amounts to \$78,000.

Some of the main features of the interior are the main hall, 29x40 with a 40 ft. ceiling; the drawing room, 24x40, from which there is a corridor 100 ft. in length leading to the rear of the building; a state dining room, 26x45; a ballroom 40x64, with a 30 ft. ceiling, to which must be added an alcove 9x32, and a bay window 8x18, forming a part of the ballroom and both extending the whole height of 30 ft.; a billiard room 24x53 on the main floor, another 18x32 on the second floor, and one of a similar size on the third floor, making approximately 2,500 square feet for this purpose alone.

Everything connected with the interior of this extravagant mansion is on a par with these rooms. It is estimated that the stable and garage will cost at least \$10,000.

# PEMBROKE LUMBER COMPANY TIMBER LIMIT PURCHASE

The Government has agreed to pay \$185,000 to the Pembroke Lumber Company, of which Mr. Dunlap, M. P.P., one of their supporters, was President, for 185,000 acres of land which had already been lumbered over for between sixty or seventy years.

A careful investigation of this deal brings out the startling fact that at the present time there is no timber left on these limits of a present-day commercial value. These limits have all been under license for a period of sixty to seventy years. The Government had a legal right to terminate these licenses without paying anything for them, but in face of this fact, and the still more important fact that the Cruisers' reports presented to the Legislature show conclusively that at present there is practically no timber left on these limits which can be handled at a profit, even if obtained for nothing, the Government paid the large sum of \$185,000 for these limits to their active political friends, one cannot come to any other conclusion but that the fact of an early election being in contemplation had an important bearing in arriving at the prices paid.

According to the cruisers' report all the timber that is considered marketable is scattered over an area of 185,000 acres, averaging as follows:—

White Pine .....	52	Feet	B.M.	per acre
Red Pine .....	3	"	"	" "
Spruce .....	11	"	"	" "
Hemlock .....	22	"	"	" "
Cedar .....	11-2	"	"	" "
Ash .....	1-3	"	"	" "
Oak .....	3-4	"	"	" "
Elm .....	1-39	"	"	" "
Poplar .....	1-2	Cord	per acre	
Spruce .....	1-4	"	"	" "
Balsam .....	1-3	"	"	" "
Hardwood .....	14-5	"	"	" "

Mr. C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., in discussing the question, said, "The facts in connection with this deal establish clearly that it is nothing more or less than a most deliberate looting of the Provincial Treasury for the benefit of the active political friends of the Government."

## EVANTUREL INCIDENT

On Feb. 25, 1914, after Gustave Evanturel, Liberal Member for Prescott, had made an attack on the administration of the Liquor License Law in the County of Prescott, G. Howard Ferguson, Conservative Member for Grenville, read in the House a copy of a letter written by Mr. Evanturel to the President of the Liquor Victuallers' Association of Ontario, on Sept. 4, 1913, which contained the following sentences:—

"I am, and I always have been, a true friend of the liquor interests, and I have been backed up by my constituents in doing so. I am a poor man, living only upon my small sessional allowance, and do expect that the Association will see its way clear to help me along, and in my letter to the Board I asked at least \$10,000 payable \$3,000 now and the balance per instalments, in order to support me. I am prepared for that salary to be a defender of the Association and introduce before the Legislature any amendments to the Government measures to restrain the liquor traffic."

This letter passed directly or indirectly from the President of the Ontario Liquor Victuallers' Association to Mr. G. Howard Ferguson, Conservative Member for Grenville.

### MR. ROWELL'S COMMENT THE SAME EVENING, FEB. 25, 1914.

"I have no doubt the Honorable Member for Prescott will make a statement to the House in connection with the matter when the opportunity offers, but speaking to-night in my position of responsibility as Leader of the Liberal Party in this House, I want to say there is absolutely no justification, I think, which the Honorable Member for Prescott can give for writing the letter he did, and I want to take the very first opportunity to disclaim all responsibility and all sympathy with the expressions contained in the letter with reference to his attitude in the House.

"I feel that my Honorable friend from Prescott has done himself a grave injustice in writing that letter. I believe the Honorable Member from Prescott has done his constituency

a grave injustice in writing that letter. I do not think we should reach any final conclusion in this matter until we have a statement from the Honorable Member, but I do feel that upon reflection both the Honorable Member and his constituents will feel that some further action is necessary than such explanation as the Honorable Member may make to this House.

