

**CIHM  
Microfiche  
Series  
(Monographs)**

**ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches  
(monographies)**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

**© 1998**

## Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming are checked below.

- Coloured covers / Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged / Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated / Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing / Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps / Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black) / Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations / Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material / Relié avec d'autres documents
- Only edition available / Seule édition disponible
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin / La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure.
- Blank leaves added during restorations may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming / Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments / Commentaires supplémentaires:

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured pages / Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged / Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated / Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed / Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached / Pages détachées
- Showthrough / Transparence
- Quality of print varies / Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material / Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image / Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.
- Opposing pages with varying colouration or discolourations are filmed twice to ensure the best possible image / Les pages s'opposant ayant des colorations variables ou des décolorations sont filmées deux fois afin d'obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below / Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

<b>10x</b>		<b>14x</b>		<b>18x</b>		<b>22x</b>		<b>26x</b>		<b>30x</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>12x</b>		<b>16x</b>		<b>20x</b>		<b>24x</b>		<b>28x</b>		<b>32x</b>	

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

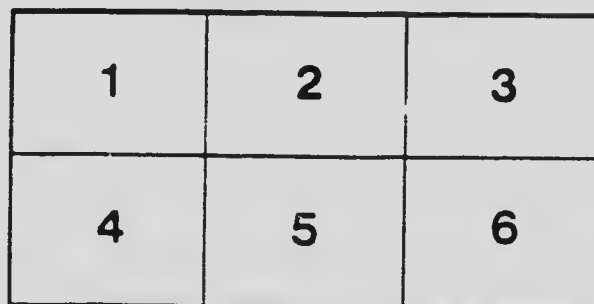
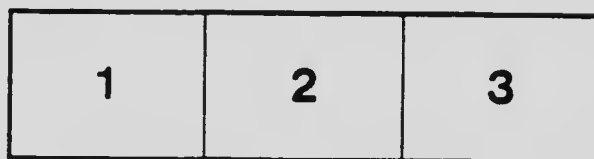
National Library of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shell contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

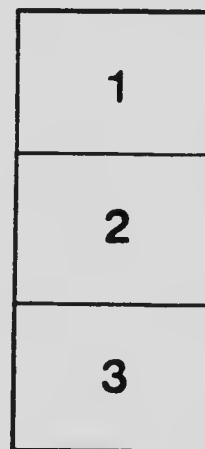
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



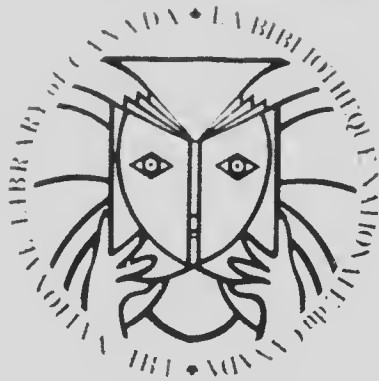
# MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

195 East Main Street  
Rochester, New York 14609 USA  
(716) 482-1330 Phone  
(716) 288-5989 Fax



---

Canadä

**SPEECH DELIVERED**

— BY —

**GEO. H. BRADBURY, M.P.**

**IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS**

— ON —

**5th APRIL, 1911**

**IN OPPOSITION**

— TO THE —

**RECIPROCITY PROPOSALS**

— OF —

**THE GOVERNMENT**

57110 0

ASG-

A.

11

NO. 1011

Page



George H. Bradbury, M.P.

0 911473

# SPEECH OF Geo. H. Bradbury, M. P. — ON — RECIPROCITY

Made in the House of Commons, April 5th, 1911.

The first formal speech on the Taft-Fielding reciprocity pact, delivered by a Conservative member from Manitoba in the dominion house was made by George H. Bradbury, member for Selkirk. Mr. Bradbury took positive stand against the agreement. His argument covered every salient point leading on the arrangement to which the Laurier government seeks to commit the country. Mr. Bradbury's speech is reprinted in full, as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, on rising to address the house at this late hour of this very important debate, I can assure you that I do so with considerable diffidence, occasioned largely by the fact that the matter has been so thoroughly discussed on both sides of the house, and especially by the fact that the speeches delivered by the hon. the leader of the opposition (Mr. Borden), and the member for North Toronto (Mr. Foster), make it almost impossible for me to add anything new in behalf of the position I intend to take. However, on account of the great importance of this question to Canada, I cannot allow this debate to close without expressing my opinion, and giving a reason to the house and to my constituents for the vote I intend to cast on this matter. Then from the broad standpoint of what is best for Canada as a whole, and I believe that is the proper standpoint from which to discuss this question, I hold that this pact is bad, and well calculated to destroy very much what we have accomplished during the last thirty or forty years in building up this magnificent Dominion of which we are so proud. The class of people that this pact purports to benefit, namely, the farmers, I believe are the very men that will be the worst hit of any class in Canada.

## BAD FOR THE FARMERS.

I believe this pact is bound to work injuriously to the farming classes of this country. The agreement creates free trade in nearly everything that the farmer produces, while it admits the United States farmers and the farmers of some fourteen other countries into the markets of Canada, while the same privileges are denied to the farmers of Canada in these other countries excepting the United States. Therefore, our farmers are put up against the competition of the world. Everything they produce is open to world-wide competition, while everything that the farmer buys, such as farm implements, wagons, wearing apparel, everything that he consumes that is imported, even the tea he drinks and the sugar

that he sweetens it with, he is still compelled to pay a high duty on. That is what the government asks and expects the members of this house to accept and support, and that is what the government calls a good thing for the farmers of Canada. It is a gold brick that the government is handing out to the farmers, as great a gold brick, sir, as that which the government handed out to the farmers and which the farmers unfortunately for themselves, accepted in 1896 when the Liberal party under the right honourable gentleman seeking office, pledged itself to the farmers to eliminate every vestige of protection from the tariff if it were returned to power, and promised the farmers free implements and a reduction in the expenditure and reduced taxation. Everybody knows how the government has implemented its pledges. I think the present proposition will prove a more serious drawback to the farmers than even the ignoring of the pledges it gave to them in 1896.

## A DEAD ISSUE.

This is a jug-handled arrangement with the jug full of Canadian possibilities placed in the hand of the natural competitors of the farmers of this country. I have failed to see any good reason why the government is asking this house to accept a proposal of this kind at this time. Reciprocity between the United States and Canada was a dead issue for many years. In 1891 the Conservative party declared against any further attempts to secure a reciprocal arrangement with the United States. In 1897 and 1898 the right hon. gentleman who leads the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), took the very same position and declared against any further advances to secure reciprocity. Speaking in 1898 the right hon. gentleman made this statement:—

"Canada to-day is not in favor of reciprocity. There was a time when Canadians beginning with myself would have given many things to obtain the American market, but thank heaven these days are past and over."

Ten years afterwards, at the Imperial Conference in London, he made this statement:—

"There was a time when we were wanting reciprocity with the United States; but our efforts and our offers were put aside and negatived. We have said good-bye to that trade, and we now put all our hopes on the British trade."



Later on in 1909, in this house, the right hon. gentleman said:

**"Canada has opened her doors to Great Britain in the hope that she would ultimately receive similar preferential treatment from the mother country."**

And, sir, we have had three general elections since these hon. gentlemen came into power. In 1909 the question of reciprocity never was mentioned during all that long campaign. In the campaign of 1904 reciprocity never was mentioned, never was heard of. The people of Canada took it for granted that it was a dead issue, and that both parties had come to the conclusion that they had turned their backs on any reciprocal arrangement with the United States. In 1908 we had another general election, and reciprocity was not mentioned. So, it is safe to say that for fourteen years the question was a dead issue in Canada. It has not been mentioned by any public man in any public way for the last fourteen years and the people of Canada naturally took it for granted that the question was dead. Therefore, I think I have a right to say that the government has no mandate from the people to enter into this pact. **The government, on account of that fact, has no right to ask the house to accept this proposed agreement until they give the people of the country an opportunity of declaring for or against it.** Those favorable to this arrangement never tire of telling us that Sir John A. Macdonald favored reciprocity. They do not, however, tell us, as I said a moment ago, that the Conservative party, under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald, declared against any further advances to secure reciprocity. Nor do they tell us that the right hon. gentleman who leads the government took the very same position. However, Mr. Speaker, these references to the past efforts of statesmen, some of them dead and gone, and to the past efforts of the right hon. gentleman, I hold, have no real bearing upon the matter before the country.

