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DR. JAMIESON, M.P.P.

Verbatim Report of an Address Made Recently in the Ontario Legislature.

MR. SPEAKER.—Upon rising to make a few observations on the questions under discussion I confess I am rather handicapped. The two gentlemen who have spoken this afternoon (Mr. Beatty, of Leeds, and Mr. Carlton, of North Norfolk), have given us a great deal of information of a technical character as to the proper method of estimating the timber resources of the Province and as to what the result may be to the province in that connection. It is altogether outside the latitude of my immediate study and thought and therefore I would be unable to follow the arguments they have brought forward on this question of timber. I am prepared to say that what struck me more particularly is the great change that has taken place in the position of the leader of the Government and the party of which he is the head and front in this Province, when they assume that all their measures have for their object the opening up and development of the resources of this Province. The Hon. The Provincial Treasurer in making his Budget Speech spoke of the growing needs and requirements of the country entailing necessarily a large expenditure of public funds for the building of railways, colonization, roads, etc., which might have the effect of opening up that portion of the Province known as New Ontario. If we on this side of the House wished to bring forward any arguments why this form of policy should not be carried out, all we have to do is to look back for the same Hon. gentleman's old speeches when he was a member of the Dominion House at Ottawa and spoke so forcibly and eloquently against the construction of the C. P. R. or any other means which might have the effect he now professes to desire. (Laughter and applause.) We on this side of the House are pleased to agree with the Hon. gentleman and his followers in their new attitude. The policy of development has always been the policy of the Conservative party. If some old leaders of the Reform party should wake up now, if they should be resurrected from their graves and see the attitude of their party to-day, they would hardly know where they were "at." (Laughter.) That party has dropped the old funeral march which characterized their gait for so many years and now they propose to keep time to a quicker step. Some of the old mules, however, may not be able to keep up with the band-waggon now.

In view of the approach of the general election it is attempted to be proven that we have the same old surplus as ever. We expect before the general election comes on the five million dollar mark will again be reached and will be as familiar as ever on the stump. The Report issued by the Commission on Finance to my mind is a clear statement as to what should really be considered as a surplus. On page 10 it is stated that during the first seven years the receipts of the Province greatly exceeded its expenditures reaching at the end of this term nearly five million dollars. This is what should properly be known as a surplus. It was accumulated in the first seven years after Confederation, those in office having lived so much within their means that they had actually saved out of the current revenue about five million dollars. This Finance Commission, which evidently places the best construction possible upon the finances of the province in favor of the Hon. gentleman opposite, only find a surplus of two and a half millions. Taking the detailed statements of receipts and expenditures as published in this same report we find the commission has stretched apart in favor of Hon. gentlemen opposite. While it said in its report that about five million dollars had accumulated in the first seven years, we find in looking over the detailed statement I have alluded to that during the first four years while the Sanfield-Macdonald Government was in office the receipts exceeded the expenditure by over three and one half million dollars or a saving at the rate of nearly one million per annum. For the next three of the seven years referred to in the report the savings were less than one and a half million or at the rate of less than five hundred thousand per year. For a number of years following these first seven years the expenditure steadily exceeded the receipts until the savings of those first economical years had been all spent, notwithstanding all the timber that had been placed upon the market and sold. The Government began to look for new sources of revenue. It proceeded to take from the municipalities what belonged to them and from this passed to direct taxation. I believe the revenue bill

passed in the House two years ago is an imposition upon some of the most deserving classes of people and has taken money directly from their pockets. I would like to allude to a statement made by the Hon. Member for Brockville the other night. He contended that this taxation did not affect life insurance policy holders in the least; that they did not pay anything more than formerly. We are quite aware there was a considerable increase in the insurance rates by all the old line companies a year ago. I am not going to be so unfair as to say the revenue Bill was accountable for this because this increase was partly due to the falling rates for money. It is a fact, however, that ninety-nine per cent of all the life insurance is written with profits. Insurers count on these profits as being a substantial increase in their policies. Agents lay a great deal of stress upon this fact in canvassing for insurance. I contend that the profits of companies are decreasing precisely to the extent of the taxation imposed by this Government. (Hear hear.) Therefore, although the policy holders may not be called upon to pay a dollar more for their premium still their policies are worth that much less when they come to maturity. (Applause.) I think any fair minded man will admit this is a direct tax upon widows and orphans. (Hear hear.)

