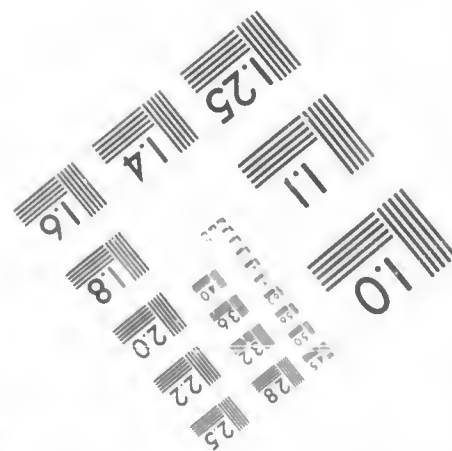
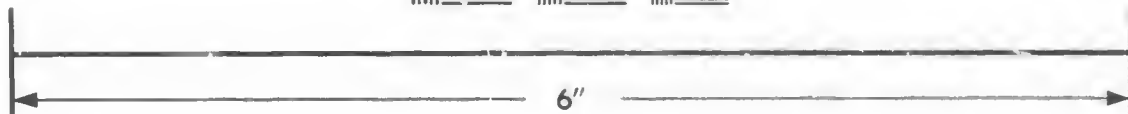
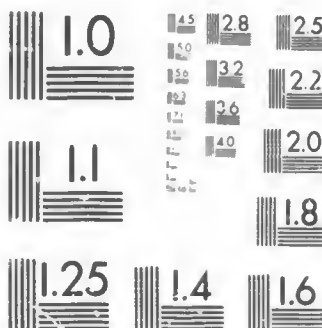


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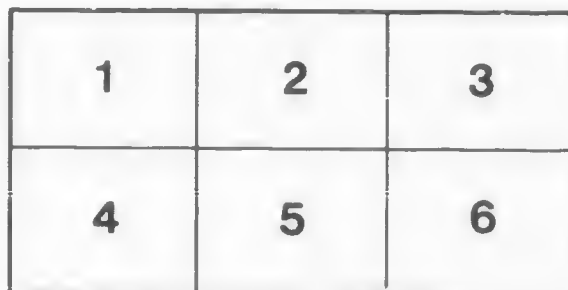
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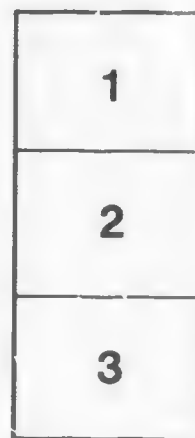
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Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper

Deals with the Political Situation in Burrard at a Public Meeting held in the City Hall, Vancouver, on September 24th. The Policy of the Government and its Supporters Severely Criticized.

The city hall was well filled Monday evening, when Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper spoke for two hours on the political issues of the day. The speech was almost entirely extempore, and was largely based on quotations from various great men from the late Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Hon. Joseph Chamberlain to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Geo. R. Maxwell, M.P. Chas. Wilson Q.C., took the chair, and supporting him on the platform were Messrs. A. Hogg, R. G. Tatlow, M.P.P., R. C. Webber, J. M. Duval, C. E. Tisdall, J. J. Banfield, H. G. Ross, J. R. Seymour, J. W. Hackett, Dr. D. H. Wilson, R. B. Ellis and C. J. South.

The chairman, in introducing the speaker, said that he was a gentleman well qualified to give an address on the Federal political issues of the day. He referred to the coming Dominion elections and said that so far as the Conservative party was concerned there was no division in its ranks. They hoped to reverse the verdict of 1896, which allowed into power one of the most corrupt administrations that ever held office. (Laughter.)

SIR CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER

after expressing the pleasure it gave him to accept the invitation of the Conservative Association and address its members, first referred to the Government, which was to stand its trial in the coming elections, and said during that Government's career it had more questions to answer for than any other administration. He said that the Liberals had given 18 years of professions, and four years of attempted administration, but not a single pledge had they carried out, and their promises went for naught. Sir Charles next devoted his time to Mr. George R. Maxwell, M.P., the present able representative of the Liberal party in Vancouver. He did not, he said, intend going over all the severe things

Mr. Maxwell had said about the Conservative party, as, he said, when a man descended to abuse he thought his case was hopeless. Sir Charles recalled what Mr. Maxwell said in the House of Commons, when the Liberal member made the statement that he hoped he would never descend so low as to denounce or besmirch honorable gentlemen who had risen to the front ranks in political life, and that the leader of the Opposition and the ex-Minister of Finance were men who he thought should be respected and admired.

He went on to say that on April 6th, 1900, in the House of Commons, Mr. Maxwell was confronted in debate with a long list of pledges, which he and his Government had made before the elections, and which, added Sir Charles, with warmth, had not been kept. The speaker went on to say that Mr. Maxwell found a way of getting out of it all by making the statement that it was impossible for a man always to fulfil pledges which he had made. Speaking of the Chinese question, Sir Charles said as an additional excuse for his failure to carry out his promises, Mr. Maxwell had gone so far as to say in the House that the Almighty himself had made a promise once to an individual and 50 years after that promise was still unfulfilled. (Laughter.)