"I trust I have made myself clear and when we hear from the Honorable Member when he makes a statement there may be something further to say.

"Let the issue come when it may, I would rather go down to defeat fighting against the bar than win victory ten times over through an alliance with the bar. The people of this Province must decide that issue. The organized temperance forces of this Province have repeatedly appealed to the Government to Abolish the Bar. The Government has refused to accede to their request. They have appealed to us to adopt this policy. We, believing the policy to be right, have adopted and submitted it to the House and the Country. I do not believe that the men, Liberal and Conservative, who waited on us and asked us to adopt this policy will, when the election time comes, go back on the policy they have asked us to adopt."

### ACTION OF LIBERAL CAUCUS.

#### Mr. Rowell's Statement to the House.

"I desire to say that the Hon. Member for Prescott came into the Liberal Caucus this morning and made a statement in reference to the letter read in the House yesterday by the Hon. Member for Grenville.

"After making his statement the Hon. Member retired. It was unanimously decided that the Hon. Member should not again be invited to attend caucus or be recognized as one entitled to take part in the deliberations of the Liberal members of the Legislature, and that this decision has been communicated to him by the chief Whip of the Party in the Legislature.

"It is a painful duty to be compelled to make such a statement, but we, on this side of the House, feel it is a duty we owe to ourselves and the House, and the Party we represent to sever the relations which have hitherto existed between the Hon. Member for Prescott and his colleagues on this side of the House."

**EVANTUREL RESIGNS.**

On March 4, 1914, Mr. Evanturel presented his statement to the House and apologized for his action. Hon. Mr. Foy, the acting Prime Minister, however, said,—“I would ask the Honorable Gentleman whether he ought to go further than an apology and consider whether he should tender his resignation in due course as Member for the County of Prescott.”

Mr. Rowell said:

“I can only say that I can express my complete accordance in the remarks of the Honorable, the Attorney-General, and in the suggestion he has tendered to the Honorable Member for Prescott. I have already conveyed that intimation myself to the Member for Prescott and I entirely concur in the observations of the Honorable, the Attorney-General in reference to it.”

Mr. Evanturel handed in his resignation as Member for Prescott on March 10, 1914.

**CONSERVATIVE PRESS COMMENTS.****TORONTO NEWS (CONSERVATIVE).**

“The straightforward stand of the Leader of the Opposition, and his handling of one of the most difficult situations which a Leader of an Opposition in this country has ever been forced to contend with, was one of the features of a strenuous day, and Mr. Rowell received many bouquets not only from his own supporters, but from the Members of the Government, on his able handling of a most difficult question.”

**TORONTO SUNDAY WORLD (CONSERVATIVE).**

“There is no doubt whatever that Mr. Rowell came out of the affair with flying colors. He did, under the circumstances, what every right-minded man in the Province would have done, and he did it promptly. The moment the letter was finished the mind of Mr. Rowell was evidently made up, and the communication of his (Evanturel's) severance was only a matter of the necessary interval. The loss to the Liberal Party numerically cannot be denied, but it seems to end there. The first spark of political iniquity has had a heavy heel stamped upon it.”

**TORONTO TELEGRAM (CONSERVATIVE).**

“The Opposition Leader met and conquered danger by the straight-going courage of his declaration that he would rather

be isolated from his followers than isolated from his principles."

**OTTAWA CITIZEN (CONSERVATIVE).**

"That the Liberal Party in the Legislature expelled him (Evanturel) forthwith should be regarded as being of promise. The time is coming when Canada will evolve a political conscience, and there are signs to-day that the time is not as far ahead as pessimistic observers usually declare."

**HAMILTON SPECTATOR (CONSERVATIVE).**

"Mr. Rowell has done well to read Mr. Evanturel out of the Party."

## THE FERGUSON CASE

At one continuous session of the House, commencing Thursday afternoon, March 17th, and concluding on Thursday morning, March 18th at 4.30, the Government, in violation of all the rules of the House, and by virtue merely of their superior numbers, jammed through for its first, second and third readings, an Act amending the Legislative Assembly Act. The Clause in the Legislative Assembly Act of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1914, reads as follows:—

10.—(1) "Except as hereinafter specially provided, no person accepting or holding any office, commission or employment, permanent or temporary, in the service of the Government of Canada, or of the Government of Ontario, at the nomination of the Crown or at the nomination of any of the officers of the Government of Canada or of the Government of Ontario, to which any salary, fee, wage, allowance, emolument or profit of any kind is attached, shall be eligible as a member of the Assembly, or shall sit or vote therein."

