

DEBATE HEARING

Member for Delta Set Right By
Premier on Various
Points

ADDRESS OF McPHILLIPS

Quotes Authorities to Show
Fallacy of Stand Taken
By Opposition

(From Friday's Daily.)

In the course of what will probably be the last of the speeches from the Liberal ranks upon the amendment to the speech in reply proposed by J. A. Macdonald, M.P.P., for Rossland, the leader of the Liberal opposition in the local legislature, John Oliver, M.P.P., for Delta, excited some little interest in the session of the house yesterday by reading a press despatch from Ottawa. The despatch in question announced that today all the correspondence between the Liberal government at Ottawa, its appointees, the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, and the local authorities, upon the matter, will be brought down. The despatch, incidentally, stated that Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the effect that the Liberal government at Ottawa had given no advice to Lieutenant-Governor Durnsford on the question.

The speech of Mr. Oliver, which was of long duration, elicited a telling reply from A. E. Phillips, M.P.P., for the Islands. Mr. Phillips quoted a number of authorities to show the fallacy of the premises and conclusions taken by Mr. Macdonald and the supporters who have followed him. His speech was illuminating and elicited rounds of applause from the ranks of the government.

The member for Delta was set right on a number of points by both Mr. Macdonald and Hon. W. J. Bowser. A number of statements alleging that Premier McBride had received support in the last provincial election from the C. P. R. received ringing denials from the leader of the government.

Incidentally a statement of Mr. Oliver that the Conservative government of the province was in the habit of deliberately misquoting and misrepresenting the remarks of the Liberal members of the legislature was controverted by Hon. Richard McBride. The latter paid tribute to the work of the newspapers.

It is probable that today Parker Williams, M.P.P., for Nanaimo, will conclude the debate.

To Approach Governor.

Mr. Oliver moved that the rules of the house be suspended in order to permit of his introducing a resolution. He was certain that it would have the support of both the supporters of the government and the opposition members.

His motion was that the house should ask the Lieutenant-Governor to grant a return to the house of copies of all instructions received by him from Ottawa in connection with the reservation of land to anything that act at the last session of parliament.

Access is Free.

Hon. Mr. McBride: It strikes me, Mr. Speaker, altogether apart from the fact that the hon. gentleman's motion is entirely singular and that this motion should perhaps have been the very first move coming from the Opposition in connection with this debate on the withholding of the royal assent, that it is commonly called the Bowser bill.

Now, sir, my hon. friend knows his position as an independent member of parliament gives him access to the lieutenant-governor of this province, and if he wishes to approach his honor the lieutenant-governor as a member of this house in regard to anything that has occurred in connection with this matter, there is no reason in the world why he should not go. Of course, I am quite certain that the house will not take the hon. gentleman seriously, as this is merely another move in the game which has now very nearly reached the stage of a farce, as far as my opinion is concerned.

The motion of the hon. gentleman will be opposed, Mr. Speaker. Macdonald, M.P.P., for Rossland, and Mr. Bowser, M.P.P., for Nanaimo, under circumstances, the motion of the hon. gentleman was clearly out of order.

The house opened at 2:25 p. m. Prayers were read by Rev. Dr. Campbell.

Mr. Oliver Resumes.

John Oliver, member for Delta, in resuming his address, which had been interrupted by the adjournment of the House on the previous evening rehearsed a number of the points which he had made with reference to the cases cited by the attorney-general during his speech of the day before. He dealt at some length with the case in New Brunswick in 1874, where Mr. Bowser, the lieutenant-governor, Sir Leonard Tilley, had reserved his assent contrary to the advice of his ministers and also to the advice of the attorney-general. He stated that Mr. Bowser held office in this province and had reserved his assent to a bill dealing with the employment of Japanese and Chinese on public works of the province. He instanced several particulars in which the attorney-general, he claimed, had failed in his argument. The attorney-general with reference to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney had not stated that the latter was acting strictly against the advice of his ministers.

Hon. Mr. Bowser—"I distinctly stated yesterday that Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney in withholding his assent on the occasion of the reservation of land to anything that act directly against the advice of his first minister, Hon. Mr. Turner, and the same remark applies to the reservation of assent made by Lieutenant-Governor Macintosh."

Complains of Report.

