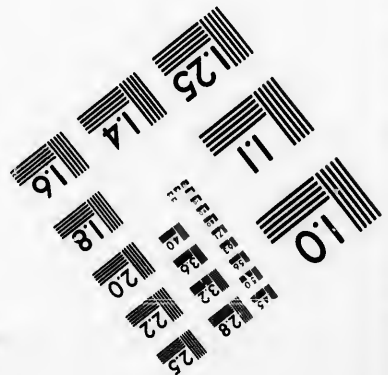
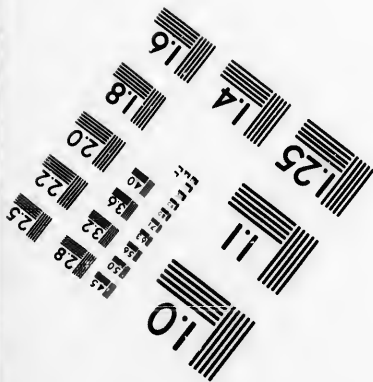
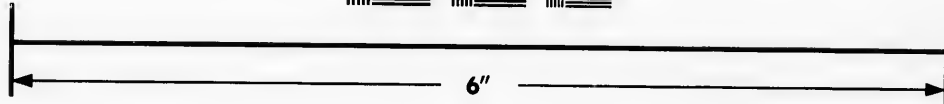
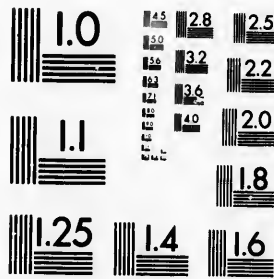


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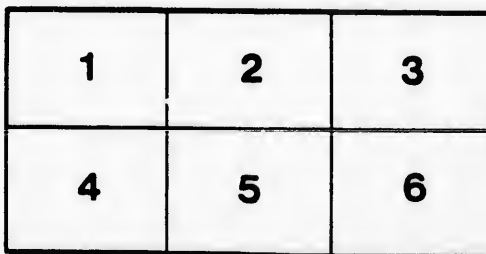
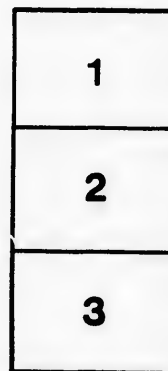
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SPEECHES

OF THE

HON. JOHN COSTIGAN, M.P., HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, M.P.

AND

JOHN ROSS ROBERTSON, ESQ., M.P.

ON THE OCCASION OF

HON. JOHN COSTIGAN'S PERSONAL EXPLANATION

ON HIS

CROSSING THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE

HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, 26TH MAY, 1899

Mr. JOHN COSTIGAN (Victoria, N.B.)
Mr. Speaker, before proceeding to the Orders of the Day, I feel compelled, in justice to myself, and I might also claim in justice to those whom I may call my friends in the country, though they may be very few, that a certain statement should be made by me—such a statement has been rendered necessary, not only on account of certain newspaper articles attributing to me very improper motives because of my change of seat and change of attitude towards the present leaders of the Opposition in this House. The statement is further necessary on account of the very questionable and improper motives attributed to me, in an interview published in the newspapers from the hon. the leader of the Opposition. I therefore propose, Mr. Speaker, to deal as briefly as possible with this subject, to make some references to a few of the newspaper articles, and to pay more particular attention to the interview I have just mentioned. In order that I may be in accordance with the rules of the House, I will conclude with a motion before resuming my seat.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, that I find myself occupying a different seat from the one that I occupied since the last general elections.

To my mind it requires no very lengthy explanation for my change of attitude towards—not the old Conservative party, that I worked with and worked with so faithfully for so many years; but towards the Conservative party as I find it constructed and led to-day in this House, and in the country consequently. I may take up first, not the most important, but one of the early critics who assigned questionable motives to me for my conduct, and I may say, that it appears to me that one of the principal objects in these attacks made upon me, is to prove, not that I have not reason, not that I have not common intelligence, not that I have not honour, but to prove that I am actuated by unworthy motives. I shall refer to the conclusion arrived at by what I understand to be the organ of a gentleman elected to this House to represent the independent sentiment of Canada.

First, I thought it was the independent sentiment of Toronto that he expressed. But he takes a broader grasp than that. According to his own speeches he is the representative of the independent sentiment of Canada in federal politics. I refer to the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Ross Robertson). In his paper the conclu-

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sion is arrived at, very early in the discussion of this question, that I have placed myself in a position to be known now as a man who never opposed a Government or supported an Opposition; that is, that I have been simply actuated by selfish motives, seeking to be with the men who had something to give. Now, I need not go outside of this House to prove that that is not true. The only time the old, real Conservative party of this country were in Opposition since confederation—and I have been here since that time—from the time Sir John Macdonald resigned in 1873 up to the time he resumed power in 1878; and I pride myself on the fact that I was one of the old guard during that time, with some of the hon. gentlemen I see here, and who in their hearts, I believe, have some sympathy for me. That was the time when I had an opportunity to give proof of my fidelity to the Conservative party, and I gave it, beyond the possibility of dispute and beyond the cavils of the "Evening Telegram" of Toronto. But I question the fair-play of the hon. member for East Toronto in attacking me in the way he does. I do not question his right to attack me on the floors of Parliament. I may not be able to defend myself in as eloquent and as choice language as he can command in attacking me; but I will take my chances. But is it fair that the hon. gentleman should bring to his assistance in attacking me his newspaper? I have no newspaper behind me. I have to depend upon myself and upon the good-will of my friends for my defence. Not only has the hon. gentleman the aid of his literary editor and manager to back up his attacks on me; but he has in his paper a double-barrelled gun. Besides having the advantage of being able to attack me through his literary editor, he has the services of a very distinguished artist, no doubt, for the purpose of belittling and ridiculing, if possible, by means of cartoons published in his paper, any gentleman in this House or out of it whom he chooses to attack. That is not the only advantage he has. By means of that artist he can produce cartoons which cannot hurt, though they may distort the appearance of things, and may leave the impression on the public that the man thus caricatured is a very inferior character, and in that way may prejudice against him the opinion of men who have never seen him. The great advantage that man has is that it is out of my power to retaliate; for there is no artist in Canada or on this continent who could make a cartoon of that hon. gentleman's countenance that would not flatter him. So much, Mr. Speaker, for the "Evening Telegram's" attack, and for the independent member for East Toronto.