#### CHANGED CONDITIONS.

What was desired twenty-five or thirty years ago, and what might have been beneficial at that time, might easily under the changed conditions we find in Canada to-day, prove disastrous and ruinous to the country. In those days we were simply feeling our way, a few scattered provinces along the boundary line of the great republic. We had no great transcontinental line binding the Atlantic and Pacific provinces together, as we have to-day, we had no great interprovincial trade, ten times greater than our foreign trade, as we have to-day; we had no great west as we have to-day, we had no great home market which consumes fully eighty per cent, of everything which the farmer produces, as we have now; we had not developed our foreign trade; we had no steamship lines subsidized by the government of Canada plying to the Orient, Australia, New Zealand, South America and to the West Indies, all carrying the products of Canadian industry. Reciprocity might have been

of some benefit before these great strides forward had been taken by Canada. But, under the present conditions, I hold that the proposed pact is not in the best interests of Canada, and that it is calculated to undo much that we have accomplished during the last thirty or forty years.

The proposed pact, to my mind, is inopportune. We occupy a very different position from that which we occupied twenty-five or thirty years ago. We are not concerned so much about the past; it is the present and the future that we are here to legislate for, and in view of the bright future looming upon the horizon of this young country, I have no hesitation in saying that if this pact is adopted it will prove disastrous to the hopes and the aspirations of the people of Canada.

Let us for a few moments look at what we have accomplished during the last 30 or 40 years which makes this pact undesirable to Canadians to-day. In looking over the trade statistics, I find the following figures showing the immense growth of our trade from 1868 to 1910:

#### CANADA'S TRADE GROWTH.

In the table immediately following the figures indicate millions, six cyphers having been omitted in each instance.

	1868	1910	Inc.	P.C.
	Millions.			
Total trade . . . . .	\$115	\$649	\$533	459
Exports . . . . .	49	279	230	470
Imports . . . . .	67	370	303	450

Between 1868 and 1910 our exports increased as follows:

	1868	1910
	From	To
Produce of mine . . . . .	\$ 1,225,000	\$40,000,000
" " fisheries . . . . .	3,000,000	15,000,000
" " forest . . . . .	19,000,000	47,000,000
Animals and their products . . . . .	7,000,000	54,000,000
Agric'l products . . . . .	13,000,000	90,000,000
Manufactures . . . . .	2,000,000	31,000,000
Value total field crops last year . . . . .		533,000,000
Value total manufactures (estimated) last yr. . . . .		1,000,000,000

These figures, Mr. Speaker, demonstrate clearly the wonderful progress Canada has made, and the wonderful prosperity Canada enjoys to-day. **Then in Heaven's name why ask us to leave the well beaten path that was blazed out by the Conservative party in 1878 and which was travelled on by that party up to 1896 in which the foundations of Canada's greatness were laid deep and strong, on which has been built the magnificent Dominion as we have it to-day?** In view of the great prosperity of Canada; in view of the position we occupy in the eyes of the world, why come before this house with a proposition of this kind, on which the people of this country have not been consulted? I again say that it is the duty of the government, before asking this house to agree to this reciprocity arrange-

ment with the United States, to give the electors of this country an opportunity of declaring whether they are in favor of it or not.

### RAILWAY EXPANSION.

Now, just for a moment, Mr. Chairman, let me direct your attention to a few facts regarding the transportation phase of this question, which will emphasize the undesirableness of this proposed agreement.

	1867	1910
Miles of railway . . . .	2,240	24,731
Railway earnings . . . .	\$12,000,000	\$174,000,000
	1879	
Tons freight carried . . .	8,000,000	74,000,000
Passengers carried . . . .	6,500,000	36,000,000

The growth of our banks is shown by the following figures:

	1868	1910
Bank capital, including reserve fund . . .	\$30,000,000	\$184,000,000
Bank deposits . . . . .	33,000,000	925,000,000

In face of these facts, can any fair-minded man say that we have not reason to be proud and well satisfied with the wonderful prosperity enjoyed by the people of Canada to-day? We have developed a great interprovincial trade and a great home market that consumes fully 80 per cent. of everything our farmers produce. This great and ever-increasing home market was made possible by the operation of the National Policy of 1879 which the present government have been wise enough to adopt in practice, at least, which accounts largely for the prosperous condition Canada is in to-day.

### CANADA'S EXPENDITURES FOR RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

Now, sir, I want to refer for a moment to what Canada has spent on railways and canals, which shows that this pact, if entered into, threatens the destruction of much that we have accomplished during the last 30 or 40 years. The Dominion government has spent in cash on railways and canals \$440,000,000, the provincial governments \$38,000,000, and the municipalities \$18,000,000, or a total of nearly \$500,000,000 in cash which the people of this country have provided for the building of our canals and railway systems. In addition to this the provincial governments have guaranteed \$130,000,000 of railway bonds, and the Dominion government has given something like 55,000,000 acres of land for railway construction. And, Mr. Speaker, we have yet to provide nearly \$100,000,000 for the completion of the Transcontinental railway, which this government rushed into; we are pledged to build the Hudson Bay railway at a cost of \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000; and the proposed construction of the Georgian Bay canal, will cost at least another \$100,000,000. All these great undertakings are absolutely necessary for the caring for the future trade of this growing country, provided that that trade is not diverted to the south, as this proposed pact threatens to

divert it. Now, why have the people of Canada spent all these hundreds of millions of dollars if not for the purpose of developing our independent routes of transportation on our own soil and through our own waters, and thereby building up on this northern half of this continent a British-Canadian nation independent of the great republic to the south of us, and for the further purpose of encouraging and developing our interprovincial trade between the east and west? This has been done, Mr. Speaker, at enormous cost and sacrifice to the people of Canada. And now, when the sun of our success is almost at the meridian, and we have developed a nation independent of the great republic to the south of us, who have not always been as friendly disposed to Canada as they would make us believe they are to-day, our government is preparing by means of this pact to hand over to that country the control of a great part of our traffic from the western provinces. The government proposes an agreement which, if adopted, will, I believe, make nugatory our years of labor and sacrifice, in developing the greatest system of inland waterways in the world, and in building our Transcontinental railways and the feeders to them spreading like a network over the face of the different provinces, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

### WILL DIVERT TRADE.

And now at one fell blow this government threatens to divert the great trade of the west, south over American railroads to American cities to help build up American cities, to assist in building up great American milling centres, to the destruction of our own milling centres, and to the detriment of our own railways and canals and our own country as a whole. If this pact is implemented, I am satisfied that it means the diversion of fully one-half the trade from the Pacific and western provinces south over American railroads. This means giving employment to hundreds of thousands of American citizens instead of Canadians; it means giving the carrying trade to American railroads after the large expenditure we have made to build our own railroads. It means that our wheat and the products of the west will reach Liverpool, the market of the world, in American instead of Canadian or British bottoms. This surely was not the intention of the right hon. gentleman when he came before this house in 1903 and proposed the construction of the National Transcontinental railway. He was then in such haste that he could not wait for an investigation, as he said time would not wait. Surely there must be some greater reason than we know of at the present time for the change that has come over the hon. gentleman's dream. I find that the right hon. gentleman in proposing the construction of the Transcontinental railway used this language in this house:

SIR WILFRID LAURIER. "Such is our duty; it is not for to-morrow but of this day, of this hour, of this minute. Heaven grant that it be not already too late; heaven grant that, whilst we tarry and dispute, the trade of Canada is not deviated to other channels, and that an ever vigilant competitor does not take to himself the trade that belongs to those who acknowledge

Canada as their native or their adopted land. Upon this question we feel that our position is absolutely safe and secure; we feel that it corresponds to the heart of every Canadian heart. Now, sir, we lay it down as a principle, upon which we are to be judged by friend and foe, that we are to have a Transcontinental railway that its terminus must be in Canadian waters, and that the whole line, every inch of it, must be in Canadian territory. We say further that such a line is a necessity of our commercial independence."

