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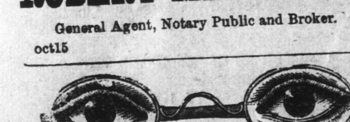

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PROSPECTUS.

THE FREEMAN FOR 1882.

WE ask the old friends of the FREEMAN for a continuance of their confidence and support for the next year, on many grounds, the chief of which is that having known it so long and so intimately they know that it is honest, outspoken, and consistent; that it labours diligently and successfully to keep them thoroughly acquainted with everything of importance that occurs in the Old World and the New; that it discusses all Canadian questions earnestly and thoroughly, not seeking to mislead or deceive its readers, but regarding them always as intelligent and patriotic, and submitting for their consideration all that is said by the leading men and leading journals of both political parties on all subjects of importance. The condition of Ireland, unhappily, has not improved much. The words and acts, the policy and purpose of those who take a prominent part in maintaining the cause of the people are too often misunderstood or misrepresented, and the people themselves are traduced and maligned. During the year now closing the FREEMAN has constantly endeavoured to separate what was true from the enormous mass of falsehood and misrepresentation in the Irish news, furnished by cable and by newspapers, and to enable its readers to know what actually took place, to form a correct opinion as to the policy and the acts of the Land League, and of all connected with it, and to judge fairly of the Land Act, its scope and effect, and of the general policy of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. We believe that this is regarded by all who feel an interest in Ireland, and especially by all the Irishmen in this Province who retain a love of the old land, as a work of no small importance. It has, we know, done much to [illegible] hostility which the falsehoods of the cablegrams and the violent inventions of the anti-Irish press did much to excite, and so contributed materially to the continuance of those feelings of mutual respect and good will, the maintenence of which is so desirable.

During the coming year it will not be less necessary that this work be done well.

It is also of the greatest importance that the effects of the so-called National Policy shall be carefully watched and impartially stated from time to time so that when the next general elections take place the readers of the FREEMAN at least shall be duly qualified to pronounce judgment upon it. The Government and their supporters are making extraordinary efforts to establish and circulate newspapers, in which Protection is constantly represented as productive of great and unalloyed good to Canada. Large sums of money are spent in these efforts to create a public opinion favourable to monopolies or tolerant of them. Something should be done by those who regard the statements made in those papers as fallacious, and their arguments as sophistical, to expose those fallacies and sophistries and make the truth known. This shall be the work of the FREEMAN and in this it should be heartily supported.

The operations of the Railway Syndicate, the further action of the government in their behalf, the efforts to obtain for the Maritime Provinces a fair share of the trade of the Canadian West, and fair play in the imposition of taxes, in the expenditure of public money and in all other respects, shall, as heretofore, be placed fully and fairly before the readers of the FREEMAN, and whatever it can do in the cause of even-handed justice and sound principles will be done.

To enable the FREEMAN to do all that it is possible for it to do, its friends, old and new, should make an earnest effort to extend its circulation and so enlarge its sphere of usefulness.

A writer friendly to the Gladstone Government says:—

"Gladstone's reply on Thursday to the accusations that he favored Home Rule leaves his adversaries no remaining ground but flagrant misrepresentation. Conservatives still grumble at the inopportuneness of any declaration whatever on such a subject, but find nothing to reply to Gladstone's proof that he made the same declarations on six previous occasions without eliciting any objection—the strongest being made in 1871, when it elicited the approval of the *Times*. The Parnellites announce that they intend to avail themselves of the opportunity to formulate a Home Rule programme. Liberals understand Gladstone's suggestion as meaning simply that the attempt to state a programme will demonstrate the impracticability of the demand."

Sir S. L. Tilley has made the wonderful discovery that the American mine owner or coal dealer pays one-half of the Canadian duty on American coal imported into Canada.

The Weekly Freeman.

Saturday, March 4, 1882

The Finance Minister, according to promise, brought down his estimates on Tuesday of last week. They are rather startling, for, although the expenditure on account of the census is so much less, and large sums are charged to capital which Mr. Mackenzie would certainly have charged to income, there is, it will be seen, an increase of nearly a million dollars over the large expenditure of last year. Of the increase $276,190 is for increased cost of working railways. This, it is to be presumed, will be more than covered by an increase of earnings, but yet it is a very large increase, rendered necessary, perhaps, by the wretched attempts at economising in some branches of the service during the past two years. A large sum is asked on capital account for additional rolling stock.

It will be observed that the great increase in expenditure is chiefly on account of the West and the North West, and that the wants of the Maritime Provinces are almost wholly disregarded.

The Indian expenditure last year greatly exceeded the estimate. The amount now asked exceeds the estimate of last year by $265,532, and even this large sum will probably be exceeded, as the Indians are yearly becoming more dependent on the Government and more inclined to ask or demand support. When Sir John A. Macdonald talks of the money we are to get from the sales of land in the North West, he should not forget that the million dollars a year which we are now to pay to the Indians, or for them, and the expenditure on the mounted police, are really a rent which we pay for those lands, and to those should be added all the other charges which the governing and development of that country impose upon the people of the old Provinces. We are not yet receiving enough to pay this rent and those charges.

The cost of the mounted police is to be enormously increased. The detailed estimates give some idea of the mode of the increase:—

	1881-2	1882-3	Increase
Pay of force, including staff and extra pay to farmers, gardeners and artizans	$110,000	$160,000	$ 50,000
Subsistence	45,000	70,000	25,000
Forage	40,000	50,000	10,000
Fuel and light	7,000	10,000	3,000
Clothing	20,500	30,000	9,500
Repairs, renewals, replacement of horses, arms and ammunition	37,000	50,000	13,000
Medicine and medical comforts and hospital expenses	1,500	2,000	500
Books and stationery	1,500	2,000	500
Transport and freight charges, guides, teamsters, laborers and mail carriers	24,500	35,000	10,500
Contingencies	3,000	4,000	1,000
	290,000	413,000	123,000

We were told that the Canada Pacific Syndicate would become the best possible immigration agents, and that we may reduce our expenditure in promoting immigration when they got fairly to work. Now we find that the expenditure is to be greatly increased. In the cost of managing Dominion lands, and in nearly every branch of the public service, there is a great increase. The Mackenzie Government were abused incessantly because they increased the Post Office expenditure, but this year, without any very extraordinary change of circumstances, there is an extraordinary increase of expenditure.

