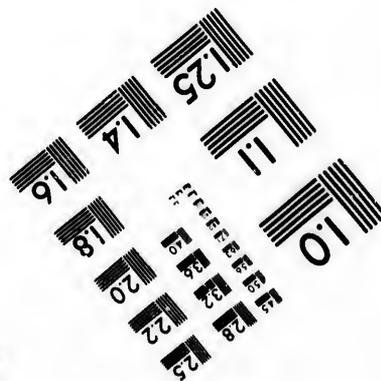
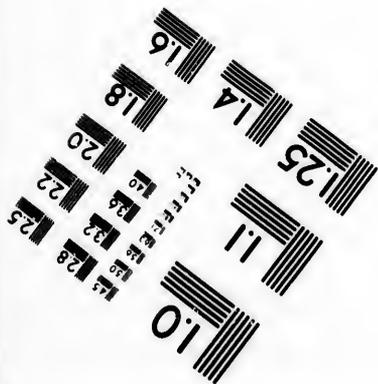
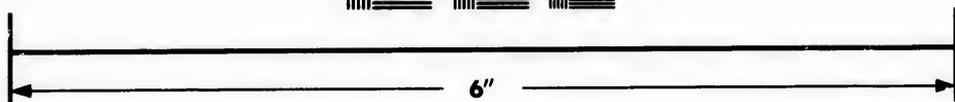
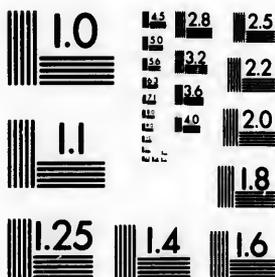


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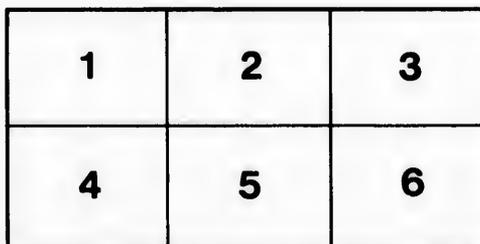
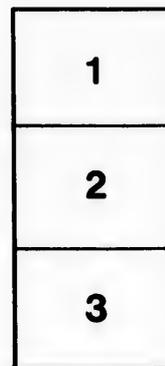
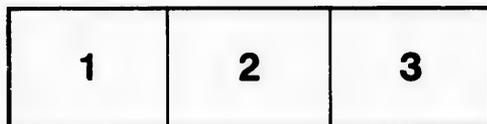
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SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

FEBRUARY, 1878.

HANSARD REPORT.

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HON. DR. TUPPER'S
SPEECHES
ON THE ADDRESS.

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FEBRUARY, 1878.

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HANSARD REPORT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 12th Feb., 1878.

MR. TUPPER: Mr. Speaker, we have witnessed some strange scenes in this House, but I think, amongst the strangest of them all is the speech just delivered by the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat. We have occasionally had a good deal of liberty taken with the intelligence of the House and the intelligence of the country, and we have seen gentlemen exhibiting an amount of daring that, perhaps, might be called presumptuous; but I must confess that, during the period I have had the honour of a seat in this House, I have never listened to a speech addressed to this Parliament so characterized by all these features as the one to which I have just listened. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat—or rather, I should say, has just left his seat—has ventured to

say that the party to which he belongs, the Government of which he is a member, have been characterized, eminently characterized, by an adhesion to principles. A venerable member of this House, on a former occasion, characterized the hon. gentleman opposite as an "organized hypocrisy," and I would ask whether the experience of the past four years has not carried the conviction home to the mind of every honourable and intelligent member of this House, that no two words in the English language would better characterize the gentleman than the language presented by Sir Francis Hincks in those two words. I say that, if an insult could be offered to the intelligence of this Parliament, it is for any gentleman to venture, in the light of the last four years' experience, upon the presumptuous, the unfounded, the daring statement, that those gentlemen have paid any attention to principle at all. I stand in the presence of an intelligent Parliament, and I ask where is the man who will at this hour—I will not ask them to establish the assertion that has

been made; I will not ask them to attempt to justify that declaration, that they have been always characterized by an adhesion to principle—but I challenge them to stand up and show me one single principle professed by them, propounded as their platform, urged upon the people of this country as the ground upon which they asked confidence and support that they have not—not only not adhered to, but trampled under their feet. For years this Parliament rung with their denunciations against coalitions. Night after night, sitting on this side of the House, they declared that the combination of men holding opposite political opinions, who had been separated by party ties, was a corrupt combination, and that any party who would make that combination, deserved the condemnation of this country. What did they find? They found men on the other side of the House, when the late Government was in power, men who had been called Liberals, and men who had been called Conservatives, agreeing upon all the public questions of the day, united upon the ground that the time had come when past political issues should be dead and buried, and that they would take their stand upon the new state of things which had been brought about by the union of the Provinces.

The Members of the then Opposition maintained that that was a false ground to rest upon; that it was the duty of parties to fall back on the old party lines and old party designations. They rallied the Reform party to the cry that no combination could be formed between parties who had been severed in the past without its being a corrupt combination, and unworthy of the confidence of the country. But, the moment after there had been an appeal to the people; after the people, having had an experience of five years of the policy and the views and the sentiments of both the great parties of the country, had decided that the great Liberal-Conservative party was entitled to their continued confidence, what did they do? Why, Sir, when the opportunity of obtaining power by trampling that principle under foot was presented, you found them making one of the most corrupt alliances ever made on the floor of a Parliament,

or in the face of a free people, in order that they might obtain power. And, having obtained power by alliance with men who, from year to year, had voted down every measure which they had proposed to Parliament, they made that corrupt combination in the face of this country, and showed how utterly worthless was that great cardinal principle which they had offered for the acceptance of the people. They seem to have gloried in their shame; for, if they could find a man who, for long years, had been held up to public execration and contempt as the most corrupt man that could be found in the ranks of their opponents, they took him to their bosom and presented him as a fit Minister for the people of Canada. I ask the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, to point to any language used by any hon. gentleman on this side of the House reflecting on Mr. Cauchon. I never heard it. They have been brought face to face with their own denunciations, and hon. gentlemen on this side of the House would be failing in their duty if they did not bring them face to face with their own declarations, and show that, in order to maintain themselves in power, they made an alliance with the very men who had been the subject of their constant execration, and had been held up as the vilest of the vile; but to-day no man could be found who was too vile to become a member of this Government which had obtained power largely by means of raising a cry against coalition. Not only have they forfeited all claim to the confidence of the people by trampling their principles under foot, but they have gone out of their way to convince the people of this country how utterly unworthy they were of confidence when they were seeking power at their hands. Need I tell you, Sir, or need I tell this House, that another ground on which these hon. gentlemen sought the confidence of the country was the ground of economy. They denounced the late Government for their extravagance; they said a great deal more money had been expended than ought to have been. I admit that the expenditure of the late Government was a liberal expenditure, but we had the money to expend. With

the lowest tariff ever in force in this country, as these gentlemen have shown, we had enough money to provide liberally for the public service, and also were enabled to reduce the taxes of the people by \$2,000,000 per annum, and to roll up a surplus revenue of \$16,000,000 during six years. What was the first demand these gentlemen made? The taxation which had given an abundance before was not enough for them. They themselves say that the amount of \$23,316,000 was the largest expenditure we ever made. The estimates that they made and obtained for their first year from this Parliament were for \$26,800,000. You will find that these gentlemen, who said that the taxation upon the people of this country would not give them money enough to meet their expenditures, and that they must levy an additional taxation of \$3,000,000 upon the people, instead of retrenching their expenditure have increased it. You will find, also, that by a correct statement of the accounts—by a correct comparative statement of the accounts which I have made again and again publicly, and which has never been successfully assailed—you will find that their expenditures in three years were \$5,000,000 more than the expenditure in the largest and most extravagant year of that Government which they had denounced for extravagance; and yet the hon. gentleman, the hon. the Minister of Finance, is now levying \$3,500,000 of additional taxation. Instead of having a surplus revenue to reduce the public debt, as the late Government did, they are rolling up deficits year after year. What is the reason that this Speech that is put into our hands, has no reference to the balance of the public accounts for this year? What is the reason that this Finance Minister, who in 1874, when no deficit existed, declared in the face of the Speech of the Governor-General that there was a deficit—that the expenditure had exceeded the income, does not inform us how the account now stands? What is the reason that the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is put up to give a statement of the public accounts

for the past year, which no gentleman has ever seen, and yet leaves the House in doubt as to the balance of the public accounts during the past year? I tell you why it is; it is because he has to admit, and will be compelled by the Public Accounts to admit, that they show a deficit this year of something like \$1,500,000 to be added to the \$2,000,000 of deficit that he met Parliament with last year. Yet this gentleman, expending \$5,000,000 more in three years of the public money of this country, levying \$3,500,000 more taxes per annum on the people of the country, is rolling up deficits year after year to the extent of about \$3,500,000, notwithstanding their enormous additional taxation, yet this gentleman declares to this House that they have been characterized by an adhesion to principle. There is a principle that they have adhered to—the greatest extravagance and most wasteful expenditure of the public money; and not only wasteful, but corrupt, and levying that out of the additional taxation wrung from the people of Canada. Well, Sir, there was another great principle that this gentleman propounded. I ask you, Sir, who heard the declamation from this side of the House in reference to Colonel Gray, what their views were with reference to the independence of this Parliament—an important subject, a great principle, worthy to be propounded by statesmen who had at heart the honour and the character of the Parliament of which they were members. But, Sir, how has that declaration of principle been maintained? They maintained that Parliament, to be respected, must be independent; that every man in this House, to be respected, must be independent of the Crown. They maintained that the foulest wrong that the Government of the day, or the Crown, could do was to expend a single dollar of public money upon any member of the Parliament of the country. What is the result? While the hon. gentleman talks about adhesion to principle, does he not blush when he recollects—

MR. CHARLTON: Not a bit.

MR. TUPPER: If he is not incapable of blushing, I say he would blush

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when he reflects upon the monstrous fact, now patent, and rendered patent by this Government to the whole country, that from the day they came into power they were corrupting the members of this House by an illegal use of public money; that, from the hour they obtained power, so actively did they use their power for the corrupt and improper expenditure of the public money, in violation of the independence of Parliament, that before this House had ever met—before the present Parliament had ever met—they had rendered incapable of sitting here, except in violation of the law, a large number of members; that more than one Minister of the Crown had been by his own act rendered incapable of sitting in this House. Yet these are the gentlemen that talk about adhesion to principle. I say that was a principle that was worthy of enunciation by statesmen, and worthy of the acceptance of this Parliament. It was accepted by the passage of a law so stringent that we trusted it would render it impossible for any gentleman to accept the slightest amount of public money from any Government, under any circumstances, without voiding his seat. Yet, as I say, one gentleman walked out of this House admitted and proved to have been the recipient of \$42,000 under a contract received from these hon. gentlemen while a member of this House; a contract negotiated by the hon. member himself in connection with the Public Works Department; a contract given, not only in violation of the law, but a contract given without public tender; a contract given over a lower tender, a lower offer, made for the performance of the same service. Yet the Hon. Postmaster General dares to stand up in the face of this intelligent Parliament, this House of Commons, and say to us that they have paid the slightest attention or regard to the principles that they have propounded. I challenge them again, as I did at the outset, to name to me one single public principle that for long years they fought and contended for on the floor of this House, that they have not shown that principle to be not held as a public principle should be held by public men, from the conviction of its

importance, but a principle propounded to deceive the public in order to obtain positions that they have dishonoured after they had obtained them. Well, Sir, what about local governments? Does the hon. member not remember that the hon. member for South Bruce (Mr. Blake) with the hon. the Minister of Public Works, both, on many occasions, in Parliament and out of Parliament, maintained the gross impropriety of connection or alliance between a local government and the Government of this Dominion? Does the hon. gentleman forget that that was one of the greatest principles that they propounded? Sir, I shall show, before I sit down, that this Government has not only used, but it has abused the patronage of the Crown in forming an alliance, and in acting in conjunction with the Local Government; that there is no principle that they have shown a more utter, open and thorough disregard of since they have obtained power, than in reference to this very question. Then the hon. gentleman talks about electoral corruption. I venture to say, in the face of the history of Canada for four years, in the face of the records of the courts of this country for four years that are covered with the evidences of the enormous and gigantic electoral corruption of the hon. gentlemen sitting on the Treasury benches, and around them, their supporters,—I say, in the face of evidence the most strong and the most damning that ever stood on public record in reference to the career of a great party,—that their whole system has been one of gigantic corruption. Why, the Minister of Public Works on a recent occasion said: "Supposing that Mr. Cook did spend \$30,000 of money, it was his own." What difference does that make? Does it matter that the money was his own? Is that what they mean by electoral purity? Does it matter whether he spent his own money or whether he spent the money subscribed by political friends for the purpose of aiding him in his election? When we find that the man branded by the decision of the courts as the most corrupt man in Canada—when we find men, with the strongest condemnation out of the mouths of the

most illustrious judges of the land, marked with the brand of infamy put upon them, and incapable of exercising even the franchise, put forward as the leaders of this party, dare the hon. gentleman stand up and talk about electoral corruption in the face of so shameless a transaction as that? I refer now to Colonel Walker, who was proved in the courts to be one of the most corrupt men that had ever run an election in Canada. Yet these great political purists put him forward in a Reform convention last week as one of the leaders of this great party of electoral purity. Why, they have done all that men could do to show that if any man was especially notorious, if his position was one of gross and unqualified corruption, that man was the person that they proposed to canonise, and hold up to the admiration of the people of this country. So with the hon. the Minister of Militia; how does he come to hold his present position here to-day? Why, I hold in my hand a narrative which the Government cannot profess to be in ignorance of, because it is a public document, brought down and laid upon the table of this House. I will show from this document, and from the papers that relate to it, that if ever there was an act of gross and unqualified corruption, it was the act that deprived the hon. gentleman of his seat in this House; and that act was in connection with members of this Administration. What was the story? Mr. Vail has given it over his own signature. In his card he says that Mr. Jones and himself, and some six other gentlemen, entered into a partnership for the publication of a newspaper, a private, personal speculation. I will not stop to inquire whether their object was pecuniary or whether it was political, or whether it was both combined. They succeeded, it appears, in pretty effectually and thoroughly combining them both. What was done? It appears that they came to this House,—that these gentlemen, one of them a member of this House at that time, came to this Government, this pure Government, this Government that would not permit a dollar of money to be spent corruptly for the world, this Government that would not

allow a member of Parliament to share in the division of the public funds,—they came to this Government for public aid and for public patronage. At that time the Hon. William Ross was the Minister of Militia in this House; and this document brought down by the Government, furnishing the information itself, shows that while that hon. gentleman was a member of this House, the *Citizen* Publishing Company in the remaining portion of the years 1873 and 1874 obtained \$2,420. Well, Sir, it was not sufficient. These gentlemen having entered upon this speculation, must have assistance; and they knew that this Government believed most thoroughly in the doctrine of supporting their supporters. What followed? Why, Mr. William Ross was driven out of this Government by Mr. Alfred Jones, by the present Minister of Militia; was driven out to make room for his partner, to make room for Mr. Vail, one of the partners in the concern in which Mr. Jones was interested. I say it was done by Mr. Jones because I am speaking in the hearing of the members from Nova Scotia, supporting the Government, and they will not contradict what I say. When Mr. Alfred Jones' influence was sufficient to drive Mr. William Ross out of his office, and to bring in a gentleman who had never had a seat in this Parliament, and who had no claim to be placed there, over the heads of a number of gentlemen here of greater ability than his own in every sense of the word,—when that act was done, it was met by a remonstrance from several of the members from Nova Scotia against that act. Therefore, I say, it was his influence; the only right that Mr. Vail had, thus to be placed over the heads of so many gentlemen in this House, was the fact that he was the partner and the instrument of Mr. Alfred Jones at that time. Well, what happened? Why, this account, brought down here by the Government, which gives us testimony that is their own, will soon show what happened. Instead of getting a paltry \$2,420, for the company of which Mr. Vail and Mr. Jones were partners, these accounts show that in the first year of Mr. Vail's presence in the Government, he had paid out to him-

self—paid out to the company of which he was a private partner in connection with Mr. Jones,—\$10,174. But it appears that that was not sufficient to meet the necessities, or the desires, at all events, of this rapacious company; for the next year, Mr. Vail was able to put his hand in the Treasury, of which he was the sworn guardian, and take out of the public money, in violation of the law that he was bound as a member of this Parliament to preserve intact, not less than \$14,198.68. In two years, over \$24,000 of public money taken out of the Treasury of the country, in defiance of the law; taken out by one partner to be divided with another, who was also a member of this House. Those gentlemen seem to think it is quite a sufficient answer that they did not make any money by the speculation. Mr. Jones stated on a public platform, if I remember right, that instead of making any money, it had cost him \$2,000 out of his own pocket. He seemed to consider that that should absolve him from all question as to the propriety of the transaction. It is a fine distinction to draw. They got \$26,000 of public money,—and, perhaps, the House would be curious to know—what that service cost, which required over \$12,000 a year, under Mr. Vail's administration, for the paper in which Mr. Jones and he were partners—what that service cost under the previous Administration. The House will be, perhaps, a little surprised to learn that the average cost for the six years previous, for the same service, was \$3,935 a year. The hon. the Minister of Militia says in answer to that, "Aye, but the change was made of the way offices in the meantime in Nova Scotia, into post offices." But I happen to have a little evidence upon that question, which will at once dispose of the fallacy that is raised there. I put the question across the floor of this House to the hon. the Postmaster-General as to the effect of changing these way offices. I mean the late Postmaster-General, the Hon. D. A. Macdonald. I have his answer here.

It being Six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess

Mr. TUPPER continued. He said: When the House rose I was speaking as to the character of the charges that have been made by Mr. Jones and Mr. Vail, as the *Citizen Printing Company*, in connection with the amount of public money which they have illegally been enabled to take from the Treasury of the Dominion Government, and I drew the attention of the House to the fact that, whereas, the amount paid per year for the six years for the public printing of the Post Office Department at Nova Scotia, and passing into the hands of Mr. Crosskill, was \$3,935, or \$23,610 for the six years. These gentlemen have succeeded in abstracting from the Treasury of Canada, for the same services, no less than \$24,452 in two years, or an average of \$12,226 per annum. I said before the recess that it had been argued in extenuation of these transactions, that the way offices in Nova Scotia had been made into post offices, and the expenses had consequently been increased by reason of this alteration. I happen to have an authority upon this point, which will not be disputed—that of the hon. late Postmaster-General, the Hon. D. A. Macdonald. It will be found in the 1087th page of the *Hansard* of 1875, and if gentlemen will take the trouble to look there, they will see that after this experiment had been fairly tried, Mr. Macdonald was enabled to state to the House that it had involved no increase of expense. He said, in reply to a question:

"The Department was making the way offices in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia post offices as fast as possible. This policy had been adopted during the last six months and did not involve any increased cost."

I think that will be regarded as tolerably strong evidence as to what the character of these charges were.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not see it.

Mr. TUPPER: Well, Sir, if the hon. the Prime Minister is not satisfied with that, I will give him the evidence of the Postmaster-General, who sits by his side. He declares that this service in Halifax cost 50 per cent. more

than the same services cost in Ottawa. I hope that will satisfy the hon. the First Minister. On page 74 of the 1875 *Hansard*, this subject was under consideration, and the hon. the Postmaster General used this language to the House: "It costs fifty per cent. more to do the work in Halifax than in Ottawa; but, by a new arrangement, hereafter the printing will be done here by contract." He gave that as a reason. This shows that, in fact, this hon. gentleman and his hon. colleagues had been permitted to take out of the treasury of this country \$24,000 when they were only entitled to \$12,000.

Mr. HUNTINGTON: I think the hon. gentleman and the House will not wish to have the matter misrepresented. I stated that the printing for Nova Scotia was costing forty or fifty per cent.—I do not remember which now—more than before, and I stated that we had changed it; that we found the people who had done it now were making more money than those who had done it before; and I stated here that the prices at which it was being done were cheaper than those charged under the Government of the right hon. gentleman. The system to which the hon. gentleman draws attention grew up in Confederation, and when in office I put a stop to it.

Mr. TUPPER: He deprived those people of the printing, and gave it to some one who charged fifty per cent. more. I hope we shall have the hon. gentleman's reason, and that it will be a satisfactory reason. Of course, the moment it became patent that they were paying fifty per cent. more than they ought to, that they were receiving \$24,000 for the service when they were only entitled to \$12,000, he would have been unfaithful to his duty if he had not put a stop to it.

Mr. HUNTINGTON: I must persist in being understood. I did not say that we got fifty per cent. more for the service than we were entitled to. I might have said that in the retail way in which work was done in the provinces it would cost more than fifty per cent. more, but that under the contract system, which the hon. gentleman com-

plains of our having adopted, it would be done cheaper.

Mr. TUPPER: Does the hon. gentleman see the force of my argument—that for a service which cost \$3,935 they paid \$12,000.

Mr. HUNTINGTON: No, I do not.

Mr. TUPPER: Then it would be difficult for the hon. gentleman to see the force of anything. There is the fact; I give the figures; I say that they paid \$12,000 per annum for these services, which cost, on the average, less than \$4,000 in Nova Scotia previously.

Mr. HUNTINGTON: His misrepresentations are patent to every intelligent man, but I wish to repeat myself because the hon. gentleman speaks as though this increased amount was paid for the same services. In that, he is wrong. The service was changed. There were some six hundred way-offices turned into post offices, and this cost a considerable extra sum. As to the cost of printing, the prices paid by measurement were cheaper than those previously paid, but the volume work was dearer.

Mr. TUPPER: I have introduced his authority not to show—

Mr. HUNTINGTON: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. TUPPER: I hope the hon. gentleman will not interrupt; if he wishes to address the House again he will have an opportunity, I have no doubt.

Mr. HUNTINGTON: If the hon. gentleman misrepresents me I shall interrupt him.

Mr. TUPPER: I shall show that he put statements into the mouth of his predecessor that were the very reverse of truth. Instead of saying that there would be any additional cost in the change from the way office keeper to postmasters, the hon. gentleman declared that, not only in relation to the salaries paid, but in relation to this policy of change generally, that it would not involve any additional cost. I read his words in *Hansard*. He said "This policy had been adopted during the last six months, and had not involved any increased cost." But I will give the hon. gentleman (Mr. Huntington) more; I will give him evi-

dence from Halifax, from the very point where this work was done. I will prove, by testimony, to the hon. gentlemen of this House that these charges were not only extravagant but scandalous. I have shown that the cost was increased from \$4,000 a year to over \$12,000, and I have shown, on the authority of the late Postmaster General, that none of these extra costs were involved by change of service. If any further testimony is required upon the point, I shall show that the *Citizen Publishing Company* was brought before the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, and that the matter was referred to a Committee. I have the report of that Committee, signed by six gentlemen, three of whom are strong supporters of the present Government, and one of them now a member of that Government—the hon. gentleman who represents Yarmouth—and whose independence and honesty can be vouched for—and friends of the company against which the charge is brought. This Committee say:—

"That said printing has been enjoyed almost wholly by the proprietors of the following papers, viz: *The Acadian Recorder*, *the Morning Chronicle* and *the Citizen*.

"Your Committee feel they have been unable, owing to the pernicions system by which the public printing has been performed to arrive at the exact amount paid by the Province for that purpose, but that the sum is very large, and has not varied to any great extent since 1867 in the prices charged.

"Your Committee wish to call attention to the fact that, thus far in their researches, they find \$26,582.50 has been paid out the last year for this service, yet the Financial Returns laid upon the table of the House, show only a cost of \$6,416.

"While referring to the inferior quality of the work done in some cases, we cannot but seriously invite the attention of the Legislature to the enormous prices charged for this service, as shown by the tabulated statement hereto annexed, which has been carefully compiled."

This Committee of five gentlemen, three of whom were strong supporters of the present Local Government, and three of whom were closely in alliance with the *Citizen Publishing Company* proprietors, had witnesses brought before them and examined them on all the points. They brought forward the evidence of persons who could speak to the value of the work done,

and they have appended the evidence to their report in order to show the enormous charges paid by the Government. And then they show that for 2,400 copies of public documents, the *Citizen Publishing Co.*, Messrs. Jones, Vail & Co., for work, the mean estimated cost of which was \$166, charge \$1,100. I am in a position to give authentic testimony as to the charges made by the *Citizen Publishing Company*, and—

MR. SPEAKER said he thought the testimony would hardly be relevant.

MR. TUPPER: Having given the evidence of the late Postmaster General am I not in order, when that is controverted—am I not right in showing that by the unanimous report of the Committee of the Legislature, comprising the friends of Messrs. Jones and Vail—three of their friends—the evidence is correct. It is stated that \$4,850 are charged for work which would only cost \$1,825. If you say, Mr. Speaker, that this is irrelevant to this matter, I will at once close that branch of the subject. But I think I shall not close before I have been able to adduce evidence, clear and satisfactory evidence, to every gentleman on both sides of this House, that one of the most scandalous transactions for which this Government or any Government could be arraigned, is the fact that they permitted one of their followers in the Government to take out of the Treasury over \$24,000 of public money in violation of the law and for a service which the present Postmaster General declares to have cost the country fifty per cent. more than it ought to cost and which I shall endeavour to show was more than fifty per cent. over what the cost of work would be in the city of Halifax, where that work was done. I am quite willing to leave that branch of the subject. But why is it that these gentlemen, who search the whole of the country for fit supporters, seem unwilling to bring a gentleman into the Government as a colleague unless he has been qualified for association with them by transactions of such a character as this. I have stated that the hon. Mr. Ross was driven out of this Government without any cause being assigned, in a more harsh and

unfeeling manner than any gentleman was ever expelled from the Cabinet of this country. And for what? I have shown that a gentleman was brought into the Government who never had the honour of a seat in this House, who had not fought their battles, and was of no greater ability than the gentleman who was expelled. I have shown that by a raid on the treasury of Canada, \$12,000 a year was taken to divide among this gentleman and his associates, of whom his colleague was one. I have said that one of the principles propounded by the present Prime Minister, and on which he takes his stand—one of those great principles which the hon. the Postmaster General says they have distinguished themselves by adhering to—was the entire separation between the general and local Governments. I hold in my hand an extract from a speech delivered by the hon. the First Minister in April, 1871, in the House of Commons. He said:—

"It has been frequently asserted that there is a close connection between this (Sir John's) Government and the Governments of the Local Legislatures. It is desirable that there should be no connexion whatever between the central and local Governments, and I feel it my duty to bring this principle before the House."

This is one of the principles upon which the hon. gentleman takes his stand. The hon. member for South Bruce (Mr. Blake) also said:—

"The position of the Reform party in regard to the Federal Government is that they argued against alliance, as well as hostility. Their position is that the Local Government should be perfectly independent of the Central Government, and should neither be entangled by alliance or embarrassed by hostility. The independence of each of the Provinces is necessary for the working of the Federal system."