#### WAS LAURIER IN EARNEST?

If the question was so urgent in 1903 is it not more urgent to-day? Was the right hon. gentleman in earnest when he made that speech? Did he himself believe in the warning he was giving this country that if this road were not built trade might be diverted to American channels, to this ever vigilant foe who was looking for our trade? Does the hon. gentleman imagine that that competitor is not as vigilant to-day as in 1903? If the right hon. gentleman did believe that statement at that time and was in earnest, what has changed his mind? The great undertaking he was then introducing is yet incomplete, and will not be completed for some years. Its completion will involve the expenditure of another hundred million of dollars. Yet in the face of all these facts the right hon. gentleman and his government propose a policy that every school boy familiar with the geographical position of the west knows means the diversion of a large amount of our trade over southern routes, through the United States. Then what has caused this change of policy? I would say to the great men in front of me, as has been said to other great men: "Consistency, thou art a jewel." Very seldom, if ever, found on the breast of the right hon. gentleman opposite. This proposition means great and far-reaching injury to our national transportation system, and stamps this government, to my mind, as incompetent to deal with great national affairs that require experience and diplomacy and good judgment.

#### WILL RUIN FRUIT GROWERS.

This pact, Mr. Chairman, strikes a deadly blow at some of our interests in this country. It strikes a cowardly blow at our market gardeners and fruit growers, many of whom, without one moment's notice, have been wiped out of business. The right hon. gentleman and the minister of finance last session, in answer to a petition which I had the honor of filing, from the market gardeners of Manitoba, protesting against the removal of this duty, stated that nothing would be done until an investigation was made. Later on the right hon. gentleman during his tour in the west gave the same pledge to the farmers of the west that no change in the tariff would be made until a thorough investigation was made, and in this house the right hon. gentleman made this statement in the early part of this session:

SIR WILFRID. I stated that we would have a commission of investigation before we undertook a revision of the tariff. Does any member on the other side of the house take issue with the promise I make? Would any of them advocate rushing into a revision of the tariff without previous investigation? Honorable members laugh at that; but they will not dare to say they would favor such a course.

In the face of all these promises, and without one word of warning to the market gardening interests of this country, I think I am within the mark when I say that the right hon. gentleman with one stroke of his pen has wiped out one-half the prospective profits of the market gardeners of this country and destroyed entirely the other half of this great industry, and violated his pledge given to investigate.

Mr. Speaker, I have here a letter which I received yesterday from one of my constituents, a market gardener, which I wish to place on record. It reads:

#### A MARKET GARDENER'S VIEWS.

Dear Mr. Bradbury.—I am writing you to find out what is the prospect of this reciprocity business being put through this session.

At the present, there does not seem to be much doing in the matter at present; but the very prospect of the thing being put through has paralyzed, if not already killed out the market gardening business in this district. I hear of about 40 or 50 from Kildonan alone who are going out of business at once this spring.

I can give my own personal experience of how the thing already is affecting business in this district. As you know, I have one of the best places to be found between Winnipeg and Selkirk. It is now in the best condition possible, full ploughed, with all necessary out-buildings, and with many additional conveniences, such as telephone, sidewalk from the main road, and splendid car service, which we had not last year.

A year ago or more, I merely hinted that I might rent it last season, and people from all over the country were after it. I was bored to death by people who wished to get it, even although I had not decided to give up working it myself. Now, on account of some heart weakness, I am forbidden by my physician to carry on the work, and have decided on no account to work it myself.

For the past two months I have the place placarded with "To Rent" notices, besides advertising it every other way. Now, I have so far failed to get a person to take hold of it, and the reason given in every case was that if this treaty business was put through, they would be wasting time and money if they would rent a place.

This, sir, is signed by Robert Maebeth, one of the most prominent farmers and market gardeners living in Kildonan municipality. It speaks louder than anything I can say to show the effect this proposed pact is going to have on the great market gardening industry of Canada. **The market gardeners and farmers of Canada are too intelligent a class to be fooled long; and once they grasp the true meaning of this dangerous agreement, they will wreak their vengeance on the government which played them false.**

This agreement makes free nearly everything the farmer produces, while maintaining a high protective duty on everything he requires, such as implements and machinery of all kinds. There is no lack of protection to the manufacturers of this class of goods. The farmers of Canada, I am satisfied, cannot be hoodwinked very long with a proposition of this kind. They want no special favor. But if it be good policy to have free trade in farm products and put the farmer up against the competition of the whole world, as this pact proposes to do, then it ought to be good, at least a fair and equitable policy, to have free trade in what the farmer requires to carry on his industry, and thus put the manufacturers in the same position as the

farmers. I say that the present proposition is an unfair one. It places the farmers of Canada in an unfair and false position. It is class legislation. While purporting to legislate in the interests of the farmers, you are legislating entirely in the interests of the highly protected manufacturers, to the detriment of the farmers. No one-sided arrangement such as this can be imposed on the farmers of Canada when they get to understand its true meaning.

**GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE MET FARMERS.**

But, Mr. Speaker, the Government had an opportunity of meeting the wishes of the farmers of this country. I find that the United States were willing to meet our government half way by including in this pact free farm implements and a number of other manufactured articles and in this way acceding to the request of the farmers' delegation which came to Ottawa. I find that the president of the United States, speaking at Atlanta, made use of the following language:

President Taft:—When we entered upon these negotiations, I asked the secretary of state and his commissioners to offer free trade in everything; but this Canada could not grant us because she has a protective system and was afraid of competition with our better organized industries.

Mr LANCASTER—Who said that?

Mr. BRADBURY. President Taft. This matter was brought before the house by the leader of the opposition (Mr. Borden), and the finance minister replied as follows:

That statement may be entirely correct, and I have no doubt it is, as to the instructions which the President gave to his officials; but as to what actually occurred in the conference, the matter did not advance to a position which would enable these gentlemen to make such a formal offer in that way. At the very earliest stage in the negotiations—

See how careful our finance minister is as to take care of the manufacturing interests. He goes on to say

—we certainly gave them to understand that we could not undertake to give any free trade in manufactures speaking generally. There are certain articles which are on the free list and which were not the subject of discussion; but speaking generally, we gave them to understand that we were not prepared to deal with them on the basis of free trade in manufactures. That circumstance was clearly expressed by us at the beginning and no formal offer such as that suggested was ever made. Yet the statement is, no doubt, substantially correct as to the willingness of the president of the United States.

A few days afterwards the question was again brought to the attention of this house by my hon. friend from Dauphin (Mr. Campbell). He drew the attention of the right hon. gentleman to a speech delivered by the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Nesbitt). Speaking at a meeting composed largely of the manufacturing class, the hon. gentleman is reported to have said:

With regard to reciprocity, he noted that very little had been heard about the consumer's interest. He did not believe that the reciprocity agreement being negotiated would affect the prices to the consumer adversely.

That might seem strange, as it was supposed the farmers would get better prices. He could not see that the manufacturers would be touched very much, as few articles manufactured in Canada were affected. He was sure the Bain and Woodstock wagon companies would compete in the world's market, even with a 25 per cent. reduction in the tariff.

I think he is quite right in this.

He thought the manufacturers opposed reciprocity because of what might follow—the thin end of the wedge—but he had been assured, he said—

This is what I want to emphasize, Mr. Chairman,

—by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding that nothing of that sort would follow. They had gone as far in the farmers' interests as they would.

I am not going to read all of this, but here is the right hon. gentleman's reply:

**SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S REPLY.**

The statement made by the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Nesbitt) was quite consistent with our policy. It was nothing new, and he had perfect authority—not only he, but every member on the Liberal side—to make that statement.

Mr. FOSTER. Did the Prime Minister or the minister of finance authorize the hon. member in question to make that statement?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. I have answered that already. It is perfectly true. The hon. member for North Oxford and every Liberal member had such authority; he was not kept in ignorance of our policy in this matter and knew it well. He only stated what is our general policy.

This, sir, is a fair, frank avowal of the position of the government. But that is not the position they take before the farmers of this country.

Mr. MILLER. May I ask the hon. gentleman a question? Is he, and is the Conservative party to which he belongs, in favor of free trade in agricultural implements?

Mr. BRADBURY. I can only say to the Hon. gentleman (Mr. Miller) that when the leader of the opposition is placed on the other side of the house and charged with the duty of directing the legislative policy of this country, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Miller) will find where we stand on this question. There is no question about the position the government occupies. The government had an offer from the United States to give to the farmers that which they were asking for, that which brought them down in hundreds this year to wait upon the government in this chamber. They asked the government for reciprocity in natural products and in manufactured articles; they asked for free farming implements. But what does the government do? Why, sir, they do exactly as they did in 1896. They gold-brick the farmers of this country.

