

HON. MR. MACKAY ON PROVINCIAL FINANCES CLEAR-CUT AND CONVINCING SPEECH DEFICIT OF \$553,363.25

Vigorous Colonization Policy for Northern Ontario Advocated-- Industrial Education--Scarcity of Teachers--Reforestation and Other Subjects Eloquently Dealt With.

(Continued.)

One can scarcely realize the irritation that such explanations natural by cause rural school trustees, who are working overtime endeavoring to get qualified teachers. I fancy I see the honorable member for West Hastings, giving this explanation particularly to the trustees of a school where the assessment is over \$40,000, and where though they do not write once and have no applications from any qualified teachers they must still spend money in advertising a second time before the inspector is allowed, by a superlatively foolish regulation of the Department, to grant a permit to any person to teach in that school.

First then, there is a scarcity of labor of all kinds, next, we are a nomadic race, and then the honorable member for West Hastings, not seeming to have satisfied himself that he has given any sane explanation of the difficulty, consoles the trustees in the rural section with the information that there is a great surplus of teachers over in England, and that we may import them. This, Sir, is comforting advice to parents, especially of the poorer class, whose sons and daughters are practically debarr'd from taking up the teaching profession owing to the centralization policy of the Government and the wiping out of our model schools. I say, Sir, to debar our own young men and women from entering the teaching profession, and then to suggest to the trustees that they import teachers from England, is adding insult to injury; and I repeat were it not for the serious condition of affairs such explanations would be a very interesting burlesque.

Then, Sir, there is that guileless youth, that extremely innocent young man, the honorable member for South Renfrew, who comes forward with an explanation. How extremely guileless he is! I will show the honorable member the "Opposition," says he, "what is the cause of the scarcity of teachers in the rural districts," and holding up in his hand a report of a speech by the President of Toronto University, which apparently says that 25 per cent. of the university graduates go west, gives this as a complete explanation for the scarcity of teachers in the townships. How innocent, how extremely innocent the honorable member is! He is under the impression that young men and women immediately upon being graduated from Toronto University go forth into the townships to teach in our rural schools. He is evidently trying to get in line with the Premier's explanation, that he has turned things upside down, and he will have university graduates go out to the townships to teach public schools, and doubtless he will have our model and normal trained teachers go and lecture in the university. On second thought, however, I am inclined to think the honorable gentleman is trying to qualify for a position in the Education Department, and is endeavoring to display his fitness for such a place by seeking to show that he knows absolutely nothing about educational affairs. He is shrewd enough, Sir, to know that if he is to be in line, an absolute condition precedent to his receiving an appointment is, that he should show utter ignorance of educational affairs generally and particularly of any question bearing upon the welfare of our rural schools.

Technical Education. Many a time and oft have I discussed this question on the floor of this House and elsewhere. For reasons already stated I do not propose to occupy the attention of the House but for a moment on this question. On the main merits of the case there can be no justification whatever for this Government's delay in adopting a full and sweeping system of technical and industrial education, that will cover at least all manufacturing centres in this province. Nothing, Sir, would add more to the success of this province as a manufacturing centre than to have well trained, skilled mechanics in all our workshops. Any educational system that tends to lead or drive young men or young women to the professions, and to take them away from either the farm or the workshop is ill-balanced, and should at once be adjusted. I have frequently pointed out, Sir, that this province spends on an average per annum \$1.38 on every public and separate school pupil, \$1.66 on every high school and collegiate institute student, \$113 on every model and normal student, \$135 on every university student. Sir, I do not complain of these expenditures; my voice, I hope, will never be raised against this or any other Government making as liberal a grant as possible for education generally; but what, Sir, is this province doing, or what has it ever done for the large class of young people who are forced to leave school at an early age, say from thirteen to fifteen years? Can the province afford any longer to take the position that it owes them no duty, and see the responsibility whatever with reference to them? This question has both a financial and an ethical side. Once again I say, Sir, that this province can no longer, from either an educational or ethical standpoint, afford to say to the twenty, or thirty, or forty thousand

students, whom every penny drives from our public schools to the workshop and such like places, that it has no obligation whatever and owes them nothing whatever. All along the line substantial aid is given to the high school student and university student, and none to the lad whose parents possibly cannot afford to send him to school--even to the high school stage. In other words we help the sons of the wealthier and decline to give any assistance whatever to the poorer lad.