Now, I pass on to one more newspaper. There are a great many to which I might refer, but I do not want to trespass on the attention of the House. I will take up a

very prominent paper, the "Mail and Empire." That paper revives an old slander which the Toronto "Mail" formerly put forward against me, and the falsity of which has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. It remained silent for a long time, and I heard no more about it. But now the "Mail and Empire," inspired with about the same amount of friendship for me as the old Toronto "Mail" evinced, reproduces the slander, not through its editorial columns, but through its correspondent in this city. That paper, to explain my position and to show what kind of a character I am, states that away back in 1884, while I was a member of Sir John Macdonald's Government, finding a number of his supporters from the province of Quebec in rebellion against his Government on account of the loan of \$30,000,000 to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, I, as a traitor, took advantage of the discontent of the wing led by the late Sir Adolphe Chapleau, to betray my leader and send in my resignation; but that as soon as I found that these men came back loyally to their old chieftain, I withdrew my resignation and crawled back also. I will not use any words of my own to refute that twice-repeated slander. I will give an authority for which I have the greatest respect, and which I challenge any gentleman in this House or in the country to question. The authority I refer to is that old chieftain, Sir John A. Macdonald, whose memory is still held dear in this country. I do not know that I need read the whole of it. It will be remembered that at the time referred to I had tendered my resignation. The Hon. Edward Blake insisted on fuller explanations than he had received as to the reasons for my resignation, and the causes for my withdrawal of that resignation. On proceeding with the Order before the House dealing with the Canadian Pacific Railway Loan Bill, Mr. Blake renewed his question for fuller explanations of my resignation. Sir John A. Macdonald said:

I am very sorry the hon. gentleman and I cannot agree upon that point. I do not know whether he heard my answer the other night—my statement. I took occasion to state—although I said I would not answer it again, I will repeat what I said—I stated that my hon. friend and colleague had tendered his resignation for matters personal to himself, but matters not affecting the general policy of the Government, and which had not the most remote connection with the measure in the hands of my hon. friend, the Minister of Railways; that I refused to present the resignation to His Excellency for his acceptance; that my hon. friend withdrew his resignation for reasons which I have given, and which are of no use to anybody in the world, and can have no political significance, and can be of no constitutional significance. My hon. friend withdrew his resignation. I was very glad of it, and I hope he may long remain my colleague.

As to the question of my honour and integrity as a man, I place these words before

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the public as a sufficient answer to the slanders who are attacking me to-day.

Now, Sir, when asked by a newspaper reporter about my position, as I am naturally pretty candid, I told him at once that he might say that I had severed my connection entirely with the gentlemen who control the Conservative party, that they did not represent the Ideas I expected to see them represent and had been accustomed to follow, and in as few words as possible, I wished to have that understood. I do not wish to occupy a questionable position or one of doubt. I find that when the attention of the hon. leader of the Opposition was called to this matter his view was, as stated in an interview published in the press :

This move of Mr. Costigan was not, by any means, unexpected. When Sir Charles Tupper was shown the foregoing statement that I have made, he said : " I am not at all surprised to see the announcement that Mr. Costigan has made, that he now belongs to the Government party. I think that the correspondence read in the House by Dr. Roche discloses fully the humiliating position in which Mr. Costigan has placed himself. The difficulty will be for the Government to defend the means by which they have acquired his support rather than for any person else to explain it. All that I am surprised at is that Mr. Costigan has not sufficient self-respect to leave the front benches of the Conservative party. It is too late for him to raise any question of principle as the ground of separation between himself and the Conservative party had been made. The discussion of the papers brought down by the Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière), moved for by Dr. Roche, will leave no room for doubt in the mind of any person as to how Mr. Costigan's support has been obtained by the party in power. The Government need have no anxiety about his vote so long as they retain power. After what has already taken place between him and the Government, it is clear that the less Mr. Costigan talks about ' independent' action the better."

Well, the hon. gentleman did not express any surprise at my attitude. I must confess that I was, on the contrary, surprised very much at that statement. Not because of any favours I expected at the hands of that hon. gentleman, not for any kindness, not for any consideration, but in view of the dignity that belongs to the position held, accidentally and temporarily, by the leader of the Opposition, I expected manly treatment. I expected to be treated as an old member of Parliament would, by even that distinguished gentleman. I have not received such treatment. I do not complain as having undergone any serious loss, but I complain of a gross breach of the courtesy that is expected to exist between members of Parliament. Now, Sir, I agree with him in his sentiment that he was not surprised at my change. He knew it was not a change of to-day; he knew that I had been changed from the time he landed in Canada, not to the rescue of the Conservative party, as in old times he might claim, but to the detriment and ruin of that old party. The day he sailed from England, and especially the day he landed in Canada, the doom of