I will show the House how those hon. gentlemen have carried that out in practice. I will accept the challenge of the hon. the Premier to point to a single case in which the General Government have ever used their power for the purpose of assisting in carrying elections. The present hon. Minister of Militia was floated to the surface on the great anti-Confederation wave that swept over Nova Scotia in 1867. Down

to that time that hon. gentleman had been a hearty, zealous and enthusiastic supporter of the party with which I had the honour of being connected. In all the struggles with what were called the old Reformers of Nova Scotia, Mr. Young, Mr. Howe and others, there was no more zealous opponent of that party and those gentlemen than the present hon. Minister of Militia; and all the qualification for admission into the Reform party he can claim is that on the great question of the union of these Provinces, he abandoned the party with which he had always been associated to oppose Union and to which he had given a most determined and unflinching opposition. Before I resume my seat I shall probably be able to show that the same animus that induced the hon. gentleman to give his hostility to Confederation still exists in his bosom, and at no distant day found expression in no measured terms. I assumed a very considerable responsibility in carrying the question of the union of the Provinces so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. The hon. member for South Bruce (Mr. Blake), in this House, and the hon. the Minister of the Interior, out of the House, and the *Globe*, assailed me in bitter, and I might almost say vindictive, terms, for the mode by which I gave my assistance to that great party-combination in Canada, which was formed for the purpose of carrying the union of the Provinces. The great charge they brought against me was, that I had carried that measure without a reference to the people at the polls. The hon. the Minister of the Interior—in the collection of ministerial speeches made during last Summer, and for publishing them in their present form I tender him and the hon. gentlemen opposite my hearty thanks, because the volume would be exceedingly convenient in dealing with public questions. Under the heading of "Estray of Nova Scotia," the hon. gentleman holds me up to public execration for having carried the union of the Province of Nova Scotia with the other Provinces without a reference to the people at the polls. The hon. gentleman knows, or ought to know, that the measure was

carried in Nova Scotia, after it had been legitimately placed before the country and the Legislature. The hon. gentleman should know that as long ago as 1860, when I was out of power, I mooted the question of union. When called upon to open the Mechanics' Institute at St. John, N. B., I brought forward the question of a Federal Union of the Provinces of British North America, and urged that a union of the whole people of this country, was the great object at which they should aim. When in the fullest and most unreserved manner, to the policy of a Federal Union of the British North American Provinces. Mr. Howe, who was the leader of the Nova Scotian Government, perceiving this was a subject deserving attention, submitted at a later period to the House of Assembly, a resolution in favour of the union of the Provinces, which I seconded, and it passed unanimously. Having pledged myself, when in Opposition, to use the power of the Government, if confided to me, for the accomplishment of that great object, I not only delivered that lecture in New Brunswick, but I repeated it by invitation in many parts of Nova Scotia, and at Halifax, so that my advocacy of the question—the question of the union of the Provinces was well known. Subsequently, I was brought into power. A combination of the two great parties in the Provinces of Old Canada, Ontario and Quebec, took place upon that basis. Their representatives attended a conference that had been arranged with a view to the union of the Maritime Provinces; I having stated, when I moved the motion, that I hoped it would be only a step towards the union of the whole Provinces. Those representatives, including Hon. George Brown, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir George Cartier, came down to Prince Edward Island, where the first meeting was held, and requested permission to put the broader question before us. They did so, it received our approval, and we adjourned our conference with regard to the union of the Maritime Provinces. We went to Halifax and placed our views before the people at a great public

dinner, at which the Lieutenant-Governor and all the leading men of the city were present. The subject was discussed at various places and at various times, and no evidence was given of the deep-seated hostility that already was excited in reference to that question. At Quebec the terms were arranged, and when the matter came before the Legislature I had the authority of a two-thirds vote of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council authorising me to join with those gentlemen in bringing about a union of the Provinces. The constitutionality of that proceeding was challenged, and I met the question. It was fought out fairly and squarely by the parties sent to England to oppose me. And I should like to call the attention of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Dymond), who now finds it convenient to use his pen, and the great power of the press with which he is connected gives him for the purpose of damaging my position on this question by stating the fact that at that hour I was acting in conjunction with Hon. George Brown, and at his instance. He came down to Nova Scotia, and did me the honour of being my guest for a week, for the purpose of assisting me to carry out union, not by reference to the people at the polls, but by reference to the existing Legislature.

Mr. DYMOND: I may say that I have no knowledge of those facts; I was not in Canada at the time, and I know nothing about them.

Mr. TUPPER: The hon. gentleman knows them now, and I hope they will make an impression on his mind. I refer him to the file of the *Globe* for 1866, by which he will find that my efforts and action were enthusiastically endorsed by the *Globe*, and which was regarded as settling once and for ever the constitutionality of the course I adopted. I give that to the hon. gentleman as a reason, which, if there were no other, should prevent that great organ of public opinion from assailing me in reference to that question. But let me tell the hon. the Minister of the Interior that every blow he strikes at me, every denuncia-

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tion he utters to the people of Ontario against me for having assisted in the great work of union, in which the Province of Ontario, from its position, benefitted in every possible way, recoils on the hon. the First Minister. I may quote the speech of the hon. member for South Bruce (Mr. Blake) who, on a public platform affirmed that the greatest boon ever achieved by Canada was the union of the British Provinces; and of all the Provinces, Ontario had most reason to be proud and satisfied. The resolution that two-thirds of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia voted down, asking that the question be referred to the people at the polls, was only a copy of the resolution moved in the Legislature of Canada, and voted down by the hon. the First Minister, as one not required and not constitutional. I, therefore, wish to remind the hon. gentleman that every intelligent man in Ontario will feel that the hon. member is using a boomerang which comes back and strikes himself and his friends. It was upon the question of the Union of the Provinces that the hon. the Minister of Militia deserted myself and the party with which I was connected, and that is his sole title to the claim to be a Reformer. Nevertheless, the very man who did his little best to prevent that great measure being carried is received with open arms by a First Minister, who justly considers it one of his proudest boasts to have had a humble share as a member of the Parliament of Canada in bringing about the accomplishment of that great result. I need not say that, under the hostility that was excited, under the base betrayal of myself by the parties to whom I had most right to look for support in Ontario and elsewhere, in the press and otherwise, a great anti-union wave swept over Nova Scotia, and the hon. the Minister of Militia floated to the surface. We went back, after five years, after experience had exposed the fallacies by which that great question had been met. What was the result? It was that the hon. member for Halifax was defeated, and that I had the proud triumph of coming back to this Parliament, and being able to say on the floor of this House that not a single

man had been returned from Nova Scotia opposed to the Government of which I was a member, and only one who was in a position to be called an Independent member. I need not go through the various steps that led to the downfall of the Dominion Government in 1873. In that year the hon. member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie) was called upon to form an Administration. What then? As every one knows, the hon. gentleman made a midnight surprise and attack upon the constituencies of Canada. I will not use the words of Mr. Disraeli in relation to a somewhat similar act done by Mr. Gladstone, when he said it was an act of "black treachery!" I will not use such strong language, but say it was a midnight surprise, because I wish to be moderate in the expressions I use in relation to this and other matters, and the strength of the position will enable us to exercise that moderation. It was a midnight surprise. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie), at a recent public demonstration in Ontario, asked the question if anybody supposed he was idiot enough to attempt to carry on the Government with the Parliament elected in 1872. I think what has taken place between 1874 and the present time will satisfy every person that the hon. gentleman exercised a wise discretion in going to the country at that time. It was, however, a surprise, not to me, not to the Conservative party in the country alone, but it was a bitter surprise, not only to the gentlemen who sit behind him, but to his own colleagues. When I tell this House that the first information one of the Cabinet Ministers had that there was a dissolution and that he was to go back to his constituents, was from your humble servant. That the hon. Premier had not entrusted to his own colleagues the fact that he intended to dissolve Parliament, I think I am warranted in using strong language. The hon. the Premier, when called upon to form an Administration, sent half a dozen gentlemen to their constituencies for re-election, and then, before they took their seats, dissolved the Parliament to which they were elected. That it was a surprise to his

friends was not more evident than that it was a venture to which he had not made up his mind before the Ministers were re-elected. When I told one of those gentlemen, who was returning from an election campaign in which he had been able to struggle into his seat, that the House was dissolved, he laughed at me. "It is impossible," he said, "do you think that Mr. Mackenzie would have sent me to a remote and dissolve the House before I took my seat? you must jest!" He found when he got to Halifax that the jest was a pretty serious one, and that all those constituencies were to be put to the trouble of another election. But the hon. gentleman took credit to himself that if he did have an election he was perfectly consistent in having it simultaneously. I deny it. I say there was another principle which he had violated most unfairly and unjustly without the slightest warrant whatever, and for the purpose of increasing his party triumph. What did he do? He said, "In order to be perfectly consistent, though we are bound by no law, (we have found that, is true), we ordered all the elections in the Dominion should be held on one day except in British Columbia and Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island and Algoma." It was not, however, Cape Breton to which he applied it, but to Nova Scotia. Knowing we had carried Nova Scotia from end to end when in power, he thought he would try the same course. He said on a recent occasion, "I have got a majority in Ontario, and the smaller Provinces will go with those who have the majority," or something like it. That was the principle the hon. gentleman brought into play. He violated that principle in regard to the whole Province of Nova Scotia, although a delay of one day would have enabled him to reach the most remote part of Nova Scotia. The hon. gentleman violated his principles, and held over the elections for the whole Province until the leader of his party, the present hon. Minister of Militia, was able to say to the people of Nova Scotia, "You observe that the elections have been carried by the Government in the greater portion of the country, and if every Nova Scotian member is

electd in opposition, they will be out of power for five years, because the Government will have a large majority in spite of anything they can do." That was the advantage it gave them. What use did he make of it? He made the most corrupt use of it possible to conceive. Armed with authority, known to be the bosom friend of the hon. the Prime Minister, known to be the leader of the party in Nova Scotia, it enabled him to accomplish the most gigantic act of corruption ever performed in Canada. You talk about electoral corruption, about a law to prevent a voter being bribed by a candidate; that hon. gentleman, by a majority of 98, had been swept aside and left out in the cold. And what did he do? He turned a majority of 98, by the corrupt exercise of the power of the Crown, by corrupt bargains that he made, and carried out by the hon. the First Minister, as I will show, into a majority of 2,147. The House will remember that hon. gentlemen opposite have amended (?) the Election Law, which was enacted. They found on the Statute-book an efficient law to prevent bribery and corruption, and it was amended so as to enable them by withholding a writ, in defiance of law, to allow certain members to retain their seats until the House was about to meet. Although they knew the hon. gentleman could not take his seat in the House, and that one of his colleagues by a report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections had no seat; although they knew those two hon. gentlemen sat in the House and voted; though "their seats were void as if they were dead" in the words of the law, they brought into the House an amendment to the Statute which renders it open to any hon. gentleman to bribe as extensively as he likes, provided it is for the last Session. What is the effect? They brought in this amendment—that it is not possible for the court to try an election case during the sitting of the House; and withheld the writs for Halifax and Digby until no proceedings could be taken before their seats were again vacant by dissolution. That ought to place me in the position of being able to say, but I will bow with all respect to the ruling of Mr.

Speaker, if I cannot say, what I ought to be able to say, that the most scandalous bribery and corruption was used personally in the election which has just taken place. I am now dealing with the gigantic corruption practiced by the hon. gentleman, which enabled him to turn a minority of 98 into a majority of 2,147. I will show how the hon. the First Minister redeemed the pledges made, and carried out the corrupt bargains which enabled the present hon. Minister of Militia to make that enormous change in his position to the electors who had already rejected him, and then the House will see whether I have answered the challenge of the hon. the First Minister to show a case in which the power of the Crown was ever exercised to help a struggling candidate. What did he do? This hon. gentleman, who had proclaimed to the world that the policy of himself and his party was to punish the men who had carried the Union, this gentleman who had attacked and assailed Mr. P. C. Hill, again and again, as having bartered away the rights of his country in aiding and assisting the carrying of the Union induced him to desert his party. He is known to be the most influential gentleman in the whole county of Halifax. He supported myself and the policy with which I was connected; and he was the gentleman who was invited to take the office of Provincial Secretary, which I had rendered vacant by my resignation. He was placed at the head of the Union party in Nova Scotia, but he was taken out of the hands of the Union party, by the action of the hon. member for Halifax, at the sacrifice of all the principles which he had professed. What was the nature of the bargain which was then made? When I tell you that Mr. Ross had to resign and Mr. Vail took his place, and Mr. Hill took Mr. Vail's place as the leader of the party with which the hon. member for Halifax is connected, in the Province of Nova Scotia, you will see how the power of the Crown was used to make a vacancy and carry out the bargain by which Mr. Hill, and a thousand men at his back, whom he was able to in-

fluence were transferred from the Union ranks, and went over and supported the hon. member for Halifax. If that does not satisfy the hon. the Prime Minister, I will give him—if he asks me for them privately—the names of three other leading men, independent supporters of the policy and the party with which I was connected—who went over at the same time to the enemy, changing this minority of 98 into a majority of 2,147, and who have since received at the hands of the First Minister of the Crown three of the highest positions in this country. I do not intend to name these gentlemen or the offices which they received, but I hold myself responsible to satisfy the First Minister that I am warranted in making this statement, and if I am wrong he may correct me before the House.

MR. JONES (Halifax): Name them.

MR. TUPPER: There are reasons why I should not do so.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Name.

MR. TUPPER: I dare say the hon. member would like to have every person, however high the position he may hold to-day, occupy the same position which he occupies in the esteem of this country.

MR. MACKENZIE: I have only to say that I beg the hon. gentleman to exercise no reserve on my account.

MR. TUPPER: I am not exercising any reserve on the account of the First Minister. I do not think I should feel so disposed to spare him if I had not higher and more important reasons for not making the statement.

MR. JONES: The hon. gentleman has referred to Nova Scotia gentlemen, as having been bribed to leave their own party by the present Government through myself, and I claim that having mentioned that here, he is bound to give the names here.

MR. TUPPER: Now, I think I have shown a tolerably close alliance between the Federal Government and the Local Government; but I will go further, and I will say that under the advice of the hon. gentleman, and under the advice of Mr. Vail, an office was created in Nova Scotia. A gentleman was appointed to fill it, but

suddenly he was tumbled out of, turned out of, and dismissed, from that office—and for what purpose? Why, the exigencies of the Government of Nova Scotia came again to the fore. Mr. Weeks was offered a seat in the Local Government, and a vacancy was needed to carry out the designs of these gentlemen. A seat was wanted for him as Attorney-General, and a vacant seat was purchased by appointing the member for Guysboro' to that office created by the Government of the Dominion. This was rendered vacant by the expulsion from that position of the gentleman whom they themselves had appointed to it, and a member of the Local Legislature was placed in it, and even when the local Attorney-General went to run the election in that county, we found that again the power of the Crown had been exercised. He could not be elected, and we found the leader of the Opposition in that county suddenly in the ranks of the hon. gentleman opposite, in return for a high office conferred upon him by the Dominion Government. And I say that if the hon. gentleman wants evidence, not only of an alliance with the Local Government of the clearest and most unqualified, and also of the most corrupt character, the records of the Province of Nova Scotia and their dealings with this Government, furnish the most abundant and undoubted evidence of it. Well, Sir, I would like to ask the hon. the First Minister, whether he considers, with the knowledge before him, that the seats for Digby and Halifax must be vacated—of the fact of these gentlemen having received an immense amount of public money,—I would ask the hon. gentleman whether he thinks it was a just or correct thing for a Government professing such exalted purity and such an exalted standard of public morality, to keep a Minister in that position with the evidence before him furnished by a Committee on which half-a-dozen members of the Government were to be found, that his seat was void. Yet they kept that gentleman and one of his colleagues in the Cabinet until the issue of the writ followed so closely upon the meeting

of Parliament as to make it impossible to apply the law in relation to those elections, in addition to the opportunity thus afforded for the use of illegitimate means in carrying the election. There is one other reason which I can suppose influenced the hon. gentleman, and that was this: they found it convenient to issue the writ contemporaneously with the time when the citizens of Halifax, when every man, woman and child in Halifax who had any intelligence, were eagerly and anxiously struggling to secure the advantage to Halifax of being the winter freight port, and the merchants were negotiating with this Government for it, so that if the hon. gentleman wants evidence of the power of the Crown having been used in this regard, I think that he will find it in his own statements as a candidate on the hustings, with relation to this vital question that every person of all parties felt the deepest interest in.

Mr. MILLS: What about the case of the hon. member for Northumberland.

Mr. TUPPER: I do not know what the case of the hon. member for Northumberland has to do with it.

Mr. MITCHELL: Allow me to answer, and I will soon tell the hon. gentleman what it had to do with it. My public card informs the country of the reason why the member for Northumberland delayed his resignation. It was because he felt it to be the duty of the First Minister, with forty seats affected and with the names of forty gentlemen so assailed in this House, to have purified the House, and in accordance with his principles, gone to the country. This was the only reason why I delayed my resignation so long. I delayed it until I saw there was no hope for it; and there is a gentleman in this House, a leading member, who supports the hon. the leader of the Government who knows that my conviction as late as last July was that the House would be dissolved, and my conviction was so strong that I was prepared to stake something more than an opinion on it, and I am looking at that gentleman now.

Mr. TUPPER: I consider the allusion of the hon. the Minister of the Interior to the case of the hon. member for Northumberland unfortunate for himself, for the case of the hon. member for Northumberland forms a bright contrast with the case to which I have referred. Only a technical difficulty arose, and the hon. gentleman, finding this technical difficulty, naturally withheld his resignation until he found that the hon. the First Minister was not going to discharge his duty to the House and the country by dissolving it and making an appeal to the people. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mitchell) then threw himself into the hands of his constituents, and with what result? Why, all the hon. gentleman had to show was his record of straightforward and uncompromising hostility to the hon. gentlemen opposite to be sent back here by acclamation by one of the finest counties to be found in the whole Province of New Brunswick. When the hon. the Premier was seeking to help the cause of his struggling candidates, when his Minister of Militia was floundering in the deep, when he was despatching all the telegrams he could send, and exercising all the official interference which he could use in that election for the purpose of bolstering up his cause, when he (Mr. Jones) was struggling to keep the surging waters from submerging him altogether, where was the hon. member for Northumberland? Why, he was floating on the crest of a triumphant popular wave that sends him here to vindicate the interests of the country in this House. All the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mitchell) had to do was to place himself in the hands of his electors, and he had nothing to fear. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones), in his card of thanks to the electors, says that his election was a Free-trade triumph, and this, Sir, in a constituency where in 1874 he had a majority of 2,147, a strictly party majority.

Mr. JONES: Oh!

Mr. TUPPER: Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that he did not expect to have that majority?

Mr. JONES: I might have thought I would be likely to have more.

Mr. TUPPER: Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that after the coalition with Mr. Hill, and with the additional support obtained from the leaders of the Conservative party there, through the means to which I have referred, and the use of the power of the Crown in his favour, that majority was one on which he could not rely, and that he did not expect to have it at this election? I pause for a reply.

Mr. JONES: Mr. Hill was not with me.

Mr. TUPPER: Mr. Hill was the ally of this Government, and can the hon. gentlemen opposite say that there was no alliance when the spectacle was there presented of having their Minister's battle fought all over the country by the Premier of Nova Scotia.

Mr. JONES: But in 1874?

Mr. TUPPER: In 1874, Mr. Hill was with the hon. gentleman, and in 1874, Mr. Hill's adhesion to the cause of hon. gentlemen opposite, and his withdrawal from the Conservative party in connection with other parties, changed the majority of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones). That Hill-Jones alliance gave him the majority of 2,147. But if this was not the case—if Mr. Hill joined the ranks of hon. gentlemen opposite subsequently, then the case became a great deal stronger, because the hon. gentleman ought then to have had a much larger majority with Mr. Hill's support than he otherwise would have had. The hon. gentleman seems to question his confidence in being entitled to that majority. I will give the House evidence on that point which he will scarcely be able to controvert. I hold in my hand an article which was published in the *Acadian Recorder*, one of the most violent and determined portions of the press supporting the hon. gentleman, and this shows what was thought when this statement was made on January 18, 1878. It says that the battle was fought by the same party that fought the battle of 1874, and that the hon. gentleman could confidently expect the same majority now as then. It states:—

“In 1874, when, as we pointed out last evening, the same gang as are now fooling

Mr. M. H. Richey were engaged in playing off Mr. Robb, when Dr. Parker and Almon and Hon. James Macdonald and the others were doing all in their power to secure Mr. Robb's election, the vote in this county stood, totals, Jones 2,979, Robb 834. We see no reason why, if the citizens of Halifax are true to their own interests, Mr. Richey should receive a larger vote than Mr. Robb. The latter had greater claims to the support of a large number of the electors than has Mr. Richey. We think there are very few of those who voted for Mr. Jones in 1874, but will do so now; and it is quite certain that many who were led away by strong partizan sentiment in 1874 to oppose Mr. Jones, will now in the interests of Halifax give him their support."

There was the statement which was made by one of the strongest supporters in the press of the hon. gentleman, and it declares that he had a right to expect that the same parties which sustained him in 1874 would sustain him then, with this addition, that a large number of gentlemen, seeing the interests of Halifax trembling in the balance, as was the case at that moment, would not work against a Minister of the Government with whom they were negotiating. But I happen to have evidence that the hon. gentleman has the greatest respect for, and which will settle this question and satisfy the House that he expected, or that if he did not expect, he ought to have expected the same majority which he had in 1874. I will give the hon. gentleman the evidence of his own statements. I undertook to say on the floor of this House, a year ago, that a great change had taken place in the city and county of Halifax, and in the public sentiment of the country; I ventured to say that on that occasion, because of what had taken place, when a Senatorship fell vacant. Every man in Nova Scotia, as well as every gentleman in this House, agreed that the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Power) was entitled to it, and this position was offered to that hon. gentleman and was accepted by him, but it was abandoned because, when these gentlemen called a meeting of their supporters for the purpose of selecting a successor to run the election, they found that it would not be well to go into such an election at all. Now, I will give the answer which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) ventured

to give me in this House on that point, and I will convince him that if he did not think that his majority of 1874 was a strictly party majority, he thought it was a majority on which his party could rely now, or at all events he ought to have thought so, because he said so. The hon. gentleman then said:—

"The hon. gentleman, in referring to the condition of the public mind, said that the government had not ventured to open the constituency of Halifax, because they were afraid that an Opposition member might be returned. There was no one more anxious than himself, that his colleague, who had so long and worthily represented the county, should have taken that position, if he had thought it consistent with his own feelings. If, however, the hon. gentleman had done so, and there had been an election he would have been returned by as large a majority as he (Mr. Jones) had at the last election."

There, Sir, is his own declaration; that is, that his majority of 1874, was, last election, as I contended it was, secured with the same condition of parties that existed to-day, but with this difference—that the people, the intelligent electors of that fine county and city, had had the opportunity of witnessing the record of this Administration and its mal-administration of affairs for four years, and with that difference the parties ostensibly stood in the same position now as then. And I will invite the attention of the First Minister to the verdict he has obtained—a verdict obtained, as I have shown, by an alliance formed between the hon. gentleman and the strongest men who formerly were opposed to him, in violation of all the principles he had professed and which were professed by the Government of which he is a member. No one can look at that majority of 2,147 cut down to a miserable majority of 228 votes, without seeing that without the power of the Crown being exercised, as it was exercised, in this instance, and the withholding of the writ down to the last moment, so as to make this question, then trembling in the balance, valuable for the Government—instead of having a small majority of 228, in place of a majority of over 2,000, the hon. gentleman would have been in a miserable minority. And

House on that point, he said that if he did his majority of the party majority, was a majority could rely now, or ought to have thought so. The hon. gen-

man, in referring to the mind, said that the government to open the country, because they were a member might be no one more anxious colleague, who had represented the county, at position, if he had with his own feelings, gentleman had done so, an election he would as large a majority as the last election."

declaration; that of 1874, was, last intended it was, same condition existed to-day, reference—that the gent electors of city, had had the record of and its mal-administration for four years, and the parties ostensible position now invite the attention to the verdict obtained, as alliance formed gentleman and the formerly were of all the profession and which Government of No one can ty of 2,147 cut majority of 228 that without the being exercised, sed, in this withholding of the last month this question, balance, valuable instead of having of 228, in of over 2,000, would have minority. And

I have no hesitation in saying, as I said to this House a year ago, that an overwhelming change had taken place in the county of Halifax. I also say that those who live to see a general election will find everything reversed, with the conviction in the public mind that these men will not be able to exercise the power of the Crown for or against anybody for many months more. I have no hesitation in saying that, under these circumstances, when the election takes place, the city and county of Halifax will prove to be one of the surest constituencies that the great Liberal Conservative party can rely upon; and I will leave my reputation as a prophet dependent on the realization of that prophecy. I have shown that all the qualifications which the hon. gentleman possesses, and all the reasons that could entitle him to the support and the confidence of this Government, is that he had shown himself to be a high-priest in corruption; and that the First Minister concluded that he had given such evidences of his qualifications to enter that great party to uphold the standard of public morality, and that he was so distinguished a corruptionist, that he must actually be canonized, and therefore he brought him (Mr. Jones) into the Administration. Were there no reasons, no public reasons, why he should not be a member of this Government. I think there were; and I think that although we differ upon the question of coalitions—for my right hon. friend the member for Kingston holds now, as always, that men who honestly agree on the great public questions of the day might have differed on past questions, and that whatever their past record had been they may unite in forming an Administration to carry on the public affairs of the country,—there is one ground upon which we agree. The position of my right hon. friend, which I have mentioned, has been controverted by the hon. gentlemen opposite; they have held that no person but a life-long Reformer should enter the Government; but, nevertheless, the Minister of Militia, who exhibited hostility to the Union in 1867, after a life spent in op-

posing the parties with which these hon. gentlemen had been identified, was taken into the Cabinet. But, however we may differ on the question of coalition from that point of view, there is one ground upon which we all agree or ought to, and that is—that no more demoralising public spectacle can be exhibited in this country than the formation of an Administration or a combination of men who, on important leading public questions, are in open and avowed antagonism. We are all agreed that whatever views we may hold on theories respecting coalitions, we are agreed that there can be nothing more monstrous, and nothing more corrupt, and nothing more disgraceful than that of a combination of men who take office for the sake of office, and who, for the sake of office, sink their differences upon leading and important public questions, doing all this for the sake of combining together and sharing office and power. I will say nothing about the emoluments.

Mr. MILLS: Hear, hear.

Mr. TUPPER: The hon. gentleman says, "hear, hear;" but I will put the views of that hon. gentleman side by side with those of the hon. gentleman, the Minister of Militia, and I will show him whether they can sit in the same Cabinet together without one or the other giving up their views or sentiments as contained in the public records of Parliament, on the most important and leading questions. I refer now to the great sugar-refining interest, a question that the hon. gentleman says, "hear, hear," to. I refer to a question respecting which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) stated one year ago in this House that it was a vital one; that the Government were failing in their duty, that it was a question, not merely of a few persons engaged in sugar-refining, but of a West India trade worth three or four millions per annum to this country. He argued that this question was one of not only gigantic importance, but one of vital importance to the constituency he has the honour to represent in this House. What did the hon. gentleman say upon that subject in 1876 on the floor of this House. He then spoke as follows:—

"He thought that they had abundant proof that whereas in this case on the raw material 50 per cent. duty was paid, only 40 per cent. was paid on the refined article, affording to foreigners a very considerable advantage. The Government would be justified in asking the House to authorize them to impose on refined sugar a duty equal to the bounty granted their refiners by foreign governments. He was willing that we should trade with the United States on fair terms, but if by a bounty system they tried to control our market and utterly ruin our interests it was the duty of the Administration to levy such duties as to place Canadian on an equal footing with foreign manufacturers. He gathered from the observations of his hon. friend that the abolition of the sugar duties had had the effect on the sugar refinery at Montreal which he had anticipated, and the result had been an advance of 1½ cents per pound on the sugar manufactured in this refinery. This was natural and was to have been expected. The qualities of the sugar which had been manufactured in Montreal were excellent; and it was to be remembered that inexperienced people could with ease be led to believe that sugar was of high, when it was in reality of a very inferior, quality."

He said again:—

"It the refinery in Montreal could have been worked under the present system, no application would have been made; but it had been sufficiently demonstrated that it was impossible to keep open refineries in the face of the bounty allowed by the United States. It was no use tinkering with the tariff, but the Government should be prepared to deal with the American system which was annihilating our trade, when \$2.50 duty per 100 pounds was paid, and a drawback of \$3.60 was allowed, which was equal to half a cent per pound. It was plain to be seen that no tariff would enable a refinery to exist in Canada unless a duty was imposed equal to the bounty; it would be no use trying to do anything."