Referring to the record of the government, Sir Hibbert said that in this country we had responsible government. Underneath and underlying the whole system of British institutions was the idea that at certain times, particularly at a general election, the professions and the records of one party were weighed against the professions and record of the other party. And if this system were adhered to honestly the people had a right to believe that the views expressed before their votes were polled would be carried out by the men for whom they voted—that was responsible government. Now, as to the position

of the Liberal party in this connection—he quoted that great exponent of Liberal principles, the late Hon. George Brown, to show that a strict adherence to

PRE-ELECTION PROMISES

was considered necessary to a true fulfilment of responsible government. Coming down to more recent authorities, he quoted the present Minister of Finance, the Hon. Mr. Fielding, who, when speaking in Nova Scotia in 1885, announced it as a political axiom that the people had as much right to hold a politician to his pledges as they had to demand that the engagements of business transactions should be fulfilled. In Hon. Alexander Mackenzie's life of George Brown, the following extract from his speeches will be found: "Public men think seriously ere committing themselves to new principles, but once committed their political success is linked with the fate of those principles, and a protection is established at once against mere electioneering professions of infidelity to the public cause." . . . "If a public man can hold one set of principles out of office and another set in office, responsible government is a farce."

The present Minister of Finance, speaking at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in 1885, said: "You have the right to hold the politician to his pledge, just as much as you would the man of business. The man who obtains goods from you under false pretences is a cheat and swindler. What should you call the men who obtain votes by means of pledges which they never intended to keep? I say again, if you are prepared to overlook these things then you have no right to ask for fidelity from any man who hereafter represents you." And aside from all this, there was no reasonable man to-day who would question the fact that this principle should govern the actions of our public men. Then what did they think of the member for the district of Burrard, who had laughed those principles to scorn? On the 6th of April, 1900, in the House of Commons, Mr. Maxwell was confronted in debate with a long list of pledges made before the elections, which had not been kept. But the Rev. George R. Maxwell found a way out of it by saying that a man might make promises with the very best intentions, and not find it possible to fulfil them in a day, a week, or a year. He had one that he had been carrying from 1896, about the Chinese question. As an additional excuse for his failure

to carry out his promises, Mr. Maxwell had recited the fact that the Almighty Himself had made a promise to an individual and 50 years after that promise was still unfulfilled. (Laughter.) These are Mr. Maxwell's words, reported in Hansard, April 6, 1900: "One characteristic keynote ran through all, that was, the broken pledges of the government. Now, I do not know for what reason hon. gentlemen should dwell so much upon what they call broken promises. The hon. member for Victoria told us that we had made certain promises and that they had not been fulfilled. Now, I think it is patent to every individual who wants to be fair, that a man may make a promise with the very best intentions, and may find it very difficult to fulfil that promise in a day, or in a week, or in a month, or in a year. I can remember a particular promise of which I have read, and which has been pretty much studied by me, made by the Almighty Himself to an individual, and 50 years afterwards that promise was still unfulfilled; but before he died the promise was verified."

Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Bourassa agreed on the idea of political ethics. Mr. Powell, member for Westmoreland, accordingly rebuked them as follows: "What does he say? He says that in modern politics there is no place for logic, no place for consistency, that this is a great danger to public life."

Mr. Bourassa.—If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I make no restriction of time. I say the politics of all time.

Mr. Powell.—The hon. gentleman says he was referring to politics of all time. The suggestion was as to the politics of the present time. He says there is no place in politics for sincerity, and sincerity is a menace to the state. But the high-water mark was reached when the hon. member for Burrard rose in his place—I was almost going to say with a temerity that has been unequalled from the days of Celsus down to Robert Ingersoll—and said: "You cannot hold this government to its promises, because Jehovah did not keep His. He promised a man something and the man died 50 years afterwards, and the Lord did not keep his promise even at that time."

Sir Hibbert referred to the question of

MONGOLIAN IMMIGRATION

into the Province, and pointed out that it could not be dealt with as the people of British Columbia wished it, on the principle of free trade or tariff for revenue only. It was a question which

could only be consistently handled on a protection basis. Under the free trade principle they looked to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest market, and could not consistently keep out labor in any form. This \$50 duty or \$100 duty per head on Chinamen coming into British Columbia was diametrically opposed to every principle and doctrine of free trade. He quoted from Mr. Gladstone in support of this view, as one of the greatest exponents of the free trade principle. Speaking on May 12, 1890, at Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, that great exponent of free trade said: "I am not sure what the state of the law in the United States is and whether in the incursion, as it is, I believe, called, of the Chinamen is simply represented or whether it is barred by any kind of a legislative restriction or pecuniary tax; but undoubtedly in the Australian colonies among our own kith and kin, the Chinaman is either prohibited or heavily taxed upon his importation. That is protection pure and simple. It is quite right to exhibit it as such in the face of the world." The Conservative government, pledged to protection in 1885, as it was to-day, and never swerving one particle from its professions, to protect Canadian industries and Canadian labor, imposed a duty of \$50 a head on Chinamen. At that time the question was a novel one. The immigration was some 200 odd in the year 1886; it was some 4,000 odd in 1900. The necessity for protection had grown. An appeal was made to the present free trade administration, which according to a strict interpretation of its principles could not have accorded that protection, but had yielded to the extent only of a revenue tariff on Chinese immigration. Are you content? He then referred to Mr. Maxwell's statement regarding the tariff that the present government had changed it from a protective tariff to one for revenue only. Mr. Maxwell went on to boast that the government had a surplus of \$8,000,000 to-day, one of the most unprecedented that Canada had ever had. This latter fact did not seem in accord with Mr. Maxwell's other statement, that the government was to so adjust the tariff as to meet the needs of honest, economical and efficient government, because this evidenced that it had not only spent \$4,000,000 or \$5,000,000 more than the Tory government, but that it had wrung from the people enough to build up a surplus of \$8,000,000. Surely this was not in conformity with the promise of what the Liberal government was going to do. Then as to

TARIFF REDUCTIONS.