They give the farmer reciprocity in natural products, thereby putting him up against the competition of the world. They talk of extending the farmers' market and make a great deal of this ninety million market that is to be opened. But do not the government realize that for every farmer in this country there are twelve farmers

on the other side who are anxious to take our market from us? I do not believe, I cannot believe, that the government entered into this pact with their eyes open. I believe, sir, they were led into a trap. And I believe that the means used to lead them into that trap was the Payne-Aldrich maximum tariff. The president of the United States threatened to enforce that maximum tariff and through it induced the weak government to send down the minister of finance and, I think, one other, to Washington a year ago. When the American government got these old gentlemen in Washington everything was easy. These gentlemen were no match for the shrewd diplomats they met on that occasion. I am satisfied, sir, that when the president expressed such feelings of sympathy and friendships for Canada as he did he allayed any feeling of doubt or suspicion that might have been in the breasts of Canada's representatives, and they came back feeling that the American people were very friendly and that any proposition they made for reciprocal trade relations would redound to the benefit of this country. Now, this changed attitude on the part of the United States and of President Taft, as compared with that of the American people during the last forty or fifty years, in discussing trade matters **with Canada, is very significant.** It is, however, following out the advice of Senator Sherman, who gave the following advice in 1888, when a very similar question was under discussion:

#### SENATOR SHERMAN'S ADVICE.

Now, Mr. President, taking a broader view of the question, I submit if the time has not come when the people of the United States and Canada should take a broader view of their relations to each other than has heretofore seemed practicable. Since the conquest of Canada by Great Britain in 1763, she has been a continuous warning that we cannot be at peace with each other except by political as well as commercial union. Canada should have followed the fortunes of the colonies in the American revolution. The way to union with Canada is not by hostile legislation, not by acts of retaliation, but by friendly overtures. This union is one of the events that must inevitably come in the future. The true policy of government, then, is to tender freedom in trade and intercourse and to make this tender in such a friendly way that it shall be an overture to the people of Canada to become a part of the Union.

This, sir, is the advice which President Taft has taken to heart, and to-day he comes to us with a smiling face and offers our government conditions and terms that we could not secure ten or fifteen years ago, when the right hon. prime minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) sought it and received the rebuff he did when he went to Washington in 1897. Senator Sherman went on to say:

Instead of any such mad course as retaliation, the path really open to us is one that will quietly, peacefully and forcibly defeat the whole project of discrimination against our goods. Canadian reciprocity is, in our judgment, the only road of safety and profit now open to us.

Then, we find the president of the United States, speaking on this question a very short time ago, declaring as follows:

They are coming to the parting of the ways (meaning Canada). They must soon decide whether their markets are to be isolated by a perpetual wall permanently, or are we to be commercial friends. Should we not, there-

fore, before their policy is too crystallized, too fixed for change, meet them in a spirit of real concession, facilitate commerce between the two countries, and thus increase the natural resources available to our people.

Why does the president of the United States advise the government of his country to make these concessions to Canada? Not for our good, Mr. Chairman, but for the good of the American people; there is no question about that. President Taft is evidently following the advice given in his time by Senator Sherman. They realize that they cannot force Canada in commercial union or annexation by hostile methods, such as they have tried time after time during the last forty years. Now they come to us with a sunny smile; they are to win us by concessions; they are to induce this government to enter into this pact, which is simply the thin end of the wedge to separate the east from the west and, as Mr. Taft says: **This might well mean "the parting of the ways" for Canada.** I find that Mr. Beveridge, another very prominent man, whom we had the honor of seeing in this chamber only a few days ago, made use of the following language:

There must be reciprocity with Canada. Our tariff with the rest of the world does not apply to our northern neighbor. That policy already has driven American manufactures across the Canadian borders, built vast plants with American capital on Canadian soil, employing Canadian workmen to supply trade.

That capital should be kept at home to employ American workmen to supply Canadian demands. We should admit Canadian wood pulp and Canadian paper free in return for Canada's admitting our agricultural implements, our engines, our pumps and other machinery free. We should freely admit Canadian lumber to American planing mills in return for Canada freely admitting other American manufacturing products to Canadian markets.

#### HENRY WHITNEY ON FREE GRAIN.

Then Mr. Henry Whitney, a very prominent writer in the United States says:

If we were to admit Canadian grain free of tariff charges, much of it would stay with us for home consumption; a portion would go through our ports to foreign lands.

Then, a little further on he says:

New York and Boston and Portland are the natural outlets for the foreign trade of eastern Canada. St. John and Halifax are twice as far from Montreal as New York or Boston or Portland. The Canadian Atlantic ports are not to be mentioned in competition with the American Atlantic ports for passenger business. The elevators for storing and handling Canadian grain should be located on this side of the line, and the steamers of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Pacific should, in the winter time, at least, find their home port in New York or Boston or Portland. And if, under a reciprocity arrangement or otherwise, the farm products of Canada were admitted free of duty, the Canadian government would be friendly instead of hostile to the use of American ports for Canadian business.

Then, he stated in another part of this article what might be the political effect of the establishment of free trade and social relations between the United States and Canada, which, he said:

Is a problem that had best be left to work itself out in the years to come. It is quite possible, indeed, I think it is quite likely, considering the number of questions of domestic and foreign policy which might arise under such a condition, that the two nations in the end would become politically one. But, he says, that would be a long way in the future, if it ever came to pass at all.



This shows clearly the tendency of the negotiations, and to my mind is proof of the fact that the honourable gentlemen who went to Washington to negotiate this pact fell into a cleverly conceived trap, and that the Payne-Aldrich tariff was the instrument used for that purpose. Now, sir, I need not refer to the public pronouncement of the great men on the other side of the line, what they really believe will be the result of this reciprocal trade policy, if it is adopted. **Mr. Champ Clark made that clear in the house of representatives when he stated boldly that he believed this would lead ultimately to the flying of the stars and stripes over every foot of British territory on the northern part of this continent.** That was a bold statement, Mr. Chairman, to be made by a man so prominent in American politics as Mr. Clark. It is common talk on the streets in the great American cities that if this reciprocity treaty becomes a fact, it is only a question of time until we become part of the great American Union. **But, sir, I have no hesitation in saying that the British sentiment in Canada is too strong ever to permit this government to lead Canada into such a trap as that.**

Now, I wish to refer for a moment to a phase of this question which affects the western provinces more than it does any other part of Canada, and that is the question of wheat. There has been a great deal said in this house and in the newspapers to the effect that to the farmers of the west this reciprocity agreement meant an increased price for the wheat products of Manitoba and other great western provinces. For thirty years or more, the United States, especially Minnesota and Dakota, held first place in the markets of the world in the production of wheat, both in quality and quantity. But during the last fifteen or twenty years, Manitoba and the other western provinces have been gradually but surely forging to the front, until to-day we occupy the proud position of producing the best hard wheat in the world; and we are no mean competitors in quantity with our neighbours to the south, and with the other great wheat exporting countries. Last year we produced something like 150 million bushels of wheat in Canada, of which we exported 53 million bushels. The United States produced last year something like 725 million bushels of wheat, of which amount only 125 million bushels was hard wheat, hardly enough to supply home consumption, even when mixed, as it is, with the softer grades. The United States exported over 60 million bushels of wheat, nearly all of which went to Liverpool in competition with our western product. They also exported fifty-five million bushels made up into flour, which went to Liverpool to enter into competition with our western product. That is an answer to the arguments that have been used on the other side of this house that there is a market for our Canadian wheat on the other side of the line. They are our natural competitors, not our natural markets. They are producing and exporting twice as much wheat as we are exporting to-day. Now, sir, I am satisfied that if this pact

becomes law, and the duty of 25 cents per bushel is taken off wheat by the American government—and it could be taken off any way as has well been said—a large amount of our hard wheat would go to Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth and other great American points. This wheat will be carried over American railroads employing thousands of American citizens, building up great American milling centres, all at the expense of the Canadian people, and at the expense of our own railroads, on which we have spent hundreds of millions of dollars, and at the expense of the great home market that Canadian farmers enjoy to-day. And, sir, perhaps worse still, our wheat will find its way to Liverpool in American ships. Our shipping interests will suffer nearly as much as our railways. Every bushel of Canadian wheat that goes through American ports can go through American elevators, and it can be mixed, and will be mixed, with American soft wheat to raise the grade of their wheat; it will be ground into flour in that mixed condition and will enter into direct competition with our western wheat, tending thereby to lower its grade and lower its price in the Liverpool market and to our own wheat growers.