So much for the hon. gentleman's views in 1876. I will now show that these views were not changed in 1877, when the hon. gentleman again reiterated his sentiments in the strongest terms on this subject, and declared that a West India trade of three or four millions, in which his own constituents were vitally interested, hung in the balance. We will now see what the views of his colleague, the hon. the Minister of the Interior, was on that question. They were as follows:—

"He was unable to perceive that any drawback was given in the States, and he would quote figures from the Trade and Navigation Returns which proved that this was the case. No refinery in the Dominion

could be closed owing to the policy pursued by the American Government. Supposing the American refiner obtained 55 cents of drawback per 100 lbs, that put \$2.50 into the public treasury. What system must be followed in order to secure instead of 70 lbs. or 88 lbs. of the highest quality—13½ lbs. of inferior variety and 11½ lbs. of syrup from 100 lbs. of the unrefined article? and if an inferior article was used, a larger quantity must be produced to obtain the same result. This was sufficient to show that the statement with reference to the bounty afforded under that system was preposterous."

And the hon. the Minister of Finance told him it would take \$600,000 a year out of the treasury of Canada for the purpose of building up and supporting a refinery in this country, so that on a question of the greatest import to the whole country—a question, regarding which, according to the hon. gentleman, every person in this country was to suffer by having the price of sugar increased, after the refineries had been crushed by the policy of this Administration—he was at variance with the Government. The hon. gentleman, when an Independent member of this House, maintained that the interests of his constituents were intimately and largely connected with this subject; and that the whole of the West India trade of this country was going to be sacrificed unless the hon. gentleman opposite could be induced to change their policy. But suddenly—at the very time when he was putting forward to the electors of Halifax, as one of the reasons why they should elect him, the fact that he was one of the Independent members of the House—for as an Independent member of the House he was fighting against the Government on that question at that moment—the hon. gentleman has office presented to him, and having office presented to him he forgets his declarations on the floor of this House; he forgets his antagonism with the Government on this important public question; he forgets the interest of his own constituents; he accepts the shilling and enlists to serve under the banner of the Government whom he himself declared was, on a vital and important public question, utterly in antagonism with the interests of this country, and especially with the interest of his own constituents. I say that was a reason why the hon.

gentleman should not be offered a portfolio, and why it could not be accepted by him if offered, because one of two things was certain, either the Government must change its policy and accept that of the hon. gentleman, or he must abandon the battle he has been fighting in the interests of his country and of his constituents. I say, that it was impossible, under these circumstances, for the hon. gentleman to accept office. It is impossible for gentlemen under these circumstances of open and avowed antagonism to the Administration of the day upon an important question—a question which is admitted to be vital—it is impossible for this gentleman to go into the same Administration without his country feeling that both the Government on the one side and the gentleman who joins them on the other is in accord in this: that office, power and place are to be obtained at any price. Is it of little consequence if the demoralizing spectacle is presented to the country of an abandonment of principle for the sake of office and for the sake of power? But, Sir, there is another reason why the hon. gentleman should not have accepted office. He says it was a Free-trade triumph. A Free-trade triumph! Why, Sir, I hold in my hand a manifesto of the hon. gentleman's opinion published during this very contest—a letter addressed by himself to Sir Francis Hincks—in which he argues not only the question of protection to sugar, but, incidentally, in connection with that, the whole question of Protection in the most able and convincing manner. And that was given to the public before the portfolio was offered to the hon. gentleman as the creed to which he had subscribed, and the grounds on which he asked for public confidence. What does he say? He publishes the letter as evidence of his sentiments, he says, on this important protection question. I will read this, and the hon. gentleman opposite may say "hear, hear," as he recognizes passage by the ablest manner the doctrine which this side of the House hold as essential to the advancement of the country at large.

"You may, perhaps, remember that dur-

ing the last Session of Parliament we had several conversations on the subject of the tariff, which was in some measure before Parliament, when the Bill to abolish the duties on tea and coffee was presented to the House. At that time I ventured to draw your attention to the inequalities that existed with respect to levying the duties on raw and refined sugar; and as a business man taking a lively interest in all that relates to the financial prosperity of the country, with which financial interests are so naturally identified, and having given a good deal of thought to some branches of the subject, and having, I may add very considerable experience in these branches, to which I purpose referring, I take the liberty very respectfully of submitting my views."

Are these his views now? He published them as his views when he asked the electors of Halifax to elect him as a member.

Mr. JONES: Yes, Sir; they are my views.

Mr. TUPPER: Then the hon. gentleman must ask his colleagues to change their views, and the position they hold towards the country will not be a very edifying spectacle.

"I take the liberty very respectfully of submitting my views, with the hope that they may be found not only in accordance with your own, but also as likely, by a satisfactory settlement of a difficult question, to promote the best interests of the country at large. I may commence by saying that when the present sugar tariff was introduced by Sir John Rose in 1868—"

I am reading the letter not as it was written exactly, but as it was given by him to the press, or, at least, as it was published in the press.

"the basis aimed at was a compromise between all parties without being very satisfactory to either. Since that time, however, very and important changes have taken place, arising not only out of the great improvements in the process of refining, but also with respect to the more liberal excise concessions which have been made by our American neighbours with the object no doubt of directing a large portion of our trade into their hands, and which, in my opinion, calls for immediate action in our own Parliament on the subject."

But he does not call so loudly as to prevent the hon. gentleman's mouth being closed by a portfolio.

"I, of course, should not presume to offer any opinion as to the amount of duty that should be levied on this sweet, but bearing in mind that the article cannot be produced at home, and that it enters very largely into daily use in every household in the Dominion,

coupled with the fact that both the Imperial and the American Governments have recently, by large reductions in duty, been cheapening this article of prime necessity to the consumer. It appears to me that it is desirable to make Canada a cheap country to live in, and thus attract immigration to our shores. It must follow that it would be wise policy on the part of the Government to do all they could by judicious legislation to place such an article of daily consumption as much as possible within the reach of the masses, assured as they might all be, that any temporary reduction would very soon be more than made up by the increased consumption that would result from it. I said at the beginning that the present duty was a compromise between all parties, and not altogether satisfactory to either. The dissatisfaction arose chiefly on the specific duty which being based on classification is not and cannot always be fairly applied. In the course of my experience I have known several instances where what was considered under No. 9, at one port of the Dominion, was classed over that number and subjected to a higher duty at another port of entry; and the parties who had purchased on the faith of the first classification being correct were called on to pay the increased amount, which would seriously affect the result of that operation. This want of uniformity does not always arise from the want of ability or faithfulness on the part of the appraisers but, as will frequently happen, the sample drawn at one time will not correspond with those taken at another, drawn perhaps more or less carefully or from different parts of the package. Under these circumstances, I think it would be extremely desirable if this difficulty could be obviated, and this I think, could be easily accomplished by abandoning the principle of specific duty, and by substituting in its place the fairer one of an ad valorem duty for the full amount required."

And yet the hon. gentleman, unable to induce the Finance Minister to make this change, which, he says, is so easily accomplished and will accomplish so much, becomes a colleague of the Ministers who refuse to make the change; he says:—

"The present duty according to public returns averages a trifle over 2 cents per lb., on all kinds, and if this average is to be maintained, I would recommend that the specific duty be repealed altogether, and an ad valorem duty of 40 per cent. be substituted, with this difference, that the 40 per cent. shall only apply to raw sugar, while refined should pay 55 per cent."

That is an application for an amount of protection that exceeds anything that has ever been asked by any other parties in this country. So far as I am aware, the hon. gentleman is not only a protectionist, but a most ex-

trême protectionist, demanding—as was remarked by an hon. gentleman on this side of the House—that the Chinese wall be raised in reference to the importation of sugar into our country. Well, what more? I now come to the mode in which he argues for the protection of sugar, and which the hon. the Minister of the Interior will find is equally applicable, and equally convincing, applied line by line, and principle by principle to the whole question of Protection, as advocated by the gentleman on this side of the House in favour of Canadian industries at large, he says:—

"This apparent protection"—the most monstrous protection that has ever been asked, greater than Mr. Dunstan, of Halifax, or Drummond, of Montreal, have ever asked. This gentleman, who, at that time, in justice to him I must say, had become recently a stockholder in a large sugar refinery about to be built in Halifax.

MR. JONES: No, Sir: I had not.

MR. TUPPER: I have the hon. gentleman's prospectus in my hand, in which he puts out his name as one of the provisional directors, an inducement to persons to become engaged with him in building up this industry:

"This apparent protection is defensible on many grounds:—"

Mark these grounds, and mark how in every line and word the hon. gentleman cuts the ground from his colleagues, whom he has joined, and raises the cry of Protection in this industry.

"This apparent protection is defensible on many grounds, chiefly because in Great Britain they have large refineries, with all modern improvements, with cheap labour, and a large market to buy and sell in. For this reason they can manufacture more cheaply than in any part of the world, with the advantage of a large market at home to take off their goods."

He now deals with the question of slaughtering in all its bearings, and urges Sir Francis Hincks to prevent the slaughtering of Canadian industries by foreigners outside. He said:—

"But, although they have this large market, it often happens that rather than reduce their prices at home, they prefer making shipments and loss, if any, abroad, and hence it is that large shipments are at times made to all parts of the Dominion and thrown into

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the market, generally at a loss, to the great injury of the refiner, without, on the average, being of much advantage to the consumer; for this reason that source of supply cannot be depended on, for none comes forward if the market at home admits of their selling it there to advantage."

What do the hon. gentleman's colleagues think of that for a Free-trader? He argues out the whole question of slaughtering, and shows that unless we protect our own industries, they will be crushed out; not by legitimate trade from abroad, but by parties who will not reduce their prices abroad, but crush out our industries by reducing the price in our market. What does the hon. Prime Minister tell you? And what does the hon. the Finance Minister tell you? That this great reduction of price is a great advantage, because our people can buy for less than they would otherwise have to pay. What does the hon. the Minister of the Interior think of the doctrine that no advantage is secured by that reduction, because of the slaughtering of Canadian industries, since the foreigner can have exactly the same price he charges at home so soon as he has crushed out our industries?

"Again, you are no doubt aware that the American Government--"

Mark, Sir, this American Government, that we are told is sacrificing everybody in their country by a high protective policy, is hold up by this Minister of the Militia, to the admiring gaze of Sir Francis Hincks, as a Government that is alive to the interests of their own country. He says

"Again, you are no doubt aware that the American Government, always alive to the interests of their people, and all that relates to the prosperity of their country, have recently passed a Treasury Order, increasing very considerably the draw-back on white refined sugar, the result of which, I learn, has been that the great bulk of that quality now used in Canada comes from that quarter, and their manufacture is entirely abandoned at Montreal, where formerly large quantities were made; hence, it follows, that if our trade is to be encouraged or sustained, such exceptional legislation as I have referred to, must be met by corresponding legislation on our part."

Exactly what we claim; but then he goes on to the general question of Pro-

tection. Hear him, again! what does he say?

"On principle, I am not one of those who advocate or believe in the policy of high protective tariffs--"

Mark, Sir, he qualifies--he does not say he is not an advocate of a protective tariff on principle. He is not an advocate of a high protective tariff. I will show you that he was an advocate of the highest protective tariff ever asked or proposed anywhere--the highest tariff ever proposed in this country. I will show you that he is an advocate of a tariff as high as 150 per cent. on petroleum, which the hon. gentleman voted for and maintained against a gentleman on this side of the House.

"On principle, I am not one of those who advocate or believe in the policy of high protective tariffs, but I have before me the policy of the Government which has frequently been affirmed by Parliament, whereby a protection of 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., is afforded to many manufacturing interests of the country; and I only ask if that policy is to be continued that an interest so large as the one I refer to should be placed on as favourable terms. I may mention that boots and shoes, brooms and baskets, caps and hats, soap, clothing, warp, cottons and woollens, leather, machinery and nails, sails, vinegar, etc., and many other articles have a protection of 15 per cent, while rum and whiskey, tobacco, petroleum, and beer, are all protected to a much larger extent. On this ground, therefore, and this alone, I believe the people of Canada would not object to the refinery interests of the country being placed on an equal footing as indicated in the preceding suggestions; and I trust from your well known familiarity with the subject, that these views may commend themselves to your judgment. I presume it will be generally admitted that every branch of industry should be placed on the same footing, and I cannot for a moment conceive how this interest, from which nearly one-fourth of our revenue is collected, should, so far as tariff arrangements are concerned, be placed at a disadvantage. Our great staples of exports are fish, lumber and coal, which find a market in the West Indies. From thence the course of trade is that our vessels bring back their proceeds in sugar and molasses. Formerly we had a large and increasing trade in these articles, but since so much English and American refined sugars have been coming in the market it has fallen off very considerably, being directed chiefly to Boston, where the refiners have the benefit of our vessels as their carriers; and after the sugar is refined they then send it to the market where it should have come in its raw condition. I feel assured if my views were carried out, that it would give an important stimulus to the refining interests and tend to the estab-

lishment of refineries in all the large ports of the Dominion. At the time of the Union, a large establishment was in the course of erection, fostered by the Act of the Local Government admitting raw sugars at 50 cents less duty for refining purposes, which law, no doubt, still remains in force; but the competition from abroad has been so great that parties have hesitated embarking so large a capital as this outlay would involve, until a readjustment of the tariff took place, which I hope may be during the coming Session. The views I have thus hastily communi- cated would, I feel sure, be approved by the entire mercantile community interested in this branch of commerce, and, if necessary, I could obtain their recommendation at any time.

"I have the honour to remain,
"Your obedient servant,

"A. G. JONES."

I have read the entire letter in order that the House may see not only what views the hon. gentleman held, but, in fact how he has answered all objections raised by hon. gentlemen opposite against protecting our own Canadian industries from foreign competition. What applies to sugar, applies, as he himself points out, to all other manufactures. He claims that even a protection of 150 per cent. on petroleum furnished a basis; and the protection given to whiskey, furnished a basis for having all industries placed upon the same footing. Now, Sir, I intend to leave that branch of the subject and to draw the attention of the House to another point in which, I think, the hon. gentleman's divergence from the opinions of his colleagues ought to have been sufficient to have prevented them upon their part receiving him, even if they were willing to receive him at a sacrifice of principle, or his accepting that hon. gentleman's position in the Cabinet. I refer to the question of British Columbia. Every person knows that, consistently with the gentleman's bitter hostility to the Union of the Provinces, he was one of the most violent opponents of the introduction of British Columbia into this Dominion. Those who do not know, I will tell. One of the strongest charges brought against the party to which I have the honour to belong, and the Government of which I had the honour to be a member, was the representation given to British Columbia. He excited and

exasperated, as far as he was able, only the other night, his own constituents—he exasperated his constituents, as far as he could—against what he characterized as the unfair representation given to British Columbia in this House of Commons. But there is a more important question than that. He is known to be a violent opponent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I would ask the House to contrast his opinions with the declarations made by the hon. the First Minister to the electors of this country, when he first assumed office, on that question, in which he mentioned that it was of the greatest importance to have a great highway between British Columbia and these Provinces. The hon. gentleman—although he has not been as energetic or as successful in carrying out that policy—has not been so from that time to this he has been spending millions of the people's money in preparing for the construction of the Pacific Railway. Now, what were the views held, not on that question by the hon. member for Halifax. The hon. the First Minister said the other day that this *Hansard* was a very inconvenient book. I am inclined to think, Sir, that his views will not be changed on that point after I have drawn his attention on a few occasions like the present, to the sayings of some of the hon. gentlemen with whom he is connected. I hold in my hand a speech of the hon. gentleman made on that subject at the last Session of this House. What does he say? He says: "The late Government, by the aid of a large majority, had forced on the House bringing British Columbia into the Confederation and leading this country to an expenditure which they themselves now admit we were incapable of literally fulfilling. The only fault that he had to find with the Government was that they had not repudiated the whole transaction." On that question the hon. the First Minister says: "The Crown is bound in honour to carry out in good faith, as far as it is able, the engagements made to the Province of British Columbia." That is the doctrine of the First Min-

far as he was able, only his own constituents and his constituents, as against what he the unfair representation to British Columbia of Commons. But important question is known to be a of the Canadian and I would ask the trust his opinions mentioned that importance highway between these Provinces, an—although he or as successful this he has millions of the preparing for the Pacific Railway. views held, not but last Session, hon. member the First Min- day that this convenient book. Sir, that his on that his attention, he present, to the hon. gentleman. I connected. I of the hon. subject at the What does late Govern- ge majority, se bringing Confeder- ntry to un themselves capable of only fault e Govern- repudiated On that Minister found in faith, as ts made umbin." first Min-

ister. What is the doctrine of the hon. the Minister of Militia, who has just gone into this Government? Why, he says: "The only fault he had to find with the Government was that they had not repudiated the whole transaction." There is an open avowal of bad faith; there is an open avowal of repudiation advocated by the hon. the Minister of Militia as lately as the last Session of Parliament. Why, the people of British Columbia at this moment are agitated, and naturally agitated, at the belief that the present Government of Canada have been trifling with this important question of railway communication with British Columbia. The people have charged the Government, in memorials to the Imperial Government, with bad faith in not attempting to carry out their engagements. They have double reason for their suspicions—I trust they are nothing more than suspicions—but they have double reason for it when they find that a gentleman on the floor of this House, in fact, only the last Session of this House, said that the only fault he had to find with this Government, in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, was that they had not repudiated the whole transaction. I think that is another reason why the hon. gentleman should not have been regarded as a person who could be a member of the Government in the interests of Canada, and of the harmony that ought to prevail, and that it is desirable should prevail, in every section of this great Dominion, and why he should not have been brought into this Government to give force and point to the suspicions and feelings which have agitated to so large an extent that important section of this country. But, Sir, there is another reason more important, I regret to say, than either of those to which I have referred, why the hon. the Minister of Militia should not have been a member of any Canadian Government, and why that hon. gentleman should not, of all persons, have been entrusted with the portfolio of the Minister of Militia. Sir, this is a loyal country; this is a loyal House, I am glad to say. Thank God that, though we may differ on the abstract questions of Govern-

ment, there is one question the people of Canada do not differ upon, and that is in their loyal allegiance to our Gracious Sovereign. There is an overwhelming sentiment in the mind of the people of this country to maintain the Crown, and the connection of Canada with that Crown, whatever side of the House gentlemen may sit upon. However much we may differ on questions of finance, on questions of abstract politics, there is no difference of opinion on that great question of devoted loyalty to the Throne under which we have the happiness to live. Yet, I say, if there were no other reason why the hon. gentleman should not be a Minister of this Government or any other Government, it is because of his past record. He has placed himself in a position, by his public sentiments, that ought to prevent him from occupying any such position in this country. Sir, that was bad enough —

MR. JONES (Halifax) : Where?

MR. TUPPER : I will tell the hon. gentleman where : it was in a public meeting in the city of Halifax, where the hon. gentleman declared, in the presence of the assembled citizens, on an occasion when they had been called together to give a loyal reception to the Queen's representative—where the Queen's representative had come down to receive a Prince of the Royal blood. It was on that occasion when the citizens came together for the purpose of tendering a loyal reception to the Queen's representative, that the hon. gentleman in the presence of the citizens, stood up and made a most violent and inflammatory speech, which he concluded by the words, "That he would take off his hat and cheer when the British flag was hauled down from the citadel."

MR. JONES (Halifax) : Mr. Speaker, I shall answer that presently. In the meantime, I say it is a falsehood.

MR. TUPPER : The hon. gentleman will find me on this occasion, as on all other occasions, when I make a statement in this House, prepared to give the evidence, clear and incontrovertible evidence, of the accuracy of my statement. I hold in my hand a letter addressed to me by Her Majesty's

representative at that time in Halifax, Sir Hastings Doyle; and for the benefit of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Dymond), I hope he will be wholly satisfied as to whether this letter is a forgery or not, as from necessity he was bound to insinuate it was in the columns of the *Globe*. I hold the autograph letter of Sir Hastings Doyle, dated 28th February, 1871. It is as follows:—

“HALIFAX, 28th February, 1871.

“MY DEAR TUPPER.—Mr. Alfred Jones has, I understand, left Halifax for Ottawa. I hope it will not be forgotten while he is there that he said at a public meeting here in the course of a most inflammatory speech, that when the British flag was hauled down on the Citadel he would take off his hat and cheer—upon which the Chief Justice and Judge Desbarres took up their hats and left the room. The Chief Justice mentioned this circumstance to me, and the consequence has been that for the last two years he has never entered my house, or have I looked at the same side of the street with him. I wrote to you this morning, so I have nothing to add.

“Yours sincerely,

HASTINGS DOYLE.”

MR. JONES (Halifax): Let us see it.

MR. TUPPER: I have another letter just as strong, and the hon. gentleman will find that it is not only not a private letter, as Sir Hastings Doyle invariably marked all his private letters to me—and I had a lengthened correspondence with him, but it is written for the purpose of showing—and in order to let the people know—the views and sentiments of the hon. gentleman when he was coming up here. I ask the hon. gentleman now, with the letter in his hand, is that Sir Hastings Doyle's writing?

MR. JONES (Halifax): Yes, it is.

MR. DYMOND: The hon. gentleman will allow me to say that if it is not a forgery, it ought to be one. It is a disgrace to the man who wrote it.

MR. TUPPER: So, Sir, everything ought to be a forgery that brings those hon. gentlemen before the bar of the public opinion of this country—where they have to answer for the statements they have publicly made and proclaimed as their sentiments. The other letter is as follows:—

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
“HALIFAX, 1st March, 1871.

“MY DEAR TUPPER,—

“More about my friend (?) Alfred Jones! Herewith I send an account of the meeting at which he made use of the disloyal expression that “when the British flag is hauled down from the Citadel he would take off his hat and cheer.” The judges who were present most distinctly heard him say so, and Thomson (Howe's son-in-law), and others who were at the meeting, all declare to his having made use of those expressions, and that his whole speech was of a most inflammatory nature. The occasion of his making use of the above-named disloyal harangue was at the meeting held to prevent the Governor General receiving an address, or being in any way recognized by the Local Government, who strictly abided by their decision. I have telegraphed you to-day to remind you of this speech, so that when he makes his appearance at Ottawa you may not throw your arms around him and embrace him! I do not venture to dictate to others what line they should adopt towards persons who publicly preach disloyalty, but it is but right that I should remind my friends at Ottawa that I was guilty of making that speech, and that I have sent him to Coventry ever since.

“Vail, who is somehow or other related to him, came to me, some time ago, to say that when he (Jones) did utter was in the heat of the moment, and that he never intended to say what had been attributed to him—that what he meant to say was that he would cheer when the British flag was hauled down from the Citadel, because Nova Scotia could then fight Canada and shake off her yoke, but this he did not add, because his voice was drowned with hisses and hootings. I told Mr. Vail that I would not sit at the same table with him until he publicly denied his disloyal sentiments, but he has never done so. If he would even now do so publicly at Ottawa, I would make by-gones be by-gones.

“Yours, sincerely,

“HASTINGS DOYLE.”

Now, Sir, take it upon the hon. gentleman's own explanation; take it upon the afterthought; what does it mean? It means that the First Minister of the Crown thinks he is doing his duty to the loyal people of Canada by putting the militia forces of this country under the control and in the hands of a man who says “What I want to pull down the British flag for is that Nova Scotia may fight Canada and throw off the yoke.” At that time the Union was an accomplished fact, as much as it is to-day, and yet, long after that Union had been accomplished that hon. gentleman proclaims to the world that his object and ambition is to use all the power that

never should have been, or should be the colleagues of the hon. the First Minister of the Crown either in this Government or in any other. I do not intend to go over the subjects dealt with so ably by hon. gentleman at all events on this side of the House—in the discussion which has taken place, but I wish to make a suggestion to the hon. the First Minister as to an alteration in the first paragraph of the Speech. It is:—

“In again summoning you for the despatch of business, I am glad to be able to say that nothing beyond the ordinary business of the country requires your attendance.”

I think whoever supplied that paragraph to the Speech failed in his duty to the House, and to the country; and I think it should have been:—

“It is my duty to announce that the unmistakable evidences of the withdrawal of public confidence from my Government are such as require me to ask you to vote the supplies preparatory to an immediate appeal to the people.”

That is the only alteration which I propose, and in doing that I am quite serious. I say that the hon. gentleman is bound by Parliamentary precedent, by constitutional precedent, to take the course which I have stated. I say that the hon. gentleman will find in constitutional practice in England an eminent example for the course to which I invite his attention. Mr. Gladstone when he had a majority at his back felt bound to dissolve Parliament and go to the country because he had evidence from defeats in local elections of a loss of public confidence. What evidence has the hon. gentleman had? By seizing the opportune moment he was able to snatch a hasty and ill-considered verdict from a large majority of the people. He had a majority after the last general election of from eighty to one hundred. I think it was about ninety.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Say two hundred.

Mr. TUPPER: The *Globe* said 102, but I think I am not exaggerating when I say ninety. I think the hon. gentleman himself said eighty-seven.

Mr. MACKENZIE: When?

Mr. TUPPER: Well, I know that at first we were called a corporal's

guard, and were treated with all the contempt with which the hon. gentleman could possibly treat us. I am happy to say that has passed away, that the action of the people has relieved us from that statement; and during the last two Sessions, at all events, we have not been taunted with our inability to discharge the duties of an efficient Opposition. I will call the attention of the hon. gentleman to a few changes that have taken place in the majorities which he previously obtained in different constituencies. In East Toronto, in 1874, he had a majority of 137, it was changed in the last election into a majority against him of 414; in West Toronto, a majority in his favour of 211 was changed to one of 351 against him. In the city of London, a majority in favour of the Government of 61 was changed to 128 against them; in North Ontario a majority of 92 in favour of the Government was changed to a majority of 87 against them; in South Ontario a majority of 151 in their favour was changed to one of 38 for their opponents. In North Renfrew they had a majority of 48 in their favour.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Does the hon. gentleman remember who was elected in North Renfrew in 1874?

Mr. TUPPER: I do remember; but I remember that since that he had a gentleman sent here to support him, Mr. Murray, by a majority of 48; and a subsequent election has given a majority of 210 to a member on this side of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Who was elected in 1874?

Mr. TUPPER: I really forget.

Mr. WHITE (North Renfrew): I can tell the hon. the Premier that I had the honour of obtaining the return for North Renfrew in 1873, but by a minority of the whole vote of something over 200. There were three candidates running at that election.

Mr. MACKENZIE: That is a specimen of the hon. gentleman's statements, and yet he was claiming that the hon. member who has just spoken was a supporter of the Government.

Mr. TUPPER: I say that the gentleman who sat in the House support-

ing the Ministry defeated my hon. friend the present member by 48. That is now changed, by the contest which neither the First Minister nor myself will soon forget, to a majority of 200 in favour of my hon. friend. That was the time when the First Minister went into the constituency and told them it was for them to decide between the two great parties, and he got his answer.

MR. MACKENZIE: I want this distinctly understood: the hon. gentleman is contrasting the general election of 1874 with what has taken place since. He is proclaiming a triumph when he had failed there in 1874.

MR. TUPPER: The hon. member for North Renfrew has explained that.

MR. WHITE (North Renfrew): Both the gentleman who ran against me in 1874 claimed to give a support to the Government. One of them claimed to give an out-and-out support to the Administration, and the other said that he was prepared to give the Government a fair trial. The aggregate vote of those two gentlemen, though I defeated them both, was something like 225 greater than that which I obtained. So that the subsequent election of 1875, instead of indicating a change of opinion in favour of the Administration, decreased the majority which they had in 1874.

MR. TUPPER: I hope that will satisfy the hon. the First Minister as to the change of sentiment in North Renfrew. In South Norfolk the vote was changed from 123 in their favour to 72 against them. I am afraid the hon. gentleman has not given the attention to those figures that they deserve, or probably he would have adopted the views which I suggested to him a few minutes since.

MR. MACKENZIE: This is the twentieth time I have had this statement.

MR. TUPPER: Then the memory of the hon. gentleman is not very retentive. North Victoria gave four votes in favour of a supporter of the Government, and that has been changed to a majority of one against them.

MR. MACKENZIE: Was there an election in North Victoria?

MR. TUPPER: Yes. Mr. Maclennan sat in this House.

MR. MACKENZIE: He was unseated on petition, and there was no change—not even of a single vote.

