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wishes nothing done for the Mother Country without a quid pro quo.

Most of the prominent Conservative journals have preferred to say nothing about Sir Charles Tupper's speeches evidently on the assumption that the less notice it received the better. The Montreal "Star" made a feeble effort to apologize for it by saying that Sir Charles Tupper's Imperialism was better than Mr. Tarte's. What the "Star" means by such a comparison is not very clear. Mr. Tarte is not only a member of the Imperial Federation League in good standing, but a month ago was re-elected Vice President, and it would be absolutely impossible to find a syllable in any one of his speeches that could by any manner of means be regarded as hostile to England. Sir Charles, on the other hand, has turned against the League, because it is a part of their platform to assist in the defence of the Empire.

The "Mail and Empire," as an antidote to the Tupper break at Quebec, is filling its columns with hysterical ravings against commercial union with the United States. It declares that as soon as the elections are over Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright intend to cut away from Great Britain and to hand the country over to the United States. This sort of nonsense can scarcely be criticized in a spirit of seriousness. It does not alter the utterances of the Tory leader at Quebec by a single syllable, and it only serves to show how hard the party had been hit. No one is advocating commercial union at the present time, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier has not entirely lost his reason. The Government which proposed to assume an aggressive attitude against England and in favour of the United States would not last three days. But that sort of talk is supposed to hurt the Premier in Ontario.

The Conservatives are flooding the country with campaign literature, and in this connection it may not be amiss to expose a little piece of fraud of which Mr. George E. Foster has been found guilty. He based a five hours speech on figures which he declared were taken from the official trade and navigation returns. They had reference to the rate of taxation and made out a case adverse to the fiscal policy of the Government. A day or so afterwards it was discovered that no such figures appeared in the official returns, and when Mr. Foster was charged with this serious breach of propriety, to put it mildly, he excused himself by saying that a messenger boy had carried away a sheet of his notes containing the correct figures. In the meantime Mr. Foster's speech had been printed and scattered in tens of thousands over the country. The incident places this gentleman in an unenviable position, and serves to show the desperate tactics which the opponents of the Government seem ready to adopt.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AT QUEBEC.

La presse en général a été très-occupée ces jours derniers au sujet des déclarations de Sir Charles Tupper dans son discours à Québec le 31 Mars dernier, devant un auditoire remarquable surtout par le nombre de moribonds politiques aux premières places d'honneur, tels que Sir Adolphe Caron dont le pouls annonce la mort qui approche, et Sir Hector Langevin qui a rendu le dernier soupir au pays qu'il avait autrefois vaillamment servi, sous l'écrasement amer sur lui par cette foule de contracteurs malhonnêtes qui ont su jurer avec sa bonhomie.

Une grande partie de l'adresse de Sir Charles est consacrée à son histoire dont il est le plus élogieux écrivain. Le reste est la répétition des arguments qu'il a constamment employés dans les 57 assemblées qu'il a tenues dans la Puissance durant les derniers six mois.

Dans la vieille Capitale Sir Charles a parlé du pont de Québec que les Conservateurs n'ont jamais voulu bâtir. Il leur a dit que si son parti avait été retenu au pouvoir en 1896, il aurait bâti ce pont, et il espère maintenant que ce pont sera bâti.

Les questions les plus importantes qu'il a traitées sont sa politique du commerce préférentiel, et l'Imperialisme.

Les temps ont changé tout-à-coup. Jamais Canadien n'a fait preuve d'une telle soif pour l'Imperialisme tout pur que Sir Charles lui-même. Avant même la déclaration de la guerre dans l'Afrique du Sud, Sir Charles criait déjà du haut des hustings de la Nouvelle Ecosse qu'il fallait aider l'Angleterre dans ses guerres étrangères. Il suppliait Sir Wilfrid Laurier de commander notre milice et de l'envoyer au Transvaal. Le nombre de soldats devait être illimité; deux, quatre, cinq, dix mille hommes n'étaient pas trop. Le Premier du Canada ne devait attendre ni la déclaration de la guerre, ni l'expression des désirs de l'Angleterre, ni les instruc-

