

FOR THE TUNNEL, AND FOR RECIPROCITY. THE CANDIDATES.

QUEEN'S COUNTY. Hon. Donald Ferguson, Patrick Blake. KING'S COUNTY. A. C. Macdonald, John MacLean.

THE DAILY EXAMINER.

FEBRUARY 13, 1891.

Sir John's Manifesto.

AS THE EXAMINER'S space is largely occupied to-day by the report of Sir John Thompson's clear statement at Toronto, we are compelled to withhold the Premier's manifesto until to-morrow.

In this statesmanlike address to the electors of Canada Sir John Macdonald refers to the "profound depression which in 1878 hung like a pall over the whole country" and to the fact that under the jug-handled trade policy which then prevailed, "Canadians were fast sinking to the position of being mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for the great nation dwelling to the south of us."

Sir John then refers to the immediate revival of trade. All Canada rejoiced under the quickening impulse of a new found life. The age of deficits was past. The credit of this country mounted higher and higher until to-day it is higher than it has ever been. Sir John also points to the Canadian Pacific Railway. He then speaks of the vacillating policy of the Opposition, who have been consistent only in this, that they have uniformly opposed every measure which had for its object the development of our common country.

One of the grit correspondents has characterized this address of Sir John's as the will of a dying politician. The only suggestion of death in the manifesto is contained in the following paragraph:

"The question which you will be called upon to determine resolves itself into this, shall we endanger our possession of the great heritage bequeathed to us by our fathers, and submit ourselves to direct taxation for the privilege of having our tariff fixed at Washington, with a prospect of ultimately becoming a portion of the American Union? I commend these issues to your determination and to the judgment of the whole people of Canada, with an unclouded confidence that you will proclaim to the world your resolve to show yourselves not unworthy of the proud distinction you enjoy—of being numbered among the most dutiful and loyal subjects of our beloved Queen. As for myself, my course is clear, a British subject I will be—a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I oppose the "veiled treason" which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance. During my long public service of nearly half a century, I have been true to my country and its best interests, and I appeal with equal confidence to the men who have trusted me in the past, and to the young hope of the country, with whom rests its destinies for the future, to give me their united and strenuous aid in this my last effort, for the unity of the empire and the preservation of our commercial and political freedom."

—Hon. J. G. Carlisle, the present Democratic Leader, writes: "Commercial union, in my opinion, means ultimate political union, by the voluntary action of the people on both sides of the line."

RECIPROCITY

The Government's Policy

How Negotiations for Reciprocity Were Begun.

BLAINE IS WILLING

Why Appeal to the Country.

THE SITUATION DESCRIBED

What It Means and What It Does Not Mean.

A CLEAR STATEMENT

By the Minister of Justice.

At the Toronto meeting, Sir John Thompson is reported by the Empire to have said:

A little over three months ago it transpired that negotiations were being entertained by the United States for the making of a treaty of reciprocity with the colony of Newfoundland. The negotiations had not ripened into a treaty, but they were proceeding on lines which were not unlike, so far as they went, the lines which Canada would be willing to pursue in any trade negotiations with that country, and not, mind you, at the dictation of the British Government, as has been untruly asserted by the press opposed to us, but on our own lines. On hearing that these negotiations were progressing, we insisted upon the British Government demanding at Washington that Canada should have the option, if she pleased, of having Canada included in any treaty which might be made with the colony of Newfoundland, but we indicated at the same time that the proposed treaty with regard to Newfoundland did not seem to be upon lines so extensive as would suit the wants and interests of Canada, and that it might be better to avail ourselves at the same time of entering upon separate negotiations on behalf of Canada. (Cheers.) Well, sir, that intimation was promptly conveyed by Her Majesty's Government to Washington, and the answer made by Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of the United States, on behalf of his government, was an overture to reciprocity.

MR. BLAINE WILL BE WILLING.