Sir Hibbert, for a moment, scrutinized the Liberal professions in that regard. Under the horrible protection tariff there was a 20 per cent. duty imposed on farm machinery, and notwithstanding the free trade sentiments of the gentleman who had spoken the other evening, the tariff on this item remained exactly as it was to-day. On oil, under the old tariff and they could never forget the fearful outcry that had been raised against the Conservative government in this connection—the tariff had been 6 cents a gallon. When the free traders came in they reduced it by 1 cent a gallon only. On the item of boots and shoes, the obnoxious Tory tariff was 25 per cent. and under the glorious free trade it appeared exactly the same. There were also one or two increases. On carpets under the old protective tariff the duties ranged from 25 to 30 per cent., but they wanted relief and were promised relief. So the free traders came in, but instead of reducing this onerous tax it was increased to 35 per cent. On grey cottons, under the old tariff, the duty was 22 1-2 per cent. Under the free trade tariff to-day it was 25 per cent. On sewing cotton the protectionist tariff was 12 1-2 per cent., and the free trade tariff on the same article 15 per cent.

COST OF ADMINISTRATION.

He then alluded to another matter, to which he said Mr. Maxwell had not paid particular attention, and that was the cost of administration. If there was anything that might be described as a ground for an especial attack on the old administration by the Reform party, it was the cost of government, as they argued. And Hon. David Mills, the present Minister of Justice, Sir Louis Davies, the Minister of Marine and Sir Wilfrid Laurier went all over this country promising relief in that regard. And they had a very ingenious argument. It was that people could not be surprised that it was costing from 37 to 38 millions of dollars to govern this country, because the protectionist tariff was a breeder of corruption and extravagance. They held that that sum was out of all proportion to the actual needs of economical administration. Now, some paper in this city had referred in this connection to a speech made by him in 1896, in which he said that he would not be surprised if the expenditure in a country like Canada should increase instead

of diminish. But he spoke as a Conservative, and he would challenge anybody to show where any Liberal had ever gone that far. On the other hand, no man conversant with Canadian politics would deny that a pledge was made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to reduce the public expenditure by \$4,000,000. Now these gentlemen had come into power with what result? The Conservatives left office in 1896, with an annual expenditure of \$37,000,000. In 1889, under their successors, the ordinary annual expenditure was \$42,000,000. In 1896, under their successors, the ordinary annual expenditure was \$42,000,000. In 1896 the Conservatives' total expenditure was \$41,000,000, while in 1889, under these gentlemen, who promised reductions, and who denounced the Conservatives for alleged extravagance, that amount was exceeded by \$10,000,000. (Cheers.) Dealing with the question of taxes, the speaker said that the Conservative party had been attacked for alleged extortion in this regard. The Liberal orators had denounced a system that took \$27,000,000 a year out of the people of Canada. Yet these same gentlemen, in 1899, took \$34,000,000 out of the people of Canada. (Applause.)

EVOLUTION OF MR. MAXWELL.

"The world is full of change, change, change—nothing but change," wrote one D. M. Mulock. (Not the Postmaster-General.) (Laughter.)

In May, 1897, Mr. Maxwell told the House of Commons: "When I came to this country I came as a Conservative, as one who had been brought up at the feet of Benjamin Disraeli, the late Earl of Beaconsfield." In his pamphlet on Labor, published in 1900, this is what the old Tory writes: "We can advance backwards or forwards. By going with the old Tory crowd you can go back—for the instincts of the Tory are the same everywhere."

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

In September, 1896, Mr. Maxwell brought the Chinese immigration pledge before his leader in the House and he stated that British Columbia demands the law of New South Wales, a per capita tax of \$500. Now in this pamphlet of 1900 Mr. Maxwell makes the following confession: "The position I took in 1896 I take now, but my convictions are a great deal stronger now than they were then. According to promise, I brought up this question in the House. My speech while it was flatly condemned on all sides, the actual condemnation came from his political ally and fellow

