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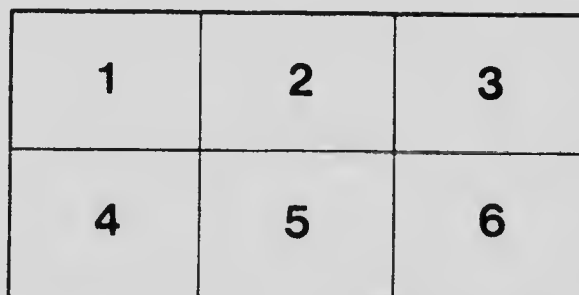
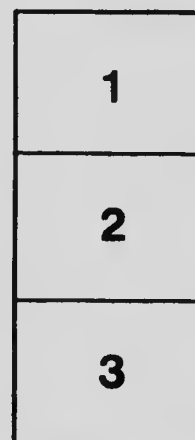
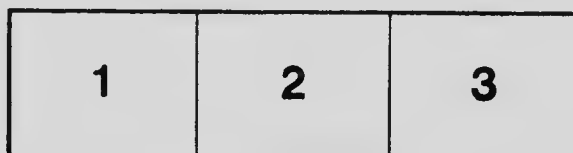
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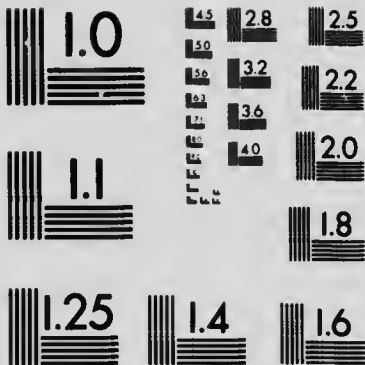
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Sir James Whitney

on
American Reciprocity

*Ontario Legislative
Assembly*



1911



Sir James Whitney
on
American Reciprocity

Addresses delivered by the Prime Minister of
Ontario; the Debate in the
Legislature.

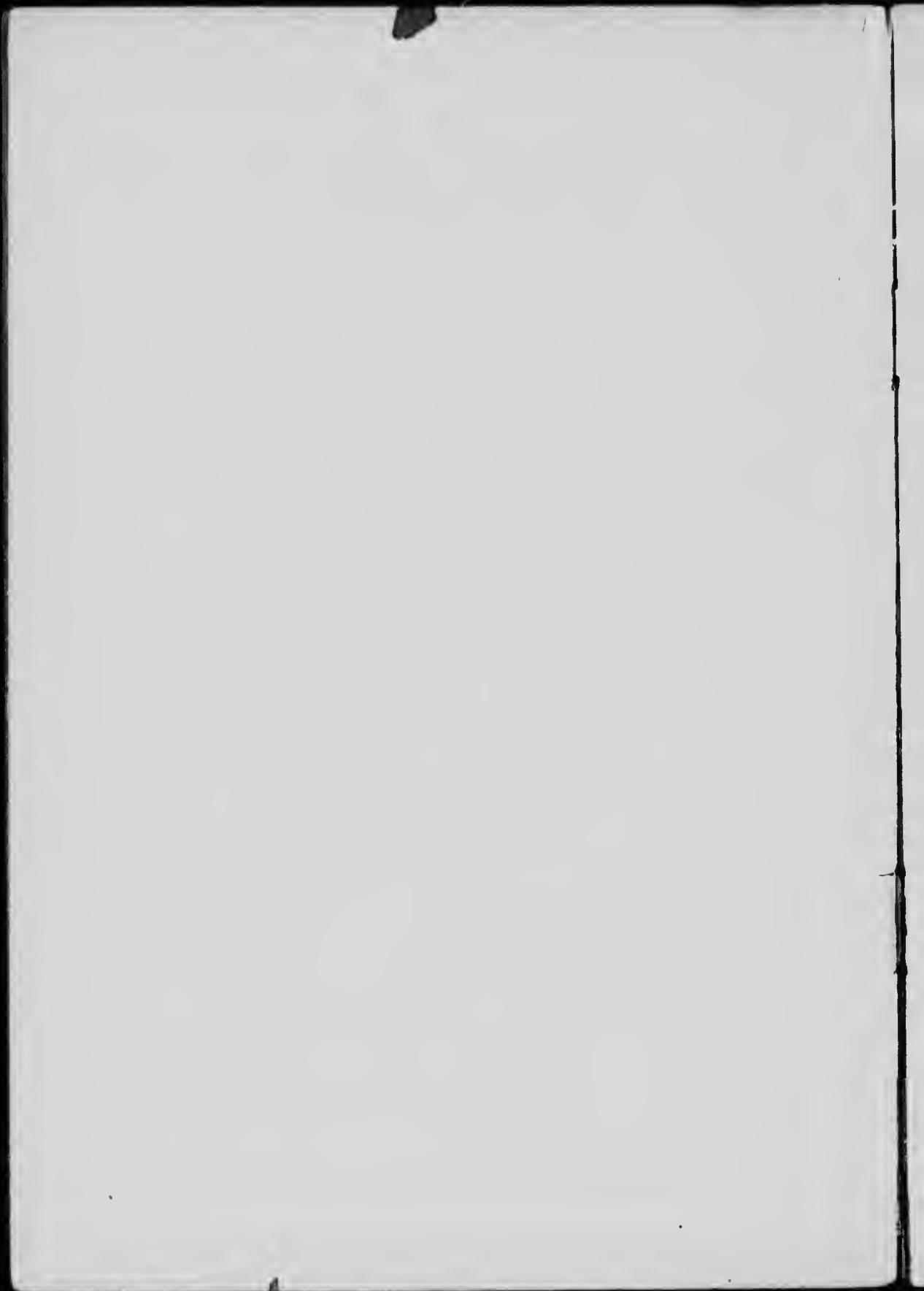
"The Parting of the Ways."