an honest Government and the leadership of an honest man was sealed. The fate of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Government was sealed. Sir, he came, and a great deal has been said about the manner of his coming. That, perhaps, I will not touch upon now, because there is a history to the whole of this transaction, a history that will be written, and a history that will form one of the darkest pages that can be written or will be read, so far as all these who were intimately connected with it at that time are concerned. A change of position on my part! I was in the Government with hon. gentlemen that I see around me here now, under Sir Mackenzie Bowell. I had the support, as a humble member of that Government, of the hon. gentlemen that I see sitting around me here—their honest support, I am glad to say. From my acquaintance with the old Conservative party, no matter where I may sit, no matter what my feelings may be, no matter what defence I may be obliged to make, I will pay tribute to the gentlemen that deserve it; that grand old party comprises men of honour, integrity and patriotism. But they are not the rulers of the party. It is not the large number that govern and shape the policy of the party, but I was going to say, if you want to know when I changed my politics, I changed them the day that half of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Government went out and left him in the lurch, after they had been a party to his calling Parliament together to transact business. My change of front and my justification for it are based on that act, an act that was indefensible. Is there a Conservative on this side who will say I was wrong in standing by my chieftain, and that these gentlemen were right in leaving him in the lurch and betraying him, to use a stronger term? Not one has said so to the present; not one will say it here or in the country. If I was right, it is not a great stretch of argument to say that they were wrong. That is sufficient on that point. I wish to be clearly understood, that though deeply wounded, insulted, vilified, feeling strongly, and having the feeling within me that I fear no man or party in self-defence, my only duty is to restrain myself within proper limits, to say nothing unnecessarily offensive to either the individual or the party I have been with, but to confine myself as closely as possible to what may be necessary to rebut the slanders that have been launched against me.

Now, to make my position more plain, I must say this, that I enjoyed the confidence of Sir John Macdonald, of which I shall always be proud, that I enjoyed the confidence of his successors, the Hon. Sir John Abbott, the Hon. Sir John Thompson, and the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell. I do not claim or profess to have enjoyed fully the confidence of the gentleman who succeeded him. Some of the newspapers and some friends attach a great deal of importance to this fact, in order to strengthen the charge that I am so selfish and looking out for personal gain, and

that that is my principal object—they say: Oh, yes, you differed with the present wing of the Conservative party when they were false to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, but you went into Sir Charles Tupper's Government and stayed with him as long as he was in power and had favours to bestow. I admit that, to the outside world, to those who do not understand the question, and even to those who had a good opinion of me—and I am happy to say they are numerous in this country, the people who have a fairly good opinion of me and my honesty—that appears difficult to understand. I am not so prominent as many men in public life; I have tried to discharge my duty as a humble representative of a very humble constituency during many years; I have done my duty, to the best of my ability, faithfully. I feel confident that every man who knows me—every impartial man—will give me the credit of a desire to do what is right. The fact then that I joined the Government that was formed under the present leader of the Opposition and that ended so quickly, perhaps requires a little explanation. I did, of course, go into the Government formed by that hon. gentleman. I went into it most reluctantly, however, and my presence in that Cabinet was not proof that I was seeking my own personal advantage or what favours he might have been in a position to bestow. The hon. gentleman knows that about the time—and I knew the time the change would take place as well as he did, I knew the time Sir Mackenzie Bowell would likely tender his resignation and the probable time his successor would be called on to form a Government—at that time some of my personal friends—humble, of course, like myself—were engaged in a libel suit in another county outside of their own, where they were strangers. I felt an interest in them, and they appealed to me to come, and I started at once to stand by my friends. Some persons friendly to me said: Let there will be a Government constructed before you come back. I said: I do not care if half a dozen Governments are constructed before I get back. I am not very much interested in the Governments that are being constructed now upon the new basis. I started out, but accidentally it happened that on my way up to the buildings I met the leader of the Opposition. He asked me if it was true that I was going to New Brunswick, and I said it was. He asked me when I would be back, and I told him I expected to be back on Thursday. He said that very likely he might be called upon to form a Government, and that he wished to have me in his Cabinet, but in case I would not get back in time, he wished to have my consent before I started. I thanked him for the compliment that he paid me, as it was my duty to do. But I told him that I would give him my answer finally that evening, that I would call upon him, or, failing that, I would put it in writing. I did put it in

writing, and sent it to the hon. gentleman. That document contained the conditions clearly defined under which I agreed to go into his Cabinet, and outside of these, I would not have accepted a position in his Cabinet, which he very well knows. Therefore, with the knowledge that I went into his Cabinet at his request, and that that request, complimentary though it was, was not sufficient to take me into his Cabinet except on the conditions that I laid down in writing. I think, Sir, it comes with bad grace from that hon. gentleman to refer to my conduct, to my motives and to my character in the way he did in that interview that I have just read in the press.

Now, I might call upon the hon. gentleman to deny, or to explain away, or read the letter that I wrote him at that time; I will do neither. The hon. gentleman has—I won't say paid me the compliment, that would be a bad construction—he has singled me out to show that I am not worthy of that courtesy which is extended to any member of this Chamber, and has refused to recognize me. Well, I have slept regularly every night since, thank God. I have taken my regular meals. It pained me, I do confess, if that is any consolation to the hon. gentleman: it wounded my feelings to think that a man in his position, knowing me as he had known me, could think that it was any advantage to him, or that he could suppose that because he ignored me he was thereby destroying my character in the country. I hope I have not committed any crime that would justify any hon. member in this House withholding from me the courtesy that every gentleman is entitled to from his fellow member.