free trader, Mr. D. C. Fraser, who favored Chinese immigration and argued we should follow Great Britain and free trade rather than the United States and protection. In February, 1898, Mr. Maxwell again appeared on the scene with a \$500 per head tax bill in the Commons. It made no headway and the Province, on December 15, 1898, reported the following question and answer: George Bartley asked Mr. Maxwell to speak on the Chinese question and what prospects there were of a measure being brought down at the next session. Mr. Maxwell said that the question was a difficult one. It had been brought up, and Sir Wilfrid said: "If you want it, you must have it." He had no doubt they would get it. Was this true? On the 5th of June, 1899, Mr. Maxwell made a frantic appeal for his \$500 bill. He quoted the resolution in its favor, passed by the B. C. Legislature and said: "That is practically the opinion of the people of British Columbia. I may say still further that the labor unions of British Columbia, as well as of the east, are also in favor of this measure. It has become one of the articles of the creed of the Trades and Labor Congress that a tax of \$500 shall be put upon each Chinese immigrant. I may say still further that the people themselves, that is those who have no axes to grind, are deeply stirred upon this matter, and earnestly desire that the Government should come to their aid and relieve them of this incubus. Now I want to say in conclusion that when the telegram which came from the Premier was read at one of the largest meetings, I believe, ever held in the city of Vancouver, a cheer went up, one of the most enthusiastic I ever heard, because then the people seemed to realize that our political Moses had been found at last. I hope that the Government will be true to that position. In the good old Book we read of a woman who came again and again to a judge appealing for justice. Again and again, she was denied, but we are told for our encouragement that by persisting she succeeded. Now, we the people of British Columbia, have this grievance, there is no doubt about that. They have done everything they possibly could in order to have their grievance ventilated, and to obtain the sympathy of the Government. We have been refused again and again. Now we are making this one more effort, and I do hope that the Government at this late stage of the agitation, will feel it to be their duty to respond to our wishes. Sir Wilfrid kicked his bill out on a point of order."

MORE PLEDGES.

But we have another Grit pledge: Mr. Mills, Minister of Justice, came here in

October, 1899, and the following is from a report of his meeting: Hon. Mr. Mills in replying felt obliged to relieve the bad impression left by his colleague's remarks on the Chinese question. He said: "I think at the close of another session our friends here will have no ground for finding fault with us on the Chinese question. (Loud cheers.) Now, for the result of these solemn pledges. Let us call Mr. Maxwell who asks your support for the Laurier Government. Mr. Maxwell tells us in his pamphlet: "From the point of view of the Canadian working man the action of the Government with regard to the Chinese question is the most unsatisfactory of all the things which they have done. As I said in my speech, so I say it now, their legislation in this direction was not satisfactory—far from satisfactory—but felt bound to take what they offered us; and as the saying is, look for more. (Applause.) We want no more telegrams, no more Grit pledges but we want

A PROTECTIVE GOVERNMENT.

a Government committed to the protection of Canadian labor. (Cheers.) Let us adopt Mr. Maxwell's poetry:

"Pull with a will! pull with a will!
Our boat will soon be in,
With every heart and every hand,
Our crew is sure to win.

As for Mr. Maxwell, his usefulness is gone, for after the above history The World wrote on July 5th, 1900, as follows: "This is a subject that calls for a strong, plain, earnest man, who, in simple, but powerful words could so present the case of British Columbia's toilers in regard to this grinding injustice of unrestricted Chinese competition that the Dominion Government would feel the matter was indeed one that brooked no delay, and would hasten to apply the remedy. Now's the day, and now's the hour, but where's the man?"

DEFENDS HIS FATHER.

Referring to a statement made by Mr. Maxwell, who had said that in a speech at Montreal his father had said that Sir Wilfrid was too British for him, the point was obvious, although political capital had been sought to be made by falsely representing him. The leader of the Conservative party did say something to that effect, and it was repeated throughout Canada. Sir Hibbert then quoted from the speech, in which the leader had made use of the expression, and showed that its real bearing was anything but that conveyed in Mr. Maxwell's speech. It was in connection with the question of an Imperial parliament in which all the colonies would have representation,

that Sir Charles had used the expression. He had stated the belief held, not only by himself, but by all the party leaders, that there would be a sacrifice of that full measure of independence that the self-governing colonies of Canada enjoyed, if there were a small representation from each colony in the British House. Sir Hibbert took Mr. Maxwell to task for personal allusions to services rendered by Ministers' sons in the South African war. While all looked with pride and pleasure on the deeds of Canada's sons in the Empire's service, it would be idle to discriminate and still worse to attempt to count as Conservatives or Liberals those who had so nobly fought for Britain from the Dominion. He also showed in this connection that the Conservatives had led the way in offering the services of Canada in the

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

the leader of the Opposition having written to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, pointing out that Canada should give all the aid in her power to Her Majesty's Government in that crisis. All the other colonies had led Canada in this expression of loyalty, and the Liberal Government had held back until public opinion grew so strong, that it was compelled to take action.

What is the record? The following are the dates of offers of troops from the colonies: Queensland, July 9th, 1899; Victoria, July 12th; Lagos, July 17th; Malay States, July 17th; New South Wales, July 22nd; Hongkong, Sept. 21st; New Zealand, Sept. 28th. The Opposition in Canada called the attention of the Laurier Government to Queensland's offer on July 13th. On the 29th of July Sir Charles Tupper wrote Sir Wilfrid Laurier: "We are bound to give all the aid in our power to Her Majesty's Government in the present crisis." (Cheers.) It was not until October 14th that Canada offered help. Canada's Premier, first of all the colonies in the Jubilee, last of all in time of danger. To show how public opinion drove Laurier to action, read his interview in the Toronto Globe, October 4th, 1899:

Sir Wilfrid said: The case of the South African Republic is not analagous. There is no menace to Canada, and although we may be willing to contribute troops, I do not see how we can do so. . . . And so it is that we have not offered a Canadian contingent to the home authorities. The Militia Department duly transmitted individual offers to the Imperial Government. . . . As to Canada's furnishing a contingent the Government has not discussed the question for the reasons which I have stated—reasons which, I think, must eas-

ily be understood by everyone who understands the constitutional law on the question."