tions du Secrétaire Colonial. Le Parlement ne devait pas être convoqué, tant on devait se hâter, et laisser voir l'enthousiasme du peuple Canadien dans sa détermination de participer aux guerres de l'Empire. Il ne fallait pas aiguïser d'avantage l'impatience du peuple par la lenteur des procédés constitutionnels. Le Canada devait être la première des colonies à fournir ses contingents. Tous les millions requis pour cette expédition seraient votés par lui et son parti sans plus de considération. Il fallait être généreux envers l'Empire. Mais la générosité du sang et de la vie de nos enfants n'était pas suffisante. Il fallait ajouter sans réserve la générosité de nos deniers publics, et payer tous les frais de nos contingents, sans accepter un seul sou de l'Empire. Nos millions devaient être jetés sans calcul aux vents de l'enthousiasme. Le temps était venu de montrer à l'Angleterre et à l'univers que, à tout prix, nous voulions former une partie intégrale du vaste Empire Britannique. Et, lorsque le gouvernement, de l'avis du Ministre des Travaux Publics—dont la diplomatie saisit sûrement l'attention publique—voulut sauver l'avenir du pays, en insérant une clause dans l'ordre-en-Conseil que cette action du gouvernement ne serait pas un précédent, Sir Charles dut critiquer à sa façon, et proclama que le peuple Canadien ne voulait plus de restrictions dans son ambition à secourir l'Empire. Le Canada devait se tenir à la tête des autres colonies dans l'unification de l'Empire Britannique.

Tout-à-coup Sir Charles fait volteface. Il arrive à Québec devant un auditoire Français-Canadien, et là il ne veut plus de participation aux guerres de l'Empire. Il ne veut plus d'Imperialisme militaire, plus de Fédération Parlementaire.

Où serait porté à croire que l'esprit du vieux général conservateur commence à souffrir de l'âge. Car, il est difficile d'expliquer un tel revirement. Toutefois nous sommes prêts à lui concéder sa vitalité intellectuelle comme sa vitalité physique, et sa stratégie politique est capable de rencontrer tous les événements.

Sir Charles était à Québec, n'oublions pas. Il sait que les électeurs de la Province de Québec sont attachés à Sir Wilfrid Laurier, et que sa ligne de conduite est celle des électeurs. Alors, il revient sur ses pas, et reprend l'attitude qu'il avait tenue lorsque son parti était au pouvoir, et qu'il avait refusé avec Sir John A. McDonald de contribuer directement aux dépenses de l'armée et de la marine de l'Empire. Il avait alors déclaré que le Canada avait fait, beaucoup pour l'union de l'Empire; qu'il avait construit une voie naturelle de l'Atlantique au Pacifique, qu'il avait organisé sa milice, et sous de telles circonstances, il croyait que ce serait une grave erreur que d'amener le peuple Canadien à contribuer au maintien de l'armée et de la marine impériales. Ce qui avait été fait dans le passé, dit Sir Charles, devait être accepté comme une garantie de ce qui serait fait à l'avenir, ce qui devait être laissé entièrement au jugement du peuple lui-même. Or, n'est ce pas là exactement la conduite de Sir Wilfrid Laurier et du gouvernement libéral? Pas de précédent dit le gouvernement. Le peuple Canadien juge à propos et convenable aujourd'hui d'aider à l'Empire dans cette difficile guerre du Transvaal, et il envoie généralement deux mille hommes à son aide sur cette terre lointaine, contre l'ennemi le plus audacieux, le plus redoutable que l'Angleterre a eu à rencontrer depuis sa guerre de Russie. Nous le faisons avec générosité, de bon cœur, sur la volonté exprimée du peuple. Mais, pas de précédent! Dans une autre occasion le peuple devra se prononcer sur l'attitude qu'il aura à prendre.

Sir Charles, dans sa rétrograde, admet à l'instant la Sagesse. L'opportunité de cette déclaration de Mr. Tarte, et du gouvernement.

Une différence essentielle entre Mr. Tupper et Mr. Laurier, c'est que lorsque Sir Wilfrid fait une offre à l'Angleterre, il la fait sans condition. Sir Charles, lui, exige à l'instant le quid pro quo.

Dans notre prochain numéro nous passerons en revue le programme de Sir Charles sur le commerce préférentiel avec l'Empire.

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OTTAWA LETTER.