MR. TUPPER: As I only claimed a change of two votes the difference is not very great.

MR. MACKENZIE: The hon. member who sits now for Victoria was member at first.

MR. BOWELL: There were two elections.

MR. TUPPER: My hon. friend and the leader of the Opposition concur in the idea that there was only one election but I believe there were two elections, if my memory serves me.

MR. BOWELL: Mr. Maclennan was elected by four; he was unseated and re-elected by three. Mr. Cameron was then seated on the scrutineer vote.

MR. MACKENZIE: By one.

MR. BOWELL: Of course as soon as he got a majority, he started.

MR. TUPPER: In Berthier, a supporter of the Government was elected by acclamation, and the county has since returned a member to oppose them by 272 majority. In Bellechasse also we were unable to put a candidate in the field, but a subsequent election returned a member of the Opposition by 225 majority.

MR. FRECHETTE: A minority.

MR. MACKENZIE: Yes, taking the North Renfrew view of it.

MR. TUPPER: A gentleman who has been elected by a majority of 255, should not have slurs thrown out against him in this House. In Chambly, 106 majority for the Government, has been changed to 150 against them; in Two Mountains, where a supporter of the Government was elected in 1874, by 155 majority, at a subsequent election the Government could not find a candidate to put in the field at all, and my hon. friend the present member was elected by acclamation. In Charlevoix, a majority of 273 in their favour had been changed to one of 211 against them.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Give the result of the next election.

Mr. TUPPER: Kamouraska elected a supporter of the Government by acclamation, but is now held by supporter of my right hon. friend (Sir John A. Macdonald), who was elected by a majority of 54. Victoria, Nova Scotia, at the general election, returned Mr. Ross by acclamation, while my hon. friend who now represents that county in this House (Mr. Campbell), was elected as a most pronounced opponent of this Government by a majority of 98. In Queen's, Prince Edward Island, Mr. Laird was elected by acclamation, and subsequently, my hon. friend the present member (Mr. Pope), was elected by a majority of 88. In Montreal West, as has already been stated, a majority in support of the Government of 600 at the general election was changed to a majority of 50 in favour of the sitting member, after he had pledged himself to vote against the Government on every important point—the Canadian Pacific Railway policy, the fiscal policy, and the treatment of the banks by the Finance Minister.

Mr. HOLTON: That is the reason his majority was so small.

Mr. TUPPER: I am afraid he felt that that was the only means by which he could get a majority at all. That was the state of things when the House rose, and I think the House will agree with me that it was a rather serious matter for the First Minister to consider whether he would call this Parliament together again. The House heard the statement last night of my hon. friend on my right (Mr. Masson) that, out of 19 elections in the Province of Quebec, since 1874, all had been carried against the Government but two seats, and of those Mr. Abbott had only previously carried Argenteuil by a majority of one, and in Montreal Centre the popular and eloquent gentleman who now sits for that constituency (Mr. Devlin), was able to turn a small majority on one side into one for the other. We have had five new members this Session who, if not introduced, have at all events taken their seats in the House, and yet not one of the five

offered himself to the electors as a supporter of the Government. I presume the hon. gentlemen will act as they said they would, though I am not in a position to say. I presume those who were elected as Independent members will redeem their pledges and act according to their conscience, irrespective of party.

Mr. MACKENZIE: They have so far.

Mr. TUPPER: If they do support the Government, my case is the stronger. The hon. member for Restigouche (Mr. Haddow), was claimed as a Government supporter. If he was so, it would be a strange victory, so, it would be a strange victory, so, assuring that he was returned only by Independent candidate. If the leanings of these hon. gentlemen are in favour of the Government, so much the more clear then is the proof of the feelings of the country; because they knew that it would be the death-knell of their hopes if they avowed their preferences for this Government. But out of five new members who have taken their seats in this House, three came as pronounced supporters of the great Liberal Conservative party in antagonism to the Government, and the other two are returned as Independent. There is not a man out of the five who has been able to take his seat as an avowed supporter of the Government. Then take into consideration the overwhelming defeat of Mr. Vail in Digby, and the defeat of the hon. the Minister of Inland Revenue, one of the most popular men inside this House, or out of it, in his own constituency. When you find a man of his great talents, and great power of advocating his cause, defeated by the overwhelming change in the constituency which he represented, where all his social ties were known as well as his great abilities, then the hon. the First Minister has an evidence, which no man can shut his eyes to, to inform him as to the public sentiment of the country. Then the Minister of Militia goes down to his county. I have been taunted with having only one follower in this House from the Province of Nova Scotia, but when the public sentiment has swollen my one

follower into something like one-fourth of the members from that Province, when the Minister of Militia is beaten in his own county of Digby, and when, in the great metropolitan constituency of Halifax, a majority of over 2,000 is brought down to one of 228, which would not have existed at all but for the means that were used, and which could not have been used under other circumstances, if the hon. First Minister does not see the handwriting on the wall then the hon. gentleman is blind to the evidences which are apparent throughout the country, and to which no other man can shut his eyes. He will fail in his duty if he does not see here in this declaration of the people of Canada that his day is past, and that the sooner he places his trust in the hands of the sovereign people from whom he received it, the sooner he will be acting in accordance with constitutional precedent. Mr. Gladstone adopted the same course, under circumstances not a tithe as strong as that. He resigned his trust and called upon the people of England to say whether he was to continue in office or not—not because he had not a majority, but said, "I cannot be blind to the fact that day after day the people in these individual elections"—and every one knows the power that the Government of the day can exercise in individual elections, which they cannot exercise in the general elections, and we know the unscrupulous manner in which that power has been used by this Government—"have evinced the withdrawal of public confidence from me in a number of constituencies. I will not be false to my country or to the duty I owe to the will of the country, and will not hesitate a moment in placing the power in the hands of the people themselves to say whom they wish to reign over them." There is another great Liberal authority, one who is regarded as one of the strongest Liberal authorities, perhaps, to be found in the ranks of the Liberal party in England, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robert Lowe. He says, "That the Prime Minister owes it to himself and to the country, the moment he sees these significant indications of his failure to carry these local elections, to resign

his trust to the people." Mr. Lowe further says:—"A Government regulates itself by the public pulse. When it has a good working majority in the House, that is evidence of the *prima facie* kind that it enjoys the public confidence. But it often happens, that, while this majority obtained at a general election or otherwise, still give the Government its best support, the popular confidence in the Government is shaken or lost. It often happens, in short, that although the Government has a majority, and perhaps a large one, the people, the source of power, are so hostile to it that a general election would result in its complete overthrow and the complete disappearance of that majority. Now, no Government, worthy the name, would consent to hold office when it found itself in the position just outlined. Mere bureaucrats might, but statesmen in a free country have more respect for its institutions, and I may add, more self-respect than to attempt or dream of anything of the kind. A Government is informed of the state of public feeling, among other things, by the result of what I may call intermediate elections, isolated elections held after a general election. If those elections go against the Government, one after another, if seats long accounted theirs, suddenly return members of the party opposite, why then they know—for are they not told in a manner at once brusque and striking—that their majority in the House is no longer proof that they enjoy popular confidence. Knowing that, what are they to do? Hold on to office? Continue to conduct the affairs of a free country when the majority of the people are palpably hostile to them? Why, that would be usurpation! We have been called disturbers, but usurpers, never!! Does the hon. gentleman wish to be considered a usurper! The hon. the First Minister, has referred to my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, as anxious about struggling candidates. I have not seen any struggling candidates. All we have to do is to place a candidate before the people, and say he is an opponent of the present Government, to prevent him from being a struggling candidate.

Mr. MACKENZIE: I never used that phrase. I said struggling politicians.

Mr. TUPPER: Very good, struggling politicians. Are we struggling politicians, or are they? Are the men struggling politicians who go where they are invited, and present a fair, open, manly exposition of their policy on the public questions of the day before the country, and contrast it with the conduct of the gentlemen on the Ministerial benches. Are we struggling politicians, adopting a course like that? Or, are those struggling politicians who, clinging to the Treasury benches, despite the public sentiment, as expressed through all those channels in a most unmistakable manner, still say to the country that their duty to themselves, if not to the country, requires them to cling to office and disregard the strongest manifestation the people can give that the confidence of the public has been withdrawn from them. I am glad to know that the time is near at hand when, struggle as they may, their hold will be loosened. I am thankful that the time is at hand when the mighty public sentiment of Canada must be let loose, and will have an opportunity of dealing with those hon. gentlemen as they deserve, when they too, must share the fate of so many of their unfortunate candidates who have undertaken to be their standard-bearers in the unpopular cause they have advocated.

Mr. Jones having spoken,

Mr. TUPPER said: I will claim the indulgence of the House for a few minutes. I will not take the time for the purpose of replying to the speech which the hon. gentleman the Minister of Militia has made, but for the purpose of adverting to three personal matters.

Leave being given,

Mr. TUPPER said: I am quite certain that the House will concur in the feeling expressed by the hon. member that matters should be confined to the discussion of public subjects. I am quite certain that those who heard any remarks which I have made here to-

night will acquit me of having attempted to deal for a single moment with any other questions than those of public concern. I only intend, at this moment, to deal with three charges brought against me by the hon. the Minister of Militia; first, with reference to the lease of the house on Hollis Street; second, with reference to the Picton Railway; third, with reference to my being interested in coal mines. I may say, in regard to the first matter that, having learned that the hon. the Minister of Militia had stated at a public meeting in Halifax that the transference of my house in Hollis Street to my son was a colourable transaction, I tested his sincerity in that statement when I met him in the drill shed, in the presence of the electors, when I said: "Mr. Chairman, I will deposit in your hands \$500 if Mr. Jones will do the same; and I will not ask him to prove that it was a colourable transaction, but I will forfeit that money for distribution among any charities in Halifax to which you may be disposed to give it, if Mr. Jones will bring me before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, and if I do not prove that it was a *bond fide* transaction and not a colourable one; that I had no more interest in the property when it was leased to the Government than Mr. Jones himself had." Mr. Jones felt it desirable—at all events he declined my offer, and thus gave the best evidence that he could, that he himself does not believe that the transaction was a colourable one. So much for that. I am still willing to deposit \$500 in the hands of any gentleman in this House, on the same terms, if Mr. Jones will bring me before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, and I do not prove that the property was as much the property of my son as any property that Mr. Jones possesses is his, and I have no more to do with that property than he has.

Mr. JONES: You have the benefit of it.

Mr. TUPPER: I have not a single farthing. On the contrary, the property was leased to the Government at the same rate that it was leased previously to a private individual, and I have not

the slightest interest in that,—no more than Mr. Jones. If I do not prove that by the testimony of the highest and most credible witnesses that can be produced in this country before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, I will forfeit \$500 to be distributed among charities anywhere, if Mr. Jones will do the same thing. Next, Sir, he has ventured to refer to the question of the Pictou Railway. The Government of which I was the leader made a contract with Mr. Sanford Fleming for the construction of the Pictou Railway. We had previously let it by public tender and competition; and the contractors who undertook the work broke down, one after the other, being unable to go on with the work. Under those circumstances, the Government made a contract with Mr. Fleming, within the amount of his estimate, and for which the road had been let, for its completion. The Government of which I was a member had Judge Henry as its Attorney General. He drew that contract. It had Mr. Justice Ritchie, one of the most honourable men in Nova Scotia, and another of my colleagues was the Hon. Mr. Leonard Shannon. An honourable man of as high character as can be found in Nova Scotia. If there was any collusion, or any wrong done, then these gentlemen—one of them put here by Mr. Jones' own advice in the position of a Justice of the Supreme Court—are corrupt and dishonourable men.

MR. JONES: I did not put him there.

MR. TUPPER: No; but he was the leader of the party in Nova Scotia who put him there, and concurred in it. That is the foundation upon which the hon. the Minister of Militia ventures to indulge in a dishonourable imputation for the support of which there is not a particle of proof. All the evidence that ever was adduced was a speech of Mr. Archibald's, leading the Opposition at the time. He challenged our act, and criticised it in the closest manner, as an Opposition member should challenge the actions of a Government. It was submitted to the Legislature, and we were sustained by a large majority;

and Mr. Archibald, at a subsequent day, publicly declared years ago, that he believed that the Act was in the public interest, and the public interest had been served by it. The moment Mr. Archibald found that his name had been used, years afterwards, as having intended to insinuate that there was any private interest of any member of the Government in connection with the transaction, he came out in a letter to me in which he repudiated it, and said he never entertained such a thought. That is all the testimony the hon. gentleman has in support of an imputation only dishonouring to himself.

MR. JONES: Did not you ask the letter from the Governor?

MR. TUPPER: When the statement was made in my county by a candidate running in opposition to me, Mr. Archibald was quoted, and I wrote him a note to say that that statement had been made on his authority. It was in answer to that that he sent me a letter declaring that he had never intended the slightest imputation on the personal character of any person in relation to it. Now, I say that if in this House a gentleman can venture, on a foundation such as that, to impugn the standing of a public man, public life would become utterly intolerable. I appeal to gentlemen on both sides of the House if such is not the case. Then, Sir, he has referred to the Springhill Mines. Well, he knows perfectly well that the press of his party had been two years reiterating these slanderous falsehoods in the Province of Nova Scotia; and he knows that at the end of that two years I came out over my own signature and gave a straightforward account of the whole transaction. I showed that I had never had an interest in mining property in Nova Scotia to the extent of one dollar, until after I ceased to be a member of the Government of Nova Scotia, and was as free as the hon. gentleman himself to speculate in mines or in anything else. I showed that the Order in Council which was passed in relation to the mines was put by the Government of Mr. Annand on the Statute-book afterwards. I showed that the publication of that Order took place when I was three thousand miles away.

I showed by the evidence of Mr. Black, one of the first merchants of Halifax, that he had no connection with me; that he had never exchanged a word with me; and I that knew nothing whatever of his action, when, with the *Public Gazette* in his hand, published on Wednesday, on Thursday morning, he went to the office and claimed the right to apply for these mining areas that were open to all, and for which at that moment there was no application on the record. He had his statement in his hands of the metes and bounds. Why? Because he had public access to the mining office; and taking the information he believed he had, he associated with other parties who believed that there was valuable property there. He had the same opportunity that any gentleman had to take these metes and bounds, and he had his application prepared. He went to the office and made it. I was, as I say, three thousand miles away; and the only evidence adduced is that in 1868—a year after I had gone out of the Government, and a year after I was as free as any gentleman in this House to speculate in mines—I, with a power of attorney from Mr. Black and representing other gentlemen associated with him, offered these mines for sale, and in 1869 engaged to go into the speculation with them for the development of the property and its subsequent sale. It was a most successful speculation; but it was one just as open and as free to me as a similar speculation is to any hon. gentleman in this House. I hold in my hand the statement with which I met these slanderous attacks; and with the sworn testimony of the gentleman who issued the *Gazette*, and the sworn testimony of the Clerk of the Council, with the testimony of Mr. Black, and the testimony of Mr. Shannon, who said he was the person who had held back the Order in Council at the first instance with a view to its reconsideration. Upon testimony the most clear and conclusive that ever a public man vindicated himself upon in any country in the world, I threw back all these slanders, and showed that they had not a tittle of evidence to sustain them. What was the verdict? I had been followed by these slanderous attacks day by day, and year by year, for two

years; and when I came out and gave this vindication, and did what no man in any country is called upon to do,—proved a negative—not only challenged them to show a single jot or tittle of evidence for what they had stated, but proved the falsity of all their statements. When I did that, I appealed to the country; and what was the answer? The answer was an overwhelming condemnation of these lying slanders. His Grace the Archbishop of Halifax, the late venerated and venerable Archbishop Connolly, addressed a letter to me—the most congratulatory letter, perhaps, that any public man ever received in any country, and he came out in a letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, a paper that had been publishing these slanders, and told them that by their slanders they had made me the greatest man in Nova Scotia; that public opinion had risen in an indignant manner to crush these slanders; and I, whose character during the whole period of my career in public life in Nova Scotia no man ever ventured on the floor of Parliament to impugn, proved that nothing had ever touched my honour in the slightest degree. I am now assailed by one who up to the question of Union arising was one of my supporters—

Mr. JONES: No; no.

Mr. TUPPER: Yes, Sir; he said he was one of my friends. At the very period in which he challenges my conduct in relation to Lord Mulgrave, I had no more ardent supporter in Nova Scotia than the hon. gentleman himself; and it is upon such a foundation as this that hon. gentlemen are to be assailed! They had their answer on that occasion from the hon. gentleman's own constituents, who defeated him and elected a gentleman that I, in a public letter over my own signature, urged them in the interests of the country to sustain and support. I thank the House for the indulgence they have given me. I will not abuse it by saying a single word further; but I will ask permission to hand in, instead of detaining the House while I read it, a succinct narrative containing evidence which refutes the insinuation with which the hon. gentleman has ventured to assail, not only my public char-

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acter, but my private character, here
to-night, which no gentleman, while I
was on the floor of the House of Assem-
bly in Nova Scotia, bitter as party
struggles were in that Province, ever
ventured to impugn. I say more, after
I ceased to be a member of that House,
while it was under the control of the
hon. gentleman's friends opposite, this
very question of the Springhill Mines
was submitted to a most exhaustive
examination and investigation before
a committee, and they were unable to
establish one jot or tittle of evidence in
support of the statement which the hon.
gentleman has made here to-night.

“ OTTAWA, February 5, 1872.

“ TO HON. JAMES McDONALD, M.P.P.

“ MY DEAR McDONALD,—

“Although I have on principle refused to
make any defence against the vile slanders
upon my public character invented and
published by the Anti-Union press of Nova
Scotia—because I thought it would establish
a very improper practice if a public man
were called upon to defend himself in the
press against unfounded calumny unsupported
by any show of evidence—I would like
you to be prepared to meet any charges that
may be made against me in the Legislature
of Nova Scotia, as I will be prepared to meet
them in Parliament. Well knowing that the
enemies of Union, finding our cause rapidly
commanding itself to the approval of all in-
telligent men, are anxious to assail it through
me, I feel that I owe it to the country to
crush their lying inventions by an array of
evidence which must silence them forever.

“You will remember that many persons
interested in mining, urged upon the Govern-
ment of which we were members, the policy
of allowing additional rights of search to be
taken out for the same area—that it was well
known that this question was engaging the
attention of the Government for some time
previous to the 25th May, 1865, when an
Order in Council making the proposed change
was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in
Council. That Order was published on the
28th of June, and on the 29th, C. H. M.
Black, Esq., and at least two or three other
persons, made application for rights of search
under its provisions.

“On the day after the Order in Council
was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, I
went on a mission to Fredericton, to arrange
with the Government of New Brunswick
a joint delegation of the two Provinces
to England, with the object of securing
the construction of the railway from
Moncton to Truro. I was absent a week,
and on my return was engrossed with
business preparatory to my leaving for
England, which I did in company with my
colleague, the Hon. W. A. Henry, and the

New Brunswick delegates, on the 22nd or
23rd of June. It will thus be seen that I was
not in the Province on the day when the first
Gazette issued after the Order was approved
in Council, nor when it was subsequently
published. As the publication of Orders in
Council was the duty of the Clerk of the
Executive Council, and for the reasons men-
tioned, from the time that Order was ap-
proved, the subject passed from my mind,
until I read the attack upon myself contained
in the *Morning Chronicle* of August 7th, 1871.

“When Mr. Black obtained his license to
search, I was on the other side of the Atlantic,
and had never exchanged a word with him
upon the subject. While I was a member of
the Government I steadfastly refused to have
anything to do with either gold or coal mines,
and when I resigned my seat in the Govern-
ment on the 30th June, 1867, I did not own
one cent's worth of mining property.

“Having said this much in general terms,
I will now furnish you with the evidence
bearing on every point on which I have been
assailed. It is admitted that the Order in
Council made a valuable change in the law,
but it is asserted that I gave Mr. Black
private information which enabled him to
anticipate all other parties in making applica-
tion under it. The only evidence that, in
the absence of any to sustain this charge,
could be required to disprove it, is furnish-
ed by the admission of the *Chronicle* itself,
that when Mr. Black made his application,
after 10 o'clock a.m., on the 29th of June, he
had the *Royal Gazette* of the 28th in his hands,
containing the Order under which he applied.

“It is notorious that the *Royal Gazette* is
almost invariably printed late in the evening
of Wednesday, and sent to the public offices
some time in the forenoon of the next day.
It is not pretended that any one was refused
a copy at the Queen's Printers, where it
always could be had on Thursday morning
as early as the office opened.

“Having thus disposed of the question of
the suppression of the *Gazette*, I now come to
the charge that the Order in Council was
suppressed for four weeks before publication.

“As I have already said, from the day on
which the Order was settled in Council
in 1865, until these attacks were made
in 1871, the matter had not crossed
my mind, and until I, last autumn, met
James H. Thorne, Esq., who was the
then Clerk of the Council, and whose
duty it was to attend to the publication of
the Order, I did not myself know why this
delay had occurred. He at once said that he
had recently met the Hon. S. L. Shannon,
who told him that he (Mr. S.) had been the
innocent cause of the delay, when they both
remembered the facts as narrated in the follow-
ing affidavit of Mr. Thorne and note from
Mr. Shannon. You will no doubt recollect,
as I do, that Mr. Shannon differed in opinion
with the majority of the Council upon this

question, and it appears that, as I had gone to New Brunswick before the next *Gazette* was published, he asked Mr. Thorne to withhold the publication of the Order, as he thought it might be reconsidered by the Council. In the pressure of business preparing to go to England, the matter was not brought before me, and Mr. Shannon, thinking that it could not properly be done in our absence, Mr. Thorne was directed to publish in the *Gazette*, all of which is fully shown by the following affidavit of Mr. Thorne:—

"I, James H. Thorne, of the City of Halifax and Province of Nova Scotia, make oath and say, that I held the offices of Deputy Secretary and Clerk of the Executive Council of the Province of Nova Scotia, during the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five,—that the duty of furnishing the Orders in Council to the Queen's Printer for publication in the *Royal Gazette* devolved exclusively upon me,—that the order relating to Licenses to Search for Coal, approved in Council on the twenty-fifth of May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, was furnished by me to the Queen's Printer in the usual way,—that I never received any intimation, directly or indirectly, from the Honorable Charles Tupper in reference to that Order; and that the said Charles Tupper was absent on a mission to the Government of New Brunswick when the first *Gazette* issued after the approval of the said Order in Council, and that he was absent on a mission to England when the said Order was placed by me in the hands of the Queen's Printer for publication; and further, that the publication of the said Order in Council was deferred by me in consequence of an intimation from the Honorable S. L. Shannon that the said Order in Council might be re-considered.

(Signed)

JAMES H. THORNE.

"Sworn to at Halifax this 30th of October
A. D. 1872, before me,

"GEO. P. MITCHELL, J. P."

"I may here state that the articles which have appeared in the Halifax papers, denouncing me from the slanders of the Anti-Union press, were written and published without my having seen any of them.

"When it was shown that there was not the slightest foundation for any aspersion of my public character,—that I was on the other side of the Atlantic when the Order in Council was published, and rights acquired under it, and my assailants were challenged to produce the slightest evidence that I had any property in mines while a member of the Government, the *Chronicle* was obliged to confess that all the evidence they could adduce in support of their charges was that I had offered to sell the Spring Hill Mine. It is quite true that I did offer to sell the mine, but it was not until I had received a Power of Attorney, executed by Mr. Black, in the office of Hon. J. W. Ritchie, on the 4th day of June, 1868, eleven months after I had ceased to be a

member of the Government, and which was forwarded to me when I was in England. In 1869 Mr. Black conveyed to me an interest in the property of which he held leases from Mr. Armand's Government, as will appear by the following authenticated copies of Power of Attorney and letter from Mr. Black:—

"Know all Men, that I, Charles H. M. Black, of the City of Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia, merchant, have nominated and appointed, and do nominate and appoint the Honorable Charles Tupper, of Halifax, afore-said, now in London, England, a Companion of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, to be my true and lawful Attorney for me, and in my name and stead, absolutely, to bargain, sell, and dispose of six several licenses of occupation, issued to me on the thirteenth day of June last, A. D. 1867, under the hand and seal of John Rutherford, Esquire, Chief Commissioner of Mines for the Province of Nova Scotia, and now in force, granting to me the exclusive right of opening mines, and getting minerals, other than gold, for the period of two years from the date last mentioned, at Spring Hill, County of Cumberland, Nova Scotia, within the limits in the said licenses marked Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, respectively described, being six hundred and forty acres in each license, or six square miles in all, and any or either of such licenses, with all rights, powers, privileges, and appurtenances hereto belonging, including the right to take out before the expiration of the said two years, a lease or leases of the said areas respectively from the Commissioner of Mines afore-said, or from the Crown, for the purpose of getting the said minerals, and also for me, and in my name, and in my act and deed, to make, sign, execute, and deliver to the purchaser or purchasers thereof, their heirs, executors, and administrators, and assigns, from time to time, good and sufficient deeds or instruments of conveyance, and transfer or assignment of the said premises, and every part thereof respectively as afore-said, and to receive the purchase money, and give acquittances and discharges therefor to the purchaser and purchasers afore-said; and generally for me, and as my Attorney to do and execute all such acts and deeds as may be needful for conveying and assigning the said property in whole or in part to the purchaser or purchasers thereof, I hereby agreeing or purporting to confirm all acts that my said Attorney may lawfully do in the premises by virtue of these presents.

"Witness my hand and seal at Halifax, this fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

(Signed)

"CHARLES H. M. BLACK. (Seal.)

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of
"S. B. MURRAY."

HALIFAX, 19th DECEMBER, 1871.

"HONOURABLE CHARLES TUPPER, C. B.,
OTTAWA.—

"MY DEAR SIR,—After the repeated attacks upon you by a portion of the city press, touching the Spring Hill Mine, I have thought it but right that I should state the fact that I had no communication with you respecting licenses to search for coal at Spring Hill or elsewhere, previous to the application made by me in June, 1865, and that I received no intimation from you that an Order in Council had passed authorizing the granting of second rights to search.

"In June, 1868, when you were in England, it was thought by the friends interested with me that you could be of essential service to us in bringing the mine to the notice of English capitalists, and I accordingly executed a Power of Attorney, authorizing you to sell the mining rights I had acquired, which was duly transmitted to you; and in 1869 it was determined to convey to you one undivided fifth of three square miles, of which I held leases from Mr. Annand's Government.

"You are aware this explanation was at your service last summer, and you can now make what use of it you please.

"Regretting you should have been the subject of so much unmerited abuse,

"I remain, yours very truly,

(Signed) "C. H. M. BLACK."

I will not detain the House further. I thank them on both sides of the House for the indulgence they have extended to me in giving me this opportunity to make this statement. I can only say that when the hon. gentleman, in the presence of his own constituents, attempted to adopt the line which he has adopted here to-night, as the only means of diverting attention from his own misdoings—public misdoings—he was met by the sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the electors of Halifax who were assembled on that occasion.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, Feb., 15th, 1878.