The militia expenditure is to be largely increased. There is an increase in the estimate for public works chargeable to income, but it is scarcely $36,000 altogether, and of the whole amount a mere trifle is to be expended in the Maritime Provinces.

The items which make up the amount asked for New Brunswick are $15,000 for the Marine Hospital, St. John, an increase of $5,000 over the amount voted last year; $7,000 for the Post Office at Woodstock, about which there has been so much shuffling; $15,000 for a Post Office and Custom House at St. Stephen; $7,000 for that Post Office and Custom House at Sussex, and $15,000 for a Post Office and Custom House at Moncton. We are charged also with $25,000 to be spent on the Penitentiary at Dorchester.

The proposed expenditure on the harbors and rivers of New Brunswick are—with the exception of the St. John Breakwater—few and small. They are Negro Point Breakwater, $35,000; Quaco—a revote—$6,000; Rivers Tobique and St. John above Grand Falls, $2,000; Caraquette, $4,000.

The only new appropriations for Government works in New Brunswick are those for the St. Stephen Custom House and Post Office and the Moncton Custom House, etc., and for harbor improvements the only new appropriation is that for Caraquette, County Gloucester. The appropriations for the improvement of the River St. John, $2,000 on the part above Grand Falls and for the Tobique, and $2,000 for the stretch from River des Chutes to Bear Island, are trifling. There appears to have been a great deal of shuffling about the site of the Woodstock Post Office. First $2,000 was voted for it, and afterwards $2,700. The public accounts seem to say that this money was actually paid out—or nearly all of it—for a site, and rumor said that the site of the Cable House was selected as most convenient on the recommendation of the late member. Now Mr. Langevin states in Parliament that a lot has been purchased from W. D. Munro for some $2,000. What can all this mean?

Nova Scotia is to get $2,000 for Sydney Quarantine hospital; $750 for Bunker's Island hospital (Yarmouth); $6,000 for public building at New Glasgow; $5,000 for Quarantine hospital, Halifax; $15,000 for Custom House and Post Office at Truro, and $2,250 for a public building at Antigonish. For harbors and rivers she gets much more than New Brunswick, viz., for Cow Bay, $3,000; for Benacadie Pond, to complete work, $3,000; for South Ingonish, $8,000; for Mabou, to complete, $4,000; for Cheverie, $5,000; for Arisaig, $1,500; for Great Village, Londonderry—locality furnishing $4,000—$8,000; Cape St. Mary, to complete, $2,500; Digby Pier, $3,500; White Point, repairs, $500; Parrsboro, Partridge Island, $1,500; East Bay, locality furnishing $700—$1,800; Pier accommodation at Annapolis, $15,000. The County of Colchester is to be rewarded for having elected the President of the Council last summer, and other places to be induced to re-elect Government supporters next year. The amount asked for Digby is more than appears to be necessary for any work to be done on its wharf.

Prince Edward's Island is not as much favored as in other years. It is promised only $600 for repairs on the Charlottetown Marine Hospital; $5,000 for a public building at Summerside; an additional $3,500 for Rustico harbor, and an additional $4,000 for Campbell's Cove. The only new harbor improvement provided for is at Murray harbor, South river, $5,000.

Chargeable to capital we find for increased accommodation at the Intercolonial Railway Station, St. John, $150,000; or wharf and elevator at Halifax, $125,000; for bunker coal wharf at same place, $21,000, and for land costs, etc., $7,100. Rolling stock for the Intercolonial to the amount of $305,000 is to be provided and charged to capital. Under Tory rule capital account will never be closed.

St. John has as much want of an elevator as Halifax has, and as much right to it.

Sir Charles Tupper appears to imagine that if he can, by any means, induce a majority in a constituency to vote for one of his candidates, or a majority in the House of Commons to vote against a resolution censuring any part of his conduct, he is thereby fully acquitted or justified, and that he may for all time plead such vote as sufficient answer should the charge be repeated. He is rather fond of challenging the Opposition now to bring before a committee or committees of Parliament, such charges as he knows are made in the papers, because he believes that any committee appointed by a House in which the Government has so large a majority would declare him innocent and pure. The only real purpose to be served by parliamentary enquiries is to elicit evidence and to bring facts and truths into the broad light of day so far as a majority will permit. It is unnecessary to demand parliamentary investigations when all the facts likely to become known are already fully established, and there is question only as to their character and meaning. The enquiries made by the Pacific Railway Commission which the Government were so infatuated as to set to work, although they were conducted with all possible care in the interests of the Government, did serve to prove that much of what was previously suspected as to the mode of letting contracts is but too true. The Toronto *Globe* which has accused Sir Charles repeatedly of having so acted in the letting of contracts as unduly to favor some parties and to cause the loss of great sums to the public, found in that report, and in facts which are notorious, what it asserts is conclusive evidence of the truth of its charges. A few days ago, repeating virtually what it had often said before, it said:—