Another method employed by which the municipalities were deprived of a portion of their revenue was the Scrap Iron Assessment law passed a year or two ago, by which the railway, telephone, telegraph and electric lighting companies had their plants taxed as scrap iron in order to make them more willing to be held up by the Provincial Treasurer. (Hear hear.) I see by the Report of the Assessment Commission, which has been investigating these matters, that this law is likely to be repealed at the present session. It is a strange thing to me that the Government should find it necessary to appoint so many commissions to investigate these and other questions when we have according to the puffy bureau, Solons, Ciceros and Gladstones and all the other great men on the Government side. (Laughter.) It seems a strange thing, I repeat, that we should have so many of these commissions, for such an aggregation of talent as we are said to have on the treasury benches should be able, with a very slight mental effort, to find a solution for the most difficult problem.

Coming to a consideration of some of the schemes for the development of New Ontario, I will first touch upon the Algoma & Central Railway. This line was built by Mr. Clergue for his own private purpose to open up the pulpwood district and bring the pulpwood to his own mill, for which it was contended no Government assistance whatever would be required. It has become a matter of dispute among members of this House as to what actually occurred in the Railway Committee two years ago and I propose to give my version of it. As I recollect distinctly a difference occurred between the member for North Norfolk (who was opposing the Bill in the interests of the Ontario Hudson Bay and Western Railroad) and the members for East and West Algoma who were champions for the Bill. Mr. Clergue was there himself and was accompanied by his solicitor, Mr. Hamilton. All he asked was permission to build the road. (Hear hear.) Mr. Hamilton also said that no subsidy or assistance from the Government in any form would be required. All he asked was that the Committee should sanction the charter and allow him to build it. I thought perhaps some light might be obtained by looking up the files of the daily papers. Unfortunately they devote such little space to reports of the committees of the House that the statements I have do not throw very much light on the matter. The Mail and Empire says in reporting Mr. Clergue—"As to Mr. Harvey's allegation that he would not build a road, if the committee would give him the charter, he would show them whether he would build it or not." The Globe Report says: "The road was for the purpose of tapping the pulpwood district and bringing pulpwood to their mills which would likely have to close if their plan was thwarted. They also desired to bring the rich ores from Michipicoton." While these reports are meagre they go to bear out what I have said that no subsidy was asked. I contend the Government has gone out of its way; it seems anxious to give away the resources of the Province and make a present of the rich pulp reserves to Mr. Clergue, when these were not in the first place asked for. (Hear hear.)

Another Railway which is proposed and which was referred to by the Hon. Premier in his Budget Speech was the Temiscamingue Railway. The Premier is quite aware that public sentiment is opposed to the further subsidizing of railways and although somewhat uncertain in his remarks as to what the policy of the Government would be still we may infer from his statement that it is their intention to construct it as a Government road and hand it over to the Grand Trunk Railway, to have running powers over it and make it a feeder for the city of Toronto. The Hon. gentleman seems extremely solicitous as to the welfare of the City of Toronto. He went even so far as to say that he feared a connection might be made from the other

end and carry the traffic on to Ottawa and Montreal. I am glad the Government are beginning to drop their old policy of "hot and cold justice" and to deal fairly with the City of Toronto, which has done so little politically for the Hon. gentlemen opposite. No Company should have a monopoly of that road if it is constructed as a Government road. All should have running powers over it. (Applause.) The main object is to open the country for settlement and to keep as much as possible of the trade for the older portions of this Province. The road should not be built in the interest of the City of Toronto or any other section but for the Province as a whole.