Mr. TUPPER said he wished to avail himself of this opportunity afforded by the motion which was just put by the Speaker, to make as brief a reply as possible to the statement of the hon.

the Minister of Militia, in reply to the remarks he (Mr. Tupper) had addressed to the House on a previous occasion. He might say, at the outset, that he quite concurred in the remarks made by the hon. member for South Waterlœ (Mr. Young), that, if anything was to be deprecated in this House, it was any hon. member bringing forward old, stale refuted charges, and he thought gentlemen on both sides of the House would acquit him of being open to any censure of that kind. He had endeavoured, in his remarks, to avoid subjects of that kind, and to confine himself to reasons which he had thought sufficiently strong against the entrance of the Minister of Militia into the Cabinet. He had confined himself, therefore, to that question. He had deduced, as a ground of objection, the fact that the hon. gentleman was in strong, clearly defined antagonism to the Government of the day on a question of public policy which he (Mr. Jones) had described as involving three or four millions of dollars per annum, namely the West India trade, in which the constituency he (Mr. Jones) represented was largely interested, and which was a question involving not only the interests of his (Mr. Jones's) constituency, but almost the entire Province of which he was one of the representatives. He had presented to the House, as he had felt it his duty to do, the great objection which existed to the advent of a gentleman to a Ministry which was uncompromisingly hostile to the views which he had propounded as being in the best interests of the country. He (Mr. Jones) replied that gentlemen in office might differ on minor points. So that what a year ago was a question of burning interest in the estimation of the hon. gentleman—a question which required him on two occasions to remonstrate with the Government of the day—became, when it was convenient to the Government to ask him to be their colleague, and to associate himself with them in office, a minor question. He (Mr. Tupper) left it to him to settle that with his constituents, and to justify the attitude which he occupied in relation to that matter. He (Mr. Tupper) also drew the attention of the House to the fact that, on a question

of the gravest importance to this country—the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway,—to which the First Minister and his colleagues stood committed in the most decided manner, and which the great organ of the Government had declared to be of the most vital importance, the hon. gentleman had not only avowed, no longer ago than last Session, his opposition to the scheme, but had declared that his opinion was that it was the duty of the Government to repudiate that obligation *in toto*. He (Mr. Tupper) thought he was not exceeding his duty when he called the attention of the House to the fact that, when the hon. gentleman propounded the policy of total repudiation, some explanation was required on the part of his (Mr. Jones's) colleagues and himself for the presence of those gentlemen in the same Administration. The hon. gentleman closed his somewhat lengthened address without any reference to that matter, he (Mr. Tupper) presumed, because he (Mr. Jones) felt there was no answer that could be given, because, on such a question, involving such a large expenditure of money, nothing could justify the association in the same Government of gentlemen who declared that it was necessary to go forward and carry out the responsibility which rested upon them in relation to that great work, and a gentleman who only last Session told this House that they ought to have repudiated the whole thing. He (Mr. Tupper) had drawn the attention of the House to the position the hon. gentleman occupied as having held sentiments which were utterly inconsistent with the views of the present or any other Canadian Administration. He had also stated to the House, on what he considered competent authority, that the hon. gentleman had, on a former occasion, committed himself to what was so utterly at variance with loyal sentiments, so utterly at variance with loyalty to Canada, so utterly hostile to this Confederation as it now existed, as to render it impossible for him to take a seat in the Government as it now existed, without some retraction of the sentiments he had then expressed—unless they chose to present a spectacle of utter inconsistency to the country. What was the hon. gentleman's reply? In the language of the hon. member for South Waterloo (Mr. Young) he had used charges which were not only old and stale, but which had been refuted and abandoned—charges which had been so completely refuted that they had ceased to be used as weapons of political warfare. These, however, the hon. gentleman, unable to defend himself, had found it necessary, on a recent occasion, to bring forward. He (Mr. Tupper) supposed he had done that for the same reason as that which had animated him in the contest in Halifax. He had stated that, until he (Mr. Tupper) presented himself on the scene, the contest had been carried on in an orderly manner. The hon. gentleman knew that he was unwilling that he (Mr. Tupper) should be present at a meeting which was arranged between the other candidate and himself; the result being that he (Mr. Tupper) addressed a public meeting for two hours, and then went to Digby; and that there he had made no references to the hon. gentleman, except to say that, as he was to meet him face to face soon, he would not refer to him, but would discuss other questions. He had only said that, by his own admission of a violation of the Independence of Parliament Act, the hon. gentleman had been obliged to present himself again before his constituents. But what did the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) do, when he (Mr. Tupper) was a hundred miles away, at Digby? He had devoted an entire evening to him; so much so that Mr. Riehey, his opponent, said: "Take Dr. Tupper out of Mr. Jones's address, and I have nothing to answer." The hon. gentleman had then brought up a charge of his (Mr. Tupper's) being disqualified to sit in Parliament, because he had leased a house in Hollis-street to the Government, because he had been interested in the Pictou Railway contract, and because he was improperly connected with the Spring Hill mines—charges the two latter of which had been refuted long ago, and, in regard to the other, the hon. gentleman knew that there was a very easy manner of dealing with it. He

(Mr. Jones) had said that he would bring that before a Committee of this House; he (Mr. Tupper) invited him to do so. The hon. gentleman had said that the transaction was a colourable one. The colourable transaction consisted in this: that when the Government applied to his (Mr. Tupper's) son, who was the owner of that house, they obtained it at \$600 a year, precisely the same rent as the previous tenant was paying for it, and that, soon after, his son had sold this house, which he had leased to the Government of Canada for \$600 a year, to a building society of Halifax for \$9,500. The House could, therefore, judge whether there was any extraordinary or undue charge made to the Government for the property while it was in their possession. The hon. gentleman had said the transaction was colourable, because his (Mr. Tupper's) son was a minor, and, therefore, he (Mr. Tupper) received the benefit. The hon. gentleman ought to have known the circumstances before he spoke. He (Mr. Tupper) had stated that, if the hon. gentleman would take the case before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, where witnesses could be sworn, he would undertake to show, by witnesses, that there was not the shadow of a shade of foundation for this matter being brought before the House at all. He was prepared to show that his son was of age months before the house was conveyed to him by himself (Mr. Tupper); he was prepared to show that he had no interest whatever in the property, or in any rents to be derived from it; and that, on matters where it was easy for the hon. gentleman to obtain the fullest knowledge and information, he had shown to the House, as he had shown to the country, that, finding himself unable to defend his own conduct by any justification of his own conduct, unable to bring forward any grounds to show that he had performed any services to his constituents, he had been driven to the necessity of not only making an attack upon him (Mr. Tupper), but of making that attack upon questions which he must have known, or, if he did not know, he ought to have known, as he had the means of knowing, were

utterly baseless and foundationless. He intended to deal as briefly as possible with some of the questions of fact which were at issue between them. He was somewhat surprised on reading the report of the speech of the hon. the Minister of Militia in the *Globe* newspaper. The gentleman who, he supposed, took charge of the reports and exercised supervision over them, was an adept in debate. He observed that gentleman listening with great attention to the remarks of the hon. Minister, and he was curious to see whether the speech would appear in the *Globe*. He (Mr. Tupper) was quite certain that, as there were several contradictions in the speech, it would not appear in that journal on the following day. Not a word appeared: it must be subjected to revision, and must be pared and toned down, and its inconsistencies removed. He would direct the attention of the House to a single fact in that connection. The hon. the Minister of Militia made two statements directly opposed to each other. In one part of his speech he stated, in defence of a remark he had made on the floor of the House a year ago, that, if the county of Halifax were open, it would return a supporter of the Government by as large a majority as he had himself received in 1874, namely, 2,147; that the fact of his majority at the late election being little over 200 was due to the gross mis-statement and misrepresentation made by him (Mr. Tupper) during the election. That statement was, however, omitted from the report of the *Globe*, because the hon. the Minister made another statement, that he trusted the hon. member for Cumberland would visit his constituency again, because, in the district which he visited, he (Mr. Jones) obtained an increased majority of ten. It would not answer the purposes of the *Globe* to publish both statements. He merely drew the attention of the House to those facts to show that the report in the *Globe* was a revised and even garbled report, in which important statements were omitted. The *Ottawa Free Press* of Feb. 13th, said:

"When he (Mr. Jones) made reference to the majority of last year, he had said then, and

he said now, that if it had not been for the grossest misrepresentations, if it had not been for the promises the hon. gentleman held out, his majority would have been nearly as large as at the previous election."

In spite of the declaration of the hon. gentleman that the county of Halifax would return a Reform member by a majority of upwards of 2,000, the hon. the Minister had only obtained a majority of a little over 200 at the last election, and yet he ventured to deny that the tide of public opinion was setting strongly against the Government. The hon. gentleman had failed to show that the slightest misrepresentation had been made by him (Mr. Tupper) during that election; he dealt with the questions of the day, and with the position of the hon. gentleman. The hon. the Minister had invited him to visit his constituency at the next election. He accepted the invitation in advance, and, if his life and health were spared, he would visit the constituency; and, if his efforts on the last occasion had been sufficient to reduce the hon. gentleman's majority nearly two thousand votes, the Conservative party might rely on the balance being turned when he had an opportunity to discuss political questions at greater length than on the last occasion. Another matter to which he wished to call the attention of the House was the gross attack made on the Chief Justice of the Province of Nova Scotia, which had also been judiciously suppressed in the *Globe*. In regard to the defence of the Civil Service made by the hon. gentleman, he maintained that it was absolutely necessary, after what had transpired in respect of the payment of enormous sums of public money, in violation of the statute law of the land, by the Government to various parties, including members of the Government and members of Parliament, that a stricter system of auditing the Public Accounts should be established. The House would be satisfied that such scandals had never before existed as those it had been called upon to deal with in relation to the payment of public moneys in violation of the law.

Mr. MILLS: Secret Service money, for instance.

Mr. TUPPER said the hon. member ought to know that Secret Service money was not audited, and did not come under that head. The sum of \$69,000 was paid over to railway companies during the last general election, having been taken out of the Treasury in violation of the law. That was followed up by the illegal payment of \$24,000 to two members of the Government and their friends for services for which it was incompetent for them to receive payment, and, when one of those hon. gentlemen resigned his seat and was then indignantly rejected by his constituents, the Government took into the Cabinet that hon. member's partner, who had been equally guilty in those transactions. Hon. members of the Government had better settle those questions among themselves, for the House was satisfied that under those circumstances a change in the system of auditing could not be made at too early a date. The hon. the Minister of Militia, who had made a defence of the Civil Service, no doubt felt greatly for that service when he had illegally obtained \$26,000 from the public Treasury in company with his partners, the benefit of which he had now in his pocket. The hon. gentleman had stated that he had made no money out of the transaction, and had been called upon to pay \$2,000 as his share of the loss incurred in the *Citizen*. That being accepted as true, and he would not question that such was the case, it would be interesting to know what increased sum he would have had to pay if he had not been enabled to draw such enormous sums out of the Treasury of the country for the benefit of that company. The amount would probably not have been less than \$10,000 except for the moneys received from the Local Legislature of Nova Scotia and the Dominion Government. Such was the qualification the present Government required, to cause them to place a gentleman in a high office and hold him up to the country as one who would maintain its standard of public morality and purity in public transactions. The hon. gentleman had said that he (Mr. Tupper) should be the last man to charge any one with corruption. Why? He had been in public life nearly 24 years, during

which time not a dollar of public money had come into his possession by any improper means; and, if such could be proved against him, he pledged himself to resign his seat in Parliament and retire from public life forever. The hon. member for South Waterloo (Mr. Young) deprecated the introduction of stale, exploded charges into the debate; but what would he say, when a Minister of the Crown who was charged in an open and straightforward manner, and on broad public grounds, with having improperly and illegally obtained public moneys, had revived the stale Pietou Railway story, which originated in 1865, was subjected to a close examination in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, and settled. The hon. member had read Mr. Archibald's speech as evidence against him (Mr. Tupper) of corruption. He would like to know whether the hon. the First Minister, ten years hence, would be willing to accept the speeches delivered by the Opposition at the present time, as sufficient evidence of corruption? And yet that was the only evidence which the hon. the Minister of Militia possessed in support of those old, stale, exploded railway slanders. Not only so, but he had the handwriting of Mr. Archibald, the Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, before him, stating that he never implied that he (Mr. Tupper) had been guilty of corruption, or thought of making any such charge. The hon. gentleman had said that out of that railway contract some one had suddenly risen from a state of pauperism to that of a full-blown millionaire. If that was intended to refer to him, it did not apply. At whom, then, was the blow aimed? It was aimed at Mr. Fleming, who, no doubt, made money out of the contract, but made it fairly and legitimately.

MR. JONES: He was not the only one.

MR. TUPPER said the hon. gentleman knew that the term used had no more application to him than to himself (Mr. Jones). He had never been in a position to be open to any such insinuation, and he could establish, by just as good evidence, that the hon. the Minister of Militia had grown rich by

robbing his commercial partner, as that hon. gentleman could show that he (Mr. Tupper) had made money out of any improper transactions, or by improper means. Yet he had dared, in the presence of the House, to bring forward such a charge, which was not only without a shadow of foundation, but which, if it reflected on any one, reflected on one of the highest, most respectable, and most respected officials to be found in the public service of Canada. That hon. gentleman knew that the contract with Mr. Fleming was drawn by the Hon. W. A. Henry, since appointed to the Supreme Court by the Government of which he was now a member, and that by the concurrence of himself and his party. Yet that hon. gentleman, who was his colleague in the Nova Scotia Government, who had drawn the contract and had defended it on the floor of the Legislature as one eminently in the public interest, without any evidence except the criticism which the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Archibald, considered it was his duty to make, was thus assailed by the Minister of Militia. That was the only evidence the hon. gentleman was able to offer to the House. Why was it that a Minister of the Crown should demean himself by bringing forward an old story, an exploded charge, which was without a shadow of foundation? It was because the hon. gentleman, when attacked, not on private but on broad public grounds, as every independent member had a right to attack any hon. gentleman in the position occupied by the Minister of Militia, had no defence to offer in justification of his position, and was obliged to occupy the time of the House—as he had that of his constituents—by dealing with old questions. He brought the Pietou Railway question up in 1872, over his own signature, and he received his reply. The result was that, instead of being returned to Parliament, he was left at home and the man whom he had assailed was sustained by two members elected for the county of Halifax, and every representative of the Province, with one exception. That ought to have taught him a lesson. In regard to the Spring Hill Mines, he had already explained to the House that

the Order in Council was passed while he was absent from the country, and the best evidence that it was a proper transaction was that the succeeding Government placed it in the Statute-book. He was 3,000 miles away when Mr. Black, one of the leading merchants in Halifax, went to the office of the mines with the *Royal Gazette*, and made application for that mining claim. The hon. the Minister of Militia was well aware that this question was made the subject of an exhaustive examination, promoted by his enemies in the Legislature of Nova Scotia. They were unable to produce a tittle of evidence to injure him (Mr. Tupper), because none existed. As he had said before, he had been 3,000 miles away when the application was made by Mr. Black, who, it was said, did not appear when summoned before a committee of the House. He did not know anything about that, whether it was the case or not, but he had Mr. Black's evidence; and he did not think that the Minister of Militia, or any hon. gentleman, would venture to say that Charles H. M. Black was not a gentleman of as high social, commercial and personal standing in the city of Halifax as himself (Mr. Jones). Mr. Black was a member of one of the oldest and most respectable families of Halifax, and a merchant of the highest standing and character, and of great wealth, as were all the family. He was worth, at that time, he supposed, £100,000; and yet this leading merchant was branded as a conspirator by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones). The other night, and as having lent himself to a base and improper intrigue. He held Mr. Black's testimony in his hand, and the hon. gentleman knew that, wherever he (Mr. Jones) and Mr. Black were known, Mr. Black's character for veracity was not inferior to his own, and that his word went as far as that of the hon. gentleman, who would not undertake to say that this was not the case. Mr. Black said:

"Halifax, 19th December, 1871,
"HONOURABLE CHARLES TUPPER, C. B.,
Ottawa:—

"MY DEAR SIR, — After the repeated attacks upon you by a portion of the city press, touching the Spring Hill Mine, I have

thought it but right that I should state the fact that I had no communication with you respecting licenses to search for coal at Spring Hill or elsewhere, previous to the application made by me in June, 1865, and that I received no intimation from you that an Order in Council had passed authorizing the granting of second rights to search.

"In June, 1868, when you were in England, it was thought by the friends interested with me that you could be of essential service to us in bringing the mine to the notice of English capitalists, and I accordingly executed a Power of Attorney, authorizing you to sell the mining rights I had acquired, which was duly transmitted to you; and in 1869 it was determined to convey to you one undivided fifth of three square miles, of which I held leases from Mr. Annand's Government.

"You are aware this explanation was at your service last summer, and you can now make what use of it you please.

"Regretting you should have been the subject of so much unmerited abuse,

"I remain, yours very truly,

(Signed) "C. H. M. BLACK."

It was thus proved that his offer to sell the mine under a Power of Attorney was eleven months after he had ceased to be a member of the Government of Nova Scotia, when he was just as free to speculate in mining as was the hon. the Minister of Militia. There was testimony of the very highest character. The other points raised were met by the affidavit of the Clerk of the Executive Council and wholly disproved. The verdict of the whole Province was taken after a year of the most exhaustive examination by these gentlemen upon it, and this verdict was as he had previously stated. The hon. gentleman said he (Mr. Tupper) had made a very large sum of money out of this transaction, and that he had not spent a cent upon it. Where did the hon. gentleman get his authority for that statement? It was not true. He, with other gentlemen, had expended a large amount of money to explore, develop, and open the mine, which was a valuable one. It had been stocked, if he remembered right, with something like \$300,000, and he was happy to say that the parties who purchased the stock had had the pleasure of dividing a seven per cent. dividend on the past year a month ago. As he said before, if ever there was an old and stale slander, it was this transaction of 1865, concerning which, for six years after it took place, neither in the Legislature

of Nova Scotia nor anywhere else, was any person found to say a word. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) had not thought it beneath him, or rather he thought that the hon. gentleman did think it beneath him, to bring this charge; but so hard was the hon. gentlemen pressed that he (Mr. Jones) had nothing else to do, and had no reasons for assailing him the other night on public grounds, except to fall back upon that old and stale slander as a means of vindication. The hon. gentleman said that another charge of his was that he (Mr. Jones) had formerly acted with the Conservative party. He had mentioned to the House that the only qualification, saving the ability the hon. gentleman had shown in getting public money out of the Treasury contrary to law, the hon. gentleman possessed for sitting in the Reform Government, was the fact that, when the great question of the Union of these Provinces was taken up, the hon. gentleman had deserted him (Mr. Tupper) and gone into the ranks of the Anti-Unionists, and had shown the most bitter and undying hostility to that measure. This was the hon. gentleman's sole qualification for sitting alongside of the hon. member for Lambton, whose great claim upon the people of this country existed in the fact that he (Mr. Mackenzie) had taken part in bringing about the Union of these Provinces. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) said this measure had been improperly carried; that it ought to have been abandoned, and that no man should have been sustained who had carried that measure in the way he (Mr. Tupper) did. He was glad to be able to say that the hon. gentleman considered this a minor point too, because this did not prevent the hon. gentleman sitting alongside of the hon. member for Lambton, the Prime Minister, who stood in precisely the same position as himself (Mr. Tupper). Those who took the trouble to read the Confederation Debates which took place at Quebec would find that, when exactly such a resolution was proposed as the hon. the Minister of Militia maintained ought to have been carried, to send this question of Union to the polls, the Hon. George Brown came to the front, and, in a

most able and vigorous manner, showed the utter unconstitutionality of the whole proposition. When his hon. friend the member for Chateauguay (Mr. Holton) was fighting for just such a resolution, the Hon. George Brown took up the cudgels and stated that to pass a measure to be submitted to the people would have been a simple insult to the Crown; and who sustained the Hon. George Brown in that position? Why the hon. member for Lambton, and they had the names on the Journals of the Parliament of Canada of those who voted down the resolution for which the hon. the Minister of Militia said he (Mr. Jones) was justified in deserting him (Mr. Tupper), and that this was an act which ought to have driven him (Mr. Tupper) out of public life and kept him out of it for ever. He supposed the hon. gentleman had also discovered that this was a minor point and that, when a portfolio was offered him, this was no reason why he should not sit down under the wing of the hon. member for Lambton, enjoying the sweets of office. No act in the public life of the hon. member for Lambton reflected more credit on him (Mr. Mackenzie), in his judgment, than the stand which he took on that occasion. On constitutional grounds both the hon. the Premier and the Hon. George Brown were not only justified, but they were more than justified, in resisting the invasion then attempted on British institutions, one which formed no part of our Constitution, and which could not be carried out except at very great inconvenience; and, in fact, he knew of no mode by which the public sentiment could have been expressed on that question. He was proud to say that that great organ of public opinion, the *Globe*, on that occasion, and, subsequently, when he was fighting this battle, did not do as did the hon. the Minister of the Interior, and the hon. the Minister of Militia now—treat this as a ground why he (Mr. Tupper) was undeserving of public confidence. The *Globe* had also done him the great honour of reproducing the argument he had made in England, and had called the attention of the people of Canada to the fact that the evidence and constitutional authorities

he had cited must for ever settle the question as to whether right, proper, and constitutional proceedings had been adopted in connection with Confederation. He had heard the hon. member for Lambton say that the people of Ontario were united on this subject, but he (Mr. Tupper) had had no means of knowing that the hostility of the people of Nova Scotia was as great as it really was to that measure.

MR. MILLS: Did not a majority petition against it?

MR. TUPPER said he would tell the hon. the Minister of the Interior a little anecdote. When Mr. Howe went to England, a gentleman who had been named that evening in the House and who had formerly been Governor of Nova Scotia, was applied to by Mr. Howe with relation to that question. Mr. Howe said to him: "Here are the petitions." "Well," he answered, "I suppose you have not forgotten when I was Governor of Nova Scotia, and when Mr. Tupper came to me with petitions from the majority of the electors of the Province, asking for a dissolution, you told me there was nothing easier than to get up petitions by the hundred and thousand, without much reference to what they contained?" He wanted to draw the attention of the Minister of the Interior to this point, and it was an important one, whether he (Mr. Tupper), with two-thirds of the House of Assembly, elected under universal suffrage, and two-thirds of the Legislative Council at his back, had not as much right to assume that the public sentiment of the Province was not so inimical to that measure, as Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie had to assume that the great Province of Quebec, where they had a very small majority, if any at all, supporting it, was in favour of that measure. The evidences of the hostility to that measure of Union were greater the hour it was carried in Canada, as far as the great Province of Quebec was concerned, than they were in the Province of Nova Scotia. The speech which the hon. member for Hants (Mr. Goudge) had made a few moments previously had brought to his mind a rather peculiar circumstance which he might mention to the House. That

hon. gentleman seemed to think a great crime had been committed in carrying Union in the way it was carried; but it was wonderful how many little reminiscences would crop up. When the constitutionality of his course was challenged, he thought he would take the best means to place the matter before the public. He was then invited to deliver an address at the town of Windsor, the shire town of that hon. gentleman's county. He went up and called the people together, to hear him deliver an address upon this question of Union, and the propriety of passing it without submitting it to the people at the polls.

AN HON. MEMBER: How long ago?

MR. TUPPER said perhaps a year before; but he would not be positive about the date. At all events, when the subject was being agitated after the Quebec Conference, after the matter was arranged and the whole thing was published to the country, and he was told it was purely and simply in question whether he was bound to refer it to the people at the polls, he had argued the matter in the course of a rather long address before the assembled electors of the shire town of the county of Hants.

MR. JONES: Was that before the election or after?

MR. TUPPER said it was before. He argued the whole question at length, and he had great pleasure in acknowledging his thanks to the hon. member for Hants (Mr. Goudge), for having been good enough to give him valuable suggestions in reference to what it was best to say to the people in the first instance, and for having, when the meeting was over—

MR. GOUDGE: Let me make an explanation.

MR. TUPPER said the hon. gentleman had better first hear what he had to say, before he made any explanation. It was not to be forgotten that, at the Quebec Conference, they had present four members of the great Reform party of Canada, if he remembered aright, at the Council Board, and every man agreed that it was not only right, but proper, and also their duty, to carry that Act by the existing legislatures.

When he had concluded his address at Windsor, showing why this question should not be referred to the people and why it was strictly right and constitutional for the Legislature to deal with it, the hon. member for Hants moved a vote of thanks, and he believed it passed unanimously. This was the means he had of learning how very hostile the people of Nova Scotia were to that measure. The hon. member for Hants was unmindful of the wise and judicious suggestions of the hon. member for South Waterloo, which commended themselves to the mind of every hon. gentleman in the House, that nothing could more degrade this Legislature than the bringing up of old, stale, and exhausted charges, which had ceased to have any active or operating influence on the public mind. The hon. gentleman could not have heard that statement of the hon. member for South Waterloo, or he would not have read old editorials from the *British Colonist* newspaper, written fifteen years ago, with relation to that or any other subject; but he had read there some strong language which was used in reference to the course Lord Mulgrave had pursued when Governor of Nova Scotia. He must remind the hon. member for Hants that at the time he was using a two-edged sword, for every blow that he struck him (Mr. Tupper) cut the Minister of Militia too. Down to the time that Judge Johnston retired from public life, and long after, he (Mr. Jones) was a staunch Conservative fighting the battle with Judge Johnston and himself; and he was bound to say he (Mr. Tupper) did not now forget the hearty, enthusiastic and vigorous support which that hon. gentleman had given them against the old Reform party of Nova Scotia. Judge Johnston, at the very time that language was used, was leading the party, and Judge Johnston and himself were acting together with the hearty support of the hon. member for Halifax.

MR. JONES: No.

MR. TUPPER: No? Would the hon. gentleman give him a tittle of evidence to show that he (Mr. Jones) ever entertained the slightest difference of opinion with them? None such

existed, and the hon. gentleman knew perfectly well that he took strong ground with Judge Johnston, the then leader of the Opposition, and himself, with relation to the Legislature of Nova Scotia. They had declined Lord Mulgrave's invitation to go, as members of the House of Assembly, to the dockyard to receive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but they went there, and were among the first—Judge Johnston and himself—to be presented to and to greet His Royal Highness. They were presented by Lord Mulgrave when His Royal Highness first landed from the flag-ship at the dockyard at Halifax. And not only so, but they had attended the levee given at Government House, and were presented to His Royal Highness again by Lord Mulgrave. They had dined at Lord Mulgrave's table with His Royal Highness, and he had the honour of escorting His Royal Highness to the point where he left the Province, and yet these hon. gentlemen endeavoured to make capital out of that old, worn-out slander by reviving and bringing it up here on the present occasion. The hon. gentleman was made to say in the *Globe*, with the astuteness of the person who revised the speech for him, or through his own correction, when he found that what he had said could not be sustained:

"After referring to Dr. Tupper's misrepresentations with regard to the winter port, the speaker said that the hon. gentleman knew his statement would be looked upon with suspicion."

This was not what the hon. gentleman had said at all. It was very convenient to leave out what the hon. gentleman had said, and why? Because the statement which the hon. gentleman had made, with reference to the winter port of Halifax, was utterly at variance with the facts, as he would show. But this was not the case with the *Free Press*, which had not the advantage of having this part specially revised by the hon. the Minister of Militia, or some other kind hand, and what did it say? It contained what was omitted from the *Globe's* report, which was this:—

"With regard to the winter port question he said, that the hon. gentleman had not

paid as much attention to the affairs of Halifax as he had of late. If he had read the discussion going on in Halifax for the last two years, he must have known that the question of the winter port had been settled long ago."

The hon. gentleman had said that the winter port question was settled long ago; and then he had qualified this a little by saying, did not the hon. gentleman know that the question of the winter port had been settled for the last two months. Enormous use had been made of this question in the late election; and the hon. gentleman would not now be in this House, if it had not been for that issue, otherwise—notwithstanding that other means were used to bring the hon. gentleman here—he was satisfied that the hon. gentleman would have been defeated. When he had made that statement he had been answered by the declaration that this matter had been settled two years ago, and then that it had been settled two months ago. It was said that Mr. Black had returned to Halifax after having had a perfectly satisfactory interview with the First Minister. Now he would like to draw the attention of the House to what had taken place in connection with this matter. When the matter came up for discussion, the merchants of Halifax, irrespective of party, had met and appointed Mr. Black to come up and see Mr. Brydges, the Prime Minister, and other parties, and ascertain whether such arrangements could be made as to cause Halifax to become the winter freight port. Sir Hugh Allan had attended a public meeting at Halifax, where he stated that if the Government would carry grain for 1s. 3d. per quarter from Rivière du Loup to Halifax, he would give the same rate from Chicago to Liverpool, that he gave *via* Portland, so that the whole question lay in the decision of the Government on this point; and every man able to examine this vital question at all, knew that the issue all hung on the decision of the Government. The merchants named a gentleman to visit the Government and the railway manager and ascertain what were the best terms that could be obtained. They came to Mr. Brydges, and he said it was quite a mistake; they could not carry grain for that figure; Mr. Jones had misun-

derstood him; he (Mr. Brydges) had never said they would do it for 1s. 3d. per quarter; and if he had said so, this would only apply to Canadian produce, and nothing from the United States could be taken at that rate. Then Mr. Black came up with Sir Hugh Allan and had an interview with the hon. the First Minister. What the result was, they might judge when he told the House that both left the hon. the First Minister utterly disappointed. But Mr. Vail was on hand and he learned how the matter stood. He (Mr. Vail) spoke to the hon. the Premier and went back with a message informing Mr. Black that Mr. Mackenzie would like to see him again. Mr. Black then found the hon. the Premier much more practicable, and quite a different man. Mr. Black obtained from the hon. gentleman, (Mr. Mackenzie) a letter which he would read, to show whether this question of a winter freight port was settled two years ago or two months ago. It was not settled the day the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) was declared elected as member for the county of Halifax. This letter was as follows:—

"OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS,
CANADA,

"OTTAWA, 13th December, 1877.