"We have proved that Sir Charles rejected the tender of Andrews, Jones & Co. for Section B rather than give them more than three days in which to find over $200,000 security, though they put up $150,000 before he could give the contract to other parties at a moment when he had certain knowledge that Andrews, Jones & Co. would complete their deposit the next day. We have proved that Sir Charles wasted $214,765 in that transaction; that the contractors whom he favored to that extent had five days before endorsed U. E. Club notes; that they did not sign the contract till twelve days after Andrews, Jones & Co. were ready to sign it; that they did not engage to finish the work till a year after the time when Andrews, Jones & Co. tendered to complete it; and that they did not complete their security deposit till eleven days after Andrews, Jones & Co. were ready to complete theirs. Sir Charles has given two excuses for this piece of jobbery. In a Blue-Book of his department it is stated that 'the Minister did not recognize that the public interest would be consulted' by giving the work to Andrews, Jones & Co. and saving $214,765. To this the evident answer is that the Minister should have recognized [illegible] applies to both the Section B and the Carillon job. He says that he has not yet been forced to defend these transactions in Parliament. This is a very bad defence, though a good reason why he should temporarily regard the Opposition leaders with gratitude. What course they may take toward Sir Charles does not concern us. We have clearly established from official evidence every charge we have brought against him; we are ready to maintain them; he has never dared to meet them either on the platform or by any other method open to him, and, pending his conviction on the floor of Parliament, he must be considered guilty of gross jobbery, just as Guiteau, before being sentenced, was considered guilty of killing President Garfield. Sir Charles may defend himself on the inspiration theory, certainly there is no other one on which he has a ghost of a chance."

That what the *Globe* says are facts, do appear to be facts, can scarcely be denied. Are its inferences warranted by the facts—are its conclusions correct? It says of another extraordinary transaction:—

"We have proved that Sir Charles Tupper violated the Public Works Act in giving the Carillon work to his supporters by private agreement; that in conspiracy with the contractors he altered the plans and specifications to their profit after the contract was given them, and that he thus wasted at least $59,000 of public money—the whole sum thrown away not being capable of determination until the work shall be finished and paid for."

It certainly does not alter the facts in these cases that a majority are prepared to vote down any resolution the Opposition may propose.

It is not easy to understand why Mr. Gladstone should attach much importance to the resolution of the Lords, appointing a committee of their body to enquire into the working of the Land Laws in Ireland, but he has moved in the Commons and resolved to press a resolution, declaring that such enquiry would be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland. That will not prevent the Lords from going on.

The condition of Ireland continues to be very deplorable. The history of each week, like that of the preceding, is made up of evictions, arbitrary arrests, outrages which are really deplorable and which are now called agrarian, and outrages, the product of the police factories. The election of Davitt, now in a convict prison, to represent in the House of Commons Meath, one of the richest counties in Ireland, shows how strong and resolute is the will of the people. The profound sympathy which the Queen has expressed for the poor dumb animals said to have been mutilated, as expressed in the letter written to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals will no doubt excite proper sentiments in many quarters.

It is gratifying to learn that, although the Jews have been cruelly treated in many parts of Russia, the reports of the British consuls there discredit the stories of the murder of nine women and children and the other atrocities which excited such feelings of horror and detestation.

The utterances of Skobeleff have been repudiated by the Russian government, which never has hesitated to repudiate publicly what is said or done by even its most confidential agents.

The Herzegovinians are causing much trouble to the Austrians, but unless they are aided from without very soon they will be crushed. It is stated that the Sultan is gathering a force of 150,000, because trouble is apprehended from somebody or other, and it is thought desirable to occupy the Balkans.

Home Rule—Mr. Gladstone's Speech.

We publish below the report of Mr. Gladstone's startling speech on the Home Rule question telegraphed to the New York *Herald*. This speech probably marks the opening of a new era in the Home Rule agitation. It will be seen that Mr. Gladstone imagines and creates many difficulties which have no real existence, and especially that as to the difficulty of finding a mode of defining what the powers and rights of the Local Government and Legislature should be. That difficulty would be great if an Irish Legislature were to come into existence by any such process as that by which the old Irish Parliament resumed or regained its full powers, but as matters stand an Irish Legislature would be called into existence by an Act of the Imperial Parliament which would define its powers. Were these large enough and sufficiently defined subsequent disputes may be avoided:—

"'We attach great value,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'to the extension, perhaps I should say to the establishment—of the principles of local government in Ireland. We believe that one of the great evils under which Ireland labors is the want of local administration, and a more central system of authority. We believe that the state of Ireland never can be satisfactory until its people have acquired and learned by tradition and practice to exercise those powers of local government which were so beneficial in other portions of the Empire. Moreover, we believe that where the Irish people had the opportunity within a limited range of giving proof of their powers and qualities and capabilities for local government, as they have done under the Poor Law Acts and through some other channels, they have administered well. Indeed no one can doubt that, or their perfect capacity for such a duty. But this is speaking on the question of purely local administration. The motion of my honorable friend embraces matters of wider scope. I wish to point out to those honorable gentlemen that neither they, nor so far as I know, Mr. Butt before them, nor so far as I know, Mr. O'Connell before him, ever distinctly explained in an intelligible and practical form the manner in which the real knot of this question was to be untied. The principle on which they profess to proceed is that purely Irish matters are to be dealt with by a purely Irish authority, Imperial matters to be left to the Imperial authority of a chamber in which Ireland is to be represented. But they have not told us by what authority it is to be determined which matters taken one by one are Irish, and which matters are Imperial. Until they lay before the House a plan in which they go to the very bottom of the question, and give us to understand in what manner that division is to be accomplished, the practical consideration of this subject cannot really be arrived at, and I know not how any effective judgment upon it can be pronounced. I am well convinced that neither this Parliament nor any other House of Commons will at any time assent to any measure by which the one paramount centre of authority necessary for holding together in perfect unanimity and compactness this great empire can possibly be in the slightest degree impaired.