Shall Canadian Nationality and Fiscal Independence
be Impaired and the Permanence and Continuity
of British Institutions Threatened to Suit
U.S. Political Exigencies ?

Some Incontrovertible Evidence and
Arguments.

1911

327093
13. 5. 36.



The Government's Motion

In the Legislature at Toronto, on Thursday, March 9th, 1911, Sir James Whitney, Prime Minister of Ontario, spoke to and moved the adoption of the following motion condemnatory of the reciprocity proposals between Canada and the United States:

- “That, in the opinion of this House, the interests of the Province of Ontario would, without doubt, be injuriously affected should the proposed Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States of America come into force;
- “That this House, representing the people of Ontario, should not remain silent when a matter of such vital importance to the Province is being discussed, but should clearly state its attitude with respect thereto;
- “Therefore, be it resolved, That this House deploras the making of said agreement and hereby records its strong dissent therefrom for the following reasons:—
- “That Canada is now enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity, her trade is expanding in all directions, her population is rapidly increasing, her ability, if unhampered by agreements, to work out her own destiny as a part of the great British Empire is beyond dispute, and her people are prosperous and contented. This is the result of the policy which has been pursued in the development of her trade and resources, and which has involved great sacrifice: on the part of her people and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars upon transportation facilities between the various Provinces, and between Canada and the Empire.
- “That the determination of her people to carve out their own destiny and achieve nationhood as one of the component parts of the British Empire has justified this policy and is itself justified by the result.
- “That Canada's tide of prosperity and contentment is still rising, and her position and influence as an essential part of a consolidated Empire are becoming more assured. No arrangement with a foreign state should be considered which might even jeopardize the continuance of her present satisfactory condition, much less this agreement for reciprocity with the United States of America, negotiated in secret and without authority from her people, which, if made effective, would, in the opinion of this House, to a large extent, reverse the policy which has brought Canada to her present enviable position, would cause widespread and revolutionary disturbance in her business, would curtail and hamper her freedom in developing her own resources in her own way, would cause serious injury to many industries, and to Canada as a whole would check the growth and development of trade between the various parts of Canada with each other and between Canada and the Empire, would result in commercial union with the United States, would weaken Canada's position and influence as a unit in the British Empire, would frustrate her hopes of nationhood within the Empire, and would lead to political union with the United States.”