Germany perhaps, furnishes an illustration of the splendid results arising from a well considered and fully developed technical and industrial system of education. Here, our continuation classes are conducted pretty along the old scholastic lines; there, the continuation class is practically an industrial continuation class. Beginning with the continuation class, the state never loses sight of the practical side of life. The question of technical and industrial education is so closely allied with that of trade and commerce that one can readily understand why the empire as a whole pays so much attention to this matter.

In Germany the schools are, roughly speaking, supported as follows: 23 per cent. of the cost is paid by tuition fees; 49 per cent. by grants and donations by municipalities, employers of labor, and from other philanthropic sources; while the empire as a whole contributes about 28 per cent. It is a matter of common knowledge that in every village, every town and city, in this province a larger number of the more ambitious of our young men and women have for years been endeavoring to get some general knowledge of the scientific principles that underlie their life vocations through schools of correspondence. These young men and women have been forced to leave our public and separate schools at an early age, and having commenced life's battle, realize the necessity for a better equipment, and the result is that they sign contracts with these outside schools, and in nine cases out of ten they find it practically impossible by means of such correspondence schools to get any real benefit, and they drop the course and pay their large fees with very unsubstantial returns. It has been stated that from the Province of Ontario in this way there is sent out every year approximately \$1,000,000 to these correspondence schools, situated south of the line. If this estimate is, at all approximately true, and I think it is, and it is supported by teachers interested in industrial training, it shows an absolute demand on the part of these young men and women for technical industrial training. Assuming, Sir, for the sake of argument, that the amount of money thus sent out annually is even only \$500,000, and placing the support of the industrial schools upon the same basis as now exists in Germany, namely, that the students should pay 23 per cent. it will be readily seen that there is now going forth from the provinces an amount of money that will justify the annual expenditure in all of \$2,000,000. The tremendous amount of money practically wasted by these ambitious young men and women all over the province is another strong argument in favor of immediate action on the part of this Government. There should have been no delay. We, on this side of the House contended last year that this Government should have appointed a commission composed of competent educationalists, to not only ascertain the facts within the province, but also to lay out a plan of viewing boards of education, boards of trade, municipal councils, and such like bodies, to have conducted a regular educational propaganda in favor of a general system of industrial education.

Text Books.

Honorable gentlemen speak of the wonderful saving to the people of the province in connection with school books. The honorable member for Monck says that during the currency of the agreement the people of this province will save \$300,000; the honorable member for West Hastings puts it at \$750,000; the honorable member for West Toronto raises the limit, and makes it a clear million. How beautifully, and indefinitely it grows with each calculation! Not only in Toronto, among retail dealers here; but also in every village, every town, and every other city in the Province of Ontario, every one knows what a tremendous advantage has been given to one large departmental store in this city, to the detriment of every retail trader in the Province of Ontario. The agreement with the Eaton Company draws us to make the school book contract a direct advertising medium for that large departmental store. The bargain is so made, that a farmer living out in the township, can buy direct as cheap from the T. Eaton Co., Limited, as the retailer can. What is the result of such an agreement, and what else could be the result? None other than to induce people all over the Province of Ontario to write direct to this large departmental store for their books. Then, Sir, for example the books go back strapped in a "bargain day" advertisement of, say, millinery, ready-made clothing, or whatever the line may be, with the result that the orders pour in through the mail order department for purchases along these lines, and thus the whole retail trade of the province is hit by this cunningly devised agreement. The agreement places every heartstone in the whole province directly tributary to the Eaton departmental store, and invites everybody in the province to send in orders by mail for all classes of goods.

Then, Sir, as to the cost of the Road, the publisher is furnished with

the copyright; the province pays a committee to prepare the manuscripts and make the selections for the Readers; all plates and electros are paid for by the province; the type is actually set up, and then all this is handed over to the Eaton Company, and they are asked to run the Readers off. And the people are deceived and humbugged with the statement that 40c. is the whole cost of the Readers.

Reciprocity.