"We are entitled and bound to ask a clear and explicit explanation as to the mode in which that vital matter is to be determined. Who is to say what purposes are imperial? Who is to determine the circumscription within which the Irish authority is to have a final voice? Quotations have been made in reference to the positions of other countries—for example Finland in relation to Russia. But this affords no practical illustration of the matter. It would be just as rational for those gentlemen to quote the case of the Channel Islands. With regard to the Isle of Man, we have sometimes interfered in the matter of customs duties, but not in my recollection have we interfered in the legislation of the Channel Islands. We have left it entirely to their own authority, and we have not felt any inconvenience [illegible]. Thus while some development is given to the principle of local government without any practical inconvenience, I think the case of Finland and Russia is not different from the case presented by England and the Channel Islands. The case of Austria and Hungary has also been cited. I fully grant that the magnitude of that case is such that if you can, by the development of that case, show it affords a precedent for us, you certainly make out a strong case. I have heard of the alleged and the great and paramount difficulty of this question to which I have just referred, namely, the establishment of a dividing and divided authority—as in the case of the Austro-Hungarian empire—by a reference to the personal authority of the sovereign.

If that be so, am I really to understand that it is the proposal of those members of this House who take the view I am now referring to that the personal authority of a sovereign in this country is to decide the question of what subjects are to be referred to the Parliament of Ireland and what subjects are to be referred to the Imperial Parliament of this country. If that is the doctrine held, then I say you are immediately involved in a dilemma more hopeless than any that has presented itself to you, because on the one hand the subjects are to be decided on the authority of responsible Ministers—the responsible Ministers of Great Britain or the responsible Ministers of Ireland that are to exist under the plan that is now proposed, evidently you can't refer to the responsible Ministers of Great Britain the power of drawing a distinction which involves the most vital and delicate and practical parts of the subject. Then, if in the highest and nicest matter of government you are going again to set up the personal responsibility of the sovereign apart from the advice of responsible Ministers, you are at once proposing a revolution in this country more profound than you need bring about by the establishment of any form of government whatever. I express for myself, and I am sure for my colleagues, that *we are most favorable to the introduction of a rightly understood principle of local government in Ireland, and most desirous to promote it.* For the first of the purposes they have in view they cannot take the first step, they cannot establish one foot of ground upon which and from which to address their arguments to the House of Commons, until they have proposed a plan in which it shall be clearly set forth by what authority, by what machinery, they mean to divide Imperial and local questions, and so to give satisfaction to the members of this House upon its first and most paramount duty, namely the maintaining of the supremacy of the Imperial authority for every practical purpose relating to the interests and the purposes of this great empire."

These pregnant and quite unexpected declarations of the Prime Minister created a profound impression in the House, and a still more profound impression outside of it.

The entire press of the United Kingdom has rushed headlong into the question. The *Times* says the idea is to be at once and peremptorily rejected. Some of the Irish journals distrust the whole speech, and call it rather a challenge than a concession. The general effect on the popular mind is one of complete astonishment.

LONDON, Feb. 28.—In the House of Commons, this afternoon, Sir Henry James, Attorney General, moved a resolution declaring void the election of Michael Davitt to fill the vacancy for Meath, caused by the resignation of A. M. Sullivan.

Mr. Joseph Cowen, Radical member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, moved, as an amendment to the above an address to the Queen praying in view of the arrest and subsequent return of Davitt to Parliament that a free pardon be granted him. It was ruled that Cowen could not offer this motion as an amendment to the resolution of Sir Henry James, but must give notice of such motion after division. Sir Henry James pointed out that the Government would not move for a new writ, but would allow time for Egan to claim the seat. The resolution of Sir Henry James was carried by a vote of 208 to 20. Cowen gave notice that he would introduce a motion in accordance with the terms of the motion offered by him to-day.

The destruction caused by the recent floods in the Valleys of the Mississippi and of some of its tributaries was very great.

Dominion Parliament.

THE BUDGET DEBATE.

Sir Richard Cartwright, replying to Sir S. L. Tilley, said it was not always easy to follow the hon. gentleman. What between the subtlety of his grammar, the curious convolution in his arguments, and the curious conclusion of his sentences, if he (Cartwright) should not always understand what he meant he must not be blamed, and he (Tilley) ought to have some consideration for those willing and faithful followers who were prepared to accept any statement the hon. gentleman might be pleased to make. To-night the hon. gentleman had given a new series of kaleidoscopic views of the National Policy. If any of the hon. gentleman's followers happened to be afflicted with a sense of logic, or good memories, they must be somewhat puzzled to reconcile the position occupied by the Finance Minister to-night, with the position he had taken on many previous occasions. It would be well if the hon. gentleman should decide what his followers were to finally believe in some of those important questions. Were we to understand that it was a calamity for the balance of trade to be against us, or that it was a good thing for the balance to be in favor of us under certain circumstances, or were we to understand that it was a good thing to have the balance of trade in our favor if we had a deficit, but a very bad thing to have in our favor if it would prevent us from having a surplus? The hon. gentleman had said nothing about the important fact that the balance of trade was very seriously against the Dominion for the past year. The hon. gentleman had said he was pleased to report that he had an excess of several millions over the sum he expected to raise, but he left it somewhat dubious whether an excess of several millions is to be held as a proof of the wonderful accuracy of his estimates or as a proof that he succeeded in his leap in the dark. Were we to understand that he held it to be the best proof of prudent statesmanship that he had succeeded in quite doubling the taxes and burdens of the people, and in doubling the expenditure in some 13 years? The hon. gentleman alluded most gingerly to the fact that he had, a very few years ago, formally stated his conviction that $22,500,000 was ample to carry on the affairs of the Government Now he (Cartwright) found that in the year just closed he had spent $25,500,000, or $26,000,000, if we included the sum spent in Dominion lands; he now asked for $27,750,000, without including supplementary estimates, without counting $450,000 for Dominion lands for 1882-83. When the hon. gentleman calls upon us to admire him because, owing to circumstances over which we had no control, we have a surplus of about $4,000,000, he (Cartwright) in turn asked him how that was got? $1,160,000 was derived from those most odious and oppressive taxes on breadstuffs and fuel. If the expenditure on Dominion lands was added, we would find that the surplus would sink to $2,500,000. He was prepared to admit that there were circumstances under which a surplus was a cause for congratulation, as, for instance, when Sir Francis Hincks had a surplus without adding one penny to the burdens of the people. But reality at present showed a most oppressive system of taxation. He contended that the statements made by the opposition had been true to the letter. They had claimed that, if the tariff was to obtain revenue, it would prove a total failure so long as the exports continued low, and so long as there was no general improvement; but that the moment that our exports increased and general improvement took place in consequence, the tariff would, without further burdening the people, produce fully as large a surplus as was boasted of to-day, with the hon. gentleman's tariff, as a revenue tariff, had been an utter failure as our exports continued small. Comparing the revenue returns of 1879 with those for 1880 and there would be found deposits ranging from ten to one and a half millions and not until the export had increased to the figures named, was there the slightest sign of the expansion of the surplus? It was clear to demonstration that if we had the tariff of 1878 we would have had ample revenue without adding one cent to the burdens of the people. In 1875 our exports amounted to $67,500,000; in 1881 to $81,000,000. The volume of our imports and consequently our revenue is necessarily regulated by the volume of our exports, on that of the preceding year or two. Therefore it was clear that if in 1881 we exported $14,000,000 more than that in 1875, our revenue under the old tariff would have proportionately increased.