Well, Sir, I have no questions to ask, no favours to expect. I have little more to say, especially of an aggressive character. I will add this, however: I have long felt that the hon. gentleman's reasons for disapproving of my conduct were unworthy of a gentleman holding his position. I have felt all along that there were gentlemen behind him who could not conscientiously endorse those reasons and would not stultify themselves by endorsing them. I appreciate their position. They are silent. I do not quarrel with them. Many of them are friends, have been personal friends, and I do not wish to interrupt the friendly relations that exist between many of them and myself—there are some gentlemen, of course, to whom this does not apply. But I want this to be clearly understood, that while I refrain from making retaliatory attacks, striking back to-day, from this time forward I shall defend myself. I am a man of peace, I never was a quarrelsome man, but I am not a peace-at-any-price man; and the man that follows this up and strikes me, if he does not get blow for blow, it is because old Costigan is getting too old. I do not feel to-day, though, perhaps,

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spurred up a little by the unjust attacks made upon me, that I am so far incapacitated as not to be able to give a good account of myself, wherever, whenever, and under whatever circumstances any of these gentlemen—and I allude to the unfriendly ones, of course—choose to attack me. The conditions under which I went into that Government, Mr. Speaker, are contained in a letter dated about the time I refer to, the day I was leaving for New Brunswick. I will read the letter:

Ottawa, 26th April, 1896.

Dear Sir Charles Tupper,—Referring to our conversation yesterday, in which you mentioned that during my absence until Thursday in New Brunswick, you might be called upon to form a Government, and wished to know if I would accept a position in your Cabinet. I have thought the matter over most carefully, and I think it well that I should address you this letter so as to define my position exactly.

I entered Sir John Macdonald's Government in 1882 to render his Government all the support that I could bring as an Irish Catholic representative, believing that in that position I would be able to secure for Irish Catholics a reasonable and legitimate recognition of their rights, but after 14 years under different chiefs of the Conservative party, I am forced to the humiliating admission that I have been unable to secure anything like fair treatment for the Irish Catholic people where their interests were involved, though I am quite sure that few Irish Catholics in Canada believe that I failed for want of pressing, with all possible earnestness, their claims on all occasions. You can therefore easily understand that after 35 years service in politics, I have no great desire to continue the struggle.

There is no evidence there of a greedy desire to get in for the loaves and fishes. I might retort that I know of men who are inordinately greedy.

In view, however, of the principle involved in remedial legislation, to which Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Government was pledged, and as to the sincerity of which pledges Sir Mackenzie gave such unquestionable proof, and in view of the fact that your Government is to be formed to carry out the same policy, especially as regards the Manitoba school policy, I feel it my duty to say to you at once that you may count upon my assistance and services, if you require them, as a member of your Government, always presuming that the policy to reintroduce and press through a Remedial Bill at the first session of the new Parliament, will be clearly announced by you on behalf of your Government. I attach all the more importance to this clear announcement of the Government policy on the question of remedial legislation, on account of the difficulties that occurred between Sir Mackenzie Bowell and part of his Cabinet at the beginning of last session, which involved serious delay, but for which our chances in passing remedial legislation would have been much better.

I must also mention that it will be absolutely necessary and in fact consistent with remedial legislation, that the Dominion Lands Act be so amended next session as to enable the Governor General in Council to ensure a fair proportion of the proceeds of the school lands being paid to the separate schools in Manitoba. In view of recent events I would rather not return to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, and, as it

is one of the most important at your disposal, I am sure you would not find it difficult to offer me the Post Office Department instead.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN COSTIGAN.

I might explain that last paragraph by saying that I did not object to taking the Marine and Fisheries Department because it was not a very important one, for I admit that it is, and I think any gentleman would be complimented who would be put in charge of it. But the hon. gentleman had treated me, not only discourteously, but in the most arbitrary and most unprecedented way the moment that he grasped what he had sought for, a seat in the Cabinet, and I did not care about returning to that department if it could be avoided. These are the conditions under which I went into that Government. I discharged my duties to that Government as faithfully as I could. I was as loyal to that Government as any man in it—more loyal than some, more loyal than some who, immediately after the results of the elections were known, when our Government was defeated, not satisfied with the slaughter that had gone on, with the knifing and betraying one another that had brought about the defeat, started a new crusade to unbosom the gallant gentleman himself. I was the first—at least, I took an early occasion, in my modest way, to counteract that movement, on the ground that they had had enough of that kind of knifing, and that they had better unite their forces, that the hon. gentleman was their legitimate leader, having fought the battles. But I knew that, if they succeeded at the time, that would not have ended the trouble, because the old friends would have been divided on new issues, and it meant the complete disintegration of the Conservative party. I have only one more reference to make, and that is with reference to my pretensions of independence. Well, sir, after thirty-eight years representing a constituency continuously, as I have, I do feel bound to resent any insinuation, any charge that would imply a want of honour, or honesty, or frankness, in my character. I have been known in my constituency since childhood. I have not been as well known in the country as some of the prominent gentlemen around me; but, wherever I have been known, I think I can safely say, that I have been known to be a true and faithful friend and a fair and honourable opponent. These characteristics I have tried to maintain all through life. I have made no fortune in politics; I have had my difficulties; I have had as hard scratching as any man who works for his day's wages in the field or elsewhere. I started earning my wages as a hired man, and I am not ashamed of it—and I am no better off now than when I started. All I can say is, that, for every day's wages I got, I gave a good, honest day's work in return. My sense of self-respect was questioned, because I continued,