Now, those gentlemen may assert in this country that it was all moonshine and humbug about Mr. Blaine being willing to entertain our negotiations, but it will be proved to you, when the time comes that, in response to that, Mr. Blaine, whatever his sentiments may be—and I am bound for the present to give him credit for candor—as the negotiations with Newfoundland would not suit the Dominion of Canada for a trade treaty between the two countries, he was willing to make a wide treaty of reciprocity and enter upon separate negotiations with her. (Hear, hear.) That statement being made, we are bound to avail ourselves of that to extend our trade. We have ever declared our willingness to trade with them. On the contrary, we are seeking extensions of trade in every direction. The next request from Mr. Blaine was that preparatory to negotiations being entered upon we would propose a basis upon which the convention should eventually proceed. We did so in a document which has been published in the press, offering to consider the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, with such modifications as the altered circumstances of the two countries might call for. We asked him to reconsider the abortive treaty of 1888, which settled the fishery dispute along with trade questions, and we expressed our willingness likewise to enter into negotiations which would settle the Behring Sea difficulty and all questions upon the Atlantic Coast with regard to the fisheries, and to continue the coasting and wrecking business as well between the two countries. Now, sir, a great deal has been said to the people of Canada about the insincerity of all this. It is stated that having in view that proposition to Mr. Blaine without prospect of its being accepted, without any prospect of its being eventually entertained, Sir John Macdonald has sprung the election upon the people under the pretence that he is going to enter into these negotiations, while in reality the cabinet at Washington will have none of it. Let me tell you, so far from that being true, we had the proposition that was submitted to Mr. Blaine; that the answer that Mr. Blaine made to us was that he was willing to enter upon a preliminary discussion to precede the more formal commission; he was willing to enter upon that discussion and to consider all points embraced in it, but would not be prepared to do so until after the 4th of March, when the term of the present Congress expires.

NECESSITY OF AN APPEAL.

In the meantime, sir, what would our position have been if we had not appealed to the country, if we had not gone to the people of Canada? It would have been said that in the very last hour of the existence of our Parliament we were endeavoring to make a treaty which would entirely change the business of the country, and when we went to Washington we would have been comparatively weak in the hands of the men with whom we were negotiating, because the men with whom we were negotiating would know that, instead of being there with the confidence of the country behind us, we had to ask the assent of a Parliament which had already spent its last session before the negotiations had practically commenced. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We would have the Government entering upon the most important treaty negotiations without a Parliament behind us, and what we propose is that, if you and

the people of Canada accept the policy that we put before you now, we will go to Washington with a Parliament behind, and we will be able to treat with Mr. Blaine with the assurance that the Premier of this country has the renewed confidence of the people of Canada. (Loud applause.)

WHAT IT MEANS.

Now, we read in the press opposed to us, "This comes like a very fine proposition, but what does it mean?" It means, as it always meant, that we are willing to extend the trade of Canada in every available direction; it means, as it always meant, that we are determined to uphold the good relations existing between this country and the United States, and that nothing can be more untrue than the accusation of our opponents that we desired to disturb these good relations in the past. (Applause.) I am sorry for his own credit, to see him going about the country declaring that we are exacting in these hard conditions against the American fishermen and that we are alienating the good will of the people beside us. We are doing nothing more than upholding the undoubted rights of Canadian citizens, whether on the Atlantic or on the Behring Sea, and we look for the help of Great Britain to sustain us. (Applause.)

GREAT BRITAIN IS WITH US.

Why, Great Britain has declared over and over again that we were strictly within our rights in everything we have done on the Atlantic coast in regard to the fisheries, and if you want the latest admission upon the subject, turn up the columns of the Globe for 1888, and you will find that the Government of Canada were called upon to act on behalf of the people of Canada in enforcing the treaty of 1818, and in insisting upon the rights of the Canadian fishermen. With regard to the Behring sea question, after five years delay, waiting for redress for a single wrong indicated, it was talked jingo nonsense, like Sir Richard Cartwright to the people of Canada in 1878, when he said, "We have the ships, and we will carry the war into Africa," what a cry there would be raised by the Reformers that we were trying to disturb the relations of the two nations. We went to the Supreme Court of their own country. (Loud applause.) Our people had been refused plain justice by the American executive, and we said to the American executive: "The constitution of your own country opens the doors of justice to every individual who has a grievance against you, and, great and powerful as our sovereign is, she has consented that her crown officer in the right of Canada shall go to the bar of that court and appeal against an injustice that has been done to a subject of this country. (Applause.)"