This was at a time when the volume of imports was $80,000,000. I look upon large imports, ever since the Dominion was organized, as one of the causes of the troubles with which we have to contend—one of the difficulties which it is our duty to remedy. Imports have been decreasing to a certain extent, but are still very large, showing clearly, in my judgment, that they ought to be still further dimished. We should turn our attention to still further reducing the volume of imports from all parts of the world. That was the policy expounded by the Finance Minister in 1879, when the imports amounted to $80,000,000. Now our imports, exclusive of bullion, amount to $90,488,000. The hon. gentleman has not a word to say about it. It may be news to the hon. gentleman that in the mother country during the last 25 years the balance of trade against England was something like two thousand millions of pounds sterling, on ten thousand millions of dollars. The hon. gentleman has one ground only for contesting these statements. If he is prepared to show that he and his colleagues are really the authors of the good crops which have increased our exports and contrived that there should be bad crops elsewhere then he has made out his case.

In raising revenue by indirect taxation it is a necessary condition that you must take more out of the tax-payers than goes into the treasury. It is impossible to estimate the total amount, but it is certainly in excess of 25 per cent. The hon. gentleman has secured $4,000,000 of surplus, but at an enormous expense to the country, he believed not less than $8,000,000 or $9,000,000. In one article alone (sugar) he has taken $4,000,000 out of the pockets of the people to put $2,500,000 into the treasury. He would next refer to the greatly increased cost of living. Ministers and their supporters dealt in general assertions, self-contradictory and self-condemnatory. If manufacturers were able to produce things as cheaply as they could elsewhere, what need had they of a protective tariff? It was because they could not do so that they required a tariff to shut out foreign products. Probably the Finance Minister did not hear the complaints of the poor, of men with small fixed incomes. He had been consorting with men who were making their thousands. He (Tilley) did not know, apparently, that on every yard of coarse tweed the poor man uses the tariff compels him to pay 15 to 40 per cent., on blankets 60 per cent., more than they could be obtained for elsewhere. On every gallon of coal oil which the poorest man consumes he has to pay 15 to 20 cents more on account of the tariff and the monopoly which its absurd regulations creates. On every barrel of sugar weighing 300 lbs. the public have to pay $9 more than if there were no taxes at all. The hon. gentleman could not understand this, but merely denied the fact. He would ask the hon. gentleman why people smuggled goods across the lines, and what folly it would be for a man to run the risk of the penalties of smuggling if he could obtain goods as cheaply in Canada as in the United States? He could tell the hon. gentleman, on the authority of one of the largest importers of dry goods in Canada, that there are merchants in the United States who are prepared to deliver goods in Canada at 6 or 7 per cent. higher than the invoice prices in the United States, but they do not calculate to pay the 40 or 50 per cent. duty levied by the tariff. Notwithstanding the hon. gentleman could not understand these things, his astuteness returned to him when he dealt with the coal question. According to him sometimes the consumer pays the duty and sometimes the producer. He reminded him in this respect of the student who, when asked whether the sun went round the earth or the earth round the sun, compromised the matter by declaring that sometimes the earth went round the sun and sometimes the sun round the earth. He (Cartwright) was prepared to admit that the consumer paid the duty just as often as the earth went round the sun, and that the producer pays the duty just as often as the sun goes round the earth. He then referred at some length to the gyrations of Sir Charles Tupper and his colleagues on the coal duty question, and quoted Sir Henry Tyler to show that the price of coal was increased to the extent of the duty imposed.