Let me refer briefly to the pulpwood policy of the Government. They have practically given away enormous concessions,—some of our most valued resources. The first concession given to Mr. Clergue passed through the House without opposition as at that time it was considered that the pulpwood business was somewhat of an experiment. Now that it has passed beyond the experimental stage, it is well that the greatest possible amount of revenue should be obtained from it and that it should not be given away for a merely nominal sum. The restrictions placed around these companies receiving concessions should be of the most binding character. The object of the Government should be to so administer the pulpwood resources of the country as to make the industry a lasting one and a steady source of revenue for all time to come. (Applause.) The manner in which the Government has dealt with the problem has caused considerable criticism. Lord Strathcona in his last Report to the Dominion Parliament quotes a communication from a large manufacturer of paper in the Old Country. The latter says: "Already one of the largest paper makers in England is risking a large sum of money in the erection of pulp and paper mills, and the result of their enterprise is awaited with much interest. It is undoubtedly a grave misfortune that concessions of timber limits should be granted by the Government to irresponsible syndicates, who have no practical knowledge of the work, and whose main object is to exploit their concessions for their own profit, regardless of the ultimate success of the scheme. Such syndicates get control over useful water-powers and forests for a nominal figure, and refuse to part with them except at an enormous profit, the result being that the business is over capitalized before a start is made. But that is not all; these syndicates, while pretending to give all the land that is necessary for mills and future possible extensions, manage to retain in their own hands certain pieces which they know will be required later on, and which they hold in the hope of reaping a second fabulous profit on same at a future time. All this, while it does not put an extra dollar into the exchequer of the Provincial Governments, exasperates and encourages the legitimate capitalist, who feels he is being robbed by relentless and non-scrupulous middlemen. Such at least has been the experience of the firm before mentioned, and who we believe will shortly appeal to the Provincial Government for protection. We contend that concessions should not be granted to irresponsible syndicates, that when a concession is granted there should be a stipulation debarring the sale of same. The legitimate capitalist will in short have to be protected by the Government from the illegitimate speculator—speculation in concessions will have to be made impossible."

It is a well known fact that some of the concessions granted by this Government have been speculated in.—The Sturgeon Falls Concession I understand has been sold at an enormous profit by the concessionaires. We recollect when it was going through this House a year ago the Government found some of their own supporters were opposed to it and the discussion had to be postponed until such time as matters could be smoothed over, and the recalcitrants got into line. (Hear hear.) In regard to the paper-trade it was predicted about a year ago by the St. James Gazette, which is an authority on that trade, that we were on the verge of a paper famine and the price would materially increase owing to the vanishing supply, and the enhanced value of the raw material. We know that Canada had an almost unlimited supply of the raw material and if the Government handle it as business men should, it ought to become a steady and profitable source of revenue for all time to come, by a proper system of forestry. If any sharp level-headed business man were allowed to handle the valuable resources as he saw fit he would easily make himself another Rockefeller or a Vanderbilt, and there is no reason why the Government should not receive the same amount for the Province, whose trustees they are. If this forward policy which has been spoken about so much is going to be inaugurated, it should be inaugurated for the benefit of the people of the Province and not for grafters, speculators, charter-mongers and other friends of the Government. (Applause.)

A great deal has been said as to the large amount which has been given by the Government in railway subsidies. A great sum has also been given by the municipalities for the same purpose, and they have taxed themselves very highly in order to secure railway accommodation. As this Government appears to be intending to send Memorials to the Dominion and Imperial Governments on various questions, it would be well if they sent a Memorial or something stronger than a Memorial to the Dominion Government, asking for a refund of the money they have spent in this way. In 1886 or 1887 the friends of the Hon. gentlemen opposite engineered through the municipal councils of this Province Resolutions asking the Government to do this. Large petitions and a large delegation were sent to Ottawa asking that a refund of these municipal bounties should be made. The reasons advanced were that as the Dominion Government had passed a Railway Act, by which they brought under the control of the Dominion all those roads which were constructed under Local Charters, and that as most of these roads have become part of the greater railway systems, therefore, the Dominion Government should refund what the municipalities had paid out. If, therefore, since that time we have seen the Dominion Treasury raided again and again by the Province of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, who have asked, and in many cases received back the amounts contributed by them for local roads, any reason existed for that demand in 1886 or 1887 a much stronger reason exists at the present time, and Hon. gentlemen opposite, to be consistent, should take steps to secure for the people that justice which they seemed so anxious to secure, for them a few years ago. (Hear hear.)