NOT AN UNFRIENDLY ACT.

In doing what we have done, nothing to break up the neighbourliness of the two countries, or anything to bring the parent country to the verge of war. What we have done is only what every citizen of the United States would despise us for if we did not do. (Loud applause.) I have said something with regard to what the policy propounded by Sir John Macdonald with regard to what reciprocity means. I shall tell you something now about what it does not mean, and you will be able to form some idea of the limitations which the policy of the present Government has imposed upon the policy of reciprocity or any other policy affecting the trade relations and the national relations of this country. I will tell you that the policy of reciprocity propounded lately, and which Sir John Macdonald proposes to discuss in the month of March, does not mean that Canada is ever to lose the control of her own tariff under any circumstances. (Loud applause.) Let me tell you another thing that it does not mean. It does not mean that the Government of this country has yet arrived at the position when it is willing that the tariff legislation of this country shall discriminate against the parent country. (Renewed applause.) Let me tell you, likewise, that it does not mean

DIRECT TAXATION.

although, if our opponents were honest, they would carry that phrase upon their banner alongside the term, unrestricted reciprocity. Mr. Charlton, within the last two or three weeks, said that direct taxation might have a beneficial result, and the Globe said it has lost many of its terrors, while Sir Richard Cartwright has professed even in parliament a great love of income tax if we would only introduce that into Canada. Whether it might have a beneficial result if it has lost many of its terrors, as the Globe says it has, or whether as direct taxation, or whether as income tax, it may look lovely, as Sir Richard Cartwright says, it will have no part in our policy, and our Canadian laws will in no way discriminate against Great Britain.

SIR RICHARD AT BOSTON.

Another thing that it does not mean—it does not mean what Sir Richard Cartwright declared as his policy in a recent address before a great audience in Boston 10 days ago. In speaking of the American seaport cities, he declared that practically they would get a monopoly of the "great regions behind"—that is Sir Richard Cartwright's way of describing Canada, "great region behind"—"and the commerce of it," he says, "no man can ever take away from you." Yes, sir, that is as true as gospel. (Laughter.) If Unrestricted Reciprocity gives to the American seaports the commerce of this great country behind them, as Sir Richard Cartwright says it will, and, as he says, no man will ever take away from them, our policy does not mean that. It does not mean the surrender of the National Policy under which the industries of this great country have been built in a surprising degree. (Applause.) It does not mean that, for the benefit of the American laborer, the industries of this country shall be pulled down and scattered. Why, sir, Mr. Erasmus Wiman, the father of the whole business—(groans)—when speaking at the Boot and Shoe Club the other day, making a long speech describing all the benefits that would follow to America from Unrestricted Reciprocity, said that Canada in return for your markets for her products has to take every kind of American manufacture without any restrictions whatever. Our policy does not mean that. (Loud applause.)

WIMAN'S ATROCIOUS STATEMENT.

I will tell you one more thing that occurred at that same meeting that it does not mean. Mr. Wiman, having exhausted his audience, if not his subject, an eminent gentleman arose and made a speech, in which he declared that was not his policy at all. He said it would never suit his policy

interests to allow Canada to build up a great nationality on her northern border, and for his part trade or any other concessions of any kind he would not all-w. But what do you suppose took place then? Mr. Wiman had the utter forgetfulness of the shame of Sir Richard Cartwright to stand up and say, "What Mr. Murray wants is the best thing to be had, and the best way to bring it about is in the way he proposes."

A voice—"What about the Jesuits?" Sir John Thompson—This gentleman wants to know what about the Jesuits. They are not in this race and no person shall succeed in deceiving the judgment of this country on any issue that is not before the electors. (Cheers.)

IF IT FAILS, WHY?