The Minister of Finance found out what the producer thought, but what the consumer felt and thought is a matter of indifference. If the hon. gentleman would ask consumers, they would say that taxation interfered with their comfort, with their power to better their condition, with their power to make homes for themselves. It impedes the education of their children, and deprives them of luxuries to which they were as much entitled as that hon. gentleman or any one else. The price of provisions had gone up. Evidence came from every quarter that the standard of comfort was lowered and the proper distribution of property was arbitrarily interfered with, without adding one farthing to the national wealth collecting. His objection to the whole policy of the hon. gentleman was that it took many millions from the great mass of the people to divide it among a very small and favored few. He was aware that, from a political point of view, there was something to be said in favor of this, because the men among whom the millions were distributed might be useful at election times. But he did not regard that as statesmanship or as honest policy. He then compared the tariff to Barnum's expedient, when he found himself a dead beat, of starting a lottery with all prizes and no blanks, the subscribers to which found, after the drawing, that the prizes were only worth one-tenth of the price of their tickets. The hon. gentleman proposes to take money out of one pocket and put it in the other, and calls that granting relief to the people, but there were other classes who had a right to the same justice at his hands. If fishermen are to have bounties other classes have a right to bounties, too. Lumbermen had as much right to bounties. What reason could be given to show they had not? Farmers had to contend with foreign competition. They were loaded down with tariff impositions; was there a bounty for them? The lumber industry has increased its exports by $12,000,000 enabling us to buy a like value of imports. In those twelve millions, four millions of a surplus had been raised; to whom did the minister owe more than to the lumberman? He (Cartwright) had received from a leading lumberman a statement that lumber cost him from $1 to $1.50 per thousand more than it did four years ago. Everything he uses—iron, steel, saws, woollens, cotton, pork, flour, oats, corn, etc., are subject to almost prohibitory tax, though some of them cannot easily be got in Canada in quantities required. What had the Finance Minister done for the working man? Had he secured him from foreign competition? Were Canadian men worth less protection than Canadian cotton and woollen goods? The Government had appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of employes in factories, but took care not to interfere with the profits of their masters. Some of the employers told the commissioners they knew their business and that the Government should not interfere in matters of trade. He repudiated the idea that the Opposition were hostile to the manufacturer. He pointed out that the increased purchasing power of the people was due to causes entirely outside of the tariff, and that if the workingman's wages had been raised in some instances it was well known that a dollar to-day would not purchase within 15 or 20 per cent. as much as it would two years ago. He believed that we might have a profitable export trade in wooden manufactures, such as doors and window sashes, but the Government proposed to put an additional tax of one dollar on the production of the lumber to be used in making them. When his Government was in power he (Cartwright) sought to distribute the burdens of taxation justly. Manufacturers had reason then as now to think they had nothing to fear from us and were far more likely to be injured by the exactions of the present tariff. The Finance Minister had practically doubled the taxes since Confederation. He began at 13 1-3 millions and carried it up to 27½ millions. Yet in 1878 he had said that 22½ millions were sufficient for all reasonable purposes. The hon. gentleman would have to display a great deal of ingenuity to explain this great increase to the satisfaction of tax-payers. In 1867, with a population of $3,250,010, and an expenditure of $11,700,000, the average per head was about $3.60. In 1878, with a population of 4,000,000, and an expenditure of $17,841,000, the average per head was $4.46. Now, with a population of 4,250,000, we have a taxation of $23,942,000 or $5.60 per head. Practically the incidence of taxation was over $7 per head. He spoke on the basis of the census, but it was unreliable, as it gave not the number of Canadians in Canada, but a number that are not in Canada, many of whom would not return. He feared the census was taken with a deliberate fraudulent intent to deprive the Lower Provinces of their just measure of representation. The census was taken in a manner that would not be tolerated in any other country calling itself civilized. A number of items of expenditure had been extravagantly increased. For civil government in 1878 we expended $823,000, in 1882 it is estimated at $973,000. He pointed out that the present Government had increased the expenditure from $23,500,000 to $27,750,000, and criticized the estimates for 1882-83, more particularly the increased amount in connexion with the administration of affairs in the North West. He spoke at some length on the present administration of affairs in the North West, stating that while the department of the interior was now the most important department in the Government, he had no hesitation in saying it was the worst managed. From quarter to quarter and half to half year, there has been one continuous change in the regulations affecting lands. He found when he was in that region that about 1,000 Canadians had made homestead entries in Dakotah. He strongly criticised the mismanagement of Canadian land affairs which was driving Canadians out of the country. Coming to Savings Banks he found that we had borrowed some thirteen millions of dollars from the people, paying four per cent. interest and one per cent. for management, making five per cent. in all. Well, what was done with it? About thirteen millions were going in various banks, of which five millions or so was drawing interest from three to four per cent. We were paying some $600,000 interest and receiving some $170,000, paying five per cent and receiving one and a half per cent. He criticized the issuing of the bank circulars and said it was only by accident that a serious panic was not produced by them. He called attention to the remarkable course pursued by the Minister of Finance in giving information to importers of his intention to remove the tea and coffee duties, and his promise to the trade to delay the matter for a couple of months to enable parties to dispose of stock out of bond. Instead of the Finance Minister availing himself of his surplus to make a material reduction in the burdens of the people he made it an excuse for plunging into additional expenditure. He did not propose to quarrel with him for removing the duties on tea and coffee, but pointed out that they were precisely those which are most evenly distributed and which take less out of the pocket of the people in proportion to the sum they put in the treasury. If he really wanted to relieve the people let him remove the taxes on breadstuffs and on coal and those specific duties on various textile fabrics, which taxes are an abominable injustice. If cottons and woollens were selling as cheaply now as in 1878 it would prove nothing. Are those goods sold as cheaply as they can be obtained in other quarters? They are not. He proceeded to enumerate goods of various classes which had all been increased from 10 to 20 per cent. in price by the tariff. He controverted Mr. Tilley's calculations as to the less cost of sugar, and gave it as his opinion that we pay $3 and upwards more per hundred on all granulated sugar consumed in Canada, and that the people of Canada paid three and a quarter millions of dollars more than if there were no duty, and that two and a half millions went into the treasury, and one and a quarter millions have been paid to keep the thousand men Sir Leonard Tilley spoke of employed.

The Government was from day to day trampling on provincial rights and interfering with every liberty we still possess. Canada had become a country in which no man was free to buy, sell, eat or drink without paying toll to some extortioner or other. If they persevere in this course hon. gentlemen may find Confederation fall to pieces almost as soon as it was created. Canada would run great risk of losing the Northwest if the present policy was continued. Hon. gentlemen were as insolent now as in 1872 and prepared to be just as unscrupulous. Yet in twelve months afterward they were scattered and driven into ignominy. The fall that befell them in 1873 may befall them in 1883. He said there were signs and tokens, not a few, that if they did not mend their ways that fate would assuredly befall them again and it would be a fortunate day for the country when it would be able to put a stop to all the vexing legislation with which they had burdened the country.