In continuing, Mr. Oliver referred to yet another instance of the treatment which was being meted out to the members by the Conservative party of the country. He had said yesterday that Mr. Bowser had been given a statement before the public concerning an alleged contract between a number of Liberals and the Grand Trunk Pacific to bring in 50,000 Japanese to work on the latter railway. He had asked why this statement had not been proved at the recent enquiry in Vancouver and in that connection he had said that the provincial government was represented by counsel at that enquiry. The paper had quoted him as saying that the provincial government was not represented. Again when he

referred to the two gentlemen who, it transpired, had really been interested in an agreement between certain coal mining companies and the supply company of which they were members, he had termed these gentlemen, supporters of the member for Vancouver, "henchmen." These were examples of the incorrect reports of his remarks and the remarks of the Liberal members of the legislature. The Colonist and the other Conservative papers of the province.

Hon. Mr. McBride: I hope the gentleman will at once withdraw that observation. This House has no Hansard; and I am sure that both the Liberal and the Conservative as well as the independent press of the province, make extremely fair and independent and decent reports of the proceedings of the legislature. I do not think that in the circumstances it is all fair for the honorable gentleman to make that statement.

Had Not Retracted.

In connection with his former remarks, Mr. Oliver in continuing, stated that while the attorney-general had made this statement and while nothing had been brought out in evidence at the commission referred to, to substantiate them, he had not had the manhood to retract his former remarks.

So serious had the government taken the statements made and the situation in which they were involved, that they had summoned a meeting and were going to hold a smoker where the constitutional aspect of the matter would be discussed. He gathered from the announcement that the recourse was to be made to the judgment of the performers at the Grand and Pacific theatres, to the effect of the case. Well all that he could say was that knowing this he had gone to the Grand and Pacific theatres, and he believed that the opinion that any judgment which he had seen there perform would be of much value outside their own society.

The attorney-general in his remarks yesterday had made some slur on the remarks about the works of Todd. He could quite understand what the members of the government and its supporters had little use for the works of Todd.

The attorney-general had quoted a letter from the deputy minister of justice to show that the responsibility for the non-assent of the Lieutenant-Governor was on the government. He did not read all of that letter and he had not stated that it is the last paragraph of the letter which he had taken into account and carefully perused all legislation in the provincial houses and to instruct himself upon them.

Vancouver By-Election.

The premier had stated that the Liberals had a chance to bring up the matter and discuss it at the time of the Vancouver by-election, and failing that they should in the future hold their peace.

There had not been sufficient time above this to state, and the announcement of the appointment of Mr. Bowser as attorney-general to election day to permit of the matter being carefully gone into. The government had allowed 24 hours more than was necessary to comply with the law.

So, the opposition had put a candidate in the field, what would have happened. The statement would have been made that the McBride government had not acted constitutionally in the case of the Vancouver by-election, and the same answer as yet, stating that the lieutenant-governor was acting on his instructions.

With regard to those instructions the speaker had been very careful to say that the lieutenant-governor was acting on his instructions and had not acted on his own. He had not said special instructions. He had not said special instructions.

So, for this reason, if the Liberal party had allowed an opportunity to slip, Mr. Oliver stated that he did not think it essential to say that the Bowser bill.

Mr. Scott's Telegram.

Mr. Oliver drew attention to a judgment of the privy council which set aside the statement made by members of the government that the lieutenant-governor was a representative of the crown but of the governor-general which he regarded as absurd.

The statement of the premier to the secretary of state again was referred to. On January 13, 1897, the hon. gentleman had presumably informed the premier that he would not assent to the bill. This was some nine or ten days after the bill had been introduced. The same day the premier had left, and arriving in Ottawa April 16, had met the secretary of state and in a casual way had said that the lieutenant-governor would not assent to the bill.

A telegram had been sent twelve days later which the members of the government had used to twist so as to give the idea that there were special instructions given from Ottawa.

Mr. Oliver asserted that there was no particular significance in the fact that the lieutenant-governor had written the acting premier informing him that the bill referred to must be left out of the bills to which assent was to be given.

Mr. Oliver cited Todd to show that when a report of bills for sanction is given to the lieutenant-governor, it is the duty of the attorney-general to advise the lieutenant-governor on the legal standing of bills.