Upon rising, Sir James was greeted by loud and continued applause. He said:

It may be, Mr. Speaker, that the infrequency with which motions of this description are laid before the House is a subject which should call forth congratulations from honorable members. While there is a great deal to be said on either side of the question, it would never do for this legislative body, or for any other similar legislative body, for that matter, to betray a disposition to travel outside of its regular jurisdiction from time to time, and thus betray a tendency to interfere in matters which do not concern it, and to acquire a habit which, at any rate, would be an inconvenience. But however that may be, Mr. Speaker, the record and history of the Province of Ontario and of its Legislature is one which should be eminently satisfactory to the people with regard to such matters. It is, however, too late in the day, Mr. Speaker, for anybody to waste any appreciable amount of time, at any rate, in urging or arguing that, when a matter is brought forward and laid before the people of the Dominion of Canada, affecting the future interests of the Dominion and the strengthening and concentration of the British Empire—it is too late in the day, Sir, for men to intervene and give us here or elsewhere the cheap sneer or the ready gibe. We, this Legislature, representing the sovereign people of Ontario, are travelling out of the record when we deny and express our opinion on questions which will affect every important interest of the people of Ontario, not only for the present time, but for years, and perhaps for centuries, to come. (Applause). Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am not here to offer any excuses for bringing this resolution before this House. (Renewed applause.)

PLENTY OF PRECEDENTS.

Were it necessary to produce them, I could produce precedents in plenty during the little over twenty years that I have been a member of this House. I have witnessed and listened to motions of this description brought forward here by my political opponents whenever it occurred to them that the interests of their party at Ottawa were to be served by so doing. And I have this to say, Mr. Speaker, that there were occasions on which I am willing to admit that the importance of the subject and its general application of the subject to the interests of the country, to the interests of the people as a whole, quite justified the Government of the day in bringing the subject forward in the Legislature. If I chose, Sir, to

go back and recall some of my reminiscences, I might bring to the recollection of the House the fact that, with a great flourish of trumpets and great gravity of demeanor on the part of the Ministers of the day, who decided to have a dress debate on the subject—the Government of the day brought forward a resolution declaring that in the best interests of the people the Senate of Canada should be abolished. And I will never forget, Mr. Speaker, the roundabout methods with which these honourable gentlemen endeavored to show to the members of this Legislature the wisdom of the proposition which they thus brought forward. During the course of that debate, however, the honourable gentleman who then represented the city of Ottawa in this House brought forward statistics to show that the Senate of Canada had voted down a very large number of propositions of the Conservative Government—I forget how many—a fact which greatly astonished and surprised all the honourable gentlemen who supported the resolution.

SENATE STILL UNREFORMED.

But, Mr. Speaker, I must not waste time over that. I may just mention in passing, however, and I am sure honourable members will excuse me if I draw attention to the conduct of the Liberal party at Ottawa with regard to their reform of the Senate, that in spite of the resolution passed in this House and those passed in other Provincial Legislatures at the time—in spite of these facts, to-day we have the Senate of the Dominion of Canada with a larger majority of one party than it has ever had during its existence, and the very evils and defects which were pointed out and proclaimed at that time by the gentlemen who sat on these benches, have not only been continued, but emphasized and accentuated.

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that I offer not excuse for bringing this resolution forward. I do not know, Sir, what, if any, excuse the Leader of the Opposition in the Manitoba Legislature and the political colleague of my honourable friend opposite, offered for bringing forward a resolution dealing with this question. I do not know whether the representatives of the Opposition in the British Columbia Legislature made any objection or not, but I remember being here, Sir, when a resolution with reference to this very question, or rather, at any rate, a cognate subject, was brought forward by the then member for Lambton, Mr. Graham, on which a lengthy debate took place, and to which there was not a particle of objection raised

by the gentlemen who then sat on this side of the House. And why should we hesitate when great questions arise, questions that not only deal with our present happiness and prosperity, and our present political aims and affiliations, but also with the happiness and prosperity of those who are to come after us, and as to whose future we are naturally anxious? Why should it be that under any system of government by civilized people, in civilized countries, that any legislative body, apparently representing the people, should hold its hands and refrain from and decline to consider a subject like this, which is of the greatest possible importance to its constituents?

“THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.”

This subject, Sir, is one of remarkable importance, and the most remarkable and indisputable feature in it is this: We have the head of a great nation, of a contiguous people, so to speak, with whom we have many associations, and with whom we have memories of a pleasant nature, as well as some not quite so pleasant—we have this distinguished gentleman, the head of that nation, declaring publicly—what? That he desires and thinks it would be a good thing to have reciprocity in dealing commercially between these two nations; that he thinks that would commend itself to the common sense of the people of the United States and Canada? No, Mr. Speaker, but he starts off with the statement that “The people of Canada are at the parting of the ways!” (Applause). A remarkable utterance, whether made to an individual or to a nation, whether made to an individual or to a nation or a community, large or small. The remarkable portion of it is that the utterance, the wording of which I have just indicated, the peculiarity of meaning which everybody must associate with it, forms the key to the desire and intention of that distinguished man, and you cannot divorce the two, you cannot separate one from the other. It is all very well to say that the gentleman did not mean this or that, all very well to say that other distinguished gentlemen who have declared openly for annexation were joking. Why do they joke? Why, I say, did the President of the United States use the language which I have just described? Why should that statement be made, Mr. Speaker, about Canada and the people of Canada? Who gave authority for such a statement? Who brings to us the news that here in this country, where happiness and prosperity abound, where there is an abiding faith and determination in our future as a nation within the borders of the British Empire—

who dares to come to us and announce, as one with authority, that we are at the parting of the ways? (Loud applause). How does it fit in, so to speak, Sir, with the situation in this country?

A HAPPY, CONTENTED, PROSPEROUS PEOPLE.

How does it fit in, I say, with the situation here, and why is it that the distinguished head of the Government of the United States is so interested in us and in our future? And I would like also to hear from him, Sir, as to when Canada became cognizant that she was at the parting of the ways, and that in a few weeks, more or less, she would decide her political future, as this distinguished gentleman chooses to indicate. Up to a few weeks ago, Mr. Speaker, the Canadian people were happy and contented and prosperous—thanks to Divine Providence—prosperous in a measure exceeded by no civilized people within the domain of history. Up to a few weeks ago, Sir, that was the position of the people of Canada, and we were contentedly marching along the pathway which had been ours for so many years, which had been ours for generations, and along which we always expected to go, looking forward to peace and prosperity, and our pathway, leading up to the permanence and continuity of British institutions on this continent and to the concentration and strengthening of the British Empire everywhere. (Applause). Up to a few weeks ago, Sir, that was the situation here, and then comes this cryptic utterance from the distinguished head of a foreign state that Canada is at the parting of the ways, and, without warning, without notice, a new pathway, a pathway leading away from that which had been ours, and which will be ours, Mr. Speaker (Loud applause)—without warning, I say, a new pathway leading away from our present pathway was indicated by this foreign authority, and the people of Canada are told that they must now choose. And, coincident with this remarkable utterance, coincident with the remarkable utterances of other distinguished statesmen in the United States, coincident with the resolutions passed by legislatures of some of the States, coincident with the exposition all over the United States of the practically unanimous intention and desire to annex the Dominion of Canada, and the plea that this proceeding was the first stage towards it—coincident with these occurrences, Mr. J. J. Hill, a Canadian once himself, who has spent the last two years of his life in getting Mr. Taft up to his present position, this Mr. J. J. Hill says to the people of the United States: "You have now your

opportunity, and your only opportunity, of heading off forever imperial federation on the other side of the line!" (Loud applause). And yet we are told, Mr. Speaker, that they do not mean it, that they do not wish what they say to be interpreted by the ordinary canons of construction of the English language!