for a few days longer than the hon. gentleman thought was consistent with his ideas of respectability and self-respect, to occupy a seat to which I felt I was as fully entitled as the hon. gentleman could possibly feel entitled to the seat he occupies. I felt the necessity, from changed circumstances, of changing my seat just as much as he did. I was as anxious to widen the distance between us as he could possibly be. But I exercised this right that no one will question—that was my seat, and I occupied it, and I simply delayed and suited my own convenience before leaving that seat, to know where I was going to find another one, because I had something to say about that. I made a proposition to the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor), the Whip of the party. I said: I am anxious to get a little further away, and perhaps it would be more in harmony, if the change should take place. I will change with you, if you are ready, and you can move up by promotion. I am sorry the hon. gentleman could not hold that promotion long, but perhaps I had no authority to give it. Now, Sir, with respect to the parting shaft aimed at me by the hon. leader of the Opposition, that the less I say about a feeling of independence or independent action, the better; well, I do not understand that to have any greater weight than an empty threat. I have heard threats made in this House. I have heard boasts made in this House; I have heard exaggerated statements made in this House, and I am not very much influenced, nor am I very much embarrassed because the hon. gentleman happens to have made that statement. It does not weaken my faith in the possession of a fair amount of independence, of modest, manly independence, that would compare favourably with the independence of the hon. gentleman himself.

I would like to call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to another very singular fact. On the question of the Yukon contract, I think it was, I voted square against the Government's proposal. The hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) was a warm supporter of that measure, and not only voted for it, but defended it in a speech. I never heard of any attempt to drum him out, to courtmartial him. The newspapers of the Conservative party, big and little, scrupulous and unscrupulous, principled and unprincipled, respectable and disrespectable, did not join in loud denunciations; they would not touch that gallant gentleman. They felt keenly the loss of his vote on that important question, but they swallowed the discomfiture very meekly and humbly. On the Drummond County Bill, one of my hon. friends, the son of a distinguished man whom I had the honour of supporting in this Parliament, the member for Compton (Mr. Pope), made a very good speech, for an Opposition member, in support of the measure. While there was a good deal of murmuring in a very quiet, muffled way, I never heard

that he was very loudly denounced, or censured, or called a traitor or a selfish man, him. I wondered why this different treatment was meted out to me. I had voted with the Opposition on the important questions. I voted against the Government on the next important question, the proposition to hand over a certain amount of the revenues of the school lands to Manitoba. But the moment I voted against a motion for a judicial inquiry in the Yukon territory, then, Sir, I incurred the bitter and eternal hostility of some leading men of the Conservative party. Well, there was no great necessity for being so emphatic about that denunciation. My judgment was good, if I had no higher motive, for a more stupid piece of party management never was known in the Parliament of Canada. The party had invited an old friend, a personal friend of mine, a respectable man, a man who did credit to the House while he was in it, and would do credit to it if he should return—they had selected and induced this gentleman to run for Brockville as the candidate of the party. If the county was nearly equally divided, with a small majority, such as is often found in the close constituencies in Ontario, the policy of the Opposition upon that motion alone—not the motion for a judicial inquiry itself, but the tone of the discussion, the outrageous charges, the ignoring of personal liberty, the sacrifice of personal character, the failure to recognize the right of defence on the part of these men who were attacked—all this was in itself enough to damn the chances of any man they might name. And did Yukon measure itself I gave my opinion somewhat in the line that the hon. leader of the Opposition gave his in interviews I saw in the press. Speaking, so far as the press is concerned, of providing access to that country, I did not make a charge against the Government that they should come to Parliament, but I considered it a case of emergency, and the only question to my mind was as to the merits of the contract itself. As to the principle of making a contract in that hasty and speedy manner to get access to that country, no one, on our side of the House will contend against. The hon. gentleman in his interview, having been over there, being largely interested in mining enterprises with capitalists from England, and having himself favoured that very route from a business point of view, in the interest of the company whose interests he so well and ably managed, I dare say, was glad when he found that the Government was adopting the route he thought the best and the one which might be made accessible much more rapidly than any other. He congratulated the Government upon their policy at once. He did not change his mind when he came to Montreal, but what became of his independence when the hon. member

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for East York (Mr. Maclean), got up and read him a lesson that was cheered and cheered, as he knew it would be, by a number of the important and strong supporters of an hon. gentleman to-day in whom he has no more confidence than I have. His independence weakened a little from that time. Expediency, I dare say, prompted him to change his view considerably on that occasion and to adopt the view and the lesson read to him so successfully by the hon. member who has, at any rate, the reputation of having some weight with the leader of the Opposition and with the party, too, in this House.

One word more, and I am done. As to my change of front, as to my political sympathies, as to my political principles, they are well known to this country. I never went behind the bush, I never gave a doubtful note as to where I stood or what I thought. I would sooner fall, telling candidly the truth, than save myself by squirming or misconstruing facts. I followed the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, and felt and will feel it as long as I live, an honour to have served him faithfully. I followed every successor of his down to the time that the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) assumed power. Had the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, or any of these successors I have referred to, remained in power or remained in active politics, on the side of this House that they sat on, whether to your left or to your right, Mr. Speaker, I would have been found sitting with them, as men I could trust and as men whom I felt it an honour to serve under. These days are changed. If Sir Mackenzie Bowell had not been throttled, bullied, betrayed and driven out of the Government, when he had a strong majority at his back, if he were here to-day I would be a friend and supporter, though he might be in the cold shades of Opposition. I do not speak for Sir Mackenzie Bowell, but I speak of him, and I say to-day, that I have the pleasure of this consolation, and it is a consolation, that while these hon. gentlemen are pursuing me in an unworthy manner I feel that I have not lost one tittle of the confidence and esteem of that worthy gentleman. While he goes farther than I am prepared to go and remains identified with the Conservative party, for the sake of the old party—I do not speak for him, but I speak of him, and I say that he has a little confidence in the gentlemen with whom I have broken as I have myself. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and the House for having so patiently listened to the few observations I have felt it my duty to offer on this occasion. I have seldom trespassed on the patience of the House, and I feel all the more grateful for the kind attention that the House has given me while making this brief statement. This, I dare say, is the initiation of a debatable question; I have not fired my last shot nor struck my last