"DEAR SIR,—Referring to your conversations with me, respecting the possibility of carrying grain over the Intercolonial Railway from Rivière du Loup to Halifax, I desire to inform you that the Government have considered the representations made by you on behalf of the Halifax merchants, and will give instructions to the General Superintendent of Government Railways on the subject. I need hardly say that the Government are extremely anxious to do everything to encourage any legitimate business that can be done by the railway. I think it is quite clear, from the data at present available, that the prices you suggested, namely, 1s. 3d. sterling per quarter, or about 3½c. per bushel, over 561 miles of railway, cannot pay running expenses. But directions will be given to afford the necessary facilities for taking any two cargoes at that rate, after which, both the Halifax merchants and ourselves will be in a position to discuss the matter with realized facts before us.

"Yours faithfully,

"(Signed)

"A. MACKENZIE.

"Geo. P. Black, Esq."

Mr. MILLS: Is that on the question of the winter port?

(Mr. Brydges) would do it for and if he had said apply to Canadian from the United on at that rate. ze up with Sir an interview with nder. What the t judge when he both left the hon. ly disappointed. a hand and he ter stood. He the hon. the with a message at Mr. Macken- in again. Mr. on, the Premier and quite a dif- obtained from a. Mackenzie) a road, to show of a winter two years ago was not settled n (Mr. Jones) umber for the letter was as

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MR. TUPPER: Yes. If the hon. gentleman would read the *Morning Chronicle* of Halifax, he would see that nothing was discussed more during the election than this question. This was the principal question which entered into the contest as far as any claims on the part of the Government were concerned. The great argument was this: Vote for Mr. Jones, because the Government is at this moment considering whether the question of the winter port of Canada will be decided against you, for if he is rejected you have no chance whatever of obtaining it. Did any man mean to tell him that the First Minister, with the assistance of Mr. Brydges, one of the ablest men to be found in this or any other country, as far as railway traffic was concerned, and also perhaps better able to tell what grain could be carried for per quarter over 561 miles of railway than any man to be found on this continent, could not have decided this question as well then as now or at any other time? But what did the hon. the First Minister do? He held it over as his trump card which he would not play until he could win the game; and instead of settling the matter then and saying: "I cannot do it; it is impossible; the country cannot afford it"; or instead of saying, what he trusted the hon. gentleman would say, and what he thought the hon. gentleman ought to say: "It is of such vital importance to build up a great Canadian port on Canadian soil with Canadian traffic, that we will do it at this rate; we have got a great public work, and we may as well utilize it"—instead of settling the matter one way or the other, for which he then had just as perfect means as now, he said in effect: "I will carry two cargoes,—that will last over the Halifax election—and then let you know."

MR. MACKENZIE: Will the hon. gentleman allow me to say a word? Mr. Black asked me to take two cargoes just in that way. This was his own proposition—not mine.

MR. TUPPER said he was quite certain that Mr. Black, who was selected by men of all parties and classes in Halifax to see about this matter, would never

have asked that if he could have got any more. It was perfectly obvious that the matter hung undecided, and, if Mr. Black asked that, it was because it was all he could obtain. And, if this was not using the power of the Crown in the very worst way in order to carry an election, it was difficult to see how this power could be more abused. This question was used actively in the canvass on behalf of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones), the Ministerial candidate; and on his election was made to depend the favourable decision of the Government in the matter. Never had there been, in his judgment, a more scandalous abuse of the power of the Crown; nor could this power be used in a worse manner than had been the case in connection with this election.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

MR. TUPPER said hon. gentlemen might say "hear, hear," but this conferred an enormous advantage on the Ministerial candidate. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) said Mr. Black came back from Ottawa perfectly satisfied, and so reported to the Board; but he would tell the House what was done. Mr. Black returned and made a report as friendly and favourable as he could; and what was the result? Why, the hon. gentleman, then the Ministerial candidate, induced him (Mr. Black) to hold over the report until the hon. the First Minister could be applied to, in order to obtain something more favourable to settle the election. But he would read what was added to his report afterwards, and they would see what was going on. The hon. gentleman was proving to his constituents the value of having a friend at court. This was held over for two or three days until the hon. the Prime Minister could be again approached, and an arrangement made that would secure the Halifax election:—

"SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

"I beg leave to render the following Supplementary Report:—

"That now, as, since my return, your Committee has agreed to raise the funds to pay for the balance of expense of bagging grain; and as a late telegram to me from Mr. Mackenzie has withdrawn all restrictions

that at first encountered these two experimental trips, and as the necessary cars for said trips will be furnished, thus meeting all the barriers that at one time opposed our enterprise, I have the pleasure of congratulating you on the successful result of your endeavours in making this start, which, I trust, will eventuate in Halifax becoming permanently the Liverpool of the Dominion.

"Jan. 15, 1878."

"George P. Black.

Now, what did that prove? It proved that there was not enough in the letter to secure the election, and so the telegraph must be set to work between the candidate and the Prime Minister, in order to get a further concession; and the Prime Minister telegraphed further concessions in order to accomplish this transaction. Yet, this hon. gentleman, with this state of facts standing out here on the page of the history of this country,—this state of admitted facts, proved beyond controversy, by the most undoubted and indisputable testimony,—stood up on the floor of this House and made that statement—that misstatement—that the question was settled long previously, and had nothing to do with this contest. He thought he had disposed of that issue on a question of fact with the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman joined issue with him on another question of fact. He stated that one of the monstrous misstatements that he (Mr. Tupper) had made, one of the things that had reduced his majority nearly two thousand—for that was the assertion—was that the present Government, and not the late Government, had removed the workshops from Richmond. The town was placarded all over, "Vote against Dr. Tupper, who took away the workshops from Richmond." That was one of the trump cards of the hon. gentleman in carrying his election. He stated in the most persistent manner on the platform and in the press, morning, noon and night, that Mr. Tupper and the late Government had removed the workshops from Richmond. He said that he (Mr. Tupper) had promised that, if they would defeat him (Mr. Jones), he would take them back. Now, neither the one statement nor the other was correct; the hon. gentleman was mistaken in both these statements. He said that he (Mr. Tupper) had made the misstatement

that the late Government had not removed the workshops from Richmond. Now, he would prove that they did not remove the workshops from Richmond. The hon. gentleman, in a speech in the Temperance Hall, when he (Mr. Tupper) was a hundred miles away, called upon the electors of Halifax to elect him (Mr. Jones)—the hon. gentleman had nothing to show as a reason why he should continue to represent them, but he called upon them to elect him because he (Mr. Tupper) had taken away the workshops from Richmond. He (Mr. Tupper) therefore felt bound to deal with the question, and when, in a meeting, the question was asked by one of the hon. gentleman's deluded followers: "Why did you remove the workshops from Richmond?" he said, "I cannot answer the question." "Why not?" "Because I never did remove them: because the late Government did not remove them; because the present Government removed them."

MR. GOUDGE: Who built the workshops at Moncton?

MR. TUPPER said the workshops at Moncton were an entirely different question. If hon. gentlemen would possess their souls in patience for a few minutes, he would convince them of that fact. His statement was this: he said that Sir George Cartier named Mr. Brydges as one of four Railroad Commissioners charged with the construction of the Intercolonial Railway between Truro and Rivière du Loup. He said that Mr. Brydges, no doubt, from the great knowledge of the subject and the influence that he possessed with his colleagues, satisfied them that they should have a central station from which the Intercolonial road should be operated at Moncton. He (Mr. Tupper) had not acquaintance with this subject enough to controvert any such proposition as that; and the selection of Moncton was made before he was a member of the Government at all. The site was fixed, the place was arranged, and that policy was decided before he ever entered the Government; and the best evidence of that was that, during the past season, the inhabitants of Moncton presented Mr. Brydges with an address in which they thanked him for

having fixed on Moncton as the great central point of the Intercolonial Railway; and Mr. Brydges, instead of saying "You do me too great honour," took the compliment most kindly, and admitted that it was his arrangement, and that he had been able to do it for them. That settled the point of how that care to be chosen as the central station. When Mr. Carvell, who was manager of railways in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, told him (Mr. Tupper) that he had instructions from Mr. Brydges to take the measurement of the machinery at Halifax, in the workshops, he (Mr. Tupper) told him not to measure a machine at his peril. He said the law confined the Intercolonial Commissioners to the line from Rivière du Loup to Truro; they could do nothing but between these two points without the approval of the Government; they could not put a foot outside of that district, and the policy of the Government was to maintain the repairing shops at Richmond in the future as then, and not a particle of machinery should be taken out of these shops, nor should the work be taken away from them. He would put it to the gentlemen in this House who knew something about railway management whether it was a wise policy or an unwise one that, in a railway of 600 miles in length, the workshops and repairing shops were to be found in one point. He maintained in the interest of the country that the true policy was to maintain repairing shops at Richmond, because it was to be a great terminal station of a great Dominion line of railway; and instead of taking all the machines and all the locomotives that were required for repairs, and the working of 250 miles of railways in Nova Scotia away over the whole of this road to Moncton, the true policy, and the most economical policy, in the interest of the country—while, of course, they required repairing shops at Moncton, for 100 miles of railway from St. John on one side to Shediac on the other, and for the line to Rivière du Loup—was to maintain the workshops at Halifax for the purpose of dealing with the work that required to be done for the lines in Nova Scotia. That was the statement he made; what he did was this—he

did not say that, if the hon. gentleman was defeated, they would be brought back; he said the same Government that maintained the policy of of keeping the workshops at Richmond would soon be in power again, and when they were in power, the policy they had in the past would be the policy of the present, and the workshops would go back to Richmond. He made no reference to whether the hon. gentleman was elected or whether he was defeated; he stated it as a question of public policy, and stated it in reply to the groundless accusations that had been made that the late Government had been the parties who carried away the shops from Richmond. Now, he would give them evidence that would satisfy the House, and the most credulous member of it,—even the hon. member for North York (Mr. Dymond,) who could not wait with patience for the explanation—he would undertake to satisfy that hon. gentleman himself, that the statement he made was strictly correct, and that the statement of the hon. the Minister of Militia had not a jot or tittle of foundation in fact. He would read a letter written by W. Johnson, who was locomotive superintendent and machinist at Richmond, while the late Government were in power, and was as able a man in that department as could be found in the country. He would not read Mr. Taylor's letter, although it was confirmatory of the same thing, as his friend the hon. member for Charlevoix (Mr. Langevin) knew; he would read, as it was shorter, Mr. Johnson's testimony upon the point:—

“Toronto, Jan. 22nd, 1878.

“HON. DR. TUPPER,—

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your telegram of this date to Mr. G. Taylor, a copy of which was handed to me to read, referring to the removal of machinery and tools from the workshops at Richmond, Halifax, to Moncton. There was no machinery, nor tools, nor any men removed from the workshops while the Sir John A. Macdonald Government was in power in 1873. Nor would there ever have been any, but would have been increased. As a proof of this, the car sheds had been altered and fitted up to receive machinery for working wood, for the purpose of building and repairing cars for the operating the Eastern division of a section of the Intercolonial Railway in Nova

Scotia—250 miles. The machinery in the workshops was sufficient for locomotives' repairs, to operate 250 miles, and I had positive orders from headquarters to allow no machinery or tools to be removed. The pay sheets will prove those facts.

"Yours,

"W. JOHNSTON.

"Late Master Machinist, I.C.R."

He asked the hon. the Minister of Militia if that should not be satisfactory to any member of the House. There was the locomotive superintendent's declaration that nothing was removed. He would give the hon. gentleman further information. The Hon. Mr. McLellan was one of the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway; he was the Commissioner representing Nova Scotia. He addressed a letter, over his own signature, to the public papers which he (Mr. Tupper) held in his hand. In this letter, which was dated the 24th of January, 1878, Mr. McLellan said:

"I have only to add, in justice to Dr. Tupper, that when a member of the Government, he repeatedly said to me, as Commissioner of the Intercolonial, that the Richmond workshops should not be removed; that, situated at a terminal point, he believed they should be enlarged, not only in the interests of the road, to meet the growing traffic, but that Nova Scotia might have her fair share of the work.

"I am yours, very truly,

"A. W. McLELLAN."

So much for the testimony of Mr. McLellan. If that was not sufficient, he had testimony that he thought would set the matter at rest at once and for ever. The late Government went out of power in November, 1873, and one of the first acts that the hon. the Minister of Public Works did was to commission Mr. Brydges to examine the Intercolonial Railway and report upon its whole condition. He (Mr. Tupper) held the report of Mr. Brydges in his hand, laid upon the table of the House by the Minister of Public Works. What did he tell them? That the workshops had been removed to Moncton? No; he spent two pages of the report in trying to convince the Prime Minister that they ought to be removed. This report was dated the 20th of June, 1874—a long period after the late Government had gone out of power; and he would

quote briefly from page 45 of this document, which was mainly taken up with an elaborate argument to prove to the Minister of Public Works why he should take the workshops away from Richmond and move them to Moncton. He thought that would satisfy his incredulous friend, who began to droop a little already.

Mr. DYMOND: I am getting sleepy.

Mr. TUPPER proceeded to read from the report of Mr. Brydges. That gentleman, on page 45, used these words:

"There is no necessity of having repair shops at more than one place."

And on page 26:

"The existing repair shop at Richmond, according to my judgment, is unnecessary, and is causing a useless expenditure of money."

He also said:

"The depot at Richmond, in which the repair shop is situated, is of exceedingly small dimensions, and owing to the nature of the ground, consisting of hard rock, it cannot be increased, even at a very extravagant outlay indeed."

On the rate of wages, he said:

"I have gone carefully over the pay sheets at Richmond and at Moncton, and I find that the rate of wages for mechanics actually paid at Moncton is decidedly lower than at Richmond, and the foreman at Richmond told me that his men were complaining and threatening not to remain unless their wages was increased."

He then gave the prices as tendered for material, and said:

"On the whole, therefore, I have no doubt that the cost of working, both as regards the price of the material supplied and the labour employed in working it up, is cheaper at Moncton than at Halifax."

On the same page (47), he said:

"The mechanical superintendent, Mr. Whitney, although at the head of the entire department, has apparently very little, if any, control over what is going on at Richmond and other places. There are practically two superintendents at work."

He trusted that that was a sufficient answer to the hon. member for Hants (Mr. Goudge) who wanted to know why they built the workshops at Moncton. Mr. Brydges told them they were intended for the purpose of repairing machinery on the road to Newcastle

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that would be satisfactory.

An Hon. MEMBER: What is the
date of that?

Mr. TUPPER said the date was the
20th of June, 1874. The late Govern-
ment went out in November, 1873.
The hon. gentleman could put two and
two together. Mr. Brydges said
further:

"The existing repair shop at Richmond,
according to my judgment, is unnecessary,
and is causing a useless expenditure of
money."

He wanted to know, if the late Govern-
ment had removed these workshops,
how they could be causing an unneces-
sary expenditure of money seven
months after they went out of power.
After sending in this report to the
Minister of Public Works, and this
urgent appeal to remove the repairing
shops from Richmond to Moncton, the
hon. the First Minister gave him his
instructions, and ordered him to remove
them; and in a supplementary report,
dated the 18th day of August, 1874,
Mr. Brydges said:—

"I will now proceed to state the course
which I pursued in carrying out your in-
structions:—

"The following resignations have been
sent in, viz., Wm. McCann, paymaster,
whose health has been bad for some time,
and who has consequently been anxious to
be relieved of his duties. Mr. George Taylor,
the late Assistant Superintendent and Freight
Agent, whose office has been abolished.

"The following dismissals have taken
place in pursuance of your instructions:—

- "Mr. Ryan, Cashier.
- "Mr. Sadler, General Storekeeper.
- "Mr. Clark, Storekeeper, Richmond.
- "Mr. Gray, Assistant Engineer.
- "Mr. St. George.
- "Mr. Wm. Johnstone, Mechanical Super-
intendent at Richmond.
- "Mr. Blanchard, Fuel Agent.
- "Mr. Foster, Station Master, Point du
Chêne.
- "Mr. Foot, Ticket Agent, Richmond.
- "Mr. Faulkner, Trackmaster, Truro."

He trusted that that satisfied the
House, that the statement he made in
Halifax, that he had never removed
the workshops, and the late Govern-
ment never removed them,—that,
when they went out of power these
shops were in full blast, and doing
more work than had ever been done
before,—was correct. He now came

to the last and most important question
of all, the issue on the question of flut
in relation to the flag, and he thought
he would be able to give the House
quite as conclusive evidence upon that
point as he had given upon the others.

An Hon. MEMBER: It is not old.

Mr. TUPPER: The hon. gentleman
must have forgotten that, although
General Doyle's letter had been in his
possession since 1871, he had never
used it, because it was of no conse-
quence to him, and it was of no conse-
quence to the country, what opinions the
hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Jones)
held. General Sir Hastings Doyle
sent it to him, not as a private letter,
but he sent it to him for the purpose
of informing his friends at Ottawa,
that it might be known. He sent it
to him two years after the transaction
had happened, because he felt it to be
necessary, when the hon. gentleman
was coming here, that it should be
known. He (Mr. Tupper) differed
from General Doyle; he did not think
it necessary that it should be known;
he was ashamed that it should be
known that any man in Nova Scotia
had uttered such opinions. But when
the militia of this country was handed
over to a gentleman who had declared
that he would take off his hat and
cheer when the flag was pulled down on
Citadel Hill; to a gentleman who, ac-
cording to his own explanation, and
the explanation of the ambassador he
sent—

Mr. JONES: I sent no ambassa-
dor.

Mr. TUPPER: Sent no ambassa-
dor? Did the hon. gentleman mean
to tell him that Mr. Vail would
have ventured to tell General Doyle
what Mr. Jones meant, unless
Mr. Jones had authorized him?
Would he have used Mr. Jones's name
without his authority? But what did
the *Globe* report of Mr. Jones's speech
say? It said they might judge of the
desperation of the hon. gentleman
when he had to publish that letter at
the last moment in Halifax. He met
the hon. gentleman before three
thousand of his constituents in the
drill-shed and discussed the question
out with him. Did he make any
allusion to this letter or this question?

Not the least; because the hon. gentleman was seeking to be elected as a private member. But when he found that the gentleman who had been holding such language as he had all the evening to his constituents; who had been exciting and exasperating them against Union with Canada just as bitterly and with as much acrimony as he had done ten years ago; when he found that that gentleman had suddenly changed into a Cabinet Minister, the Minister of Militia in this country, and when he found him giving the lie to the assertion that he had ever made such statements at all as that he would cheer when the flag was hauled down on Citadel Hill, he felt that it was right that the Governor-General of this country should know who was the man that he was making Minister of Militia; and he felt it right that the Parliament should know, and the people of this country should know, into whose hands this office was committed. He was going to put it to the sober, dispassionate judgement, not of gentlemen on his side of the House,—they did not require it,—but he was going to put it to the sober, dispassionate judgment of gentlemen opposite, how this matter stood between the hon. the Minister of Militia and himself. They had, perhaps, heard the story of a culprit arraigned in court for some misdemeanour, and a person on the jury was asked to stand by him. "Now, mind," said he, "stand by me and protect me." "Oh, yes," was the reply, "I will protect you." They found him guilty, and he was sentenced by the Judge. He went to his friend and said, "A pretty way you kept your word; you promised to stand by me, and you found me guilty." "Well," said he, "how could I do anything else? Did you not hear all these witnesses swear, in the most positive manner, that you were guilty? When I found that every man on the jury had not a doubt about it, how could I acquit you; and when the Judge told us there was not the slightest question but what you were guilty?" Says he, "You are a fool; don't you know that all these witnesses were perjured? Don't you know that all those jurymen were prejudiced, and don't you know that that old fool of a judge didn't know what he was talking about?" That was

pretty much the position of the hon. the Minister of Militia. Everybody was a liar but himself; he said General Doyle was "lied to"; he said that to a body of gentlemen sustaining him on the Treasury benches, when he knew that the man who gave General Doyle his information was a man of the highest standing and credibility in this country. He asked those who heard the hon. gentleman read the speech which was made for him, and which was never uttered—

Several Hon. MEMBERS: Order.

MR. TUPPER said he was speaking of the speech in the newspaper; and he said the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) never did utter it. He would prove that to the satisfaction of every member of this House. Those who heard the hon. the Minister of Militia read that speech would look in vain for a word or a sentiment or an illusion in it of the kind that would cause the venerable Judge Johnston to put on his hat and walk out of the room. What did he and Chief Justice Young and Mr. Justice Desbarres, and other citizens of Halifax, leave the room for, if that was the speech he made? Did not every gentleman in the House feel that it was an insult to their understanding to be told that that was the speech? If the speech was made that they said was made, everybody could understand why Judge Johnston and Chief Justice Young and Judge Desbarres, all of them men of high character, should instantly leave the room as they did. Mr. Vuil told the Governor that the hon. gentleman did not say all that he intended to say; why? Because he was put down by hisses and hooting. The hon. gentleman knew, and every man of intelligence knew, that there was not a line, or a sentiment, or a word, in the speech, as given by the hon. gentleman from his newspaper, to account for the action that took place. Let him go to his ambassador, to the person who went to explain away this speech to General Doyle, and ask him to reconcile this speech with the statement he made to General Doyle, that what Mr. Jones said was said in the heat of the moment. Was there any heat in the speech of the hon. gentleman, or anything ex-

position of the hon. a. Everybody was he said General he said that to sustaining him on es, when he knew ve General Doyle as a man of the credibility in this those who heard read the speech him, and which

MEMBERS: Order.

he was speaking newspaper; and eman Mr. Jones) He would prove on of every mem- Those who heard or of Militia read ook in vain for a or an illusion in it d cause the vener- to put on his hat room. What did e Young and Mr. d other citizens of om for, if that was ? Did not every ase feel that it was nderstanding to be speech? If the at they said was l understand why d Chief Justice barros, all of them , should instantly they did. Mr. vernor that the d not say all say; why? Be- yn by hisses and gentleman knew, intelligence knew, a line, or a senti- speech, as given n from his news- r the action that go to his ambas- who went to ex- eech to General to reconcile this ment he made to t what Mr. Jones at of the moment. in the speech of or anything ex-

citing? Not at all; it was as mild, and as tame, and as quiet as possible. Mr. Vail said that he (Mr. Jones) never intended to say what had been attributed to him; that what he meant to say was that he would cheer when the British flag was hauled down from the Citadel, because then Nova Scotia could fight Canada, and throw off her yoke; and the words he did use were proved to a degree that should satisfy every man of intelligence in this country of the accuracy of the proof. There they had Mr. Vail's statement long after this transaction occurred, when there had been ample time for the most thorough ventilation of the whole subject; and they had General Doyle's letter written to himself two years after that. The hon. gentleman stated that General Doyle found that he had been lied to, and was very anxious to have a reconciliation; but he would never make any intelligent man in this country believe that the speech he uttered was any other than these eminent judges had declared it to be, and that his friend Mr. Vail admitted, when long afterwards he was trying to appease the just indignation of the Commander-in-Chief. When General Doyle heard Mr. Vail's explanation, what did he say? "All satisfactory" Not at all. General Doyle felt that it was almost as great a crime; that next to the crime of wishing to see the flag hauled down, the next greatest crime that a Canadian could commit was that, after the Union had been accomplished, and it was the interest of every man to bury old troubles, a man could be found in the country to stand up and say he would cheer when the flag was hauled down on the Citadel Hill, because it would enable him to fight Canada and break up this Union. He was not surprised at the spirit manifested by the hon. the Minister of Militia, for it was the same spirit which animated him when seeking election, not as a member of the Cabinet, but as an independent member, to declare that he was ready to do what was in the interests of his constituents, irrespective of the Government, and yet incited the public mind by declaring that the only protection required by Nova Scotia was against Ontario and Quebec, and that, if a barrier was built up between

them, all would be well. That language, taken in its most qualified sense, was a crime against Canada, and should exclude any gentleman from the Government until he had withdrawn it. Reference had been made to the fact that Sir George Cartier had been a rebel. Many people would, however, be found to justify Sir George Cartier's act in taking up arms. He (Mr. Tupper) was not one of those who did not believe that a man might not be justified in taking up arms against the Government under which he lived, that circumstances might not arise which would warrant a man, not only in using stronger language than the hon. Minister in regard to the British flag, but in taking up arms in support of what he believed to be the interests of the people. But, if Sir George Cartier, in the distant past, did take that position, he had proved to the satisfaction of his Queen, and of the world, that, when justice was done to the people of Canada, no more loyal subject of the Crown, no man more devoted to his country could be found, than the lamented Sir George Cartier, who was ready to shed his blood, if necessary, in defence of Canadian institutions, as we had them to-day. We had now a prosperous, happy and united country, and yet, notwithstanding all that had been done for Nova Scotia, the hon. the Minister of Militia endeavoured to inflame and excite the public mind against the other Provinces. The hon. gentleman had done that for which he was not ashamed, but for which he ought to be ashamed; and any man charged with the high and responsible duty of maintaining and promoting Canadian institutions ought to be ashamed to take into his Cabinet a gentleman who had expressed such opinions and maintained them now. He could not resume his seat without noticing the remarks of the hon. member for Halifax, (Mr. Jones) and the hon. member for Lévis, (Mr. Fréchette) in respect to Mr. Thibault. He (Mr. Tupper) never had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Thibault until the morning of the nomination day in Digby, where he made his acquaintance on the platform. If testimonials went for anything, Mr. Thibault ought to be a respectable man. He was an

alderman of the city of Montreal, he possessed a good standing at the bar, and a certificate as to his qualifications had been signed by the leading barristers in Montreal, where he practised his profession, including not only Mr. Kerr, the Batonnier of the Bar, but the present Minister of Justice. Yet the hon. member for Lévis insulted the hon. the Minister of Justice by declaring that he had put his name to a document, vouching for the character and standing of a man who, if the statements of that hon. member were true, ought to be held to be almost beneath the contempt of any respectable man.

MR. LAFLAMME: Give the date of his certificate.