Now, Sir, I take up the question, which the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer introduced very naively into this debate, technically justifying its introduction on account of its alleged effect on the Temiscaming and Northern Ontario Railway. Without discussing the correctness or incorrectness of the principal reason given, let me say at the outset that I do not propose to give a silent vote on this question. The honorable member for West Toronto justifies the discussion of reciprocity by this House on the ground that it affects the people of Ontario, and therefore we have a right to discuss it. By parity of reasoning, and because education, and all the laws and regulations in connection with it in this province, affect all members at Ottawa who come from this province, they then will be justified in placing on the order paper at Ottawa a resolution with reference to our model schools or our normal schools, or some other such question. I fancy, Sir, if some Liberal member at Ottawa, from Ontario, were to attempt to do this, not only would the occupants of the treasury benches here, but the member for West Toronto would join them in a pretty violent denunciation of any such Ottawa politician, and would raise a tremendous cry about the fact that the provincial field was being invaded. I regret, Sir, the growing tendency in this House among Conservatives in their desire to have a Ring at the Government at Ottawa. What must the necessary result of such a practice be, if Conservatives of this House unnecessarily go out of their way to find fault with the Liberals at Ottawa, and similarly the Liberals here were to do the same with reference to Conservative members at Ottawa? The necessary result will be to lower the tone of debate in this House, and to lower the dignity and standing of this Legislature. Anyone can readily see that the public under such circumstances would be justified in concluding, and could come to no other conclusion, than that the members of this Legislature were mere henchmen or shouters for the politicians at Ottawa, and thus this Legislature would hold, in public opinion, a decidedly inferior position. I have no such view, Sir, of the rights and duties of a Provincial Legislature. We ask, Sir, by the same sovereign right that politicians at Ottawa do; we derive our powers and responsibilities from the same source, and we ought not in any way to lower or degrade our position. My position is this, Sir, that while every member of this House as a citizen of this Dominion has an absolute right to discuss any question that affects the Dominion, it is doubtful procedure for us, I care not what the precedent may be, as a Legislature to deal with the question of Trade and Commerce, which by the British North America Act is assigned to the Dominion Parliament. However, Sir, leaving this aspect of the question aside as a matter of pure party politics, I welcome the discussion of this subject upon the floor of this House, though I doubt the wisdom of it. I am bound to admit, Sir, that the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer, when he was treading upon doubtful ground, and he took great pains to explain that he only referred to the question because of his fear that if the reciprocity agreement is consummated the result will be injurious to the Temiscaming and Northern Ontario Railway, which is protected by this province, and therefore upon that ground, and that ground alone, did he seem to justify the introduction of the discussion. In thus narrowing the reason for introducing this subject, the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer was more careful and judicious than certain other honorable gentlemen who have spoken.

The Treaty of 1854-65.

I am afraid, Sir, that the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer has given his party a load that they will never attempt to lift when he says, that not only would reciprocity, if adopted, not be a good thing, but when he goes out of his way at great length to quote figures and argue that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 to 1866 was very injurious to the old provinces of Canada. One can understand any honorable gentleman taking the position that circumstances and conditions have changed, owing to policies adopted since 1866, that it does not now follow that even if the old treaty was beneficial to Canada, that the adoption of a similar one would now be so; but, as I have said, the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer asks his party to lift the tremendous load of proving to the people of this province that the old treaty was disastrous to the people of the old province. His arguments, however, unless this were his object, and Sir, I am quite certain that the older farmers of this province, who recollect the facts, will have difficulty in understanding the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer's view point; in fact, they will be amazed at the load he has placed upon his party. They will recall the disastrous effect the abrogation of the treaty in 1866 had upon prices; wool, that prior to the abrogation sold for 40c. a pound dropped immediately to 15c.; lambs that sold for \$4.50 dropped immediately to \$2.50; the prices of horses, cattle and hogs were cut in halves as soon as the treaty was abrogated; barley, which sold for \$1.39 to \$1.35 per bushel dropped immediately to 40 or 50 cents, and so on, practically everything the farmer had to sell. When, therefore, the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer essays the Herculean task of proving that these results of the abrogation of the treaty were beneficial, at all events to the farming community, they, to put it mildly, will indeed be amazed.

Both Sides Desired Reciprocity.

If the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer is right and the results of the treaty of 1854-1866 were injurious to the Old Provinces of Canada, how under the sun does he explain the

