THE UNPATRIOTIC CHARLTON

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS PRETENSIONS AND HIS PRACTISES.

He Deliberately Suggested to the Washington Authorities How Canada Could Be Coerced by Retaliatory Legislation—Extracts From the Speeches of Messrs. Bennett, Maclean and White.

One of the most interesting debates of the session at Ottawa occurred on Wednesday, when the enterprising young member for East Simcoe, Mr. W. H. Bennett, brought to the attention of the House the letters written by John Charlton, M. P. for Norfolk, to the Senate committee at Washington, suggesting the strongest kind of retaliation or coercion on Canada in regard to the U. S. duties on lumber and manufactures thereof.

Mr. Bennett read from the Charlton letter in question. Among other things it says:

I wish to make a brief communication with reference to the provisions in the Wilson Bill regarding Canadian log export duties. A large trade in the supply of American sawmills from the Canadian forests now exists. The sawmills of Eastern Michigan, at Saginaw, Bay City, Tawas, Alpena, etc., are largely dependent upon the Canadian forests north of Georgian Bay for their log supply. Canadian logs are also furnished to mills in northern Ohio and western New York. This trade last year amounted, in round numbers, to $5,000,000. The Canadian Government has shown hostility to the exportation of logs, and an export duty was first imposed in 1886, and was continued until 1890, when, under the statutory offer of the McKinley bill, which provided that countries not imposing an export duty should receive admission for their lumber into the American market at a lower rate than countries imposing such duty, the export duties were rescinded by the Canadian Government. The Mills bill contained a provision as follows: "Provided that if any export duty is laid upon the above-mentioned articles, or either of them, by any country whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law."

To Effectually Prevent an Export Duty on Logs.

The McKinley Bill also contained, as above mentioned, a similar proviso under the operation of which the removal of the export duty by the Canadian Government was secured. The Wilson bill is supposed to follow in the same line, but the proviso contained in that bill will not reach the purposes intended, but if the interpretation of your memorialist is correct will result in the imposition of American duties upon the article only that Canadian export duties are imposed upon, thereby supplementing the Canadian export duty and furthering the purpose of the Canadian Government.

It is respectfully submitted that this proviso should read as follows: Provided, that if any export duty be laid by any foreign country upon any of the articles mentioned in paragraphs 672 to 683, inclusive, then all said articles imported from said country shall be subjected to the duties existing prior to the passage of this Act.

Should this proviso be inserted, it will inevitably prevent the imposition of an export duty by the Canadian Government. It is that provision which the entire lumber trade in Michigan, Ohio and New York, dependant more or less upon Canadian supply for logs, is anxious to be inserted in the bill.

Americans Must Have Our Lumber.

Mr. Bennett then went on to say: The hon. gentleman saw what the position of the Wilson bill was, as he states in his memorial, and it was this, that if the Government of Canada imposed a duty on saw logs, the result would inevitably be that there would be a duty imposed upon our white pine going into the United States. He saw that if that were all that were done, it probably would pass; and so, in his desperation, he appeals to the American Government—to do what? Not to encourage freer trade relations between the two countries; not to take of spruce lumber the duty of $2 a thousand that existed, but to have duties placed against all the articles that were enumerated from clauses 1872 to 1883, when it was proposed under the Wilson bill to admit all these articles free of duty. What was the result? The result was that those interested in the shipment of spruce to the United States were roused up to action, when the hon. gentleman succeeded in inducing the Government of the United States to threaten to impose a duty of $2 a thousand upon spruce timber, instead of admitting it free. Now, sir, the remarks I have made here to-day are not made, as the hon. gentleman will doubtless allege, in a spiteful or vindictive spirit. I say that the day has come when the Government should take the hon. gentleman at his word in this matter and accept the truth of his statement that the people of the United States must have our lumber; and if the Government are going to regard what the hon gentleman has said it must of necessity follow that an export duty will be levied, and that at once.

Charlton's Disgraceful Position.