blow. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, I am sure that you, Sir, and every member of this House, will believe me when I say that I have witnessed the course pursued by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat with the very deepest possible regret. I do not regret his action, Sir, so far as I am personally concerned; I do not regret his action so far as the great party which I have the honour to lead, is concerned, but I do, from the bottom of my heart, deplore the fact of that hon. gentleman occupying the position that he has occupied in this country for so long a time, reaching the position that he has now reached. He says the time has come when he feels it is due to himself and due to the country that he should make a statement. I think he would have consulted his own character and standing and he would have consulted his own honour if he had made that statement long ago. It is the first time in the history of this Parliament, the first time in the history of the great Parliament which it is our pride to follow, the Parliament of England, the first instance in which a Privy Councillor, in which a gentleman occupying the position which he occupies, has voted against his party on a question of the deepest public importance and the gravest party character without one word of explanation, as to why that hon. gentleman himself stood up on the front Opposition bench of this House as an ex-Cabinet Minister and voted against his old colleagues and party. I say, Sir, that the want of courtesy was on the part of the hon. gentleman. He forgot what was due to himself; he forgot what was due to this House, he forgot what was due to the parliamentary system of government when he adopted such a course as that. I witnessed his conduct, I confess, with astonishment, but I held my peace; I said not a word either in this House or out of it, and when parties spoke to me on the subject I rather endeavoured to extenuate the hon. gentleman's conduct. It was when he went to the press of the country, when he went to the Opposition press and declared that his action was based on his desire to break with the leaders of the Conservative party because their policy had ceased to be Conservative and that he could no longer associate himself with them, that I felt bound to give to the intelligent people of this country that, which you know, and which every hon. gentleman in this House knows was the cause that operated upon the hon. gentleman and led to his defection from the party he had so long been associated with, to his abandonment of that party and to his alliance with their opponents. What was the character of the vote? I need not tell you. I was not in the House when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan)

delivered his speech, but on the 2nd day of April, 1897, that hon. gentleman made a speech that created a great deal of surprise and a great deal of astonishment. It was a speech in which he made the uncalled-for announcement to the House and the country, that he owed nothing to the Conservative party. A man who sat in the councils of that party, a man who had been a member for many long years of every Conservative Government, found it necessary to make a declaration to this House, that he no longer recognized any obligation to the Conservative party, and practically was open to suggestions from hon. gentlemen opposite. No man could read that speech at that time and arrive at any other conclusion. Well, Sir, a very remarkable thing occurred, and that was with reference to a matter which is now receiving the attention of the Public Accounts Committee, and when the dates are examined, it will be found that a grave and important reason will be discovered why the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) adopted the course he did. No man sympathizes more deeply than I sympathize with the grave position in which he finds himself; obliged to stand up here and to say to the Government: Do not regard me as an enemy. That was significant. But, Sir, what was the occasion on which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) broke with his party openly in this House and voted against it. It was an occasion which of all others that ever was presented in this House, bound him as a Conservative, bound him by every Conservative tradition, to stand with and by his party. What was the occasion? It was when three continents were ringing with charges of the gravest character affecting the Government of the country.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes; three continents ringing with charges of the gravest character that affected the Government of the country—charges more grave than these hon. gentlemen opposite appreciate, but which at no distant date they will appreciate. At that hour the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) voted against a motion to appoint a royal judicial commission to inquire into these charges. And, Sir, when the Government opposite were convicted of nepotism; when they were challenged with having abused their position to promote to office men utterly unfitted for the positions they appointed them to fill; when they were challenged to meet the results of that maladministration, which had caused a scandal widely extended all over Europe, Great Britain, the United States and Australia, as well as Canada, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) came to the front to protect officials who were charged with the gravest

and most scandalous dereliction of their official duties; the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan), on that occasion, for the first time, allied himself openly in this House with the men who said: We will not permit an investigation into the conduct of officials charged with the gravest official misconduct; we will not do that unless you will allow us to select the wife's uncle of the man held responsible by this House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, I say the wife's uncle of the man held responsible in this House for all that misconduct.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh. Shame.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, it was a shame. Was there ever a greater scandal than for a Minister of the Crown, charged with a gross dereliction of duty to select a person so closely identified with him and his family, that he could not, unless he were more than human, discharge his duty. It was a shame, and it is a scandal that is clinging to the skirts of this Government, and will cling to them until they adopt a different mode of dealing with this important subject. That was the occasion on which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) deserted his party. I sat here patiently to-day and listened with intense interest to hear him justify the declaration that he gave to the press. It was he who was wanting in courtesy; he was the man who had never approached the party with whom he was associated; never approached the leader who never was wanting in courtesy to him, as he well knows; never approached me, who from the first hour of our association down to the time he (Mr. Costigan) stood up here and took that attitude never was wanting in courtesy to him. Even then I did not resent it. But when he went to the press of the country and declared he was compelled to abandon the Conservative party because the leader of his party was no longer a Conservative, and was no longer a man that he could support; I listened with intense interest to-day to hear him give one word of explanation to the expecting people of this country to justify his conduct. He sat down without touching the subject, because he could not touch it.