Now let us see what Sir Geo. Ross says on this question. This is a gentleman that our friends opposite used to swear by, and used to like to quote as one of the ablest and most eloquent men in Canada. I am proud to say that he is patriotic enough to cut himself loose from his party on this great question, which he realizes will affect adversely the best interests of Canada. Sir Geo. Ross says:

We must not forget that the mere exchange of certain articles may involve a great deal more than appears on the surface. For example to abolish the duty on wheat on both sides of the line looks fair, but to accept an offer of that kind pure and simple, would in my opinion, be a bad bargain for Canada. I believe that the longer the American tariff of 25 cents a bushel on Canadian wheat is maintained the better for us—Canadian wheat has now a distinct place in the British market; if the market of the United States were freely opened it would be impossible to maintain its identity in passing through American elevators, and Canada would be the loser to the extent of any reduction in price.

He goes on further:

A similar observation will apply to flour. Manitoba flour, with rare exception, brings a higher price on Mark Lane than any American brand. Who could vouch for the genuineness of this brand if American wheat moved freely across the border? The poorer qualities on the south side of the line would be fortified by the products of the Canadian mills, and the better qualities on the north side would be deteriorated by mixture from the south. Such an interchange would be throwing away all the advantages we possess from the great wheat belt of Manitoba and the west.

There is no question, Mr. Chairman, that Sir George Ross sized up the situation in a nutshell when he made that statement. That is exactly what is going to happen. Any intelligent man who knows anything about the conditions in the west, who knows the close relationship with St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, who knows the condition of the wheat trade on the other side of the line, must realize that the statement made by Sir George Ross is absolutely correct and that what he says will surely happen if the pact goes into force.

#### P. C. KNOX AND U.S. FARMERS.

I have also a statement from the Hon. Philander C. Knox, one of the gentlemen who was clever enough to lead the hon. gentlemen who went from this side to the American side, into the trap that they have been led into, and to send them back home to lay this proposition before parliament, a proposition which, if implemented, in my mind, means the putting back of the hands of the clock, impeding the wheels of progress that have been set in motion and making nugatory much that we have accomplished in the last forty or fifty years by enormous sacrifices and expenditures on our part. Mr. Knox is speaking to the farmers on his own side of the line, and he says:

In providing for free wheat we also take into account the facilities which the United States possesses for handling a part of the surplus of Canadian crop and thus preventing the demoralization of prices which results through the dumping of large quantities upon the European markets, where the world's price is fixed.

Where the world's price is fixed! That is absolutely true, and I would like my hon. friends from the west to keep that in view in speaking in this house, and not hereafter to attempt to make the farmers believe that this pact means an increase in the price of wheat. The price is fixed at Liverpool!

The free admission of grain from Canada thus meets the present situation and provides against future contingencies when the Canadian surplus becomes greater by placing the control in the hands of our own grain growers.

That is the situation in a nutshell. It means the placing of the control of the wheat in the North American continent in the hands of the American trusts. He goes on to say:

"They have no cause to fear a demoralizing influx under the conditions which will result from the reciprocity agreement."

#### WHAT AMERICANS THINK.

Now, to show the effect that the Americans themselves think this pact is going to have, let me quote a little from the "Northwest Miller," Minneapolis. The "Northwest Miller" says:

"The disposition of Canada's surplus is a question upon the answer to which depends the future, not only the milling interests of the (American) northwest, but indeed of the United States. Should this surplus be shipped abroad, it must inevitably mean the destruction of the American milling centre, the gradual decline of

the American milling interest to a purely domestic basis, and its ultimate retrogression. The miller who is able to grind this enormous (Canadian) crop will be the miller of the future; and where he is, there will be the great mills of the world."

Mr. Chairman, that is the position exactly. The miller that controls the Canadian wheat is the miller of the future. The country that controls our wheat is the country where the large milling centres of the world are going to be placed. If this pact goes into force and our wheat crosses the line, which it is bound to do under such circumstances, the great milling centres of the world will be in the United States. There is no question about that, and the "Northwest Miller" is candid enough to point that out to its own people. We have had in this house several quotations from statements made by Mr. J. J. Hill, a man who seems to know what he is talking about, one of the greatest business men in the western states. I also want to give a quotation from Mr. Hill. He replies to the attack of a North Dakota farmer in these words:

#### J. J. HILL IN NORTH DAKOTA.

St. Paul, Minn., Feb. 23.—Discussing an attack made upon him through a letter from a North Dakota farmer, read in the United States senate Tuesday, Jas. J. Hill, of the Great Northern railway, said: "The pending reciprocity treaty before congress is the most important this country has had before it since the civil war. If, after having Canada waiting for years, we turn her down again, our country will suffer, and one of the hardest hit of our industries will be that of wheat raising. **England is waiting and watching for just that thing to happen.** Within the fortnight Austen Chamberlain had called up for decision in the British parliament the measure providing an imperial federation for England and her colonies. Suppose that Canada joins the imperial federation of English colonies, as is proposed. A reasonable differential that England must impose upon our wheat would be 15 cents a bushel, and that would mean our wheat growers would find their whole product lowered that much per bushel in value. Great Britain takes over practically all of the \$200,000,000 in round numbers that Canada now pays us for manufactured articles; then add to the six hundred and more millions we export to Great Britain and we find that, if we fail to adopt a reciprocity agreement with Canada and drive it to an imperial federation, we are cheapening our wheat crop annually say 15 cents per bushel, and at the same time we are losing \$800,000,000 of export business to England and Canada.

This, Mr. Chairman, is a candid confession by J. J. Hill, that if this reciprocity arrangement is not put into force, Mr. Hill sees the possibility, and, I hope, the probability of a British preference in favor of our wheat, which would give the Canadian farmers absolute control of the British market. This is the policy that the right hon. gentleman and his government ought to have bent all their energies to secure—a preference in the British market for our wheat that would place our farmers of the west in a position superior not only to the American farmers but to the farmers of any other part of the world outside of the empire. James J. Hill, fears that if this pact is not implemented the British government may well see its way clear to give us a preference of 15 cents a bushel, which, as he points out, would reduce the value of American wheat in the British market and put the control

absolutely in the hands of Canadian wheat-growers. This is what the United States fears, and it is what they are trying to prevent. Surely this means a great advantage to our Canadian and western wheat-growers. It is a matter that the wheat-growers of western Canada want to take into consideration while listening to the eloquent speeches which will be delivered by hon. gentlemen opposite endeavoring to convince them that this pact is a good thing for them. They want to realize that they are closing the door to imperial preference as soon as they agree to implement this pact before the house. You are putting in the thin end of the wedge, dividing the east from the west, assisting in building up the trade of the American republic to the south of us, diverting the trade of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba to the western states, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, Chicago, diverting the trade of Ontario to the state of New York, and diverting the trade of Quebec and the maritime provinces to the state of Maine and other states.

#### INTERPROVINCIAL TRADE WILL SUFFER.

If this pact is implemented, our great inter-provincial trade is going to be interfered with very materially, a trade that is eight or ten times greater than all our foreign trade, and that has been built up by the people of Canada by great sacrifices, and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars. Secretary Knox, speaking, not to the Canadian people, but to the American people, points out clearly that this pact means that the United States will control the whole situation by getting control of our wheat. This means that American mills, American railways, American steamship lines, and American cities will all reap the reward that belongs to Canada and the Canadian people. Our grain is to go to create great milling centres which will employ hundreds of thousands of men in the United States instead of going over our own railroads, and our own shipping lines, through our own canals, building up our own milling centres, and employing hundreds of thousands of Canadian citizens, and thus adding to our Canadian home market of which we are all so proud.