MR. TUPPER said that Mr. Thibault, whom the hon. the Minister of Justice, in company with Mr. Kerr and all the leading lawyers of Montreal had declared to be a man of high character and standing at the bar, and qualified to perform the duties of Attorney-General of the Province of Quebec, was declared by the hon. the member for Lévis (Mr. Fréchette) to be the most notorious scoundrel in Canada. Of Mr. Thibault, he (Mr. Tupper) knew nothing personally, but he could judge somewhat from those evidences of a man's standing and character. He saw Mr. Thibault on a public platform on nomination day at Digby. They went into the largest building that the town afforded, to a meeting, the proceedings of which continued from two to half past nine. Mr. Thibault spoke on that occasion in English, and proved himself to be a man possessing great ability and an acquaintance with public affairs that would do credit to the hon. member for Lévis. That hon. member had read an extract from the *Halifax Morning Chronicle*. He could not prove that the hon. member had anything to do with that sheet, but it was a curious circumstance that it appeared the morning after the hon. member's arrival from Digby. He (Mr. Tupper) was satisfied that the report of the speech was false. He knew that the Rev. Dr. Walsh, one of the most worthy members of the Catholic clergy of the Province, was present, and that, if any such utterances had

been made, he would have denounced Mr. Thibault as unworthy of belief. He therefore advised Mr. Thibault to write to Dr. Walsh, and ask him to state whether such a speech was made. He (Mr. Tupper) had not seen Dr. Walsh's reply; but the hon. the member for Hochelaga had done so; it was there denied that such a speech had been made. Such was the miserable lying slander that the hon. the member for Lévis thought it not beneath his position to bring before the House, in respect to an absent man. From a report in the *Quebec Chronicle*, it appeared that there had been a meeting of the Quebec bar called yesterday to pass resolutions expressive of their deep regret at the death of His Holiness the Pope, and the first resolution was moved by Mr. C. S. Chevrier, one of the most respectable members at the bar, belonging to the Liberal party, and seconded by Mr. Charles Thibault. The solution of the difficulty respecting the published speech was not that the hon. member for Lévis wrote it, but that it was probably a translation of Mr. Thibault's French speech by Mr. Vail. He was glad, however, to know that the election in Digby was not carried by any of those monstrous misstatements. The hon. the Minister of Militia had stated that, when he (Mr. Tupper) returned to Halifax, he had said that Mr. Vail would be elected, and said he had the proof. He defied the hon. gentleman to prove it. In the presence of Mr. Wade and his committee, after he went with them over the information from all the English sections of the county, he arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Vail's defeat was certain. He met Mr. Vail on the street, in the presence of Mr. Oakes, formerly a member of this House, and now a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, and said to him, "You are a badly-beaten man." Mr. Vail replied: "I will not only double my majority, but will probably treble it." He (Mr. Tupper) said that, from what he knew, Mr. Vail would not only have no majority, but would be badly beaten. He (Mr. Tupper) returned to Halifax and, before a large number of his friends, stated that, while he had not seen the French dis-

tricts, he had seen those from the English sections, and from what he knew of the temper of the people he was satisfied that Mr. Vail was badly beaten, so far as the English vote was concerned, or he knew nothing of elections. There was a gentleman, now within hearing of his voice, present when he made that statement on his return to Halifax. Mr. Vail, at that election, was defeated by nearly 400 votes, which was mainly due to the English vote.

Mr. MILLS: Who misled the *Mail* and *Citizen*?

Mr. TUPPER said he sent no communications to either of those journals respecting the Halifax or Digby elections. He did not go into the streets and proclaim Mr. Vail's probable defeat, because he well knew the great efforts that would be made by the Government under such circumstances, to carry the election. His son, residing at Toronto, telegraphed him asking what were the prospects in Halifax. In reply, he thought it the best policy to use the motto of the Duke of Devonshire, and he telegraphed "Cavendo tutus," and thought he would leave the telegraph operator to make what he pleased of it. Those explanations were due to himself in regard to matters of fact. The hon. the Minister of Militia, had referred to him in the most unhandsome terms. He did not object to the hon. gentleman joining issue with him as to matters of fact, but nothing could be more infamous and dastardly and more calculated to lower the dignity of this House, than general charges of misstatement without there being any foundation for them. He had shown how far he was open to such a charge at the hands of the hon. gentleman, and he defied him to controvert the statements now made by him (Mr. Tupper), and supported by convincing evidence.

Mr. DYMOND: Before I claim the indulgence of the House for a moment in regard to a personal matter, I would ask whether, in alluding to a member of the House, whom the hon. gentleman supposed to have garbled or revised his speech, he alluded to me?

Mr. TUPPER: I did not quite say so. I said the hon. gentleman was

known to be closely connected with the *Globe* newspaper, and no hon. gentleman had a closer perception than he of the fact that the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Jones) was floating through blunders and mistakes. I do not know what the hon. gentleman did, but I thought he did not discharge what he considers his duty to his party unless he would just suggest to the reporter that it would be well to have the speech revised before publication. While the speech I made appeared in the *Globe* of the next morning, the same compliment was not paid to the hon. the Minister of Militia, and those who know the enterprise of that newspaper can imagine the reason.

Mr. DYMOND: Then it was to me that the hon. gentleman referred? Do I understand that the hon. gentleman referred to me?

Mr. TUPPER: I have given the hon. gentleman his answer. I do not want to make any personal or offensive reference.

Mr. DYMOND: I appeal to the House whether, through a large portion of his speech, the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Tupper) did not insinuate that a certain member of this House did advise or control the reporters of the *Globe* newspaper, and that, by that member's influence, a report of that speech had been curtailed or garbled. No man of sense could draw any other conclusion from the speech of the hon. gentleman. But, when I challenged him, he did what he is in the habit of doing up and down the country—he did not repeat the accusation, but gave a milder statement, in order that he might have a means of escaping from the consequence of his previous allegations. It is an old game of the hon. gentleman; I know him well in that respect, and have only too often had to follow him, in regard to it, with both pen and voice. I rise to give to the House the most unequivocal denial of the statement, that I have in this case or any other case, in the slightest degree, interfered with the reporters of the *Globe*.

Mr. TUPPER: I say frankly, and at once, that I did suspect the hon.

gentleman, and I accept his denial in the fullest sense.

Mr. DYMOND: I am sure the hon. gentleman will say so, because, though we have been political opponents ever since I first trod Canadian soil, I have never intentionally done him an injustice, nor has any personal feeling ever intruded itself with our relations to each other. Though I deeply regret to allude to a matter of this personal nature, I feel bound to say that I have no more to do with the duties of reporters of the *Globe* than the hon. member for Cumberland. My hon. friends around me have frequently, and very naturally, come to me to ask me to see that a correct report appeared of some one or other of their speeches, but I have invariably told them that I have nothing to do with the matter. The *Globe* reporters are as independent as any hon. member of this House. I never knew a reporter of the paper with which I was connected before I came to this country, who would listen to a suggestion that he should garble the report of anybody's speech, and I can say the same with reference to the *Globe*. It is an insult to the press to suggest anything else. I say in all courtesy and kindness that I hope the hon. gentleman, in future, will be more careful of the character of his fellow-members in this House. The charge made, or insinuated, is very serious; for the garbling of the speech of a member of Parliament would be a gross breach of the privileges of Parliament, for which anyone who was guilty of it should be called to the bar of this House, and, if a member, be expelled. If the hon. gentleman could have proved his charge, I would resign my seat within five minutes, and shrink away from the sight of my fellow-men. However earnestly I may feel in regard to political questions, I hope the hon. gentleman will always find me a fair opponent, willing to give blow for blow, but never guilty of a dishonourable action. I thank the hon. gentleman for having acquitted me of the act he imputed to me, and I hope I shall never again have occasion to allude to my connection with the *Globe* newspaper on the floor of Parliament.

Mr. JONES said he regretted that, at this early hour of the morning, he had to allude to the observations of the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Tupper). It was evident that the observations he (Mr. Jones) had addressed to the House on a previous occasion, had gone home to the hon. gentleman. It was evident, from the tone of the hon. gentleman to-night, that he felt, perhaps for the first time, that the record of his past public life had been held up and exposed to the people of Canada, that a point had been touched in his past political career, that exposures had been made and matters had come to light affecting him, during the time he was a member of the Government of Nova Scotia, which, coming before the people of Canada, would convey to them all the information which was necessary to enable them to arrive at a just estimation of the hon. gentleman's public career. The hon. gentleman had said that he (Mr. Jones) had indulged in old and stale charges. Did not the hon. member for Cumberland commence on the floor of this House by introducing matters which had been explained before his (Mr. Jones's) own electors time and again—a subject which had been explained, and the explanation accepted by every fair-minded man? But the hon. gentleman had not thought it beneath him to bring up that old story and try to make political capital against him on the ground of his becoming a member of this Government. The hon. gentlemen had said that he had no right to join a Government with which he had such a difference of opinion. He commenced on the sugar question. He (Mr. Jones) stated frankly then that he did differ from the Government on a question of trade. Did the hon. gentleman or any hon. member, suppose that all the members of the Government were agreed on the great question of trade and finance; that all men's minds were cast in one mould; or that what appeared to one Minister plain, was presented in the same light to all his colleagues? This could not be the case. If it was necessary, all independent thought would be stifled by such slavery. There

was no sacrifice of principle in connection with this question. Moreover, this question had changed very much since it was before the House on a previous occasion. He understood very well the object of the hon. gentleman in bringing this matter before the House. The hon. gentleman wanted to make and show himself the champion of Halifax interests. He (Mr. Tupper) was endeavouring to show the people of Halifax that he (Mr. Jones) had disregarded their interests in that respect, and that he was the only champion of their views on this occasion. But the hon. gentleman knew very well that this question had changed very much, and the settlement of it was in the future. Very much, in this relation, depended upon the legislation that took place on this subject in the neighbouring country. But what had the hon. gentleman done when his colleagues differed with him (Mr. Tupper), respecting the National Policy? Was it not well known to the country that his colleagues had not agreed with him (Mr. Tupper) on that point, the great National Policy?—and yet they had not seen the hon. gentleman sever his connection with that Cabinet.

MR. TUPPER: No.

MR. JONES: The hon. gentleman says "No."

MR. TUPPER: I was not a member of the Cabinet when it was carried.

MR. DYMOND: When it was voted down?

MR. JONES: When it was repealed?

MR. TUPPER: No.

MR. JONES: The hon. gentleman knows well enough.

MR. TUPPER: Will the hon. gentlemen allow me to make a statement? When the National Policy was carried I was not in the Cabinet; but, when I was in the Cabinet, every member of it united to resist the repeal of the duties, and we stood together, every man of us.

MR. JONES: Every member of the Cabinet was united on that question?

MR. TUPPER: Yes.

MR. JONES: Regarding the repeal of the duties, every member of the Cabinet joined in voting it down.

MR. TUPPER: No; we did not.

MR. JONES said the hon. gentleman had brought up the question of the flag, and had endeavoured to give a new turn to it. In the statements made the other night, the hon. gentleman had sought to show to the House that Mr. Vail and others had a year or two afterwards, owing to statements of his (Mr. Jones), had gone to General Doyle to make certain explanations concerning this matter. But he (Mr. Jones) would say here that, if Mr. Vail had ever so said anything on the subject, he did so on his own account, and was no representative or ambassador from him (Mr. Jones). He had never asked Mr. Vail, or anybody else, to convey to General Doyle any expression with regard to the speech which he had made on that occasion. He had read this speech the other night, and the hon. gentleman had not thought it beneath him to say it was not the speech which he (Mr. Jones) had delivered on that occasion. He would ask the hon. gentleman what authority he had for making this statement. How did the hon. gentleman know that this was not the speech in question? Was the hon. gentleman then present? Did the hon. gentleman know anything about it? He would tell the hon. gentleman that General Doyle only got his information concerning this matter second-hand. General Doyle had not heard that speech; he had obtained his information from Sir William Young, and, as he had stated the other night, so he now repeated, Sir William Young was a political partizan, and had been so ever since the question of Union up to the present time. The hon. gentleman spoke of Judge Johnston and others leaving the room at that time. He would tell the hon. gentleman what took place. There was a meeting of citizens to give a dinner to Sir John Young, and those gentlemen had come there thinking that they would overawe the citizens of Halifax, and prevent a free expression of opinion. They came there, as he had stated in his speech on that occasion, to over-

awo the citizens by their presence as Judges of the Court, and interfere with a free expression of views upon that question. But he was not going to be over-awed by Chief Justice Young, or by any other man—nay, not even by the hon. member for Cumberland himself, and he had spoken then, as now, his honest sentiments. The speech he then delivered was fairly, honestly, and correctly reported; he had had nothing to take back concerning what he had then said, and he had nothing to take back now. He would ask the hon. gentleman why he (Mr. Tupper) had not used that letter when General Doyle was in the country? He (Mr. Tupper) had had that letter in his pocket since 1872, and he dared not use it when General Doyle was in this country after the reconciliation he (Mr. Jones) had mentioned had taken place, because he (Mr. Tupper) knew that General Doyle would, under such circumstance, have at once come down with the frankness which had always characterized him, and explained the whole position of affairs. No; the hon. gentleman had waited until General Doyle was out of the country and until the late election was embittered by his presence; in fact, until the last moment, when he (Mr. Tupper) thought that by publishing it he would injure a political opponent and had then taken upon himself the responsibility which he was happy to believe no other man in this Parliament,—nay, no honourable man in this country,—would have done, of publishing the letter of an absent man to injure a political opponent in an election. He would repeat there—and he was sure that he would be justified by the result—that, when General Doyle came to know what base use the hon. gentleman had made of that letter at that critical moment, no one would be more indignant than the General with reference to the use made of it by the hon. member for Cumberland. He had nothing more to say on this point, save this, that the hon. gentleman and his friends on the other side of the House, in spite of all the explanations which he (Mr. Jones) had made on the subject, went on repeating the old story. They thought that the lie would stick somewhere, and that it would reach

some point where it would do harm. He was amazed to hear the hon. gentleman from West Toronto (Mr. Robinson) — but he was not amazed in this connection at the hon. member from North Hastings, because he could not be amazed by anything that came from this hon. gentleman—and other hon. gentlemen opposite who, he knew in social life would frown down such an impropriety, repeat that old story over again as if it was an accepted fact, instead of being a foul slander. The hon. gentleman said he (Mr. Jones) would not meet him at Mr. Richey's meeting. The hon. gentleman knew very well how that arose. Before he (Mr. Jones) knew he (Mr. Tupper) was coming at all, he had addressed a note to his opponent, saying that he would like to have a public meeting and discuss public matters regarding the county. Mr. Richey had not accepted at the moment, and at a meeting of Mr. Richey's friends that night, it was announced that Mr. Tupper was coming down to take part in the meeting. He (Mr. Jones) had then said to Mr. Richey that this meeting was to be between themselves, to show to the people of Halifax why the Government of the day should or should not be sustained; and he wrote a note which was published, saying that when Dr. Tupper arrived he would be only too happy to discuss Dominion matters generally with him (Mr. Tupper). On his return from Digby he was willing to meet the hon. gentleman, and had appointed the earliest day at his disposal for this purpose; the meeting had taken place in the drill-shed, and it had not ended, he thought, to the satisfaction of the hon. gentleman. He (Mr. Tupper) had alluded again to the house in Hollis-street, and had endeavoured to cover up that transaction, by stating that he could explain it away if only afforded the opportunity. The hon. gentleman might explain it as he liked; but he would tell the hon. gentleman that high judicial Courts had looked with great suspicion on transfers of property between relatives which fitted conveniently into political occasions. The hon. gentleman might bring forward what evi-

dence he liked as to the transfer of the house to his son, but every honest man in this Parliament and country would believe that the whole scheme was planned by the hon. gentleman in order that his son might have the advantage of letting that property to the Government, and that, through his son, he might reap the benefit of the income from it. The hon. gentleman said that the house was let for no more than it had been leased for on previous occasions: this he would not dispute; it was immaterial; he did not care whether it was then let for more or less than previously. The hon. gentleman said that this house was subsequently sold for something like \$9,000; but did the hon. gentleman say what amount the Government had spent in improving this property when it was let to the Government? He ventured to say that the amount which the Government had expended on it had increased its value very much, and he supposed that this sum could be obtained by reference to the Departments. The hon. gentleman was a member of the Government at the time. Who had negotiated this transaction with Mr. Carvell? Did the hon. gentleman do it, or did the hon. gentleman tell his son to do it? No evidence was apparent concerning any correspondence having passed between the hon. gentleman's son and Mr. Carvell. There was simply sent a letter from Mr. Stewart Tupper enclosing the lease to the Government for three years. Who conducted that negotiation? Who arranged the basis of the lease? The hon. gentleman himself must have done it, or else some correspondence would have passed between Mr. Stewart Tupper and Mr. Carvell. This might yet come to light. The hon. gentleman might explain the matter as he liked, and might prove what he liked; but he (Mr. Jones) would repeat that, in the minds of all honourable men, the hon. gentleman could never escape from the suspicion which attached to him of having placed his son in a position to reap an advantage from the Government which he (Mr. Tupper) could not obtain in the position in which he then stood. The hon. gentleman said that the *Globe*, reporters or himself had garbled his (Mr.

Jones's) speech. He (Mr. Jones) had certainly nothing to do with it. The hon. gentleman had said that he (Mr. Jones) had been inconsistent in the course of his speech the other evening, in stating in the early part of it that the misrepresentations which he (Mr. Tupper) had made during the late contest in some parts of the country where they could not reach him, had misled the public mind, and that, if it had not been for this his majority would have been larger; and then he said he (Mr. Jones) gave him (Mr. Tupper) credit for having increased it. His speech was perfectly consistent, as he had said that, in one part of the county visited by the hon. gentleman, his (Mr. Jones's) majority was increased. He did not think that there was anything inconsistent in these two statements; at all events, he could not perceive it. If it was the case, surely the hon. gentleman could not complain. The other day the hon. gentleman's organ in Montreal, the *Gazette*, had entirely held back the reply of the hon. the Postmaster-General to the hon. member for North Hastings (Mr. Bowell). There had been one course of misrepresentation by the hon. gentleman's press throughout the last three or four years, of the views which hon. gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House had placed before Parliament. He had been amused at the hon. gentleman referring to the observation which he (Mr. Jones) had made last year regarding the Pacific Railway. If he judged him (Mr. Tupper) by his own organ, the hon. gentleman would find that he (Mr. Jones) was in perfect accord with the views of the present Government on this point, on which the hon. gentleman thought that he differed with them, because he believed that the *Montreal Gazette* had on that occasion made him (Mr. Jones) say that the only fault he had to find with the Government was in not having gone on with that railway and built it at once. The hon. gentleman had no doubt felt the force of the remarks which he (Mr. Jones) had made the other day respecting the auditor here; and he (Mr. Tupper) thought that the reference in that speech would afford him the oppor-

tunity of backing down. The hon. gentleman had said in a public place that all a Minister of the Crown had to do when an account of his own or of his friends was to be passed, was to touch the auditor on the shoulder, and say: "I am interested in this," or "My friend is interested in this," and it would be all right. He (Mr. Jones) had asked him then, and he repeated it now—whether this was the way in which he (Mr. Tupper) had passed the Fraser-Reynolds account; and was this the way in which the right hon. member for Kingston had drawn \$6,000 of Secret Service money, after he had ceased to be a member of the Government? They knew that he (Sir John A. Macdonald) had touched the auditor on the shoulder, and the hon. member for Cumberland, perhaps, had some of the right hon. gentleman's experience in the transaction. The hon. gentleman said he had never taken public money. He (Mr. Jones) had given him Mr. Archibald's opinion on this point the other night, and the hon. gentleman had felt the full force of it; and the tone of the hon. gentleman's observations that night evidently showed that he had felt the full force and damaging character of it still. The hon. gentleman had never taken public money, indeed! They would see what Mr. Archibald had said further on that occasion. Mr. Archibald, while criticising in the same speech the course pursued by the hon. gentleman, said:—

"These two gentlemen were like the two heads of the Fenian faction, meditating a raid on the public treasury, and the only strife between them was which should be the first to pocket the plunder."

That was another certificate of character from the Governor of Nova Scotia. When the hon. gentleman found that suspicion had passed into conviction in the public mind—when the hon. member found that Mr. Archibald's letter in reply to his supplication for a certificate of character had only deepened that conviction—then the hon. gentleman tried to turn round and explain it in the way he had done to-night, and throw suspicion on Mr. Fleming. He (Mr. Jones) said then, and he said now, that he did not refer to Mr. Fleming at all. As there was

no one other gentleman mentioned in connection with it, the hon. gentleman could make the application. Never took public money? Why, wherever there was public money going, he would venture to say the hon. gentleman had a full share of it during the time he was in public life. He might repeat a story, as the hon. gentleman was fond of telling stories. At the time of the Pacific scandal, there was an old farmer from Cumberland who met a friend in the railway, and he said to him with reference to public matter: "I am a supporter of Mackenzie's Administration; I believe they are able and pure men; I believe they are honestly and economically conducting the affairs of the country; but, for all that, I do not believe in the Pacific scandal." "Don't believe in the Pacific scandal! Why not?" "Why," he replied, "it has been said that there was \$350,000 of money floating about at the time of sale of the Pacific charter. It has been said, under the signature of Sir George Cartier, that money was given for the elections, \$10,000 here, \$20,000 there, and \$30,000 in another place; and a last \$10,000 for the last time to the right hon. member for Kingston himself, but it has never been proved that Mr. Tupper got one cent of it; and," he added, "from what I know of the antecedents of that hon. gentleman,—I was raised in the same country with him—I know very well that, if that large sum of money had been going, Mr. Tupper got his full share of it." And that was the reason why the old farmer did not believe in the Pacific Scandal. The hon. gentleman had endeavoured to explain away his connection with the Springhill mines. He need not explain them away; he could no more explain that transaction than he could the Pieton road. The Government of which he was the leader passed an Order in Council, which, three days subsequently, was printed in the *Royal Gazette*. The *Royal Gazette* was printed usually on Wednesday, and generally reached the public offices on Thursday morning. Mr. Charles H. M. Black appeared at the offices with an application for all those coal areas, with all their notes and bounds described accurately; and, when the

Commissioner of Mines expressed his astonishment and said it was illegal, then he gave him the *Royal Gazette* containing the Order in Council. It had been passed three or four days previously but not made public; and the Commissioner was obliged to give him the property. The hon. gentleman said he had no connection with it. He (Mr. Jones) repeated here what he had said elsewhere on a previous occasion, when he drew from the hon. gentleman an unguarded admission, that out of that transaction he had made \$40,000. The hon. gentleman was intimately associated with Mr. Black; he was his political and personal friend; and every man in Halifax knew that, when Mr. Black moved in that transaction, he moved for the hon. member and the ring with which he was connected. When that subject was before the House, Mr. Black might write as many letters as he pleased; he might say he never got that information direct from the hon. gentleman, because he (Mr. Jones) knew, from his experience with this house in Hollis-street, how well the hon. gentleman could cover up his tracks. He said he never got that information from the hon. gentleman himself, but they knew very well that the hon. gentleman had other means of informing Mr. Black of this transaction. It was not necessary that he himself—he took good care that he would not himself—but he must have taken good care that Mr. Black was aware of it, and Mr. Black acted on the suggestion which was so kindly put in his way; and the hon. gentleman, as the result of that transaction, pocketed \$40,000. The hon. gentleman said it was a subject of investigation. That was perfectly true. But where was Mr. Black on that occasion? When the character of his friend was aspersed, when the reputation of the hon. gentleman was at stake, when the suspicion of the public mind was so deep that every man believed what was said with regard to this transaction and his connection with it, one would have imagined that, if Mr. Black had been his friend, as he described him to be, he would have taken advantage of the earliest opportunity, that he would have come forward willingly, let alone being sum-

moned, that he would have come before that committee in order to exonerate under oath the hon. gentleman from all connection with that transaction. Did he do so? Not at all. He kept out of the way; he would not attend that committee; and he only made the suspicion deeper in the public mind, because every one knew that, if Mr. Black had one word to say in favour of the hon. gentleman, he would have been only too glad to have come there to give him the benefit of his testimony. The hon. gentleman had again referred to the old question of Union, and had endeavoured to shelter himself behind the actions of men in Ontario and elsewhere, of gentlemen who led public opinion in Ontario and elsewhere. But that did not relieve the hon. member from the position in which he (Mr. Jones) placed him. The hon. member was the head of the Government that was elected in 1863, without any reference to the question of Union at all. The hon. gentleman took upon himself to send a delegation to Prince Edward Island to meet a delegation from Canada, and subsequently that delegation met in Quebec; and at Quebec was originated the first scheme of Union. When the hon. gentleman brought that scheme back to Nova Scotia, there was such an outburst of indignation against the measure that the hon. gentleman was obliged at once to withdraw it. A second scheme was formed in 1865 and 1866; and, from the day that that scheme was mooted up to the time that it was so improperly passed by the Local Legislature, there was one feeling of opposition from one end of Nova Scotia to the other, and the floors of Parliament were flooded with petitions against the passage of the Act without appealing to the people. The hon. gentleman need draw no consolation from the action of hon. gentlemen in Ontario and Quebec. These hon. gentlemen understood the position; they understood the wants, and they were supposed to understand the feelings, of their own people; but, whether they were right or wrong, it was no excuse to the hon. gentleman for having taken an unwarrantable advantage, for having taken an unwarrantable liberty with the people of Nova Scotia—for having changed

the constitution of that country, which was equal to a revolution, and denied the people the opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it until the act was consummated. The hon. gentleman said he passed it by a large majority in the House. He (Mr. Jones) was not going to say here, to-night, how that measure was carried. It was known that a large number of gentlemen, who were originally opposed to it, under the management of the hon. gentleman, by seats in the Senate, by seats in the Legislative Council, through means which he knew so well how to employ when they were at his disposal, converted a minority into a majority on that question in the House. It would stand as a lasting disgrace to him as a public man that, on that question of Union, he denied the people of Nova Scotia the right of speaking on their own behalf. He might endeavour to make what explanation he liked with regard to his lectures; he might have his opinion upon that or any other subject; but he had no authority from the people of Nova Scotia—he was never delegated with power from the people of Nova Scotia to make such a radical change in their constitution without first asking the authority of the people from whom that authority was derived. The hon. gentleman said that he (Mr. Jones) was a supporter of his at the time he (Mr. Tupper) refused to go to the dockyard to meet the Prince of Wales. He denied it entirely. At the time the hon. gentleman referred to, he (Mr. Jones) took no interest in politics at all. It was not till 1863, when Mr. Howe, as he thought very improperly, held his position in the Government after he had been appointed Fishery Commissioner, and endeavoured to throw the shield of his popularity over Mr. Archibald and Mr. Wire, and other members who were then leading the Government, that he took an active part for the first time in public matters in Nova Scotia. He did not even know the hon. gentleman. He remembered well the day the hon. gentleman came and saw him in his office, on the dissolution of 1863 taking place, three years after the Prince of Wales visited Halifax; and the hon. gentleman would remember, if he called

to his remembrance the circumstance, that he (Mr. Tupper) came and introduced himself to him in his office, the first time he had ever seen him. He was no follower of the hon. gentleman's, and no colleague of his. When he heard that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tupper) had refused to attend the reception of the Prince of Wales, he (Mr. Jones) was as indignant as any one, and it was owing to the pressure of the party outside, through Mr. Johnston, who desired that the hon. gentleman should attend, that he was ultimately compelled to yield to the wishes of his party and meet the Prince at Halifax dockyard on that occasion. He might have been one of the first to receive the Prince, but he was one of the last to consent to receive him; and it was perfectly consistent with the career of the hon. gentleman that, having once taken the step, he would go forward and follow His Royal Highness through Nova Scotia as long as His Royal Highness would permit him. The hon. member for Cumberland had referred to the question of the winter port. When speaking on that point the other night he (Mr. Jones) said the question of the winter port was settled almost twelve months ago; and it was not before the public as a new question at the time of his last election.

MR. MACKENZIE: Hear, hear.

MR. JONES said that, when in 1876 the Interoceania was completed, the Government took the earliest opportunity to direct the mails to be landed at Halifax, which was thus recognized as the winter port of the Dominion. Last winter the mails going to and coming from England were received at and departed from Halifax.

MR. MACKENZIE: And freight.