Now, what is the hon. gentleman's position? He stands to-day in this House as a representative of a Canadian constituency. He has time and again asserted in this House that his interests are Canadian, that his aims have always been loyal and patriotic. Time and again hon. gentlemen have heard him assert that on his Washington pilgrimages he has ever endeavored to do—what? Not to stir up a feeling of hostility on the part of the United States Government against us, but to pave the way for friendly trade relations between these two countries; and yet, in the overtures he was making by this memorial, he was asking that the spruce lumber of this country should have levied against it a duty of $2 a thousand, and that all the articles enumerated in the schedule should be retained, subject to duty. The hon. gentleman for once was not shrewd. The hon. gentleman is particularly unfortunate. It happens that everything he writes falls into the hands of those who he should wish should not see it. Had the hon. gentleman been as shrewd as most of those who contributed, he would have made the request most of them did, that their names should be suppressed. Perhaps it was the overweening vanity of the hon. gentleman to see his name in print that induced him to ask that the memorial should be published in extenso. I have nothing to say against the hon. gentleman, personally, but I have everything to say against him as a representative of a Canadian constituency sitting in this Parliament for his action in this regard. I say it is a startling disgrace that any of our public men should besmirch the reputation of their country; and to-day the duty devolves upon the leader of the Opposition either to disavow the hon. gentleman or back up the sentiments he has expressed in this memorial.

False to His Leader, Party and Country.

Now, sir, is it not a surprising thing to see a Canadian parliamentarian making approaches to an unfriendly country—because the United States have shown themselves unfriendly in many trade matters—endeavoring to induce the Government of that country to do this country all the harm they possibly can! The hon. gentleman is a reader of American history. I believe, sir, he admires American great men; and I can only tell him this, that among all the great men of American history there is only one character that will compare with him, and that is Benedict Arnold. Sir, the hon. gentleman has proved himself false to his leader, false to his party, and false to the country; and I am bound to say that with the record which he has behind him to-day he dare not face his riding.

Mr. Charlton's defence was in substance that he denied the entry of Canadian logs to the U.S. free, and that this could only be had by the coercion clause he had suggested. He considered this good policy.

Mr. Maclean Denounces Charlton.

Mr. Maclean (East York) followed. He said: We have had another exhibition here to-day of that unpatriotic and un-Canadian policy which has been pursued by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. I have been reading this letter that he has written, and he says we have brought it up in election time. The fact is that this letter came out the other day in The Detroit Free Press and was specially addressed to the lumbermen of Michigan, that they might see what a friend they had in the Hon. John Charlton, as they call him, who is a member of the Canadian Parliament. I have also been looking up a speech that the hon. gentleman made here a year ago, in regard to the various missions on which he had gone to the United States. In that speech he took great care to tell the members of this House what his record was as a citizen of this country. He says:

Give It to Them Up to the Hilt.

It is asserted that I am a Yankee. Well, sir, if I happen to have been born in the United States, and if there is anything criminal about that, I do not know that I had very much to do with the circumstances. I think my personal responsibility with reference to that matter is small indeed. It is true, I was born in the United States. My parentage is Scotch-English. The name of my family is an old Northumberland name, whose records go back for many centuries. I have very much pride in the history of that family; I have pride in my origin. I have lived in Canada since my boyhood. I have spent forty-four years in this Dominion; but in the estimation of my Tory friends opposite that hardly seems a sufficient length of time to have naturalized me. Sir, I repudiate the charge that the fact that I am an American by birth prevents me from being a loyal and true British subject. I am, in fact, a British subject by birth, a British subject under the law of the realm, a law which provides that every person born of British parents, born in a foreign country, not, at the time of his birth, at war with England, is by birth a British subject; and I have a right to all the privileges of a natural-born British subject to as full an extent as any other British subject.

Now, I say the hon. gentleman, in writing this letter, has un-Briticized himself, if I may say so, and that he has taken a most unpatriotic stand. He then goes on to say:

I have never in any way used my influence, by word or act, to do anything that was not, in my opinion, conducive to the best interests of Canada.

The facts are that we were likely to get all the advantages of the Wilson bill, we were getting them and all the Americans had said was this: If you put an export duty on sawlogs then we will put a tax on your white pine lumber. But he says: Oh, that won't do; there is not enough retaliation in that; go on and give it to them right up to the hilt, and include in the list spruce, railway ties, hop poles, telegraph poles, hardwood and white pine. In that speech of a year ago he told us what he had done further in Washington:

I thought that would be a good time to come down to a point which I conceive to be of great importance, and so I urged on almost every member I met—certainly on every member when I obtained an opportunity to do so—the impropriety of attempting to force Canada into annexation by adopting a policy of restriction.

Now, we have the hon. gentleman suggesting and advising them to adopt the utmost measure of restriction in keeping out Canadian products. Further, he goes on to say:

I urged generous treatment on the part of the strong towards the weak.