(2) Nothing in this section shall render ineligible as aforesaid or disqualify from sitting and voting in the assembly when not otherwise disqualified.

(a) A member of the Executive Council;

(b) An Officer of His Majesty's Army or Navy, or an officer in the Militia or a Militiaman (except officers of the staff of the Militia receiving permanent salaries);

(c) A Justice of the Peace, Coroner, Notary Public or Public School Inspector. 8 Edw. c. 5, s. 10."

### The Amendment Added.

The amendment jammed through added the following:—

"(2-d) Any person holding any temporary employment in the service of the Dominion of Canada, requiring special qualifications or professional skill.

(3) This section shall be deemed to have been in force and effect since the 14th day of April, 1908."

By this amendment a man can be a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario at the same time that he is holding "temporary employment in the service of the Dominion of Canada, requiring special qualifications or professional skill."

As a matter of fact, this amendment

1st. Freed from the penalties of the law G. Howard Ferguson, Conservative member for Grenville, who, in defiance of the Legislative Assembly Act as it was in force at the time, had taken a commission from the Dominion Government.

2nd. Freed G. Howard Ferguson, not by mentioning him specifically, or his case, but by letting down the bars against Members of the Legislature accepting commissions from the Dominion Government.

The law which had been in force was recognized as a salutary one, and one designed to maintain the independence of the Members of the Legislature, but it was overturned, and a reactionary step taken.

#### Hanna Reveals Reason.

Several times during the stormy scenes which marked the Government's efforts to force through the bill, Mr. Rowell and his colleagues offered to allow, without opposition, the passing of a bill to indemnify Mr. Ferguson, if the latter declared that he had broken the law unwittingly. What the Opposition did object to was the unjustified action of the Government in forcing through the amendment against all the rules of the House, and without giving either the Opposition or the people of the Province time to consider the question and also the general relaxation of the law against Legislative members being in the pay of the Dominion Government. Hon. W. J. Hanna, however, revealed the real anxiety of the Government by declaring that the indemnifying of Mr. Ferguson alone would not meet the necessities of the case at all, since there were several other members of the House in the same boat. What the Government did, therefore, was to whitewash several members of the Legislature, without even disclosing the names of the offending persons, or the nature of the offences they committed.

**WHAT MR. ROWELL SAID.**

"This whole proceeding is without precedent in Parliamentary practice. Not since Confederation in any deliberative Assembly in the Dominion has there been such an attempt to force through the House a Bill in defiance of the rules of the House."

**CONSERVATIVE PRESS COMMENTS.**

**MONTREAL STAR, (CONSERVATIVE.)**—Just why the Ontario Legislature should sit up nights to prevent the application of the law to one of its members will not be clear to the average citizen. If the law is a bad one, why not repeal it? Why in that case was it ever enacted? But if the law is a good one, on what moral ground does a man escape the penalty of having violated it simply because he is a member of a law-making body and happens to sit with the majority?

Politicians should think of how these things look before they do them. There is enough public distrust of the sort of justice they administer now without multiplying it by such glaring instances. If Mr. Ferguson was such a sinner, why was there not enough legal knowledge concealed somewhere in his party to prevent him from stumbling into sin?

**Running Slack.****TORONTO WORLD (CONSERVATIVE).**

Signs are not wanting that, although the Provincial Government continues to do good work, as in the introduction of the compensation bill, there is a gradual slackening of the tone, a relaxation of the high tension which kept all things moving, as it were, towards the golden year. Whether it be a loosening of discipline or an accretion of harnesses or the slipshod methods of over-confidence or the contempt that comes with familiarity, all governments seem to tread the same path. It was hoped that the Whitney Government would be different, but there are signs which are evident enough. When a government does things which it would not tolerate for a moment if it were in opposition instead of in power, it is time for it to consider its ways.