MR. JONES said the hon. member for Cumberland had alleged that they had sent Mr. Black to the Government. They never did so, and they now found that Mr. Black was playing his own little game. He (Mr. Jones) nominated Mr. Black to proceed to the west and visit the brokers and merchants of the country, and show them that the route by Halifax was the cheapest route to Europe. Afterwards, Mr. Black visited Ottawa, in company with Sir Hugh Allan, and brought to Halifax a letter

from Mr. Mackenzie of the most satisfactory character. There was no talk of the winter port question at the time he (Mr. Jones) vacated his seat. That question was one in which the public generally were interested. The Chamber of Commerce, City Council and Importers' Association sent Mr. Black, and on returning to Halifax he informed the committee which had appointed him that the Government had met him fairly on every question. Mr. Mackenzie had given him a letter, stating that the Government would put forth every effort to make Halifax the winter port. Mr. Black subsequently stated that Mr. Mackenzie had inserted a restriction that grain should not come from Chicago. He (Mr. Jones) said that such was quite impossible, that Mr. Mackenzie in his letter laid down no such restriction, and he thereupon sent a telegram to Mr. Mackenzie: "Did you intend any restrictions with Black, or is your letter to be read as you put it." Mr. Mackenzie replied: "I never mentioned to Black any restrictions whatever? I do not care where the grain comes from, as you can see by the letter I gave him on that occasion." That was the whole history. The hon. member for Cumberland declared that he had never threatened Halifax, or brought any improper influence to bear on the electors of Halifax, such as he had charged him (Mr. Jones) with using. At the time of the general election at which he (Mr. Jones) was defeated, the hon. member for Cumberland addressed a letter to the people of Halifax on July 19th, 1872. The hon. member for Cumberland, on the question of the Intercolonial Railway workshops, had made a distinct bribe to the people of Halifax to reject him (Mr. Jones), because in rejecting him they might inflict a blow on the Government and bring the hon. member for Cumberland back to power, thereby leading to the re-establishment of the workshops at Halifax. The hon. gentleman knew he was stating what was untrue in regard to not having used improper influence, for, at a meeting in the Temperance Hall in 1875, that hon. member, when driven to the last extremity of using all influence, proper or improper, made use of a bribe to defeat him (Mr. Jones)

and bring the hon. member for Cumberland back to office, by pledging himself that he would bring the Intercolonial Railway works back to Halifax if he ever regained power. The hon. gentleman had adduced the evidence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Johnson, which would be rightly estimated where he mentioned that those gentlemen were at the head of the workshops, under the *régime* of the hon. member for Cumberland, and when the famous frauds in connection with Fraser, Reynolds and Company took place, and when the present Government came into office Johnson, the head of the machine shop, was dismissed, and Taylor was placed in a lower position, which he would not accept, and left. The first thing the Government did in 1874, when there were some locomotives being constructed at Halifax, which Mr. Montgomery could not finish, was to complete those to which Mr. Appleton referred, and from that hour to this there had been as many men employed and as much work done as at any previous time. The hon. member for Cumberland had asserted that the workshops were removed from Halifax by the present Government. In the Public Works Department would be found a memorial addressed by his (Mr. Jones's) colleague and himself to the Department when they came to the House in 1874, asking the hon. Minister to bring back to Halifax the workshops. He remembered addressing a meeting in Richmond, and stating that he did not think it was possible to remove the workshops to Richmond, because the Government had incurred a large expenditure at Moncton. He stated, however, that the Government would use all proper and legitimate influence in that direction, but he did not think the removal could be effected. When addressing an audience the other day, a man stood up and said: "I remember your speech respecting workshops. You did not make the promises Mr. Tupper made; I believe you now. I don't believe the promises of that hon. gentleman, because it was only at the last moment, when he thought he would injure you, that he fell back on the promise to re-establish the shops at Halifax, when he has no intention to carry them back." Another election

card was a letter sent by the right hon. member for Kingston to his friend the member for Cumberland, in the following terms:—

"I feel a personal interest in this matter, as being responsible with my colleagues for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway and its location—for which I was so heartily abused. I am, therefore, naturally anxious to see that railway a success financially and otherwise; and that can only be secured by directing as large a volume of traffic as possible towards and over it, and thus developing and extending the trade of its great terminus at Halifax. I hope the Government won't be blind to this great object, and that they may be induced to make an extra effort for the purpose. If they do not they will fail of their duty, and will be reminded of their failure at the next general elections."

That letter was no doubt written for the occasion, because it never saw the light of day until it was printed in the hon. gentleman's organ on the 28th January, one day before the Halifax election. Yet, from the hon. gentleman's remarks, it might be imagined that he would scorn any attempt to change the opinions of the electors of Halifax by any such influences. Nevertheless, it appeared from his own organ that he not only made promises publicly and through the press, but, at the last moment before the Halifax election, published a letter from the right hon. member for Kingston, stating that the Government would be derelict in their duty if they did not do everything in their power to develop and extend the trade of the great terminus of Halifax. The House would now be in a position to judge as to what value should be placed on the evidence which the hon. member for Cumberland had quoted on the present occasion. The hon. gentleman had stated that those were old stale charges, and that he (Mr. Jones) had made the charge of mis-stating facts against him and had not proved it. He had not made a single statement in support of which he could not bring ample and sufficient proof. When he referred to that fact, he gave the proofs to the House. Were not Mr. Archibald's letters sufficient proof to the House to force conviction on every fair-minded man? But, when Mr. Archibald was applied to by the hon. gentleman for a certificate of

character, he wrote one of the most guarded letters that any man could commit to paper. It might be supposed that he would say: "I did not mean, and I did not say, anything of the kind." He had the opportunity to do that when the hon. gentleman wrote him that note, because they were friends—an opportunity to say that not only he did not say so, but that he did not believe it then, and he did not believe it now. Did Mr. Archibald say anything of the kind? No; he said: "If you will refer to my speech which was delivered on that occasion you will find that I did not make such a charge." He (Mr. Jones) thought a great many things occurred in public matters which were similar to trials in the old country in criminal matters, and were said to be "not proven." But the same conviction rested on the public mind that the man accused in such cases was guilty as if the verdict of guilty had been brought in against him. The hon. gentleman said that he (Mr. Jones) had brought these old stale charges against him; they were not old stale charges in that House at all events; and it was because the hon. gentleman felt that there were true charges, and that they would go throughout the country and stamp him as an unreliable public man, that he had shown so much temper that evening and on previous occasions. If he thought to cow him (Mr. Jones) by such charges as he had made, he had mistaken his man. He was not afraid to meet the hon. gentleman in open discussion, and whatever public record they might have he was willing to discuss in this House or, as he had discussed it lately, before the electors of Halifax, who had given him their verdict. When the hon. gentleman was in Halifax the other day, he (Mr. Jones) referred to some of those matters—to some of them only because they were well understood there—but in this House it was because hon. members were not aware of these matters that it was in the interest of good Government that the public should be made aware of the previous character of the hon. gentleman who was seeking to hold a prominent position in this country in the future. It would be an unfortunate day for the

people of Canada if the hon. gentleman should ever be placed in an uncontrollable position. It was a fortunate thing that the Government had introduced a Bill to appoint a public auditor who should be beyond the control of Parliament, because if such a misfortune should happen, at any future time, that the hon. gentleman should be associated with the Government of the country, he would not be able to carry out the practice, which he himself had insinuated that he carried out before, of touching the auditor on the shoulder and asking him to pass his own accounts or the accounts of friends in whom he was interested. He (Mr. Jones) was unwilling to bring these matters before the House, but he would never allow the hon. gentleman to bring those old, stale charges forward and, by repeating them, to get fastened on the public mind a statement which had been proved not to be a fact. General Doyle had it simply repented to him; he only heard it at second-hand and never knew anything about it himself; and he was the first man to approach him (Mr. Jones) and ask him for a reconciliation, and he was sure General Doyle would be very much annoyed at the use made of his name in that discussion. He (Mr. Jones) did not think the hon. gentlemen need be alarmed about His Excellency the Governor-General being aware of his (Mr. Jones's) position on that or any other matter. His public character or position did not rest upon any such frail basis as the words of the hon. member for Cumberland. He now occupied an office which had been filled by a man on whose head a reward was set.

Several HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. JONES said hon. gentlemen might say "hear, hear," but he did not wish to say anything against his predecessor (Sir George Cartier), and he only mentioned it to show the hypocrisy of the men who were making those charges against himself when they had been associated in the Government of Canada with a man of Sir George Cartier's antecedents. Now,

at this last moment, those super-loyal gentlemen had discovered that it was not proper that he (Mr. Jones) should be a member of that Government, but the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Tupper) was neither a model in loyalty nor in political morality for any hon. member to follow. When he (Mr. Jones) sought a model in either he should take a higher standard than the hon. member for Cumberland, and as long as he occupied a position as a member of the Government he should hold an independent position. He was not going to sink into a position of slavery because he was a member of the Government. He held the same opinions now as he held before, and those opinions would be endorsed by every intelligent voter of Nova Scotia. When the hon. gentleman had nothing new to bring forward, but simply to try and explain away his own inconsistencies, he brought up these old charges; and he (Mr. Jones) had felt bound to show how hard-driven the hon. gentleman must be; how he must have felt the force of the observations made by him (Mr. Jones) the other night; how, in the averted faces of his friends, he must have seen that he was looked upon as having been guilty of transgressions in his own country that would not bear the investigation of Parliament. The hon. gentleman need not be afraid of his (Mr. Jones's) position; he would take care of that; and he warned the hon. gentleman to take care of his own.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD said he felt that he could not properly allow some of the remarks of the hon. gentleman who had just spoken to pass without observation. He had said that he was not afraid of the hon. member for Cumberland, or of discussing matters with him in this House, and that he had had discussions with him on the subject in the Province of Nova Scotia. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) probably still thought he was in Nova Scotia, and carrying on an election contest, because, in his speech on this occasion, he had set aside every parliamentary rule of propriety in the course he had taken. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) did not hesitate to say that a more unparliamentary

tary, and, in a parliamentary sense, a more discreditable speech could not possibly have been made by an hon. member than the speech made the other day by the hon. member for Halifax. The hon. member was charged—properly charged, if the hon. the member for Cumberland (Mr. Tupper) chose to take the responsibility of making the charge—that there were a number of reasons why he ought not, in the opinion of the hon. member for Cumberland, to hold his position as a member of the Cabinet. His hon. friend the member for Cumberland might have been erroneous in his views, and the hon. member (Mr. Jones) might be the most proper person to be one of the confidential advisers of the Crown. The hon. member for Cumberland might be right or wrong in that, but he had a right to hold those views. The hon. the Premier, when he held the position which he (Sir John A. Macdonald) now held, said that it was the duty of the Opposition to criticise the Government either in regard to their administration, their legislation, or their composition. The hon. member for Cumberland had taken the ground that the hon. member for Halifax ought not to be a member of the Government and ought not to be a confidential adviser of the Crown, and he had a right to take that ground. His reasons were parliamentary. There was not a single word or expression used by him that was not parliamentary. He had the right to charge the hon. member, if he thought proper, with being unworthy of a place in the councils of the Sovereign. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) was not arguing for the moment that his hon. friend the member for Cumberland was correct in his conclusions; but, if he had come to those conclusions, he had a right to state them, and then it was the bounden duty of the hon. member for Halifax to answer the attack. Did the hon. gentleman answer that attack? No; he turned round and, in the most unparliamentary way, without any relevancy in the world, said—there was the Pictou Railway, and the Springhill Mines, and the lease by the hon. member for Cumberland of a house in Halifax, and therefore the hon. mem-

ber for Cumberland was not to attack him or, make charges against him. The hon. gentleman tried to divert the attention of the House from the charges which, in a parliamentary way, were brought against him by the hon. member for Cumberland by trying to slang that hon. gentleman.

Mr. CASEY: Order.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD said he would assert that the language of the hon. gentleman was slang, and unparliamentary slang; and he had no doubt the Speaker would say that, in using that language, he (Sir John A. Macdonald) was perfectly in order, and that the hon. member for West Elgin was perfectly out of order.

Mr. CASEY said the point of order he had raised was that the right hon. gentleman had used the words "unparliamentary slang."

Mr. SPEAKER: I hardly understands what it means, I never heard of slang in that way.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD said that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones), feeling the lash on his back, and the manner in which he had been punished, had writhed like a toad under the harrow; and, like a sailor when tied at the gangway, had begun to blaspheme and swear at the man who ordered the punishment. They all knew—and the hon. gentleman who came from Halifax, which was a naval port, knew—that, when a sailor was tied up at the gangway under the cat, and was writhing under the punishment, he was allowed, by naval rule, to slang and abuse the captain; and he supposed that under no other principle could Mr. Speaker have permitted the hon. gentleman to have gone on, suffering as he (Mr. Jones) must have been under the deserved punishment inflicted by his hon. friend (Mr. Tupper), and abuse his hon. friend in such a manner. They would take the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) on his own ground. What though every word he said against the hon. gentleman was true; what though every one of these charges was well founded; what though his hon. friend (Mr. Tupper) got from his son for the lease of that house \$600; what though he

(Mr. Tupper) had made money out of the railroad; what though the Springhill Mine charge was true; what though he (Mr. Tupper) had committed every crime in the decalogue; admitting all this, he would ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) whether his hon. friend was not a representative of the people in the House, and whether he had not duties and responsibilities, as a member of the House, to fulfil; and so, no matter though his hon. friend had committed every crime in the decalogue and known to criminal law, he would ask the hon. gentleman whether his hon. friend had not a right, as a representative in Parliament of the people, to bring the hon. gentleman to account; and whether it was not his hon. friend's duty, though his own crimes and sins extended from pitch and toss to manslaughter, to do so. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) maintained that his hon. friend had a right to bring up the hon. gentleman on those charges, and it was no answer for the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) to say: "Oh, I may have committed all these crimes and sins, but it does not rest in your mouth to say so."

Mr. JONES: Did I refer to any point the hon. member for Cumberland did not refer to?

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: Why, my hon. friend was replying to the argument—the unparliamentary speech which the hon. gentleman made the other day.

Mr. JONES: You will find that he replied before.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: No; he did not reply to that before. The hon. gentleman took good care in his answers to the indictment preferred against him before the House and before the country, and that this country preferred against him, not to give my hon. friend an opportunity to reply; my hon. friend had no such opportunity. He could not, by parliamentary rules, answer those charges. My hon. friend had risen to a personal explanation in which he was limited to a short time. My hon. friend had no opportunity to explain and go into the facts and charges brought by the hon. gentleman. The question brought before the House by my hon. friend was

whether the hon. gentleman was fit to be in the Cabinet or not. I am not going over all the ground, and I do not think that the hon. gentleman would like me to do so, and enter into all the points which have been brought up by my hon. friend one after another. There is the question of the flag.

Mr. JONES: Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: I hear the laugh, but this is a loyal country.

Mr. JONES: Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: The hon. gentleman may laugh and may attempt to sneer down the charges that have been brought against him.

An Hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: But the hon. gentleman did not sneer when this charge was first made. He then got up and said it was a falsehood—"I pronounce it a falsehood"—and he now pronounces it a false slander. But who told this falsehood? Who perpetrated this false slander? I would ask the hon. gentleman.

Mr. JONES: Whoever states it states a falsehood, and whoever repeats it.

Some Hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: The hon. gentleman says it is a foul slander and a base falsehood.

Mr. JONES: Yes.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: He then repeated it as an original statement?

Mr. JONES: Yes.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: The first man who repeated it was that fine loyal old soldier, Sir Hastings Doyle.

Mr. JONES: He did not.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: He was the first man who repeated it.

Mr. JONES: He did not.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: The first man who repeated it was that fine old soldier, Sir Hastings Doyle.

Mr. JONES: No, no.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: Yes; it was Sir Hastings Doyle.

Mr. JONES: No, no.

Some Hon. MEMBERS: Order, order.

Mr. DYMOND: I rise to a point of order.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: I am not out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman rises to a point of order.

Mr. DYMOND: It is this: I ask you whether, according to English parliamentary practice—and Canadian parliamentary practice falls under the same precedent, when a gentleman has once given a solemn declaration on the floor of Parliament that a charge is false, it is parliamentary to repeat that charge, unless it is to formulate it against him as an accusation which he must prove or disprove.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: I desire to speak to this point of order. The point I am speaking to at this moment is a charge brought by the hon. the Minister of Militia, that the Chief Justice of the Province of Nova Scotia, Judge Desbarres, Sir Hastings Doyle, the Hon. Mr. Vail, and Mr. Thompson, are all liars, and have misrepresented facts.

Mr. JONES: I wish to speak to this point of order. The question was this: he (Sir John A. Macdonald) said that Sir Hastings Doyle was the first man who repeated this statement, and this is not the case. Sir William Young was the first man who repeated it to Sir Hastings Doyle.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: Oh, no.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think there is no violation of order, for this reason: that the hon. member for Kingston, as I understand the matter, was stating that such an assertion was made, and not that it was true. If he said that the assertion was true, he would be entirely out of order; but, as it is, the hon. gentleman is in order.

An Hon. MEMBER: Do you believe it?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: Well, I cannot say—well, I do believe it, if you want to know.

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. gentleman is now entirely out of order.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: Well, then, in a parliamentary sense, I do not believe it; but, in every other sense, I do. I say that the hon. gentleman stated that any man who repeated that charge committed a foul slander. He declared that the first man who made that statement was Sir William Young. He did not repeat it, for this was the original statement. The original statement was this: that the hon. the Minister of Militia did make such a statement; he made that statement, and that was the statement made to Sir Hastings Doyle, that old soldier, that man of high honour, that kindly old man, that gallant old soldier, who would never have said such a thing if he did not believe it to be perfectly true. I am glad to count him among my friends. I believe it, and I believe, Mr. Speaker, that he (Sir Hastings Doyle) believed that charge, or he would not have written to my hon. friend (Mr. Tupper) in the way he did.

Mr. JONES: It was not true; he was misinformed.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: The hon. gentleman knows that there is no doubt that, when the news of these proceedings reach Sir Hastings Doyle, he will repeat it and I venture to say that Sir Hastings Doyle will endorse every word contained in the letter which has been published. I have no doubt whatever about it, and I tell you this: I shall make it my business to see that this will be brought before Sir Hastings Doyle, and, if he is alive, I shall be able to lay before Parliament the statement that he does not retract one single word of that charge.

Mr. JONES: The papers have gone.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD: Why did Sir Hastings Doyle write to his hon. friend (Mr. Tupper)? He wrote to him because he believed the charge to be true. Did they think that he would have written a letter like that from Halifax, in his capacity as Governor, to the hon. member for Cumberland in order that he (Mr. Tupper) might convey that information to friends in Ottawa, and to the people of Canada, of the conduct and the language, the disloyal, the improper language of the hon. the Minister of Militia? Was this fine old soldier a

the hon. the Premier while he sat in this House opposing him (Sir John A. Macdonald) for the last ten years, were to be kept as final evidence against him (Sir John A. Macdonald), and that any speech which he (Sir John A. Macdonald) was to make against the hon. gentleman in his position of leader of the Opposition could be kept and taken as evidence against him ten years hence. The hon. gentleman would not like that, and yet that was the evidence, the irrefragable evidence, which he brought up against his hon. friend (Mr. Tupper) to show that there was something wrong, and that some jobbery was committed in connection with the Pictou Railway, although Mr. Archibald had afterwards explicitly denied under his hand that he had intended to make a charge of personal dishonour or of personal complicity in this connection on the part of the hon. member for Cumberland. But, supposing that Mr. Archibald used language which reflected upon his hon. friend, must they accept the statement of Mr. Archibald, a political opponent, the leader of the Opposition, a statement made in the hot struggle of Parliament, in parliamentary discussion, as a conclusive evidence of the truth of such a charge? And yet he turned round and declared that Sir William Young was a liar, a foul calumniator, that Judge Desbarres was a liar, a foul calumniator; that Mr. Thompson, Howe's son-in-law, was the same; that the lamented Mr. Vail was a liar and foul calumniator. This was the statement of the hon. gentleman, that these four men had all told lies, and were all guilty of perpetrating a foul slander on the hon. gentleman. Would anybody believe that? He did not believe that the majority, if sworn jurymen, would come to the conclusion to set aside the statement of four men like these because the hon. gentleman said he did not say it, and produced a newspaper in which this portion of his speech was conveniently left out. His hon. friend (Mr. Tupper) had shown how things, in the most marvellous and mysterious way disavowed by everybody, were eliminated from speeches in the public press. No-

body knew how this happened, but yet these eliminations took place when any matters which would be very inconvenient were in question. They saw how this was done. His hon. friend (Mr. Jones) said, on looking back at his speech, that he did not find that he had ever used any such language, and, therefore, that everybody who said the contrary were liars, scoundrels, and calumniators, and that he never done so-and-so. The hon. gentleman had the hardihood to state that the head of the Supreme Court of his own Province, the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, was a liar and a scoundrel, and that he based this charge on the most improper motive, on the lowest and basest possible motive, because he said that this gentleman, Sir William Young, was politically opposed to him, and on the ground that this gentleman was a warm partisan. And why? Because the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) did not, in his desperation, wish to defend himself against this charge, but Sir William Young said he heard him (Mr. Jones) say it; there could be no mistake about it. The hon. gentleman did use that language, and he did say that he would take off his hat and cheer when the British flag was pulled down. That was vouched for by the Chief Justice, a man who presided at the head of the Courts of law, and who administered the law, both civil and criminal, in the Province of Nova Scotia, and a man on whose judgment he would defend the law, the liberty, the property, and the reputation of every man in the Province of Nova Scotia, including the hon. gentleman himself. He (Mr. Jones) had ventured to say that this gentleman of high standing, of high character, of high position, honoured by the people, honoured by the representatives of the people, honoured by the Crown, the honourable recipient of a title in recognition of his long services, honoured by his own Province as a great and a good and a learned man, and eminent Judge, had lied and foully lied, he had lied in his throat, that he was a calumniator; and that Justice Desbarres was a calumniator, that Justice Desbarres was a liar, because they told Sir Hastings Doyle that that gentleman

(Mr. Jones) did say that he would cheer and wave his hat when the British flag was pulled down from the citadel. Then there was the evidence of Mr. Thompson on this point; but Mr. Thompson, it seemed, was a son-in-law of the great Joseph Howe, and, therefore, unworthy of belief. Although the hon. gentleman had said all this, he asked the House if they were asked to take the statement of a criminal against all these witnesses; the statement of a man on his trial as to the truth of a statement, against the statement of all the witnesses, on his coming before the country and the House to ask them to do so? But the country and the House would not do so. The country and the House and the people of Canada would believe to their dying day that these gentlemen told a true story, and that Sir Hastings Doyle, Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia, and Commander of the Forces, believed that statement. The hon. gentleman said that Sir Hastings Doyle would be shocked at the base use made of his letter; but that gallant old soldier had written that letter to his hon. friend (Mr. Tupper) for the very purpose of making this charge public. When that letter was written it was written to be published and disseminated. His hon. friend had only done what Sir Hastings Doyle had intended should be done. Sir Hastings Doyle had written that letter in order that he might inform Parliament, and show to the country what fashion of a man this was, who was coming up to take the oath of allegiance to his Sovereign, whose flag he would cheer if it were pulled down. Then there was Mr. Vail. Surely the Premier, who had selected him as a man of honour, as a man of integrity, as a man whose word should be believed, would not let Mr. Vail's word be disputed, though they were asked to consider that the Chief Justice, Sir William Young, Judge Desbarres and all these other men were unworthy of belief. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) had supposed that his hon. friend the Minister of Justice would have felt it his duty, when this attack was made upon the character of the Judges of Nova Scotia, to have risen in his place and defended them from such accusations. It seemed to him that it

was the duty of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Laflamme), when those Judges were branded as liars and scoundrels, to defend Sir William Young and Justice Desbarres from the attack made on their honour, their honesty and their integrity. But the hon. gentleman had sat still. He did not know if the hon. the Premier would allow the same attack to be made on the veracity and the honesty of Mr. Vail. That gentleman was a white Vail when he was a Minister, but he did not know whether he had become a black Vail since the unfortunate affair of Digby. He (Mr. Vail) had retired into private life, but he did not suppose that he had suffered any dishonour—he had been merely unfortunate. It had been the fate of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Vail), to fall at the election. This had very nearly been his (Sir John A. Macdonald's) fate at his last election, and he was told by some hon. gentlemen that it was going to be his fate at the next election. Those things would happen; and yet, the day after he had fallen, the day after his misfortune, he was just as honest, just as worthy of belief, and just as veracious; as the day when he held office and was a sworn adviser of the representative of his Sovereign, and the bosom friend and colleague of the hon. gentleman opposite. Notwithstanding this, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) declared that Mr. Vail was a man unworthy of belief. The hon. gentleman said that any man who repeated the statement in question was a foul slanderer. Well, Mr. Vail had repeated that statement, and Sir Hastings Doyle had repeated it.

MR. JONES: Mr. Vail was not present.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD: The hon. gentleman said that whoever originally made the statement or repeated it was a slanderer and a liar. Then Mr. Vail was a liar. The hon. gentleman had recommended and put Mr. Vail into the Cabinet, because, at that time, it was not convenient for him to take his place in the Cabinet. Mr. Vail was sent there and put into the Ministry in order to keep the seat warm for his hon. friend (Mr. Jones) for fear that the eggs should addle.

He (Mr. Vail) sat on the eggs until the hon. gentleman was ready to hatch them. He (Mr. Jones) put Mr. Vail into the Government, and now it appeared there was no one so poor as to do him reverence; and it was strange in what an unceremonious manner the hon. gentleman had been shoved out into the cold. At this time the hon. gentleman (Mr. Jones) took a little journey, and rode a little more, as the hon. the Premier would say, than a Sabbath-day's journey, on his way to Ottawa, in order to supply Mr. Vail's place. It looked very like it. Scant courtesy had been shown that gentleman (Mr. Vail). In Ireland, when a criminal was about to be beheaded, after sentence had been passed, he was accustomed to pray to the Lord, to give him a long day. The hon. gentleman had not given Mr. Vail a long day. To be sure, when he first came into the Government, they were told what an able man he was, what a valuable acquisition he was, what additional strength he was to the Government. Among the Ministerial supporters of Nova Scotia, they were told that Mr. Vail's super-eminent abilities, super-eminent qualities, and the claims, the paramount claims, which he had upon the Government, for the position to which he was invited—although he was a perfectly new man in the House, and although, previously, he never sat in the Dominion Parliament. They did not give Mr. Vail much time to think about it, and, although they said that when he came into the Government he would be an additional strength to the Government, it was a relief to the Premier to get rid of him, and it was said that to get rid of him would also additionally strengthen the Government. He evidently had not proved to be so much of a soldier as it was thought he would, and his inability to carry the Militia Estimates, which the Premier had to do for him, did not speak well for his acquaintance with his Department. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) did not think that the late Minister of Militia should have been appointed, but at the same time he held that he should not be called a liar or a foul slanderer because he happened to repeat the accusation against the member for Halifax, and because he had been unfortunate. It was said

that the road to a certain place was paved with good intentions, and it seemed that Mr. Vail had been busy paving. True, it might be, as Mr. Vail said, that Mr. Jones would cheer when the flag was pulled down, but that he (Mr. Jones) said he did not want to fight England, he only wanted to fight Canada. England and the Dominion must be severed in order that Canada and Nova Scotia might fight. But, said the Minister of Militia, if that was a little rebellious, if there was a little treason in it, Sir George Cartier was, at one time, a rebel too. Could such a defence as that be set up in the Parliament of Canada? There was, at the time that Sir George took up arms, a great struggle, and some of those who took up arms paid the penalty of their act by dying on the scaffold or in the field. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) did not believe the hon. gentleman would have been bold enough to take up arms as Sir George Cartier did. The hon. the Minister of Militia was like mine Ancient Pistol, who spoke brave words at the bridge, but who was dismissed for cowardice. He could speak brave words at the bridge, he could say that he would cheer when the flag was pulled down, but he would not take up arms and pull it down. And, in his desperation now, he insulted everybody standing higher than himself, and brought charges against the hon. member for Cumberland which he could not prove. It would not do, and, so long as he was in Parliament, and had anything to do with the affairs of the Dominion, it would be remembered by every loyal man that he was the man who, because the Provinces were united by Confederation, was anxious to set Nova Scotia against Canada, and to sever the connection between the British Crown and the Dominion in order to bring that about. The country must believe the evidence of Sir William Young, Judge Desbarros, Mr. Thompson, and his (Mr. Jones's) friend and colleague, Mr. Vail. The country would say that he had been guilty, and as long as he was in the Cabinet, the country would say: there sits a Minister of Militia who said what was treasonable, and has not repented of it at this moment.

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