Why, Sir, in the letter which he wrote, he admitted that when I invited him to join the Administration I was called upon to form, he gave his adhesion and became a member of my Government, and he has read a paper which he communicated to me announcing the views and principles which he held in regard to that subject. The first statement he makes in that letter is:

He was forced to the humiliating admission that he had been unable to secure anything like fair treatment for the Irish Catholic people where their interests were involved.

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Yet, Sir, he stands up in this House to-day and says, that to this hour he would stand by Sir John Macdonald. And, Sir, if any man was responsible for Irish Catholics not having got that which they were entitled to; if that charge stood against anybody, it stood against the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, who was so long in power, if that charge lay against anybody, it was against the Hon. Sir John Abbott, it was against the Hon. Sir John Thompson, it was against the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell; it was not against me, because I had no opportunity as Premier of showing what I could do for Irish Catholics, nor for any person else, as the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) knows. He (Mr. Costigan) knows, for he sat side by side in the Canadian Cabinet long enough with me to know, that the first Irish Catholic judge that ever adorned the bench of Nova Scotia was nominated by me. He (Mr. Costigan) knows more. He knows that the first Irish Catholic Governor of that province was nominated by me. He knows that on every occasion, from the first hour of my public life down to the present, no man has shown more readiness than I have to deal with the claims and interests of persons of all classes and of all creeds, without prejudice against any creed, and he knows that whenever they were entitled to promotion, to prominence and distinction, they received it at my hands as far as I was able to give it. What more? He (Mr. Costigan) said he made stipulations before he entered the Cabinet of which I was Prime Minister. He knew right well that there was no cause for stipulations. He knew right well that at a most important crisis, when the interests of the Roman Catholics were at stake and when that had become a cardinal question; the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) knows, that at the request of Sir Mackenzie Bowell himself—after I refused to listen to any proposal from any source whatever in reference to party matters in this country—he knows that the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell sent for me and invited me to become a member of his Cabinet, and he knows that having done so and having been appointed to the leadership of the Conservative party in this House, I fought, however feebly, that battle; and he (Mr. Costigan) knows that I fought it with all the ability and all the courage I possessed.

What is the position of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Costigan) now? Is he carrying out the sentiments embodied in his letter? Is he carrying out the conditions which he addressed to me, when he deserts the Conservative party, that party which fought and fell with their faces to the foe; that party which fought the battle of the Roman Catholics of this country—is he carrying out his conditions when he deserts that party to ally himself with the men, to ally himself with the party, to ally himself with the leader

who, in order to attain power, struck down the just claims of the Roman Catholic minority when they were pressed in this House by the Conservative party of Canada. He knows that we went to the country, proclaiming with no uncertain sound that if we were returned to power we would bring into this House a measure that would do justice to the Roman Catholic minority of the province of Manitoba. He knows that the right hon. leader of this House himself, when seeking power, declared solemnly to the people of the great province of Quebec that if he obtained power he would go further than I had gone, and give a stronger measure and more complete relief if he did not obtain it by other means. That was the position; and what does the hon. gentleman do? He deserts those who have always stood true, in power or out of power, to the cardinal principle of justice to an oppressed minority, and he goes over to the men who have repudiated that principle, and who prevented the minority in Manitoba from obtaining their rights on the last occasion. But, Sir, what more? Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman wanted the Dominion Lands Act amended. Has it been amended? Has the right hon. leader of this House brought in a measure to amend that Act, and to provide for an equitable distribution of the proceeds of the school lands in Manitoba? He knows he has not; and here the hon. gentleman stands, without the shadow of an excuse from his own showing, without being able to raise his finger against one jot or tittle of the policy which I have sustained and which my hon. friends behind me have sustained, and abandons his party because he thinks it is not right to have officials who have disgraced and degraded themselves tried by anybody but dependents or personal connections of the men most interested. I sympathize most deeply with the hon. gentleman. Estranged and separated as we now are, I sympathize with him, because I can imagine the struggle, the innate struggle, which any man of honour or standing or character must undergo; in passing through the terrible ordeal through which that hon. gentleman has been obliged to pass in order to reach his present position, and for objects which I do not think I misconstrue when called upon to meet one of the most coarse investives with which I have ever been assailed by any public man, in the interview which the hon. gentleman gave to the "Free Press" of this city, in which he denounced our conduct in pressing for inquiries into official misconduct, and in which he said that we had adopted a brutal course. Sir, I can understand the difficulty of the hon. gentleman; but he forgot himself and he forgot the intelligence of the people of this country when he gave vent to such excuses as those to which I have referred.

Now, Sir, I do not intend to occupy much time on this subject. It is not necessary; but I may say this, that from the hour I landed in Canada down to this hour I chal-

enge the hon. gentleman to name one single act of any description whatever in which I have failed to maintain, as best I could, with what little ability I possess, the best traditions of the Conservative party. Our principles to-day are the principles they have always been. Our policy to-day is the policy that made Canada what it is, and the hon. gentleman knows it. I say, therefore, that I listened in vain for any justification whatever for the course which the hon. gentleman has pursued. With all the want of confidence which he intimates he had in me, the hon. gentleman, as I said before, closed his mouth, as far as the mouth of an honourable man could be closed, against uttering one word to my discredit when he entered the Cabinet of which I was the head, at my invitation, and remained there as long as he was able to do so. What more? The hon. gentleman says that when certain of the gentlemen behind me were caballing to depose me from the leadership of the Conservative party, he was prepared to stand valiantly by my side and defend me against all comers. And yet, Sir, the hon. gentleman takes his seat without uttering one word that can justify an act on his part unparalleled in Canada, and unparalleled in any other country.