It only takes a turnover of a few per cent., two or three in a hundred, to upset the strongest government. It may seem very dreadful that two or three per cent. of the voters should

hold the government in the hollow of their hands. It seems so incredible that governments pay no attention to them and gradually come to devote all their consideration to their own professed supporters. Then the incredible thing happens.

There are a lot of people in Ontario wondering why Mr. G. Howard Ferguson is so indispensable to the government that special legislation has to be passed to save his political life. Mr. Ferguson's personal merits are quite aside from the question. Either he should not have been appointed, or he should have resigned his seat when appointed. The other course was to have repealed the law before the appointment, not after the law was violated. The Opposition "has it" on the Government, and will no doubt make the most of the opportunity. At the best it represents the slackening up of the system. The government would not have so acted in 1906.

## COMBINES AND THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

The slowness of movement in the Attorney-General's Department, under the present Attorney-General, has become a by-word. The failure to prosecute offenders vigorously and enforce the criminal law of the Province has shaken public confidence in its speedy and impartial administration.

The breakdown in the Department of the Attorney-General is similar to that in the Departments of Agriculture and Education.

Among the most important cases, with which the Attorney-General's Department has been called upon to deal in the past nine years were the Combine Prosecutions, instituted by the former Crown Attorney of the City of Toronto, Mr. J. W. Curry, K.C., and the discontinuance of these prosecutions by the Government constitutes a grave public scandal.

The public will recall that a number of prosecutions were instituted by Mr. Curry. In the cases investigated before the Police Magistrate, he committed a number of the accused for trial; the Grand Jury found true bills; and upon trial a number of the accused were convicted.

When it appeared that the law was going to be vigorously enforced, a halt was called in the proceedings by the Attorney-General's Department. To illustrate: In the case of the Tack Combine, the Police Magistrate, Col. Denison, in delivering judgment, committing the accused for trial, stated: That the Legislature wished to stop the practice of having prices raised unduly and unreasonably; that if it had not been for this combine, the people would have got their goods cheaper, and that this was only one combine out of a great many others.

### Government Drops Action.

Then the case came before the Grand Jury, they found a true bill. The Government let the prosecution drag for years, and then finally discontinued it.

Mr. J. W. Curry, K.C., who investigated this and other combines, advised the Government that in his opinion there

was a violation of the criminal law by these combines, and that convictions could be secured. The Government ignored this advice and abandoned the prosecutions. The Government supporters were interested in stopping the prosecution and the prosecution was stopped.

#### Mr. Curry's Opinion.

At the time of the discussion of the matter in the Legislature, Mr. Curry, wrote the following letter, stating his opinion:

"Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.P.,

"Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

"Dear Mr. Rowell,—I am in receipt of your letter of today's date, re Stamped Wire Association, and in reply thereto I beg to advise you that although it is true I had Mr. Murphy as a nominal assistant in connection with the preparation of briefs in the Combine cases, I found it necessary myself to carefully go through all the papers.

"I carefully checked over all of Murphy's work and can say that the brief as prepared, and any opinions expressed therein, were my opinions and I take the full responsibility for them for whatever that is worth.

"In respect to the alleged combines, the papers of which were seized, I was and am of the opinion that the agreements in each case were similar and that in each case there was to my mind sufficient evidence to show that the association of the different firms in the same line of trade under the said agreements were intended to be and were in restraint of trade and did unduly enhance the price of the articles dealt in by these respective members of each association.

"I felt that the Tack Association, the Stamped Tinware Association, and the other associations whose papers were seized, worked greater hardships, were more far-reaching in their effects and more detrimental to the best interest of the community than were the Plumbers' Association and Plumbers' Supplies Association, the members of which were prosecuted and convicted. I am,

"Yours very truly,

(Signed) "JAMES W. CURRY."

#### Liberals Protest.

The books of some thirty-three Combines were seized, and yet in all of these the Government took no action. Instead of

permitting a judge to pass upon the question, after hearing the evidence, the Government undertook itself to abandon the prosecutions. The Liberals fought against this abandonment, and submitted the following resolution to the Legislature:

"The action of the Government in abandoning the prosecution of alleged combines and failing to prosecute others notwithstanding the advice of the Crown Attorney of the City of Toronto that these combines were violating the provisions of the Criminal Code, the decision of the Police Magistrate of the City of Toronto in committing the defendants for trial, and the finding of true bills by the Grand Jury in the only cases submitted to them, amounts to a protection of these combines and the encouragement of others;

"This House requests the Government to take such prompt and vigorous action in the premises as may be necessary to protect the public interests." (See p. 355 Journals, 1913.)