Mr. James J. Hill, points out clearly that this pact, if implemented, will have no influence in increasing or diminishing the price of wheat to the Canadian farmer or the American farmer. He says:

#### WHEAT WILL NOT INCREASE.

Now, wheat is a world-wide product. Wheat is produced in large quantities in many countries, and the price of wheat in the world is made by the surplus of all wheat-producing countries selling to those who have to buy in order to supply their people with bread. **Liverpool is the great central market of the world.** And I don't care where you go, on any grain exchange, in every current report in your newspaper, you will find Liverpool a penny or a half-penny up, and in a few minutes it has advanced or fallen correspondingly in our market here. I don't care if the market over the shipping point, if the market itself, as is frequently in Minneapolis, is higher than you could ship to any European country, still the market is affected by the reports

of the market in Liverpool. And if we are shipping, as we are, 50,000,000 bushels—and it used to be 150,000,000 bushels—50,000,000 bushels a year of surplus that goes to Europe, tell me, in God's name, what a 25 cent a bushel protective tariff has to do with the price of that wheat when the price of your entire crop is made by the surplus that is sold to the other fellow? Bear that in mind all the time, and that's the main fact that will decide who will be elected. Talk about the difference in price between Minneapolis and Winnipeg, and that it is going to ruin the farmer in Minnesota, what difference does it make to the man in Liverpool whether that wheat went out through Duluth, Minneapolis or Port Arthur, when it goes to Liverpool? He does not care. It is the price in Liverpool that makes the price, not only on what we sell to Liverpool, but the price of our entire crop. That's a well established commercial law, that price of the surplus that is sold makes the price for all.

#### A GREAT MILLING CENTRE.

That is the position that is taken by every man on this side of the house, and by every man in the west who knows anything about the wheat question. The price of wheat is determined by the price in the Liverpool market. There are times when the price of wheat is eight or ten cents a bushel higher at one point in the United States than at another, simply because of the demand; but that has nothing to do with regulating the price. This wheat question is one of the greatest questions that Canada has to deal with, and if we are going to allow our wheat to be diverted to the other side of the line, we are going to destroy our milling interests; we are going to prevent the building up of the greatest milling centre in the world, which we should have in Canada, and which we will have if we retain control of our wheat.

The Northwest Miller, the chief organ of the American flour and milling trade, published at Minneapolis, says:

Bountiful nature has placed at the very threshold of this country a natural wheat field the like of which has never before been known since the world was made. This magnificent source of supply, a mighty empire in itself, produces wheat of unrivalled quality. Its possibilities are difficult to over-estimate. The land was created for wheat raising. This area can and will produce sufficient wheat to keep American mills supplied to double their present capacity. The future of American milling with free Canadian wheat is a grand one. With this enormous and steadily increasing crop flowing into the mills and elevators of the States, a splendid tide of activity and prosperity would follow in its wake. Assured of their future supply of raw material, the mills of America would go forward on their developing course, continuing the march of progress which has brought them to the front. New mills would be built and capacities enlarged. New markets abroad would be sought and conquered. The returns from this renewed and extended activity would be felt in increased commercial prosperity. American railroads carrying the flour from the mills would secure additional freights; American banks would obtain increased deposits and greatly enlarged exchange accounts; and pay-rolls would be increased; mill machinery, hags, parrels, and other mill supplies would be required in larger quantities; more money would be in circulation; and the benefit would be felt in every artery of industrial life touched by milling. There would be an increase in grain firms, in elevators, and in every branch of the grain-handling and flour-making interests. This would be felt in the added value of (American) real estate and in the solid and substantial development of every undertaking and enterprise that makes a community prosperous.

#### AMERICAN MILLERS HOPEFUL.

This indicates that the American milling interests are looking forward to building up their



cities, increasing the value of their real estate, increasing the value of their railroads, at the expense of Canadian wheat growers, and the Canadian people. The Northwest Miller states that the United States milling trade has reached a crisis, and if the effort to capture the Canadian supply of raw material free of duty now fails, the American mills will suffer severely, or else have to move to Canadian soil. It goes on to say:

his disposition of Canada's surplus is a question upon the answer of which depends; the future not only of the milling interests of the American north-west, but indeed, of the United States. Should this surplus be shipped abroad, it must inevitably mean the destruction of the American export trade, the shifting of the American milling centre, the gradual decline of the American milling interest to a purely domestic basis, and its ultimate retrogression to a comparatively unimportant place in the list of large American industries.

This indicates exactly what the American millers expect. This seems to me to be a well laid scheme to get control of the wheat of our western country, and if the parliament, and the people of Canada are foolish enough to enter into a pact of this kind they are simply throwing away a great advantage and depriving themselves of a great source of wealth which they enjoy to-day. We are asked to agree to this pact, to agree to build up great milling centres on the other side of the line, to create trade for American machine shops, to increase the value of American real estate, to improve the condition in general of the United States, to improve their railways. **Are the farmers of Canada ready for a change of this kind? I think not, Mr. Chairman.** I think that when the opportunity comes, if the government has the courage to take the plunge and give the farmers of Canada an opportunity to pronounce upon this pact, the farmers and the people of Canada will relieve the hon. gentlemen of all further responsibility and place at the helm a safe pilot.

#### A NEW PHASE OF THE QUESTION.

A phase of this question which has not been dealt with to any extent is the competition to which this pact exposes the wheat growers of Canada. I find that the agreement includes not only the United States, but twelve or fourteen other great wheat exporting countries. I may say that the whole exporting world in natural products is included in this pact, and is given free access to our markets. For instance there is the Argentine, one of the most prosperous countries in the world. That country exported last year 106,000,000 bushels of wheat. Russia exported 70,000,000 bushels of wheat, Australia exported 32,000,000 bushels of wheat, the United States exported something like 124,000,000 bushels including flour; in all about 332,000,000 bushels of wheat is exported by our competitors, by the nations to which this pact opens the door of our home markets. A large amount of this foreign wheat can be laid down in Montreal or Vancouver for one third of the freight rates charged on wheat from Regina to Montreal. The rate from the Argentine to Montreal or Vancouver, is about 5 cents a bushel. Labor in the Argentine, according to the postmaster-

general (Hon. Mr. Lemieux), is about 64 cents a day without board; our wheat raisers in the west pay their men all the way from \$30 to \$60 a month. So I have no hesitation in saying that if this pact goes into force the Canadian wheat grower will lose the home market in the eastern provinces and even in part, of Ontario. Ontario is not growing enough wheat to-day for its home consumption. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island do not grow enough wheat, they have to get wheat and flour from other parts of Canada. British Columbia is in the same position. We are opening the doors of the home market of the farmers whom we have protected and encouraged during the last 20 or 30 years. You are opening the door to these nations that can come into the Canadian market and undersell the Canadian wheat grower. When the wheat growers of the northwest come to realize what this pact means they will have their eyes opened so wide that no man who dares to advocate the adoption of this reciprocal trade policy in the west will be able to get a hearing twelve months from to-day.

Mr. Speaker, the question of barley also effects the west. On this question a great deal has been said in and out of the house, and no other phase of the pact has been so unfairly dealt with and so misrepresented. Some Winnipeg papers and farmers' papers which are in favor of this pact tell the farmers of the west that barley is worth 90 cents in Minneapolis and 45 cents in Winnipeg. They do not tell the farmers that they are quoting high grade malting barley in Minneapolis and St. Paul and feed barley in Winnipeg, two different barleys altogether. I have a comparative statement which gives the average price of barley across the line and in Winnipeg. The United States crop of 1909 was 170,284,000 bushels. The United States exported in 1908, 6,580,000 bushels. The average price to the farmers of the United States was 55.2. It is only fair to assume that that average price includes all the malting barley with the feed barley. In 1909 Minnesota raised 31,600,000 bushels of barley. The average price obtained was 46.6 cents. North Dakota raised 20,272,000 bushels. The average price was 43 cents. South Dakota raised 19,910,400 bushels, and the average price was 45 cents. The average price in the United States since 1899 has been as follows:

	Per Cent.
1899. . . . .	40.3
1900. . . . .	40.8
1901. . . . .	45.2
1902. . . . .	45.9
1903. . . . .	45.6
1904. . . . .	42.0
1905. . . . .	40.3
1906. . . . .	44.5
1907. . . . .	66.7
1908. . . . .	55.4
1909. . . . .	55.2

Now the average price in the city of Winnipeg for October and November was 46 3-8 cents per bushel for barley. I would like to know where the argument of hon. gentlemen opposite comes

in. I heard the member for Provencher say that if this were the only thing that this pact proposed to do he would be justified in voting for it, to give the farmers of the west a larger market for their barley. Every hon. gentleman who knows anything about this question is aware that the Americans produce 170,000,000 bushels of barley, that they exported last year 8,000,000 bushels while we are exporting only something like 200,000 bushels. I would like any hon. gentleman to tell me how he can justify the statements that were made that this is the natural market for our barley, a great nation producing four times the amount of barley that we produce and exporting a great deal more than we export. They are our natural competitors and not our natural market.