Speaking three months later, Mr. Tarte explained what his own feelings I read in the cables from the other side were at the time. He said: "When that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had issued a circular inviting the colonies to send troops to South Africa, I will frankly admit that I did not feel any very strong inclination to comply with his wishes."

OPPOSITION LEADER SPEAKS.

These deliverances state the feelings and intentions of the Premier and of that colleague of his who is supposed to have the most influence over him. But the attempt of the Prime Minister to suppress the loyal movement that was growing stronger day by day proved a failure. One day after Sir Wilfrid caused his statement to be published in the *Globe*, Sir Charles Tupper sent a telegram to him from Yarmouth, N. S., and at the same time explained his own attitude at a public meeting there. The following is the message:

Yarmouth, N.S., October 5.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Ottawa:

I hope you will send a contingent of Canadian volunteers to aid England in the Transvaal. I know it will be warmly welcomed by the British Government, be of great service to Canada, and promote the unity of the Empire. A friend of mine will insure the lives and limbs, at his expense, to a million dollars, and I will heartily support in Parliament your action in this matter.

(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

It may be stated here that the insurance arrangement promised was carried out and results in the payment of a thousand dollars to the family of each man of the first contingent who falls in battle or dies of his wounds, with further payments to men who are disabled. *La Patrie* contained a statement signed by Mr. Tarte in which he said: "I am in a position to give you the most positive assurance that the Government has not come to any decision relative to the sending of a military corps to the Transvaal. The merits of the dispute between England and the Transvaal are one thing, the interference of Canada in the foreign wars of the Empire is another. It is thought to create a precedent which would have for result the compulsory participation in the future of Canada, in any and all the conflicts which may sweep over Europe and over the various parts of the world in which the large European governments are interested."

PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

On the question of preferential trade Mr. Maxwell had talked sentiment of such a character that it was useful to fall back upon. Edward Burke's reply to Oswald: "I yield to none in my loyalty to His Majesty and to this throne but I am not bound to extend this same feeling to His Majesty's man-servant, his maid-servant, his ox or his ass, or anything that is his." (Laughter.) It was delightful to listen to lessons of loyalty from men who had advocated Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States and a tariff directly discriminating against the Mother Land.

THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

What is our policy? The Toronto Board of Trade passed a resolution affirming the policy in the strongest and most emphatic terms, and suggesting precisely how, in their opinion, it should be carried out. That resolution read as follows: Resolved, that, in the opinion of this conference, the advantage to be obtained by a closer union between the various portions of the British Empire are so great as to justify an arrangement as nearly as possible of the nature of a Zollverein, based upon principles of the freest exchange of commodities within the Empire, consistent with the tariff requirements incident to the maintenance of the local government of each kingdom, dominion, province or colony, now forming part of the British family."

Mr. Chamberlain said as to this:

"If they (the colonies) desire, as we desire, and as we believe they do, this closer union—if they are willing to make some sacrifice of their present arrangements and convictions in order to secure it—let them say so. Let the offer come voluntarily from them, and I believe it will be considered in this country, not in any huckstering spirit, but that it will be entertained as part of the great policy which is intended to unite in the closest bonds of affection and of interest all the communities which are under the British flag and all the subjects of Her Majesty throughout the world. Before the elections of 1896 we have a pledge of Laurier. This is what he said at London on the 17th of May, 1896: "In regard to this question of preferential trade, Mr. Laurier desired to say that Sir Charles Tupper was no more favorable to the idea than himself." He went on to say: "My hope is—nay, my conviction is—that on the 23rd of June the Liberal party will be at the head of the polls; and then it will be the Liberal party, with its policy of a revenue tariff, that will send commissioners to London to arrange for a basis of preferential

trade." And in Toronto, June 13th, 1896 he said: "I agree with Sir Charles Tupper in regard to preferential trade. This is a new idea, but one which in itself is fraught with greatness not only for the Canadian people but for the British Empire at large. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Repudiation of this pledge followed and now we have Mr. Maxwell boasting as follows: "The master-stroke of the Government was when it adopted a preferential tariff towards the Mother Country. Now this whole question of preference was an accident of accidents; it was never intended and the Liberals 'did not know it was loaded.' They had weakly abandoned the policy of a preferential tariff between Canada and Britain, on which there had been no difference of opinion between the parties. The Liberals had abandoned their promised policy of sending a commission to England, to seek a basis of reciprocal preferential tariff, when they found they could not get it. Something far different had been substituted—according to Sir Wilfrid's grandiloquent words, they had given something to England without any return. Now he did not think that was preferential policy, to give to the rich manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham the preference over the manufacturers of the Dominion. And even their boasted preferential policy had not originally been of the patriotic nature they would like to make believe now—it had included all nations that gave the same concessions to Canada. This was the tariff provision of 1897: "That when the customs tariff of any country admits the products of Canada on terms which, on the whole, are as favorable to Canada as the terms of the reciprocal tariff herein referred to, are to the countries to which it may apply, articles which are the growth, produce or manufacture of such country, when imported direct therefrom, may then be imported direct into Canada, or taken out of warehouse for consumption therein, at the reduced rates of duty provided in the reciprocal tariff set forth in schedule D."