Now, the most favorite statement that our opponents make is, that this policy is going to fail to secure Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States. Well, sir, if it should fail, I will tell you why. It will fail because the followers of Sir Richard Cartwright have put on record whole volumes against Canada with regard to the necessities of this country and with regard to her bankruptcy, if she cannot get better trade relations with the United States. If it fails, it will be because of the clouds of witnesses he has produced against his country. The records of debates on reciprocity in the House of Commons, the record of evidence given before committees after committee of Congress at Washington in the names of these men appended to it, declaring that this country can be starved into submission, and contrary to the declarations he made in 1878 that the Dominion could afford to live without it. Not only so, sir, but they have opposed every concession which friendly congressmen and senators were willing to make to Canada, in the fear that it might do the present Government some good; and Canada has, as far as we can believe the statements of these men themselves—I mean the members of the American Congress—lost the benefit of concessions which might have been made to her, because of the strenuous exertions of the self-appointed emissaries, who oppose reciprocity until it can be given to Sir Richard Cartwright or obtained at the hands of Sir Richard Cartwright himself. (Hear, hear.)

AMERICAN INTERFERENCE.

Let me say another thing and I shall pass on as quickly as I can, so as not to occupy you too long. Let me say another thing to you with regard to the attitude of the American press, and with regard to the line of interference from the United States in this campaign. From now until the time of election you will find every kind of statement quoted from the American newspapers that are against us. They have lately solicited Mr. Blaine to come out and declare, in spite of what I have told you, that no negotiations are on foot for reciprocity with Canada at all. They have solicited the New York Tribune and got it to come out, while it declared a little while ago against any reciprocity, to declare against anything but Unrestricted Reciprocity. They will presently come out and declare that Sir John Macdonald can never get anything for Canada, and unless you send their friends—Sir Richard Cartwright and others—to Washington, there is no hope of trade concessions being made. Let me ask you to beware of tricks and intrigues of that kind. (Applause.) We appeal not to the sentiments of the United States. We do not, in the words of the gentleman who presided at the banquet in Boston and which Sir Richard Cartwright addressed, look to them for the sign by which we conquer—(applause)—but we appeal to our Canadian fellow-citizens, and if they sustain us in the policy I have stated to you to-night the negotiations will proceed in search for a fair extension of the trade of this country—not for Unrestricted Reciprocity, not for any surrender of our tariff control, not for any discrimination against Great Britain—but for a fair line of interchange that will be beneficial to both countries. (Cheers.) These negotiations will be carried on at the instance of the statesmen who for the last twelve years have carried on the affairs of the country; and let me tell you that in these negotiations you will not find it necessary to send any United States senators from Ontario. (Continued cheering.)

Notes and Comments.

—Mr. L. H. Davies is to be asked to explain his statement that many of our farmers are dependent upon remittances from their relatives in the States.

—As the Drill Shed will probably be cold, and as the crush of men will certainly be very great, it is not expected that ladies will attend the meeting on Monday next, at which Sir Charles Tupper will speak.

—The Toronto Globe declared last October: "Unfortunately, direct taxation is out of the question in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces." Yet the Globe and its party are promoting a policy which, if adopted, will, inevitably, necessitate direct taxation.

—Mr. S. J. Richie, a shrewd Ohio business man, said: "There is not a single one of the (Canadian) Opposition against Mr. Butterworth's (Commercial Union) Bill; and every man who is in favor of the annexation of Canada will tell you that is the proper way to bring it about."

—To convince the farmers of this country that, as Mr. John Charlton said the other day at Waterford, "a resort to direct taxation, to a limited extent, would ensure beneficial results," is, in the opinion of the Empire, to attempt a task so herculean in its proportions that it may well alarm even the secret believers in annexation itself.

—What, asks the Empire, is the state of our revenues at present? In 1890 the amount derived from excise was \$7,618,118; from customs duties, \$23,968,853; and from other sources, such as railways, public works, etc., \$8,292,854. The duties derived from customs were derived as follows:—

On imports from Great Britain... \$9,576,965  
On imports from United States... 8,222,994  
On imports from other countries... 6,171,689

There can be no doubt that, were all American goods admitted free and our duties on similar British products raised to the level (prohibitory in many cases) which now exists in the United States, nearly, if not all, our imports from the Mother Country would be stopped, and, as the rule would equally apply to other countries, we should lose a large proportion of our entire customs revenue. In this connection Sir Richard Cartwright and his free trade friends might tell the farmer what becomes of Adam Smith's theory, that trade must be based on exchange of products, and that consequently just as we diminish our imports from Great Britain so will our exports decrease.

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ROB ANGUS, Manager.

Charlottetown, Oct. 14, 1890.