ever-occurring and persistently recurring attempts of his Dominion leaders to secure a renewal of the treaty? What has become of his loyalty to the principles advocated by Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Leonard Tilley, Sir John Thompson, Sir Charles Tupper and others? Shades of the great departed, how your influence has waned with our Provincial Treasurer! The honorable gentleman, in the extreme position he has taken, turns down the whole record of the Conservative party on the question of trade relations. Let me, Sir, briefly summarize the attempts made to secure fairer trade relations with the United States to the South of us. The treaty was abrogated in 1866. Confederation was consummated in 1867. In 1869 Sir John Rose, who was then Finance Minister, was sent to Washington by the Conservative Government, and with Sir E. Thornton, the British Ambassador, made an ineffectual attempt to obtain a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty. In 1871, the late Sir John A. Macdonald and his British colleagues who negotiated the Washington treaty, endeavored to secure a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, but ineffectually. In 1872, the United States National Board of Trade petitioned Congress for renewal of reciprocity, and the then Conservative Government at Ottawa declared its readiness to accept the same. In 1874, the Hon. George Brown was sent by the then Liberal Government to Washington, and in company with Sir Charles Tupper, the British Ambassador, actually secured an agreement to a treaty, which was not, however, subsequently ratified by the United States Senate. In 1879, the Customs Tariff prepared by the then Conservative Government at Ottawa inaugurating the National Policy made a standing offer for Free Trade or reduced rates on a long list of United States products if the United States would act similarly with reference to Canadian products. The Hon. Mr. Tilley, Minister of Finance, on March 14th, 1879 (see Hansard 1879, vol. 1, p. 415) refers to "a resolution that will be laid on the table containing a proposition to this effect" that as to articles named which are the natural products of the country, including lumber, if the United States take off the duty in part or in whole we are prepared to meet them with equal concessions. The Government believe in a Reciprocity Tariff." Sir Charles Tupper in the same year as reported on page 464, vol. 1, Hansard, said: "My honorable friend, the Finance Minister, also proposes to insert in the bill the statement that, when the Americans shall reduce their tariff on these natural products, we will reduce ours to the same extent, and that if they wipe out the duties altogether, we will admit their products free. At no distant date we shall enjoy all the advantages which we possessed under the Reciprocity Treaty." All the advantages, noted in the words, and yet the Honorable Provincial Treasurer would now have us believe that there were no advantages such as Sir Charles Tupper speaks of! In 1887, Sir Charles Tupper, acting in concert with Sir L. Backville West and Joseph Chamberlain, British plenipotentiaries, went to Washington to negotiate a treaty as to fisheries, etc., and proposed to discuss tariff arrangements looking towards the old arrangement, with no practical results. Later, Sir, such a treaty was actually arranged by the aforesaid commissioners, and was actually signed by the British States, but did not ratify the agreement. If the Honorable Provincial Treasurer will look at the Canadian Statutes of 1879 and 1888 he will find that they contain standing offers for reciprocal trade in a long list of articles. In 1891 the Canadian Ministers were sent to discuss the proposed Reciprocity Treaty in a consultation with the United States Ministers with a view to obtaining better reciprocal trade relations, and, Sir, so important did the late Sir John A. Macdonald consider the subject that he made it a pretext for an appeal to the country in order that his mission have a mandate from the people, which he received, and upon which he acted in an attempt to secure freer trade relations. In 1892 the then Conservative Government continued their negotiations. The Canadian Customs Tariff Act of 1894 contains a standing proposal, in several of its clauses, entirely remit or to reduce duties on a long list of articles produced by the United States, provided similar concessions are made with reference to Canadian products; so that, Sir, you will observe that as late as 1894, that is two years before the Conservative Government went out of power, they placed this standing offer upon the Canadian Statutes. Their course throughout was persistently consistent, and consistently persistent in an attempt to get freer trade relations, and yet the Honorable Provincial Treasurer takes the position that even the old Reciprocity Treaty was an injury to Canada. The late Sir John Thompson in 1894 (see Hansard vol. 1, pp. 1505-6) informed the House that, "the Conservative Government had dispatched an agent to Washington to ascertain whether it was the desire of the United States Government to enter into negotiations with the Government of Canada on the subject of Tariff Concessions." In 1896 the Liberals continued similar negotiations; but the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer tells us, notwithstanding that the leaders of both parties were unit in believing that freer trade relations would be beneficial to Canada, that such is not the case, and that as a matter of fact the old treaty was injurious to Canada. The honorable gentleman, I repeat, Sir, has taken on during this debate an extremely heavy load. He has swallowed his own past record with reference to taxation of corporations, the Succession Duties Act, the Brewers and Distillers' License, the proposed abolition of accounts, as to Indian Treaty No. 3; but he now, Sir, adds to this the Herculean task of swallowing the whole past commercial history of the Dominion Conservative party at Ottawa.

He says in effect with reference to the great chiefs, the late Sir Leonard Tilley, the late Sir John Thompson, and others, "I should for you in your lifetime, but under pressure of party exigencies now I recall all that, and I say to you now that they were all wrong." I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that this position, a heavy load that the Honorable the Provincial Treasurer attempts to lay upon the shoulders of his provincial following; and I apprehend that he will experience very considerable difficulty indeed in getting them to swing into

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