Sir Richard sat down amid loud and prolonged cheers.

OTTAWA, Feb. 27.

A number of private Bills were introduced.

Mr. McCarthy introduced a bill to enable any person charged with an indictable offence to be admitted to give evidence in his own behalf.

Mr. Killam, in moving for correspondence, telegrams, etc, in possession of the Government relating to the appointment, or proposed appointment, of an administrator of the Government, or a deputy Governor, to act during His Excellency's absence from the Dominion in November last, said there was reason to believe that the Government had attempted to exceed their authority in this matter, but had been stopped by the Home authorities. They had, he believed, attempted to appoint their own master who might, had they succeeded, become their servant. He did not know that it would be such a very bad thing if we did elect our own Governor General, but in this instance, if the facts were as he had reason to believe they were, the Government had clearly attempted to exceed their power.

Sir John Macdonald said there was no correspondence on the subject.

Mr. Burpee (St. John), Mr. Rogers, Mr. Killam and others moved for a number of returns.

Mr. Anglin's motion for a return of locomotives, etc., for the Intercolonial Railway, now undergoing repairs, etc., gave rise to some discussion, the mover Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Mackenzie taking part.

The House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

OTTAWA, Feb. 28.

Sir Charles Tupper resumed the budget debate, speaking for several hours in his usual style and concluding with a coarse personal attack on Sir Richard Cartwright, saying that he had been unable to obtain any honors at college, had been unable to gain admission to the bar, and had only been able to get a constituency on account of his wealth. He accused him of falsifying the public accounts; of putting false statements into the mouth of the Governor-General, and of taking surreptitiously out of the public chest $55,000 and giving it to a Government corporation on the eve of an election. He concluded the attack by ridiculing Sir Richard's personal appearance when addressing the House.

Sir Richard Cartwright in reply to Sir Charles Tupper's statement that he had falsified an extract he had read from a speech of Sir Henry Tyler's, at the Grand Trunk Railway meeting, concerning the burdensome nature of the coal duty, read the report of that speech from the London Railway *News*, showing that he had quoted it correctly, and that Sir Charles had deliberately misrepresented him by reading as the extract in question a paragraph not in the speech at all. He also showed the groundlessness of the insinuations made by Sir Charles Tupper that there had been some crookedness in his negotiation of loans in England.

Mr. Anglin said the long personal attack made by the Minister of Railways on the member for Centre Huron had seemed somewhat to distract attention from the matters that were really under consideration, and he thought it would be much better had he confined himself to them. He pointed out the absurdity of the Minister of Railways' statement that the revenue tariff in force up to 1879 was a protective tariff, and disputed his argument that the duty on coal was paid by Americans. The Finance Minister had said that the Americans paid half the duty, a statement which startled most people, but he was not advanced enough for his hon. colleague, who now claimed that the Americans paid all the duty. During the contest in Pictou Co. last summer, however, that gentleman had taken a very different view of the matter. He then said that the people of Ontario paid $400,000 a year in coal duty; he also told the people of that county that while they got their coal cheaply the tax of 50 cents per ton handicapped the manufacturers of Ontario and was in that way a protection to the manufacturers of New Glasgow. He (Mr. Anglin), presumed, from the tone of that gentleman's speech to-night, that he did not intend to visit Pictou at the next elections. He referred to the memorial from the tug boat owners of Quebec, stating that the coal duty was burdensome to them, and to the injustice of allowing certain famed tug boat owners to bring in coal free of duty from the United States for use in Canadian waters. If the Americans pay the duty why spare them? Why not put the duty up to a dollar or two, instead of a paltry 50 cents. He pointed out that the arguments of the Minister of Railways, respecting the coal duties, was based on a fallacy, and stated that since the hon. gentleman had announced in his speech that coal was actually selling for less in the United States than in Canada, in spite of the duty, he had telegraphed for the prices at Detroit and Windsor, and had received a reply to the effect that the price was $6.75 in Detroit and $7.50 in Windsor, or exactly a duty of 50 cents and a freight of 20 cents added. He spoke at some length on the inaccuracy of the last census and the failure of the promoters of the N. P. to carry out their promises.

The House adjourned at one o'clock, Mr. Anglin still having the floor.

OTTAWA, March 1.

Mr. Thompson introduced a Bill to make all railway passenger tickets good until used.

A Bill to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced by Sir John, and by general consent was read three times and passed. The Bill provides that all stamps shall be redeemable up to June 30th next.

In reply to Macdonnell (Lanark) Mr. Caron said it is the intention of the Government to have brigade camps and drill 25,000 men this year.

Mr. Blake moved a resolution declaring it expedient that in appeals to the Supreme Court of Canada the printed records in the Courts below should be accepted for the purpose of the appeal. He pointed out that this would cause a great reduction of expense. Carried.

Mr. Blake moved for a statement of the number of persons in each electoral district counted in the census, though absent from the place at which they were counted.

Mr. Pope said it would be impossible to bring down such a return, and Mr. Blake argued from this that the census was unreliable.

Mr. King moved for a return showing the quantities of Spring Hill coal delivered at St. John and intermediate stations by the Intercolonial railway during the year ending Dec. 31st, 1881. Carried.

Mr. Weldon moved for a return of leases and licenses now in force issued by the Department of Marine and Fisheries, under the provisions of the Fisheries Act of 1868, of rivers and portions of rivers in Quebec and New Brunswick. Carried.

Mr. Weldon moved for orders in Council issued relating to the regulation of fisheries since 1st January, 1879, etc. He drew attention to the injustice of the present regulations, under which a man was not only not allowed to fish on his own stream without obtaining license from the Government, but that licenses were issued to strangers while they could not be obtained by the man who owned the land. He believed the present arrangements were contrary to the spirit of the British North America Act. Carried.

A number of motions for miscellaneous returns were carried, and after a number of private bills were read a second time the House adjourned at 6 o'clock.