He knew his duty better than the ministers, for, as required by law, he had sent the message as required. It was the duty of the acting premier to advise the lieutenant-governor to assent if the government was acting in good faith.

With reference to any papers which passed between the lieutenant-governor and the governor-general in council at Ottawa, Mr. Oliver stated that it could not be argued that the house had not been informed of the contents. He cited authorities in justification of this view.

Mr. Oliver asserted that Premier McBride was endeavoring to burke the enquiry now going on before the house.

Resign or Be Responsible.

The attorney-general had informed the house that there was a move of the opposition to get into the government. He wished the government to resign in order that Mr. Macdonald might be called upon to form a ministry. The government had been told that it was to resign and the other was to accept the responsibility.

But was there any reason for the government to resign? He asked. He said that the circumstances they should resign to do so would be a foolish and so devoid of judgment as to be worthy of no consideration at all. He said that the lieutenant-governor was acting in good faith.

On the other hand had the minister resigned and gone to the country they would have come back with a full and unanimous following. They would have shown not only Canada but the whole world, that British Columbia was unanimous in its stand on this question.

With reference to the remark of the attorney-general that the secretary of state had improperly given out the statement of Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Oliver stated that the secretary of state had not done so. He thought that the secretary of state was as good a judge of what was his duty on this question, and proper as the attorney-general himself the day before. (Opposition hear, hear.)

What was the truth of that circumstance? Mr. McBride had assured the secretary of state that the bill would not be assented to. The secretary of state had said that if he were the secretary of state he would not rely too much upon the statement of Mr. McBride. He said that the bill would be sent to the lieutenant-governor and he would be brought down.

This matter had been decided between the premier and the lieutenant-governor at least five days before the conversation referred to.

Mr. Oliver stated that there was just the way of escape for the government. If the secretary of state had not given the lieutenant-governor his instructions from Ottawa they might escape.

In House of Commons.

"The premier recognizes that," remarked Mr. Oliver, "and now I am in a position to tell the house that today on the floor of the house in Ottawa Ralph Smith, member for Nanaimo, asked the lieutenant-governor had anything whatever to do with advising the lieutenant-governor of British Columbia to withhold his assent to the Natal act of 1907."

From the secretary of state at Ottawa the lieutenant-governor was given to the lieutenant-governor on that question. He further said he would bring down all the correspondence on this point. (Opp. applause.)

Hon. Mr. Bowser—"What about the telegrams?"

Hon. Mr. Bowser—"The telegrams from the secretary of state at Ottawa to his honor the lieutenant-governor here."

Mr. Oliver—"I am now dealing with the telegrams. I am sorry that the hon. the secretary-general is so dense. (General laughter.)"

Hon. Mr. Bowser—"Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that Sir Wilfrid Laurier said down the correspondence tomorrow?"

Mr. Oliver—"I will read the despatch."

Hon. Mr. Bowser—"Would it be going too far to say that the intention of the government at Ottawa to disallow the present Natal act which it is now proposed to pass through this house?" (Hear, hear and applause.)

Mr. Oliver read the despatch and in response to a question from Mr. Bowser informed him that it was a press despatch from Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. Bowser—"Oh."

Mr. Oliver—"Yes, it is a press despatch and if the government organ, the Colonist, has not yet a copy of it, it is behind the times." (General laughter.)

Echoes of the Campaign.

Mr. Oliver then began his peroration. In the face of the statement of the attorney-general, then a supporter of the government, and in the confidence of the government, he had seen the invasion of 50,000 Japanese threatening British Columbia, the premier of the province went away to England knowing that the lieutenant-governor would not assent to a bill which would have done much to avert disaster in the event of that story being true. He had gone away without advising the house.

The acting premier, who had not assented to a bill which would have done much to avert disaster in the event of that story being true. He had gone away without advising the house.

Mr. Oliver continued, "knowing that these laborers were not for the G.T.P. but for the Wellington collieries and the C.P.R. he had lent the government its support during the late election."

Hon. Mr. McBride—"That is not so. The statement and this is the second time that the hon. gentleman has made this statement."

Mr. Oliver—"What statement?"

Hon. Mr. McBride—"I well know that a 'honorable gentleman' would like to make a statement about the Canadian Pacific railway company and another corporation supported this government at the last election. 'But this statement and say that it has no foundation in fact.'"