Now, Sir, I do not intend to say more than this, that so far as the hon. gentleman's seat is concerned, I did say, and I felt, that the hon. gentleman had made an exhibition that never has been paralleled in this House nor in the House of Commons of England nor in any other place where parliamentary institutions are respected, by voting against his party without one word of explanation. Then, having found that those with whom he was associated overlooked that act, and did not challenge him, he asks, why did we not attack the hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) for voting against us on the Yukon question? Why do we not attack gentlemen for voting against us on any question? We do not attack them because under our system of government it is open to men, on whichever side of the House they sit, to differ, and conscientiously differ, from their party on important questions. But on the question which the hon. gentleman selected, there was a deep significance in the position he took that he would leave the Conservative side of the House and go into the ranks of that party who will not permit official misconduct to be properly and thoroughly investigated. I do not intend to follow that matter further at this moment, for very sufficient reasons; but when I do take it up, I will not deal with the hon. gentleman who has been so anxious to place a respectable distance between us, in which desire I sympathize most heartily. This seat, Sir, the seat he occupied in this House, was not his. It was mine. He occupied that seat in virtue of having been a colleague of mine in the late Administration. He was placed there by me, and the moment he was prepared to abandon me and the party and

his old associations, he was bound to leave that seat, his occupancy of which prevented that intercommunication between old colleagues which is absolutely necessary; and he was bound to regard the slightest hint that it was only reasonable to place a considerable distance between us in future.

Now, Sir, I have never had in my public life a more painful duty to discharge than that which I have had to discharge to-day. Not because I regret the loss of the hon. gentleman or his defection from the party which I lead. I think we can stand that, and a great deal more; but I am afraid, after the threat that has been held out to me, that I shall have to crave from you, Mr. Speaker, the protection of the Sergeant-at-Arms to escort me to my home, for fear of that condign punishment which the hon. gentleman seems to desire to inflict upon me. An octogenarian, as my hon. friend the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) says—a valetudinarian, as the hon. gentleman says I am—I think I am able to take care of myself even in that conflict. I will not say more. In saying those few words, I have discharged perhaps the most painful duty of my public life, and one I trust I shall never be called on to discharge again during the brief period that remains to me.

Mr. JOHN ROSS ROBERTSON (East Toronto). I have listened with not a little interest, and, I confess, some curiosity, to the statement of the hon. member for Victoria, N.B. (Mr. Costigan). The making of such a statement was not unexpected, for his last political move, his desertion of the party with which he has been allied, as he himself states, for thirty-eight years past, demanded some explanation. His flitting from one political side of this House to the other may give joy to hon. gentlemen opposite, yet I have reason to believe that the loss of this side is not looked on as a great Liberal gain. The hon. member for Victoria, N.B., has gone up and down the gamut of his political life, and his explanation embraces not only a criticism regarding his late political friends, but he has also seen fit to draw into the lines of discussion the opinions expressed upon his actions by the newspaper press, and more especially by the Toronto "Evening Telegram." He referred to the editorial opinions expressed by that journal, and was also, good enough to say, that there is no artist with skill enough to portray my face on paper. But there is no doubt in my mind that the artist makes a dead shot every time he gets his pencil at the face of the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman must be aware, as a public man, that his acts, whether as a private member or when he was a Minister of the Crown, are fair subjects for newspaper comment; and, from all the hon. gentleman has given us this afternoon as an excuse for his desertion, I am inclined to think that the newspaper press have not dealt unfairly with him. I am not here, however, to jus-

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r had in my public y to discharge than to discharge to-day. loss of the hon. gen- rom the party which stand that, and a am afraid, after the d out to me, that I you, Mr. Speaker, ergeant-at-Arms to or fear of that con- h the hon. gen- to inflict upon me. ion. friend the jun- Mr. Russell) says— on, gentleman says to take care of my- t. I will not say ew words, I have most painful duty me I trust I shall arge again during alms to me.

ERTSON (East To- ith not a little in- e curiosity, to the mber for Victoria, making of such a xpected, for his desertion of the been allied, as he eight years past, on. His flitting this House to the gentlemen oppo- believe that the ed on as a great member for Vic- d down the gamut s explanation em- m regarding his he has also seen of discussion the s actions by the especially by the n." He referred xpressed by that t enough to say, skill enough to But there is no he artist makes gets his pencil gentleman. The are, as a public er as a private Minister of the newspaper com- . gentleman has a excuse for his think that his dealt unfairly however, to jus-

tify any comments which may have appear- ed in the columns of the journal which I have the honour to own. The fact is, that the actions of the hon. gentleman are suffi- cient justification, not only for what the Toronto "Evening Telegram" has said, but for what it might say. The hon. gentleman need not blame the Conservative party for any wrong he may have suffered at my hands. I accept the fullest responsibility for anything that may have been said, either inside or outside of this House.

The hon. gentleman, in one of the letters he read, has referred to the rights of the Irish race. I have no doubt that the hon. member for Victoria, N.B., (Mr. Costigan)

regards himself as a patriot and an orna- ment to the Irish race. I admire the Irish people; and, because I admire them, I am striving to forget that any section of the Irish people in Canada ever accepted the leader- ship of the hon. gentleman. I admit that he has many of the good qualities of the Irish race; but he seems to lack that noble virtue of faithfulness in adversity; and when, in the fulness of time—and I hope the time is long, long distant—he is gathered to his fathers, his monument should bear this epi- taph: "Here lies an Irishman who was faithful to the Conservative party so long as the Conservative party was on a dividend- paying basis."