MR. FIELDING'S TESTIMONY.

It will be seen that the preference was given, not to Great Britain nor to the British Empire, but to all countries that could qualify by their own tariff. In his budget speech introducing the measure Mr. Fielding said: (Hansard 1897, page 1131.) "We do not by our resolution offer anything to Great Britain alone. We recognize the fact that Great Britain by her liberal policy is in a position to avail herself of this offer immediately, but we make our offer not to Great Britain only, but to every nation

that is prepared to accept it. We make it to every country that is willing to establish fair and reasonable trade relations with Canada."

In the same session speaking on the same question, Sir Louis Davies at the close of an elaborate legal argument on the question said, after reading the tariff clause: (Hansard, 1897, page 2874.) "There is no differential rates of duty proposed there. There is no preferential rates of duty enacted there in favor of any one country withheld from another. All trading countries are placed on the same footing by that resolution. . . . I say that this resolution neither discriminates nor differentiates. It attaches no terms which are not common to Great Britain and to all countries."

KIPLING SAW THE POINT.

It was in recognition of the fact that the Fielding tariff gave no preference to Great Britain, but held out equal terms to all countries that the poem, *Our Lady of the Snows*, was written by Rudyard Kipling. His idea of the main feature of this measure is given in the couplet:

" 'I favour those who favour me,'
Said Our Lady of the Snows."

The whole legal argument on the question of the Belgian and German treaties was based on the fact that Canada did not favor Great Britain, but only favored those countries, British and foreign whose tariff might favor Canada.

Mr. Maxwell said: "The leader of that party told the House that this legislation was unconstitutional. Just think of a reasonable and rational man standing up before the first assembly in Canada and telling Canada's statesmen that it was unconstitutional to give a preference in our markets to the mother of us all! Why the statement is rank humbug." The advice of the leader was right. Bungle succeeded bungle. First of all these countries got the preference, as well as Great Britain under the Fielding tariff of 1897: (Hansard, 1898, page 3142.) Belgium, Germany, France, Netherlands, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Japan, Persia, Algiers, French Colonies, Tunis, Liberia, Morocco, Transvaal, Argentine, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela and Salvador. After the Government was put right it caught, in its desperation, preference for Great Britain and a few British colonies. Mr. Maxwell tells us (World, Dec. 15th, 1898) "He had gone to Ottawa as an Independent and had voted as his conscience dictated." In this pamphlet of 1900 we read: "As a son of labor and an old trade unionist I dedicate this little effort." All that he (Sir Hibbert) could say was that

for an Independent, he showed a most wonderful adherence to the Liberal party in the House. (Cheers and laughter.) In 1900, the Earl of Beaconsfield was not going to help him, nor was his independent position going to help him, so he came out in a published pamphlet as a son of labor. As an old trade unionist, did he dedicate his pamphlet? (Laughter.)

MONGOLIAN IMMIGRATION.

Leaving Mr. Maxwell, and turning to the question of Chinese immigration, Sir Hibbert quoted the now historic telegrams to and from Sir Wilfrid, saying that the views of the western Liberals would prevail with him in the matter. He then proceeded in a most scathing criticism to arraign Sir Wilfrid for not observing the pledge conveyed in that message.

This was the pledge:

Vancouver, May 23, 1896.

Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, Windsor Hotel, Montreal.

Do you favor restricting Chinese immigration and reserving Canada for Canadians and not the Mongolian race?

J. C. McLAGAN.

To this message the leader of the Liberal party in Canada made the following reply:

Montreal, May 25, 1896.

J. C. McLagan, Vancouver, B. C.

Chinese immigration not a question in the East. Views of the Liberals in the West will prevail with me.

WILFRID LAURIER.

Mr. Maxwell tells us in his pamphlet of 1900: "For there is no man more in touch with the aspirations of labor today than is the man whom all who know him are proud to follow. What followed the pledge? Sir Henri Joly was in September, 1896, made a member of the Imperial Order of the Double Dragon in recognition of his services to Li Hung Chang.

THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

Referring to the argument that the Conservative policy of preferential trade with the mother country, Mr. Martin said it was an amusing criticism from the mouths of men who had advocated unrestricted reciprocity with the States. He denied that the cause was hopeless. On the contrary, there were many reasons for believing it possible. He quoted Lord Salisbury (son-in-law to Lord Salisbury), a member of the British Government, who, speaking the other day on the occasion of the fourth congress of the Chamber of Commerce of the Empire, said:

In all parts of the Empire the same ideal, the same aspiration has seized upon the subjects of the Queen—an aspiration towards closer unity—(cheers)—and this notwithstanding the fact, which we should do ill to neglect or ignore, the fact that throughout the Empire we are confronted by many different and even divergent fiscal systems. Now I think this could not have occurred unless another movement was in progress, and that is that extreme Free Traders and extreme Protectionists are alike becoming more reasonable. (Hear, hear.) There was a time when no one who took an interest in these fiscal questions, whether he was a member of the Cobden Club or an ardent Protectionist, could discuss them without assuming an air of absolute infallibility. There has been more assertion of dogma on this question of Free Trade and Protection than ever has been current amongst theologians. (Laughter and cheers.) Now, I am going, with your permission, to make a confession to-night, which I know will be classed in many places as rank heresy. I believe Free Trade not to be a religion, but to be a policy. (Hear, hear.) . . . If it is true—as I believe it is true—that Free Trade may be the right system for one country under one set of conditions, and Protection the right system for another country under a different set of conditions—if that is true, you will observe the effect it has on the subject in which we are mainly interested. It makes that problem of Imperial union not more easy but more hard—(hear, hear)—and we ought to bear that in mind. But that it is not an insuperable difficulty is conclusively proved by that wonderful creation of Australian statesmanship, the Commonwealth Bill, which has been read a second time in the House of Lords to-night. (Cheers.) The same difficulties in different degrees had to be overcome in Australia. In Australia they have been overcome, and therefore it does seem to me that probably, in a different way, they may also be overcome in the Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. Maxwell had held Mr. Blair up as a model, saying: "In these bargains, and in the administrations of the people's road, great changes are manifest—changes which gladden the hearts of all true reformers. You will be asked in a short time to remove Mr. Blair in favor of some one who will bring us back to the dark old days! My advice to you is don't you do it. Let well alone. You have got a real, genuine reformer; keep him, and let him work out the salvation of the people through our railway system."

The speaker said that Mr. Maxwell had forgotten that Mr. Blair was

stopped by the Senate from paying half a million of money for a railway more than required; and that he succeeded in carrying the scheme out of which Mr. Blair's friends made about \$600,000 of hard cash. Notwithstanding all his gift of omission and commission, Mr. Maxwell would have us believe Sir Wilfrid was going to win in the elections. Listen to his reason!

"Why? Because to-day Sir Wilfrid was the most striking and most commanding figure in Canadian politics. Because he was a man above reproach, a man of honor and a man of principle."

Does Mr. Maxwell in his heart believe this? There are Liberals who do not, commented Sir Charles, who added: Let us call some witnesses who know the men who have been in charge of our affairs for a few years.

J. ISRAEL TARTE.

Alexander McKenzie, their old leader, wrote us follows about the department over which J. Israel Tarte now presides: Friends (?) expect to be benefited by offices they are unfit for, by contracts they are not entitled to, by advances not earned. Enemies ally themselves with friends, and push the friends to the front. Some attempt to storm the office. Some dig trenches at a distance and approach in regular siege form. I feel like the besieged lying on my arms night and day. I have offended at least 20 parliamentary friends by my defence of the citadel. A weak minister here would ruin the party in a month, and the country very soon. Even Mr. Maxwell's idol has made a confession. Speaking to the Club National in 1877, Sir Wilfrid said: I would have you rely mainly on the justice of your cause, yet I have learned by experience that we must not forget those human devices that are so essential to victory.

Let us call J. Israel Tarte and ask what he thinks of his chief. No doubt he will reply as he wrote in his paper May 26, 1877: "Mr. Laurier has commenced his electoral tour. To-morrow he will speak at Stanford. He will probably have no opponent and will say all the untruthful things that he considers useful in his own defence. Mr. Laurier is a man not wanting in polish. . . . He is without large ideas. . . . The fact is that he has not yet pronounced a single discourse of a nature to manifest in him a man of serious worth. His polished manners, his astuteness, a certain ability in concealing his principles—not far removed from hypocrisy—have won him his popularity in the country." And on Oct. 2nd of the same year he said: "Mr. Laurier

is not a nobody; still less is he what we call a man of talent. He has a character veneered on the outside. Scratch a little and you will discover the mediocrity within. He is not learned; his speeches show it. His thought never rises above the plane of his prejudices. . . . He will never be faithful to what he does not possess—principles, sound convictions or patriotism."

MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

What do Liberals say of Sifton and all his works? We will call on R. C. Miller, and he will tell us that he wrote to his paper, the Pembroke Observer, as follows:

Since I have reached Dawson I have almost been forced to a like conclusion and have no hesitation in declaring that if they do not take strong and speedy steps to end the orgie that is in progress here, they will not only have become partners in the dirt themselves, but shall have permitted the continuance of a system which must result in very great financial and moral injury to the Dominion. I have been here now for two weeks and have been noting and enquiring on every hand and though I cannot give you facts and figures I have seen enough to convince myself that it is worse even than the mind of an honest man can conceive. That the mining laws are being set aside on a colossal scale is beyond all question, and that barefaced bribery is the rule of the day is equally certain. But why go on? Mr. Sifton appointed him mining recorder and land agent, and we never heard from him again. The Liberals in Winnipeg know Mr. Sifton. On the 16th November, 1898, a debate arose in the Liberal Association. A. B. Bethune had this to say: "That the Winnipeg Liberal Association affirms its confidence in the government of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and also its approval of the able and energetic administration of the department of the interior by the Hon. Clifford Sifton." Mr. A. B. Bethune said that it was with a great deal of regret that he heard this resolution, and he regretted it the more because there was a personal element in it. The resolution endorsed the work of Hon. Clifford Sifton. Mr. Sifton's first railway work was in connection with a Manitoba scheme known as the Dauphin deal. The Dominion government had given \$2,000,000 for a railway to the north, and yet Mr. Sifton at their request jammed through a project in the local House giving the promoters \$8,000 per mile, or more than enough to pay