OTTAWA, 13th April, 1900.—After three days of absolutely wasted time, Parliament adjourned for the Easter vacation on Wednesday night. The Opposition papers make a point of charging that the small amount of business transacted thus far has been the fault of the Government; but the record is plainly against this contention. The Ministers were ready with Government measures quite early in the session, and two or three of the more important ones passed weeks ago. Not a single Bill of importance now remains on the Order paper. Parliament might just as well have prorogued on the 1st of the present month; but the Conservatives have kept up an incessant stream of campaign talk day after day. The estimates were brought down a month ago, yet they have not allowed an item to pass. If they continue this blockade work after Easter the public will have good reason for holding them strictly to account for a needless waste of money.

The Tories have perhaps never been so discouraged since their defeat in 1896 as they are at the present time. It might be expected that this sort of thing would be said by a Liberal correspondent; but that is not the reason for the view in this instance. Sir Charles Tupper's speech at Québec has practically thrown them on their beam end. Nothing like it has happened in the experience of either party since Confederation. Sir Charles is the Conservative leader, and his followers must either share the responsibility of his utterances or set him aside. Either course would be disastrous under existing circumstances. Mr. Foster is an impossible leader and no one else is in sight, although Clark Wallace would probably take the job.

Sir Charles' speech at Québec fell like a thunderbolt not only among the Tories but upon the general public. He went down to the Ancient Capital a staunch Imperialist and he came away with the reproach of having made one of the strongest anti-British speeches ever delivered by a man in his position. It is evident that he had made up his mind to let the English-speaking Provinces take care of themselves and to make a bold bid for the Province of Québec. He seems to have acted on the conviction that there is a strong anti-war feeling in that Province, not unmingled with more or less hostility

to England, and on this assumption he based his appeal. There probably is a lack of sympathy with Great Britain in her present struggle among some of the French Canadians; but Sir Charles never made a greater mistake in his life than to suppose that there is anything approaching an antipathy to England herself.

The speech of the Tory leader was a marvellous exhibition of how easily and how quickly a man may change his views. Two months ago he was thundering against the Government for not having done enough for the Empire. He wanted thousands of additional men to be sent to South Africa and Canada to foot the entire bill. He railed against the Liberals for their alleged feeble loyalty and in every respect set himself up as the champion of Imperial interests. At Québec he told a different story. His principal charge against Sir Wilfrid Laurier was that of being an ultra-Imperialist. He painted a dark picture of the burden of taxation which was sure to fall upon the people of Canada on account of the course which the Government had taken. If anyone had suggested that Sir Charles Tupper, of all men in Canada, would have executed such a complete face-about he would, not longer than ten days ago, have been laughed to scorn.

That, however, was not the only respect in which Sir Charles turned aside from the beaten track. For years he was the head and front of the Imperial Federation League. In that regard he considered himself, and was generally accepted, as the very salt of the earth. Some of his best speeches were on the subject of Imperial expansion and Imperial unity. At Québec he could scarcely find words strong enough to express his contempt for Imperial Federation, and he told with much gusto how he had practically smashed the League by declaring that Canada should not contribute one dollar towards Imperial defence. He argued that Canada had done her full duty to the Empire in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was of the greatest strategic importance. Amid great applause from his Conservative hearers he declared that he still held to that view and was proud of it. At great length he exposed the alleged mockery of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's conceptions of a federated Empire, and declared that Canada's share of the army and navy bill alone would amount to \$45,000,000 a year. This assertion was also received with rapturous applause.

The new preference given to England was denounced by Sir Charles Tupper in scathing terms. In the same highly coloured language that he had been using with respect to the other subjects he condemned the folly of giving anything to England without getting a corresponding consideration in return. He thought it would suit the palates of his Québec hearers to tell them that the Liberals are opposed to a preference on Canadian products in the British market, although there is no foundation whatever for such a statement. The Liberals would gladly have England afford preferential treatment to Canadian products in her market, and fully believe it would be highly advantageous to the Dominion; but they are not insisting on it. They are not making it a condition of doing anything for England on this side. They are leaving it to the judgment of the British people themselves, and therein lies the difference between parties in Canada. The Conservatives insist on getting their pound of flesh, while the Liberals have declared in favour of doing their duty to England irrespective of anything that may be given in return. Sir Charles

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