New Brunswick Legislatur

THURSDAY, Feb. 23.

The Bill to incorporate the Auxili Bible Society of New Brunswick was co mitted and after a short discussion progr was reported.

There was also some discussion on Ritchie's Bill conferring certain powers the Bell Telephone Company. The obj of the Bill, as stated by the mover, is to move any doubts as to the legality of powers given the company by the Dom ion Parliament. Various opinions were pressed as to the propriety and the right the Local Legislature to pass such a Pogress was reported.

Mr. Willis gave notice of several quiries regarding the sales of Crown La in 1880.

Mr. Crawford introduced a Bill fur to amend chap. 57 of the Town of Port Civil Court.

Mr. Hanington introduced a Bill amend chap. 99 of the Consolidated S utes of municipalities.

Mr. Kenny gave notice of the follo resolution:—

Resolved, That it is the opinion and of this House that the vacant seats in Legislative Council should not be fille view of the voice of the people being ag the continuance of that branch of the L lature.

Be it *Therefore Resolved*, That the now vacant be not filled until decide the people at the polls of the next ge election.

Notices were given asking the Gov ment the nature, &c., of the charges, if preferred against the ex-Sheriffs of G cester and Sunbury Counties.

Mr. Crawford introduced a Bill to courage the establishment of manufact

Mr Fraser introduced a Bill to a Chap 100 of the Consolidated Statu Rates and Taxes.

Mr. Fraser introduced a Bill to a chap 59 of the Consolidated Statutes o bate Courts and one to amend chap. the Consolidated Statutes of schools.

Mr. Colter introduced a Bill to a the Act relating to the survey and ex tion of lumber.

Mr. Johnson gave notice of a resol for the appointment of an official rep

Mr. Fraser introduced a Bill relat the proceedings of the Supreme Co Equity.

Mr. Barbarie gave notice of a moti garding the sale of Crown Lands in cester.

FRIDAY, Feb.

Mr. Sayre introduced a Bill rela representation in the House of Asse This Bill provides for three membe for Kent, Carleton and Gloucester Co

Mr. Sayre gave notice of a series quiries regarding the sale of hemlock land in 1881, and of a motion for co all papers, plans, surveys, orders i cil, &c., relating to the same.

The Bill incorporating the Au Bible Society was agreed to.

Mr. Lynott introduced a Bill to es liens in certain cases.

Mr. Elder gave notice of an enqu to the intention of the Government ing the proposed Exhibition in St. J 1883.

Mr. Colter introduced a Bill rela the appointment of presiding office polling clerks for elections for mem the General Assembly in York Coun

Mr. Elder introduced a Bill to am Act to incorporate the Society for th vention of Cruelty to Animals.

Several other notices of enquirie were given and the House adjourne o'clock.

SATURDAY, Feb

A Bill was introduced to incorpor Riley Point Company.

Mr. Johnson's resolution for a co to apportion bye-road money was los

A Bill was introduced to allow the ty Councillors of Blissville, Sunbury dispose of certain lands.

Mr. Sayre's Bill providing that th of the Peace shall be the trial j contested elections of county cou was considered in committee, and good deal of discussion progress ported.

Mr. McLellan introduced the School Debenture Bill, reducing the interest to five per cent.

MONDAY, Fe

Mr. White (Carleton) introduce to amend Section 32, Chap. 68 of t solidated Statutes of highways in C county.

In reply to Mr. White (Sunbury Mr. Wedderburn said no charges h preferred against John Palmer, E Sheriff of Sunbury County.

In reply to Mr. Gillespie, Ho Wedderburn said the Government contemplated making any change management of the educational de or management of the Board of Ed

A Bill relating to schools would b duced the present session.

Mr. Johnson's motion for the ment of an official reporter was los

Dr. Vail moved for a return of pondence with the Dominion Gov regarding the Eastern Extension Mr. Blair seconded the motion a at some length blaming the Gover neglecting to furnish the informati for last year. Mr. Fraser said the ment expected to have definite tion on the subject shortly. Afte and at times warm discussion, nearly all the principal membe House took part, the motion was

In reply to Mr. Willis, Hon. derburn said no charges had been against Robt. E. Vail, late sheriff cester County.

In reply to Mr. Willis Mr. A the Government believing that 8C was less than the value of th lands, had taken steps to get an price and had obtained *bona fide* ers at an average of $1.54 an denied that there was any prete but admitted that in order to defe bination to keep down the price been made for the Government.

In reply to Mr. Elder, Hon. derburn said it was the inten Government to hold an exhibit John in 1883. The attention of ter of Agriculture had been ca advisability of the Dominion G co-operating, but as yet no fo had been received.

Mr. Blair moved for a commi quire into his charge that mone by Clerk of the Pleas had been ted for purposes not named in th He showed that the receipts source had fallen from $2,100 $600 in 1880. The motion sligh ed was agreed to. The Committ investigating the matter.

TUESDAY,

A Bill to authorize the Sun Company to increase its capital $10,000 debentures was introdu

Mr. Johnson moved his res giving Kent, Gloucester ar Counties an additional represen The debate, we are told, was l ted and at times somewhat h whole thing ended however in of an amendment praying the ernor to bring the subject und deration of the Executive.

WEDNESDAY

Mr. McLellan introduced a the boundary of the city and c John and county of Charlotte

Mr. Lynott introduced a bi imprisonment and a lock-up parish of Grand Manan.

Mr. Butler gave notice that next he would move the Hou mittee on the report of the c the E. George Harshman cla to the House in March last.

At 12 o'clock the Provinc laid on the table the estimat diture for the current year as

Administration of Justice
Agriculture
Blind Asylum, Halifax
Contingencies
Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Hal
School Houses, poor district
Judges' Chambers, St. John
Legislative Library
Legislative Council
House of Assembly
Public Hospital, St. John
Public Printing
Public Works
Rifle Association