the cost of the road. This enabled those gentlemen to put the whole Dominion subsidy in their pockets. Mr. Sifton had replied to this that it did not affect the people because the railway had paid its way and paid the interest on the bonds. Now either Mr. Sifton did or did not know what would happen. If he knew this road would pay then he should have told the promoters that the Manitoba government would apply for the charter. If he had done this the promoters of the Dauphin railway would have quickly built the road without the assistance of the local government. If Mr. Sifton did not know it would pay, then he was putting the province at the risk of paying the amount. Mr. Sifton might have been so simple as not to see what he was doing, but he did not believe that, and what then was his object? He would leave it with the meeting. Passing over Mr. Sifton's discreditable entrance into the cabinet he pointed out that in the Crow's Nest bargain he gave away a subsidy sufficient to build the road and also of the most valuable coal deposits in the world, and this for concessions which he could have got without any gifts. As to the Yukon railway bargain he knew nothing about it, but he pointed out that the parties, the minister, the contractors and the intermediaries were the same as in the Dauphin deal, which made the thing look very doubtful. If what the president had said at the last meeting was not true, then why had the C.P.R. given over the control of its newspaper in this city to the Minister of the Interior. Upon the record of the Tribune for 10 years Mr. Sifton surely could have remembered that the party and the principles of Liberals would be strenuously supported. (Applause.) Why did he want a personal organ to support him if he was going to carry out the plans of a Liberal statesman. Then what was the quid pro quo that Mr. Sifton gave to the C.P.R. for control of the Free Press. There must have been something, for the C.P.R. did not act for love. If this was a Liberal association it was not its duty to keep any man or any group of men in office, when it did that which might be Grit or Tory, but it was not Liberal. The report goes on: On request the president, Mr. E. D. Martin, got the honorary president to take the chair, and gave his views. He had been asked since the last meeting to withdraw the statement that the gentleman who represented the west in the cabinet, also represented the C.P.R. He did not intend to take that statement back. (Applause.) Finally the

vote was taken and stood 67 for Sifton and 36 against, while 30 of the 67 were said to be government employees.

Now let us call Mr. Maxwell's chairman, the president of the Vancouver Liberal Association, Mr. Frank Burnett. He will tell you that he wrote as follows on the 1st April, 1899: You will understand my position—I am a Liberal to the core, not known however of the stamp and think that it is the duty of the Liberal party in its own interests to purge the party of men like him, but they should do it themselves, not ask the Tories to do it for them—consequently under these circumstances I do not feel prepared to give you a copy of such interview, but if I am compelled am quite willing to testify under oath all I know in the matter.

FRANK BURNETT.

N.B.—Why not have a royal commission. You can get any number of Grits to testify as to the iniquities of Sifton's Yukon administration."

And he wrote of Mr. Aulay Morrison as following on April 24, 1899: "Ask Mr. Morrison what he meant when he informed another member of the House immediately upon his return from Dawson that "half the iniquities had not been told." Mr. Morrison has acted in what he may, and evidently considers, a smart political manner upon this as well as on other important questions, imbued apparently by a manifest desire to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds," a course which he may find at the next election not to have been conducive to his success.

"FRANK BURNETT."

EMERGENCY FOOD QUESTION.

The minority report of the committee on the Emergency Food Schedule reads as follows: On the whole your committee find that the Minister of Militia and Defence and the Department of Militia were guilty of culpable negligence in purchasing and providing the Canadian soldiers with an article totally unfit for the purposes for which it was intended. Mr. Frank Oliver, a Liberal member, had this to say: "Now, I think there is no question that a swindle has been perpetrated upon this country; there is no question that a swindle has been perpetrated by Dr. Devlin; there is no question that it has been perpetrated through the Department of Militia; and I am sorry to say, judging from this evidence, that there is no question that it was to a certain extent within the knowledge of the Minister of Militia and Defence."

Mr. Ellis voted in the same way. The Government has since then got rid of him and kicked him up to the Senate. Puttee, the Labor representative, voted with the Opposition, so did Rogers the Patron. Dr. McInnes, formerly Lieutenant-Governor, now a member of the Vancouver Liberal Association, wrote to Mr. Scott, September 12th, 1899, as follows: There are some matters that I do not care to treat of in a letter, but had I the opportunity of an hour's conversation with you, I might enlighten you somewhat as to the actual state of affairs in this province, particularly from a Dominion party standpoint. I fear that the Government has relied overmuch upon the advice of inexperienced politicians as far as this province is concerned—upon the representations of those who cry "all is well" where all is not well. And again he wrote in his address to the people of British Columbia: "At the same time I had been made fully aware that Mr. Martin was distasteful to Sir Wil-

frid Laurier's Government, and that if I considered my own interests and my own position merely, I should under no circumstances call upon him. And immediately upon the defeat of the Sem-4'n Government I was made fully aware also that the great corporations, whose metallic influence is apparently all powerful at Ottawa, would do their utmost to have me politically assassinated if I should dare to call upon Mr. Martin."

GREAT DISSATISFACTION.

There were some signs of great dissatisfaction existing regarding the action of the Government and its course, on many public matters. He said that each minister was given practically a free hand in his own department, and that there did not exist any real public policy on the part of the Government, no underlying broad principle of Government. With the prediction that the Conservatives were bound to win, the speaker closed his address.