#### Conservative Opinion.

Even the Conservative press of the Province was compelled to protest against the action of the Attorney-General's Department. The following are extracts from the *Toronto Telegram* (Conservative):

Feb. 15th, 1913.

#### Let Hon. J. J. Foy Do His Duty Against the Combines.

"A combine committed for trial by the Police Magistrate and indicted by a grand jury was never put on its defence by the representatives of the Attorney-General of Ontario.

A manifest failure of duty was excused in the words of Hon. J. J. Foy's quibble to the effect, that E. A. Du Vernet, K.C., had advised against the prosecution of the combine, and Mr. Foy contended that he would be unworthy of being Attorney-General if he persisted in prosecution after receiving notification like that from a Crown Attorney.

If the above words represent Hon. J. J. Foy's ideas of public duty, then Mr. Foy is already "unworthy of being Attorney-General." Who is Mr. Du Vernet or any other temporary or permanent appointee of the Attorney-General that his say-so should stop the wheels of justice after these wheels have been set in motion by the police magistrate and the grand jury? Hon. J. J. Foy's acceptance of responsibility for the non-prosecution of the combines may yet give N. W. Rowell K.C., a better and bigger issue than tax reform.

Feb. 17th, 1913."

**The Error of Hon. J. J. Foy.**

"What did the Tack Combine ever do for the people of Ontario that the Attorney-General of this Province should deprive the combine in question of a vindication?"

Hon. J. J. Foy talked as if trial by A. E. Du Vernet, K.C., had superseded trial by jury in cases against the combines. Hon. J. J. Foy is a member of a Government that has protected the people of Ontario against the electric combine better than any Government in the world ever protected a people against a combine. But Mr. Foy was all wrong when he permitted anything but the verdict of the jury to terminate the prosecution of the tack combine. The Attorney-General of Ontario aggravates his error by an attempt to shelter himself behind the alleged prerogatives of his own appointee.

Ontario is yet to be served by an Attorney-General who realizes that he is a principal, and that his appointees should have no prerogatives in the trial of an issue such as that raised in the prosecution of the combine."

**The Government stands for the protection of combines—  
the Opposition for the protection of the people.**

## ELECTORAL REFORM

The policy of the Liberal Party, as set forth in the platform of 1911, was as follows:

"We will prohibit under adequate penalties all corporations over which the Province has jurisdiction from making campaign contributions; require the publication of all campaign contributions to candidates and political organizations, and provide for the appointment of a public prosecutor, as in England, whose duty it shall be to intervene in contested elections to see that all who are guilty of electoral fraud or corruption are duly prosecuted."

Mr. Rowell and his colleagues have steadily promoted these reforms. In the Session of 1913 two bills were introduced, one to prohibit political contributions by corporations, the other to require the publication of campaign contributions before the date of the election.

Sir James Whitney requested that these bills be withdrawn, on the promise that at the next Session facilities would be given for their passage. He thought certain amendments were necessary, and time should be given to consider these.

At the last Session of the Legislature the Liberal Opposition again introduced a bill to prohibit contributions by corporations, Government contractors, license-holders, etc., and also a bill to require the publication of campaign contributions.

Owing to the agitation Mr. Rowell and his colleagues have kept up, the Government accepted the principle embodied in Mr. Rowell's bill, prohibiting contributions by corporations, Government contractors, license-holders, etc., and a bill dealing with the same question was introduced by Mr. Hearst. The two bills were considered together, and a bill framed embodying the principle of Mr. Rowell's bill, although the penalties provided in it are not nearly so severe. It, however, marks a distinct advance on any legislation hitherto enacted, and can be amended so as to be made more effective in the future.

The bill to require the publication of campaign contributions before elections was opposed by the Government and defeated in the House.

The proposal to appoint a public prosecutor, as in England, is one involving the expenditure of public money, and a bill

could not be introduced by the Opposition to this effect, as all money bills must emanate from the Government.