TO FORCE RECIPROCITY UPON THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

Now, Sir, the remarkable feature with regard to the situation is that this demand is backed up by our Ottawa Government. In a sense I am not very much surprised at that, Mr. Speaker, because the Government at Ottawa for at least three or four days after the return of Messrs. Fielding and Patterson from Washington was apparently in a dazed condition. They had no idea when those two distinguished gentlemen went down there that they were going to bring back with them what they did; they had no reason for anticipating it, and when the two Canadian gentlemen arrived there, they found themselves not exactly hypnotized, but a heavier load than they anticipated was put upon their shoulders, and back they came. Thus, I say, perhaps it is not a matter of very much surprise under those conditions that the Government at Ottawa failed in their duty. Very well, Mr. Speaker, who authorized the Government of Canada to enter into an agreement of this kind, a secret agreement which they bring from Washington and lay before the Parliament of Canada, saying, "You shall pass this, word for word, line for line, and letter for letter." Who ever heard, Mr. Speaker, of such a proposition as that under the circumstances? And surely there is reason and justification enough in all this for the Legislature of the premier province of the Dominion of Canada, to take the matter up and discuss it, not only with reference to the interests of her people, but of the Dominion and, indeed, of the Empire. I have dwelt upon this feature of the case for this reason. There is no explaining away these words: the words used by the President of the United States mean nothing unless they mean what I have indicated, and unless he had in his mind, or at the back of his mind, the intention and meaning which I have indicated, there was no reason whatever for his language, and his words are meaningless.

Now, let us endeavor to get at what may be called the true inwardness of the situation, or just what the situation indeed was.

Mr. Taft, the head of the Republican part of the United States, has been President for about two years. His party received a defeat at the elections last autumn. Last Saturday the terms of the old Senate and House of Representatives of the United States came to an end, and the new Houses are now in existence. Of course, the Republican party has been for years, has been always, in fact, since the beginning of its existence, the party of protection in the United States, and the Democratic party has been the party of free trade, sometimes strongly for free trade, at other times for free trade, but in a more or less perfunctory fashion, and that is where they are now. Now, when the elections came on last autumn, the people were very much interested in the question of tariff revision. The Democratic party boasted then, as now, that they were in favour of tariff revision downward. The Republican party also said they favoured downward revision, but they said it with a string to it. They were always in favour of it: in fact, as far as my recollection of American politics goes back, the Republican party has always been ready to revise the tariff, and yet has never really revised it. That is the difference between the two parties. President Taft then, finding himself in a minority, with a Democratic majority in the new House of Representatives, cast about him to see what he could do, what action he could take, what course he might devise, in order to forestall the work which the Democratic party was inclined to do, and in order to cover his own party and himself with praise. Now, around the outskirts of his own party, a small body of men known as insurgents were very active, and the trend of the minds of those gentlemen on most subjects is somewhat difficult to follow. The only time one can find exactly what an insurgent means is when some public question comes up which affects his own constituency. Then it is always easy to understand his meaning.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S OPPORTUNITY.

Well, then, Mr. Taft had been coached for two years by Mr. J. J. Hill, who said: "Now is your opportunity. If the new Congress comes in, the new House of Representatives, being Democratic, will revise the tariff downward; it will lower the import duties. If you can get ahead of them and bring about a scheme like this, you will get the credit of compelling them to support it or oppose it."

And, Sir, the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared more than once publicly that there would be no more going to Washington for reciprocity, and yet when they were asked to go there they went; and Mr. Taft, with the wisdom which distinguished him, concluded the arrangement with them which we are discussing to-day, and incidentally Mr. Taft also got ahead of his political enemies in the House of Representatives, which was his object, in addition to the object already mentioned, namely, the bringing about some day the annexation of Canada to the United States. Now, that gives us an idea of the situation just as it is, and, Mr. Speaker, so much for the history of the case.

WHAT IT MEANS TO THE FARMER.