#### THE BARLEY QUESTION.

But there is another phase to this question which I should like to impress upon the western farmer. Our Ontario farmers understand this question and have taken advantage of experience. At first glance, one might easily be led to believe that those who raise barley would be greatly benefitted by this proposed agreement. But we all remember that in 1890, when President McKinley endeavored to force this country into commercial union by his famous McKinley bill—which was a token of the esteem the average American has for the Canadian—be put a duty of thirty cents a bushel on barley which was prohibitive. Our Ontario farmers were hit hard for a short time, as they had been in the habit of exporting nearly all their barley to the United States; but the injury was only for a short time. The McKinley Bill turned out to be a God-send for Canada. It opened the eyes of the Canadian people. It forced our government to seek foreign markets, and develop our own market, and make Canada what it is to-day, thoroughly independent of the United States. The hostile legislation of the United States from year to year has done more to stimulate the people of this country and make them independent and self-respecting than everything else that has happened. In 1880 we exported to the United States about 10,000,000 bushels of barley. Then the prohibitive duty was put on by the American government. In 1891, on account of this prohibitive duty of 30 cents per bushel, we exported only about 200,000 bushels. Did our farmers in Ontario give up growing barley? Not at all. Why did they not when their market was taken from them by this unfair McKinley bill? That bill made it impossible for us to export barley to the United States; but under the protecting wing of the national policy, which was in the hands of skillful men who knew how to use it, a great hog industry was built up in this country and encouraged. Our farmers began to feed their barley to hogs, and what was the result? They grew more hogs and cattle and made more money than when they exported their barley to the United States. In 1899 we sent 13,000,000 bushels to the United States, in 1891 under the McKinley bill, that export fell to 190,000 bushels. In 1909 we produced 60,000,000 bushels of barley

and only exported something like 270,000 bushels; but our farmers fed six times more to their hogs and cattle than they had ever exported up to 1909, and by doing so, they got a steady market for their barley, steady prices, and established a great growing industry, very profitable to themselves and the country. The production of hogs in Ontario in 1909 was \$21,000,000. The report of the Agricultural college at Guelph gives some figures which are very interesting and instructive. It points out that 3½ pounds of barley will make one pound of pork. The average price of hogs during the last five years has been about \$7.00 per 100 pounds. Three and a half pounds of barley will give one pound of pork worth seven cents per pound. That means about 96 cents a bushel for barley. That is an answer to the argument that it will benefit our farmers to export barley to the other side. The true policy of Canadian farmers is to make the manufactured article and not export the raw material. Let them produce fat hogs and cattle. By so doing they will build up in Canada a great hog industry a great packing industry, and give employment to thousands of men in packing houses and on our railways which will be a source of revenue to every man in Manitoba. That is the true policy of the farmer in the west to-day. He should go into the raising of cattle and hogs and feed his barley to them instead of shipping it to the United States.

The raising of barley is placed in the very same position as the wheat industry. The farmer who wants to export his barley has to meet the competition of the other barley raising nations of the world. I find that the United States—that great market which is held out to our western farmers—exported last year 8,000,000 bushels of barley; Russia exported 80,000,000; Argentina, 21,000,000; Austro-Hungary, 8,000,000; Australia, 2,000,000. These five nations exported 118,000,000 bushels, yet these are the markets that this government is opening up to Canadian farmers. Why, we are taking down the gates to allow these nations to flood our market. This barley can be laid down, just as wheat can, for a freight rate of less than 5½ cents per bushel in Montreal, Vancouver or Halifax, and come into direct competition with every man who produces a bushel of barley in this country.

#### CANADA'S CATTLE TRADE.

Another phase of the question which affects Canada is the cattle trade. Hon. gentlemen opposite have tried to make us believe that this agreement means a great increase of prices for our cattle. Why, according to the hon. member for Carleton, Mr. Carvell, exported something like \$10,000,000 worth of cattle last year, where the United States exported \$18,000,000 that same year. What market, then, can we expect in the United States for our \$10,000,000 worth? The United States exported also \$16,000,000 worth of beef, \$15,000,000 worth of canned beef, or nearly \$49,000,000 worth altogether, while we exported only \$10,000,000, and yet we are told that the United States is a good market for our farmers.

I am now going to place on record the exports of the different nations.

#### EXPORTS OF BEEF.

	lbs.
Australia frozen .....	71,142,000
" canned .....	23,000,000
New Zealand frozen .....	54,000,000
Argentine frozen .....	461,590,000
" jerked .....	25,615,000
" pressed .....	14,000,000
Total export of beef .....	649,347,000

As against this, where does the Canadian market come in?—the Canadian market we have been building up and protecting for our own farmers, and that has made our farmers happy and contented. We open the door to every pound of that beef. We reduce the protection from 3 cents per lb. to 1½ cents per lb. Under the reduced duty, that beef can be laid down in Montreal, Halifax or Vancouver, for less than 7 cents per lb. all ready for the butcher's stall. Why, Sir, I cannot understand any set of men who pretend to legislate for the farmers of this country bringing down a proposition and asking the farmers to accept it which involves such serious conditions as these. In addition to the figures given above, the United States exported 182,000,000 lbs. of beef, and, as I said, \$18,000,000 worth of cattle.

#### A GROWING INDUSTRY.

Now look at the exports of mutton and lamb from some of these favored nation countries that will be able to compete with our farmers right in his home market,—and this is another industry which our farmers have been trying to build up; but which has not received much assistance from hon. gentlemen opposite, for they have left the farmers without protection on their wool.

#### EXPORTS OF MUTTON AND LAMB.

	lbs.
Argentine frozen .....	147,000,000
Australia frozen .....	116,000,000
New Zealand frozen .....	222,000,000
Total exports of mutton & lamb .....	485,000,000

This can be laid down in Canada under the proposed arrangement for less than 8 cents per lb. Every one knows that if you go into a butcher stall to buy lamb or mutton you will have to pay 15 cents, 16 cents and 18 cents per lb. here to-day. Where, then, will our farmer come in under an arrangement which brings this mutton into Canada at less than 8 cents per lb.? The exports of eggs and butter tell the same story. The butter exports from Australia last year were 56,000,000 lbs., from New Zealand 37,000,000 lbs., Argentina 8,000,000 lbs., Russia, 112,000,000 lbs., Denmark 196,000,000 lbs., from Sweden 40,000,000 lbs., from Norway 3,400,000 lbs., from the United States 6,000,000 lbs., or a total from these countries

alone of 458,400,000 lbs. The present duty on butter is 4 cents per lb., and even in the face of that duty some of these countries have been exporting butter into Canada. What will happen when the duty is taken off? What will be the result to our dairy interests of bringing all these countries into direct competition with them? Then, the export of eggs we find include the following: From the United States 6,090,000 dozen, from Denmark, 32,000,000 dozen; from Russia 215,000,000 dozen, and from Sweden 3,000,000 dozen, or a total from these four countries alone of 256,000,000 dozen of eggs. The present duty is 3 cents per dozen, and in the face of that there has been an import, I think, of one or two million dozen. If this duty is wiped out, it will mean that millions of dozens of these eggs will come into competition with our Canadian eggs. Then take hams and bacon. Last year the United States exported 472,000,000 lbs., Denmark 210,000,000 lbs., Sweden 6,000,000 lbs., or a total of 868,000,000 lbs., for these three countries alone—and they are the only ones of the favored nations the figures of which I have had time to gather; the government should have had this information ready at our hand, but I have had to find it as best I could. The present duty on hams and bacon is 2 cents per lb., and under this reciprocity pact it is proposed to reduce it to 1½ cents per lb.—where does our farmer come in here? Where is the market for Canadian pork in any of these countries? Now, I would like to read a quotation from one of the secretaries of the Minnesota branch of the National Reciprocity league, which throws some light on this question. He says:

**Our farmers should understand that in opening up our markets to Canada's national products, we are also getting a big market there for our natural products.** We hear very much about how the agreement is inimical to the interests of barley raisers, but our attention has not been called to the fact that last year we exported 164,000 bushels of barley and paid thereon a duty of 15 cents a bushel. Canada removes this duty under agreement. Last year, our farmers shipped 7,680 tons of hay to Canada—and somebody paid a duty of \$15,360 on that hay. Last year Canada bought 215,000 bushels of potatoes from us, and a duty of \$13,000 was paid thereon. Of other fresh vegetables, Canada bought from us last year \$652,000 worth, and had to pay on them tariff taxes of \$195,000. Canada bought from us last year several thousand head of cattle, 121,000 horses, 104,000 sheep and 25,000 other live animals, and a vast quantity of poultry the total duties levied on which amounted to \$175,000. All of these now go on the free list, and the Canadian market for them is to be untrammelled as the market in any part of the United States.