Mr. Oliver—"Is it not the fact that my hon. friend during the electoral campaign traveled in special trains?"

Mr. Oliver continued, "Yes, I did and I paid for it. (Cheer.) And I paid for it only one special train and I paid for it. (Cheer.) And I paid for it only one special train and I paid for it. (Cheer.)"

Mr. Oliver—"My hon. friend from Rossland applied for a special train and could not get it."

Hon. Mr. McBride—"Well, that is not true. He was not allowed a special train."

Mr. Oliver asked the premier if the C.P.R. had not made special efforts to break the ice to permit his trip campaigning.

Hon. Mr. McBride—"That is not so. This is another general statement which is quite in line with what the hon. gentleman said at that time and my hon. friend knows it."

Hon. Mr. McBride: In reply to this I, on that occasion, used to say that if any member of this house can get it he applies for it, giving the privilege of sections 82 and 83, in reference to the summing and dissolving of the provincial legislative assembly, and by section 80, the giving or withholding of royal assent to the crown to bills passed by the legislative assembly."

Draws Particular Attention.

I wish to draw the particular attention of the hon. member for Yale to Judge Clement's statement. "But," he said, "with regard to these, with the exception of the last named, the 'conventions of the constitution' require that all such bills must be

done upon the advice of the ministers having the confidence of the legislature of the province. As to the appointment of members of the executive council, the lieutenant-governor has no voice. He is concerned, without advice, the new members upon the defeat and resignation of an entire administration; but, even in such cases, the incoming ministry reported to him and he must accept entire responsibility for the acts of the lieutenant-governor in connection with the formation of the new executive council. With regard to the giving or withholding of the assent of the crown to bills passed by the legislative assembly of a province, the lieutenant-governor acts as a member of the Dominion executive state and is not to be influenced by the governor-general, although in practice, the supervision of provincial legislation is entrusted to the Dominion executive state and is exercised without any allowance rather than before the event, by instructions to withhold the crown's assent."

Now, sir, the last named refers to the withholding of the assent of the crown to bills passed by a legislative assembly.

Need Not Ask Advice.

Now, sir, the learned text writer here says with regard either to giving or withholding the assent of the crown to a lieutenant-governor, that these things can be done without his advice. In justification of his action, he says that the lieutenant-governor has no voice in the matter; and, therefore, this whole debate has been so far conducted by hon. gentlemen opposite on false premises. (Hear, hear.)

Now, sir, I hold that whenever a viceroi or representative of the sovereign, such as a lieutenant-governor, either gives or withholds his assent to a bill, as a matter of fact, he does this entirely on his own authority and discretion. And unquestionably whether his question is regarded as coming from the one or the other point of view, we must come back eventually to this one great fundamental principle, that the power of withholding his assent is vested by the constitution clearly in the lieutenant-governor himself; and that in taking such a step he can act on his own sole discretion, without consulting any advice that may be given him by his ministers. (Hear, hear.)

Refers to Munro.

I now wish, Mr. Speaker, to refer to Munro, on the constitution of Canada; a work issued from the Cambridge Press in the year 1899.

Governors are Instructed.

I am not aware, sir, whether in this case any instructions were sent from Ottawa to his honor, the lieutenant-governor, but I do know that it has not been the practice of the imperial authorities to send instructions to the governor-general. It is the duty of the governor-general to act on his own authority and discretion. And unquestionably whether his question is regarded as coming from the one or the other point of view, we must come back eventually to this one great fundamental principle, that the power of withholding his assent is vested by the constitution clearly in the lieutenant-governor himself; and that in taking such a step he can act on his own sole discretion, without consulting any advice that may be given him by his ministers. (Hear, hear.)

Where Does It Lead To.

Munro on page 173 of his work deals with the Letellier case; and points out that lieutenant-governors are appointed for five years and that under section 59 of the B. N. A. Act they are not removable except for grave cause, which must be assigned.

Now, sir, I suppose that we are interested for the sake of argument, that the hon. gentleman opposite are right in their contention that under our constitution the lieutenant-governor occupies the position of a viceroi, and that the governor-general, as the representative of the sovereign, occupies the position of a viceroi, and that under section 59 of the B. N. A. Act they are not removable except for grave cause, which must be assigned.