Let us consider now for a moment what the effect of it all is likely to be, and on this point, Mr. Speaker, let me assure the honourable members that I will not weary them. I propose to just touch the fringe of the question of the effect of the reciprocity agreement, treaty or pact, as far as its material effect on the Dominion of Canada is concerned, and therefore I will only touch upon one specific point with reference to its probable effect, and that is the question of farm products. The farmers of the United States, since the birth of the Republican party in 1856, have been protectionist; the farmers of the United States as a body have been steadily protectionist from that day down to the present, and they can give you good reasons, at least what they consider good reasons, for believing in the doctrine and system of protection. And, Sir, they are quite earnest and sincere in keeping up the protective tariff. Well, what are the farmers of the United States saying with reference to this agreement? They are opposed to it. And why are the farmers of the United States opposed to it? The reason they are opposed to it is because they say it will lower the prices of their products. Now, I was talking to a gentleman yesterday on the floor of the House, who had just come from Washington, and he told me he could live there a great deal cheaper than he can in the city of Toronto, and he instanced the fact that the price of eggs in Washington was 16 cents a dozen. And if that is the case, and the farmers of the United States are right, and reciprocity will lower the price of their products, will the prices of ours be raised? (Loud applause). So that

there is apparently no reason or justification for any farmer in this country anxiously awaiting the outcome of this reciprocity agreement.

Now, Mr. Speaker, for the sake of argument, let us take the other point of view, in order that the matter may be presented from every side. Let us say it will not lower prices in the United States, but raise them. That means that we will get more for our products here, which means that the cost of living in Canada will be raised higher than it now is, though it already is up to the limit which can be borne by the people of this country. (Applause). They can take the argument, Mr. Speaker, either way they choose. (Renewed applause.)

EFFECT UPON CANADIAN TRANSPORTATION.

Next, as to the effect upon our transportation: Since the birth of this country (and I used the word "birth" advisedly) some forty years ago, we have grown and prospered, and have, at an expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, created great lines of transportation leading from the Pacific Ocean down to the Atlantic, in order that the continuity of traffic may be preserved, and in order that the products of our farmers in the Great West may be carried on Canadian railways and by Canadian ships to the European market, all these being great features in our magnificent system, and leading up to our great purpose, Mr. Speaker, the strengthening and consolidation of the British Empire of the future. (Applause). And the people of this country, Sir, have prospered and grown rich and great; they have grown great with all the qualities and attributes which show that human nature is greater than the natures below it. What, then, is the situation to-day with regard to our transportation problem? Mr. J. J. Hill has nine lines of railway reaching northward to the boundary, ready, as some gentlemen have stated, to put their noses over into Canada the moment this reciprocity pact is brought about—nine branch lines of railways like the branches of an immense gridiron, reaching up to the Canadian border, and as soon as he finds this arrangement carried out, he will endeavor to take away from the Canadian transportation lines millions of bushels of farm produce, year after year, to be manufactured in Minneapolis and other American cities. And I will not insult the intelligence of this House, Sir, by describing in detail what effect that will have on the products and on the prospects of the Canadian people. (Applause.)

If the Canadian products of wheat, oats and other grain were to be allowed to go in free along with the grain, then one could not say that the proposition would be such an unfair one, but these friends of ours are careful to refuse to allow the products of wheat, oats, etc., to come in free, because they wish the nine roads of Mr. Hill to carry down the wheat and oats, etc., to Minneapolis and to other places in the United States, in order that they may be ground in American mills, carried over American railways, and finally carried by American ships to Europe. (Applause). Why, here are, as honourable gentlemen well know, in the city of Minneapolis great flour mills, one of which has for years produced four thousand barrels of flour per day. And I ask, honourable gentlemen, how many years will pass before there will be a distinct dividing line between the Western and Northern provinces and the Eastern portion of the Dominion of Canada, and the interests of this province and of the Canadian North-West having been separated, they must be materially affected by the influences of the United States lying immediately south of them, and the rails on the Grand Trunk Pacific, and on the Canadian Pacific, to a great extent, though not so much as the other, will grow rusty in the lifetime of reciprocity. (Loud applause.)

Honourable A. G. MacKay—Hear, hear.