While meats are not placed on the free list, the reductions offered by Canada are so sweeping that there must inevitably be an immense increase in our exports of such products to Canada.

In competition with whom, Mr. Chairman? In competition with the men to whom the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues are holding out **this gold brick** and telling them that it will mean untold wealth for them.

#### WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

Now, what does this proposition mean? The population of the United States is about 90,000,000; that of Canada about 7,500,000.

## INTERESTING FIGURES.

The following figures regarding the twelve favored nations are interesting:

	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population
Argentina (1908) . . . . .	1,117,059	6,484,023
Austria-Hungary. . . . .	241,197	49,280,000
Columbia. . . . .	504,773	4,142,000
Denmark (1909) . . . . .	13,052	2,692,000
Japan (1908) . . . . .	147,476	52,340,000
Norway. . . . .	124,090	2,533,000
Russia (1909) . . . . .	6,379,044	157,044,700
Spain (1909) . . . . .	194,744	20,068,381
Sweden (1909) . . . . .	172,875	5,476,441
Switzerland. . . . .	15,417	3,555,000
Venezuela. . . . .	599,358	2,647,000
Bolivia. . . . .	650,000	3,000,000
	12,161,085	307,982,765

That means that we will have twelve American farmers to one Canadian farmer to enjoy the markets we have spent so much money to build up—twelve American invaders to one Canadian defender. It means a protected territory three times the extent of Canada, much of it highly developed, let into our home markets free. It means foreign population—(exclusive of the United States)—forty times the population of Canada furnished with free trade passes into the Canadian market. And every one of these nations living behind high protective walls: our farmers cannot invade their market—they have taken good care of that; but our government have taken down our walls.

Mr. PATERSON. What will be the effect in Montreal?

Mr. FOSTER. The finance minister ought to know. He was there the other night.

Mr. PATERSON. I see the member for St. Antoine (Mr. Ames) is cheering

Mr. BRADBURY. If the minister of customs will give the people of Montreal an opportunity, they will show him what they think will be the effect. What does it mean? Including the United States, with twelve favored nations, it means one acre in Canada to four acres outside of Canada: it means one Canadian farmer matched against forty foreign farmers. That is the position the present government has placed our farmers in. They have matched one of our farmers against forty foreign farmers, including the farmers of the United States. And still they ask the people of this country to believe that this is a good thing for our farmers. As I told the hon. gentleman a short time ago, if he will give the farmers of Canada an opportunity within the next twelve months, they will give their answer in no uncertain sound and the hon. gentlemen who have placed Canada in this humiliating position, will find that they will be no more troubled with this question. Now, how is

our home market going to be affected? Let us examine:

1909 it was. . . . .	\$532,000,000
Dairy products . . . . .	100,000,000
Hog products, estimated. . . . .	45,000,000
Animals estimated. . . . .	125,000,000
Total. . . . .	\$802,000,000

## WHAT THE FARMERS WANT.

That I think would be a fair estimate of the value of the home markets of Canada, I tried to get that question answered on the order paper to-day, but the government apparently did not wish to bring it down; therefore I had to make my own estimate which I think is very fair. Now our total exports of the farm in 1909 amounted to \$114,000,000; subtract this from the \$802,000,000, and we have \$688,000,000, as the value of the home market afforded by our own consumers, or eighty per cent of the total production of the farms. The proposed pact opens the door of the farmers of the United States and of the other great exporting countries of the world, to this great home market of our farmers. For the sake of twenty per cent. exports, this agreement will destroy the farmers' market for eighty per cent. of his products, in an effort to improve his market for the twenty per cent. that he exports. Until now the farmer has found a ready market in Canada at good prices for all he produces, no question about that. It is therefore hard to understand what has impelled this government to rush into this proposed agreement at the present time.

In conclusion, let me say that what the farmers of Canada want, and what they ought to have, is not a jug-handled reciprocal arrangement such as our friends propose to give them. What we ought to have in Western Canada especially is a government-assisted cold storage system that will take care of the meat products all the way from the Rocky Mountains to the Liverpool market. This would stimulate the meat industry and the cattle industry, and it would help our farmers to produce the finished article in our own country, instead of shipping our grass-fed cattle over to the Americans and allowing them to feed and to ship in competition with our own cattle. We must have government-owned and operated terminal elevators. The farmers of the west ought to have the Hudson Bay railway, they ought to have it built by the government, controlled and operated by the government, not built by the government and handed over to a private company, as they did the Grand Trunk Pacific. The people of the west want a government-owned and a government-operated Hudson Bay railway. There is also work, to my mind, for the railway commission to do. The farmers of the west are entitled, if I am rightly informed, to reduced freight rates over our Canadian roads. Give the farmers of the west cheap transportation, and you will solve many difficulties that exist in that western country. My opinion is that your railway commission ought to make a

thorough investigation into the freight rates charged on all the transcontinental lines, and all lines operating between western and eastern Canada. Sir, the farmers who came down from western Canada in such large numbers a few months ago, did not want the proposition that the government are offering them to-day. They asked the government to give them reciprocity in natural and manufactured articles. The government are handing out to the farmers a proposition that they do not understand. I am satisfied of that. The farmers will understand it, they will understand before long that the proposition the government are offering to them threatens the destruction of their home market, threatens the invasion of their home market by foreign countries, threatens serious injury to our great transcontinental railway lines on which we have spent hundreds of millions of dollars, **and threatens beyond any question any future possibility of a British preference that the people of Canada are looking for, and threatens the integrity of the British Empire.**

#### REASONS FOR OPPOSING PACT.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this pact—I hope I have made that clear to the house:

1. Because we are enjoying unparalleled prosperity under our present fiscal system.
2. Because hundreds of millions of dollars and the best efforts of our citizens have been invested in building up Canada as a nation, developing our agriculture, commerce, industries and finance; and the proposed reciprocal arrangement would tend to destroy our integrity and drain our resources into the United States.
3. Because our wheat, cheese and other commodities would lose their identity in the United

States, our natural products would be exported without manufacture, our national railways would be deprived of trade for which they were created, our ocean and inland marine would be seriously crippled, our canal system and our lake, river and seaports would be robbed of their commerce, while British and foreign capital would not trust itself in a country so unstable in its fiscal policy.

4. Because it would be unfair to our farmers to place them in open competition with the cheap farm labor of such foreign countries as Japan, the Argentine, Russia, Denmark, Norway, Hungary, Spain, Switzerland, and others, from whom Canada would receive no reciprocal advantage whatever.

5. Because it is unfair to place our market gardeners in open competition with the cheap black labor of the Southern States, as is proposed by the pact.

6. Because all classes in Canada would have to pay tribute to the trusts and combinations which rule the prices of food and other commodities in the United States.

7. Because in the building of our country we have made too many sacrifices, have struggled too long, have stood staunch in the midst of too many adversities, to be willing now, when the victory is won, and Canada is at the dawn of her "century" to see a foreign people reap the reward of our work, courage, patience and loyalty.

8. Because our ambition is for a strong united **British Canada**, and our country is too vast, and our population too small, to permit of any policy which will tend to weaken the ties that bind our provinces together.

9. Because the parliament of Canada has no mandate from the people to make so radical a change in our commercial policy.