Vindictive Attitude Towards This Country

In this letter he sent to Washington is there a suggestion of generous treatment towards the weak? It is a man in our own House and in our own country and who claims to be a Canadian who suggests the most vindictive attitude towards this country, urging them over there not to treat us generously, but to treat us vindictively. Then he goes on and says:

I urged favorable consideration of a fair proposal for reciprocity. I deprecated unfriendly legislation.

I charge the hon. gentleman here with not living up to those words, and with suggesting the most unfriendly legislation:

I argued especially, and with all the force I could command, that they should not think of adopting a retaliatory policy for the special purpose of playing into the hands of the annexation party.

Towards the close of his speech he says:

I do not want to leave behind me the name of traitor or the name of one guilty of chicanery or fraud.

What has he done here? What record will he leave behind himself now? What will be the record handed down to Canadians in regard to the hon. member for North Norfolk? It will be, as I said before, that he deliberately used his influence, that he wrote letters, that on every occasion he has endeavored to excite the American public, to excite the American press, he has gone on missions to Washington, and he has written letters to influence the public and the politicians there to do the most unfriendly acts to this country, and to injure our trade by putting retaliatory legislation on their statute books. In closing he says:

I have not been governed in my course here by any desire to do anything that would not meet with the approval of my own conscience and with the approbation of my disinterested fellow-country men. Canada, sir, is my home; it has been my home for 44 years; it commands my services, and I will do anything that lies within my power to promote the interest and welfare of this land, which has been mine since boyhood.

Ontario Has Power to Deal With the Question.

All through his speech we find statements like these; but no matter what his statements have been on the floor of this House, no matter what his statements have been in political speeches in this country, there is the great unpatriotic fact that he suggested to the Americans that they were not putting the sword in far enough for the Canadians, but that they should put it right up to the hilt, and prohibit not only our saw lumber, but everything else in the way of manufactured lumber, and thereby make it harder for us to enter their markets. In regard to the power possessed by provinces to deal with this question, I stated in this House the other day that I thought the Legislature of Ontario had it in its power to prevent the exportation of logs. I still maintain that position, and when there is a change of Government in Toronto, and I hope that will soon take place, I trust there will be such orders or legislation enacted as will prevent the exportation of our Ontario logs to the sawmills of the United States. A strange coincidence has occurred, and I do not know whether there is any connection between the two facts or not, but three days after the statement was made by me in this House that a Canadian province might pass such legislation a notice was placed on the Senate paper at Washington by Senator McMillan of Michigan, that if any province dared to interfere to prevent the exportation of logs, the same redress would be open. I should like to ask the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) whether he had anything to do with suggesting that clause to the senator for Michigan.

Mr. Charlton: I will answer the hon. gentleman if he will give me time to do so. I had nothing to do with that suggestion, but I did write to Senator McMillan of Michigan that the proposition was a very absurd one, and one that could never be carried out, as it would simply provide that there should be no further increase in the value of pine in Canada.

Mr. Maclean (East York): Just as I suspected. If the proposition is so absurd, it is strange that this senator should have incorporated it in the resolution. I think the proposition is not absurd, but, on the contrary, that it is good law, and that the Province of Ontario can impose such timber dues as they please, and can thus prevent the exportation of Canadian logs. I hope that will be one of the beneficial results following the provincial election on the 20th of this month, and that afterwards we will have a Government in Toronto determined to prevent the exportation of Canadian logs, and to secure that their cutting shall take place in Canadian mills, giving work to our Canadian people.

Missed the Point of the Accusation.

Mr. White (Cardwell): I venture to submit to the House that the hon. member for North norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has missed the point of the accusation brought against him in the explanation he made this afternoon. The hon. gentleman stated in the course of his speech that whatever influence he had exercised upon the legislation of the American Congress, the result had been shown in the Wilson bill as it now stands.

Mr. Charlton: I made no such statement.

Mr. White (Cardwell): Did not the hon. gentleman claim credit for the present lumber clause in the Wilson bill before the American Senate? If not, then my hearing must greatly have deceived me, and I took down the hon. gentleman's words at the time. That is the shame of his whole proceedings in connection with this matter. Let us look at the course of legislation in the United States for one moment. We begin with the Mills bill, that piece of abortive legislation attempted by the Democratic party eight or ten years ago. That bill contained a provision in regard to lumber and manufactures thereof as follows:

Provided, that if any export duty is laid upon the above mentioned articles, or either of them, by any country whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.