I notice, sir, that the hon. the leader of the opposition and the hon. the member for Delta, who are interested for the sake of argument, that the house as if they considered that this question was settled, although the hon. member for Yale remained in his seat and said that the question is as yet unsettled. It is the duty of the lieutenant-governor to act on his own authority and discretion. And unquestionably whether his question is regarded as coming from the one or the other point of view, we must come back eventually to this one great fundamental principle, that the power of withholding his assent is vested by the constitution clearly in the lieutenant-governor himself; and that in taking such a step he can act on his own sole discretion, without consulting any advice that may be given him by his ministers. (Hear, hear.)

Lacks Sincerity.

Their absence, sir, is but another evidence of their lack of sincerity, which has already been pointed out by the hon. the first minister, when he succeeded in getting the hon. gentleman, the leader of the opposition had been sincere in his present attitude he would most assuredly have gone in August, 1907, he would have gone to the largest colony in the empire, Vancouver, and pointed out to the hustings how the constitution of the country was being trifled with. He would have said that the hon. the leader of the opposition was being really sincere in this matter he would most certainly have brought it to the notice of the hon. the member for Delta, surely if we advance untenable arguments. (Hear, hear.)

Has No Duty of Kind.

As a matter of fact, sir, the hon. the premier has no duty of kind placed on his shoulders at all, for when a lieutenant-governor withholds his assent to a bill he is acting within what is clearly the constitutional privilege of his office. He is not to be influenced by the governor-general, although in practice, the supervision of provincial legislation is entrusted to the Dominion executive state and is exercised without any allowance rather than before the event, by instructions to withhold the crown's assent."

Now, sir, the last named refers to the withholding of the assent of the crown to bills passed by a legislative assembly.

Duty is to Re-Enact.

The Hon. David Mills, an eminent authority on the subject, lays down the principle in his report on the withholding of assent from a bill of the same character, that it then becomes the duty of the government to re-enact the bill. The following session to re-enact the measure from which assent has been withheld, and pass it through all its stages in the legislature, by the lieutenant-governor for his consideration, and if, in this event, the lieutenant-governor again withholds his assent, the bill must be re-introduced by the crown coming to an understanding, in regard to the course that they should take in such circumstances. But, sir, in this instance, we have Liberals of all others, coming forward and urging that a Conservative government should have acted in a precipitate manner; and this, in my mind, is an extremely singular thing. (Hear, hear.)

Similar Acts Disallowed.

Why, sir, one of the very first acts of a Liberal administration in 1897 was to disallow an act of practically the same character as the Bowser bill. (Hear, hear.)

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Japanese Treaty Also.

In addition to all this, we have the Japanese treaty, which in express and absolute terms declares that the Japanese people shall enjoy in this country exactly the same rights that we enjoy if we go to their country; and there must be a free interchange of peoples.

Believes Act Useless.

We have, sir, only authority to legislate within the provisions of the B. N. A. Act, and if, sir, we legislate contrary to the wishes and policy of the federal government, we are acting in a rebellious manner. The Japanese treaty, which in express and absolute terms declares that the Japanese people shall enjoy in this country exactly the same rights that we enjoy if we go to their country; and there must be a free interchange of peoples.

House Has No Authority.

John Jardine, Esq., M.A.—Does the hon. member pretend that this legislation has no jurisdiction whatever in a matter of this kind?

Mr. Phillips—I say positively and without fear that it is a contradiction and I can cite ample authority if need be for my statement that this legislation has no authority whatever to deal with the question of immigration. We have no jurisdiction whatever in the matter at all. And by the passage of such legislation we transgress the constitutional powers of the province, and we are not particularly anxious to have the parliament of Canada from time to time make laws in relation to agriculture in all or any of the provinces, and to immigration into all or any of the provinces; and any act of the legislature of a province relative to agriculture or to immigration shall have effect in and for the province as long, and as far only as it is not repugnant to any act of the parliament of Canada.

Repugnant to Ottawa.

Does my hon. friend mean to say that the Natal act is not repugnant to the legislation of the Dominion of Canada, which distinctly declares that the people shall have the right to free right to enter into any of the provinces, and to immigration into all or any of the provinces; and any act of the legislature of a province relative to agriculture or to immigration shall have effect in and for the province as long, and as far only as it is not repugnant to any act of the parliament of Canada.

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