### Mr. Rowell's Record.

The position Mr. Rowell has taken in connection with these matters since he entered public life, is but carrying out the principles for which he has always contended. The following resolution was introduced by him at the Liberal Convention in November, 1904, and adopted by the Convention:

"That this Convention, representing the Liberal Party of the Province of Ontario, repudiates and condemns in the most unqualified terms every form of bribery, by which electors are illegally or corruptly influenced at elections to the Legislative Assembly, and all fraudulent schemes to defeat the honest purpose of the electorate, as being a violation of the fundamental principles of responsible government and contrary to the spirit and traditions of the Liberal Party."

"And this Convention would also call upon the Liberal members of the Parliament to devise the most ample means whereby election trials shall be continued until every offender is duly convicted and punished, and that no political or other considerations be permitted to stand in the way of the fullest vindication of the sanctity of the ballot, and the protection of public morals even to the extent of disfranchising constituencies reported by the courts to be wantonly and criminally corrupt."

The TORONTO NEWS (CON.), reported Mr. Rowell's address as follows:

"Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., of Toronto, on moving this resolution, said it was no new declaration on the part of the Liberal Party, which had struggled against long opposition to secure for the people the right of popular government. The whole idea and spirit of Liberalism was that the people should rule, and the voice of the electors be given free hearing. In the past, Liberals had tried to set a high ideal in public life, believing that only thus could Canada and Ontario have clean and honorable government. If worthy ideals were not set before the young men and exemplified in public life, we could not have honesty in public affairs and in public morals.

"Continuing, Mr. Rowell said: There have been circumstances in the past which compel us, as Liberals, to apply some of this condemnation to men professing to represent our Party. If this resolution does not mean that we should stamp out corruption in our own Party as everywhere else, better it had never been moved. We all think of West Elgin, and we say,

'Why was West Elgin?' It may be answered, and answered truly, that the bye-election was possible because the Conservative candidate was unseated for corruption, and so made a bye-election necessary. That is no answer at all. If the Conservative candidate was corrupt, and we exposed it, there was the greater burden on us as Liberals to maintain a high moral standard in the country, in order that public morals might be preserved. As a profound conviction coming from the heart of Liberals, we move this resolution. We have no sympathy with, we utterly repudiate all forms of political corruption, all means by which the will of the electors may be frustrated. We go a step further, and this resolution proposes a remedy. We do not content ourselves with generalities; we offer a remedy. Let us, like Gladstone in England, keep alive the soul in Ontario, and doing that, we do more than by the adoption of a new policy."

#### Rowell's Strong Stand.

Mr. Rowell, speaking at Stratford in the election which followed this convention, used even stronger language in condemning the political corruption practiced on behalf of Liberal candidates, and states that had not the Liberal Convention in 1904 placed itself on record unequivocally in condemnation of political wrong-doing, whether practiced on behalf of Liberals or their opponents, he would not have taken any part in the campaign.

In the year 1906, Mr. Rowell, in a public address, discussed the question of electoral corruption and the methods to be adopted to secure the punishment of offenders, and strongly advocated the appointment of a public prosecutor as in England.

The following editorial comment in the Toronto News on the address delivered, illustrates Mr. Rowell's views:

"At Ward One Liberal Association meeting, Mr. N. W. Rowell dealt with election corruption and its unhappy prevalence. Particular reference was made to the Prince Albert frauds, but inasmuch as these are the first condemnatory words which any Liberal of prominence has publicly expressed on this rascally affair, they are worthy of reproduction. Mr. Rowell speaks admirably, and no respectable Canadian can quarrel with his words in this instance. He said: 'These men so far

have been fined; that was all that had been done to them. I trust it is not all that will be done; and I am sure it will be a standing disgrace to the new Province of Saskatchewan and to Liberalism if these men are not punished to the full extent of the law. The public would draw the conclusion that if these men were not prosecuted, it was because the prosecution would tend to incriminate others who occupy higher positions. It is these men in the higher positions who ought to be punished even more than the men who took part in the wrong-doing. It would be a good thing if we had a public prosecutor who was armed with power to take the initiative in all such cases."

The difference between Mr. Rowell and the Whitney administration is this: Mr. Rowell condemns political corruption just as strongly if it be practiced by a political friend, as if practiced by a political opponent, as illustrated by his address at the Liberal Convention in 1904, and also by his dealing with the Evanturel incident in the Legislature; whereas the members of the present Government condemn political corruption only when practiced by their political opponents.

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