The legislation of the Democratic party went upon those lines. They proposed to place on the free list a large number of articles manufactured from lumber; but they said, in order to guard against the imposition of an export duty on logs by the Canadian Government, that if an export duty is imposed by any country, not on all, but on any, of the articles mentioned, the then prevailing rate of duty under the then existing tariff shall apply, thus making an effectual barrier against the imposition of an export duty on logs by any foreign country. Then we come to the next legislation, and which had practical effect, namely, the McKinley bill; and the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) in this memorial, to which reference has been made, says on the subject:

The McKinley bill also contained, as above mentioned, a similar proviso, under the operation of which the removal of the export duty by the Canadian Government was secured.

Then we come to the last measure, that now before the United States Senate, the Wilson bill, and the hon. gentleman says in his memorial to the American Government:

The Wilson bill is supposed to follow in the same line, but the proviso, as contained in that bill, will not reach the purpose intended; but, if the interpretation of the memorialist is correct, will result in the imposition of American duties upon the articles only that Canadian export duties are imposed upon.

One Exception to the Free List.

So that the position was this: Under the proposed American legislation—and I have the tariff here as reported to the Senate from the Finance Committee, and it was reported from the House to the Finance Committee of the Senate—it was intended that all articles from items 672 to 683, inclusive, of the tariff, should be placed upon the free list, namely (the list is somewhat long, but it is all the more worth while reading)—Firewood, handle bolts, heading bolts, stave bolts and shingle bolts, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber and ship planking, not specially provided for in this act; timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building walls; timber squared or sided, sawed boards, plank deals and other lumber; pine clap-boards, spruce clap-boards, hubs for wheels, posts, last blocks, wagon blocks, car blocks, bun blocks, heading, and all like blocks or stoks, rough hewn or sawed only; laths, pickets and palings, shingles, staves of wood of all kinds, wood manufactured. Under the provisions of the Wilson bill, as reported from the Senate, every one of those articles was placed upon the free list. And there was this proviso:

Provided, that any of the articles mentioned in paragraphs 672 to 683, inclusive, when imported from any country which lays an export duty on the same or any of them, shall be subject to the duties existing prior to the passage of this act.

There was this flaw in the American tariff, which the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), discovered. Under the Wilson bill, the result of the deliberation of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives, and which, it was to be presumed, the Democratic Party intended to pass, it was designed to place all the articles I have enumerated on the free list and make this one exception, that if Canada imposed an export duty on any one of these articles, then that article should become subject to the present duty under the McKinley bill. The flaw which the hon. member for North Norfolk discovered and which he hastened to point out to the Finance Committee of the Senate was this:

It is respectfully submitted that this proviso should read as follows:

"Provided, that if any export duty is laid by any foreign country upon any of the articles mentioned in paragraphs 672 to 683, inclusive, then all said articles imported from said country shall be subjected to the duties existing prior to the passage of this act."

The Result of Charlton's Action.

The hon. gentleman saw that if the legislation was carried out as laid down by the Democratic Party in Congress, Canada would be free to impose an export duty on logs, and at the same time obtain free admission to the United States for a large number of forest products, and so he pointed out to the Democratic Party that unless they amended their legislation in the direction suggested by him they would lose their power of coercing Canada, and no longer would the Michigan lumbermen be able to get in their logs free from Canada and at the same time enjoy the monopoly of the American home market. What was the result of the hon. gentleman's action? It is not a matter of speculation, for the consequences of it are seen in its fruits. It was this: that the Finance Committee, after having received this memorial, amended the Wilson bill so that the proviso now reads as follows:

Provided, that all of the articles mentioned in paragraphs 672 to 683 inclusive, when imported from any country which lays an export duty on any of them, shall be subjected to the duties existing prior to the passage of this Act.

If this proposal becomes law and Canada imposes an export duty on sawlogs, the consequence will have followed, from the suggestion of the hon. member for North Norfolk being acted upon by the Democratic majority of the Finance Committee of the Senate, that every one of the articles which were placed on the free list of the United States tariff will become subject to the duties prevailing under the McKinley tariff. That is the gravamen of the charge against the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and I submit that in his answer this afternoon he has utterly failed to meet it, and that he has dealt with issues which are not germane or pertinent to the accusation; the very grave accusation, as it seems to me, which has been made against him to-day.

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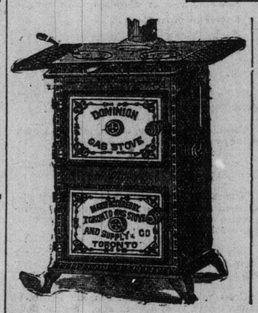

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