It is proposed by the Government to grant a subsidy to encourage the manufacture of Beet Root Sugar in the Province. The merits or demerits of the question of bounties I shall not here discuss. If bounties are to be given to secure the establishment of this industry in the Province it would be advisable that this paternal Government should disseminate as large an amount of information as possible so that the people of this country might have some idea as to the cost, maintenance and everything else in regard to the construction and equipment of these factories. For the past year or two we have had deputations coming to this Government and the Dominion Government also, asking that bounties should be given for the manufacture of Beet Root Sugar. I do not know who is behind this movement. It is not usual to find men spending time and money for the benefit of their health. My impression is that the American manufacturers of Beet Root Sugar machinery have something to do with it. If the bounty system is inaugurated, if sufficient encouragement is given, we shall find promoters in every county of the Province trying to establish Beet Root Sugar factories. Farmers will be asked to take stock in them. These concerns may be over capitalized and machinery purchased at a great increase on its actual value. It is said that some of these binder twine factories, lately established, have been over capitalized, and that the promoters have reaped enormous profits. One established in the County next to my own, really worth only \$20,000, has been charged up to the farmers and other stockholders to the amount of \$60,000. It would be well that this Government should place before the people of this Province as full information as possible as to the cost and equipment of these factories, so that the people may not be robbed by American manufacturers of machinery. (Applause.)

We had the other night from the eloquent member for Brockville an affidavit made by a leading member of the Reform party, Mr. Bossard, of Berlin. (Laughter.) Stripped of all the eloquence, which this gentleman imported into the case, the oratorical fireworks, by which he surrounded it, and the dramatic flourishes by which it was attended, I think you will find very little in it. It reminds me of the fable of the "Mountain and the Mouse," or the more modern slang expression of "great cry, little wool." To come down to a consideration of what this affidavit really means, it is this: That a self-confessed liar and perjurer says that what he swore to before was not correct. (Hear hear.) I suppose a price was paid for this affidavit. I understand Mr. Bossard is going into the hotel business again—has gone into it in fact—and I infer that this declaration was got from him as the price of his license. (Hear hear.) I suppose he was held up; that he gave his affidavit before he received his license. I have here an affidavit myself made by one John H. Vail, and without reading the preamble I may say that this young man was conscience-stricken, that he wished to remedy a wrong he had done, and he voluntarily gave this affidavit, which is as follows:—

"I, John H. Vail, formerly of the city of London, in the County of Middlesex, now of Detroit, Michigan, make oath and say:—

1. That at the city of St. Thomas, on said 12th day of January, 1899, Thomas Lewis, of the city of London, aforesaid, hotel keeper did aid, abet, counsel and procure myself and Arch. Campbell, James Caynor, John Palmer, L. Bates, Alfred Bates, a man named Cogan, and one named Greenwood, all of the city of London, to commit the offence of personation by voting in the said city of St. Thomas at said election, in the names of

voters of said election, contrary to section 167 and other provisions of the Ontario Election Act.

2. That at the city of London, on or about the 10th day of January, 1899, the said Thomas Lewis sent for me to go up to the Huron Hotel in the city of London, and there requested me to come to St. Thomas and there personate voters as aforesaid. The evening before election he gave me and the said other persons railway tickets to come to St. Thomas, and we came on the same train with him. We were instructed by him to go, and did go to the Arlington Hotel, St. Thomas. We were in a room there together, and were treated and spent a couple of hours playing cards. About 12 o'clock four of us were taken down to the Columbus Hotel by two St. Thomas men. We stayed there over night, and the next morning, on account of being watched, had to escape out of a back window. We went back to the Arlington Hotel and there met the said Lewis and the rest of the gang. Lewis gave me and the others tickets with the names of those for whom he wanted us to vote, and also gave each of us a pin in the form of an "L" to distinguish us. We were to vote for Macnish. The person pointed out to me as H. A. Branton, of St. Thomas, was present during part of the instruction, giving assistance. Drivers were to take us by roundabout ways to the booths. The person pointed out to me, as Alexander Turner, drove me to two polling booths, for the purpose of voting. Some of us got into trouble voting, and Palmer and I wanted to get out of town. A tall, slim fellow, represented to be Hepburn—he told us his name was Hepburn, and that he was a farmer—drove us out of the city to the other side of Glanworth, and we walked the rest of the way to London, arriving there between 5 and 6 p. m. We assembled at the Huron House between 11 and 12 p. m. to get our money. Lewis was there with a man named Vincent, and also another man who had a satchel. They sent us up stairs, and afterwards came up with the money for us. We were to get two dollars a vote. I claimed two votes, but Lewis said I only put in one, but I got four dollars from Lewis. John Palmer said he got in five votes and got ten dollars, and the others got some."

This requires no comment; it speaks for itself, and shows to what depths a once great party will descend in order to carry elections and to prop up its falling fortunes.

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