Sir James Whitney—I may say that honourable gentlemen are aware that for several years there has been a large influx of American capital for investment in Canadian enterprises, and since the knowledge of this fact has come out, capital has been stopped on the way and taken back to the United States.

U.S. SENATOR BEVERIDGE ON THE TARIFF.

But, in order to prove what I am saying from American sources, let us hear what Senator Beveridge said not two weeks ago—and I am very happy, Mr. Speaker, to be in a situation as a public man of being able to prove every word I am uttering by the production of evidence from people with whom I do not agree. Well, this is what Senator Beveridge said:

“There must be reciprocity with Canada. Our tariff with the rest of the world does not apply to our northern neighbor. That policy already has driven American manufacturers across the Canadian borders, built vast plants with American capital on Canadian soil, employing Canadian workmen to supply trade. That capital should be kept at home to employ American working men to supply Canadian demands.”

Now, what can be said in reply to this view of reciprocity by the men who desire on the other side of the line to bring this about? Leaving out any difference of opinion as to the merits of the details such as I have been dealing with in the last few minutes, the bargain is in any event a jug-handled and one-sided one, for several reasons.

Under the operation of what is known as the Most Favoured Nation Clause, this agreement with the United States compels us to allow the products of 12 or 14 other nations to come into Canada free, and, would you believe it, Mr. Speaker? Canada is not allowed to enter the markets of those 12 or 14 nations free at all! And that is what the scintillating and bubbling-over wisdom of the statesmen at Ottawa has done, that is the condition that they have brought about, and the condition in which they have placed the people of Canada, whose servants they are. (Hear, hear! Applause.)

CANADA AND THE MOST FAVOURED NATION CLAUSE.

Some honourable gentlemen have no doubt read the debate in the House of Commons, and seen the questions asked by Mr. Borden and the answers by Mr. Fielding, and I may say that the method under which these answers were brought out constituted a remarkable exhibition. Mr. Fielding is an estimable gentleman, and an honour to the country which produced him, a gentleman against whom personally nothing can be said, but who, I am sorry to say, never gives a straight answer to even the simplest question if he can avoid it. That is well understood. And when the honourable gentleman was asked in the House to say plainly and specifically what was the fact with regard to these 12 or 14 other nations, he fought for 15 or 20 minutes before he would give way and make the necessary admissions! Is not that proof, if proof were needed, that even he felt how thin his armour was at this particular point?

I will not read the whole discussion, as it would detain the House too long, but Mr. Borden asked whether the Argentine Republic would have the same rights with the United States to send its goods into our territory, and Mr. Fielding said: "That is answered. My answer says so." And, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Fielding gave the same answer when questioned as to Austria-Hungary, Bolivia, Columbia, Denmark, Japan, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela. There is the proof of what I have just said, that these gentlemen were so dazed that they failed to see all the incidental

consequences or results of the pact or agreement which they made, and I have no doubt they were surprised when they found that in the operation of this Favour'd Nation Clause they had allowed all these other nations free right to come rushing into Canada with their products, while Canada was not to be permitted to enter the gates of any one of them with hers. (Loud applause.)

ANNEXATION CLEARLY THE OBJECT.

Now then, Sir, that is all I intend to say with regard to the material or more sordid aspect of this pact or agreement. Just a word or two, however, about the annexation, or, I was going to say, with reference to the more patriotic view—but in view of the terrible assault of my honourable friends opposite the other day, on a very inoffensive member of this House to the effect that patriotism, as Dr. Johnson used to say, was the last refuge of a scoundrel, I do not know, Sir, whether I am so ready to put myself in the class of scoundrels. (Laughter). However, I suppose if I go into it for a few minutes with Sir George W. Ross, Honourable E. J. Davis and a few more of the chums and bed-fellows of the honourable gentlemen (Renewed laughter and applause.) who taught him his first lessons of political virtue, I may be able even to stand up under the appellation of scoundrel coming from the honourable gentleman with reference to patriotism. (Applause.)

It is said that annexation is not their object. Mr. Speaker, I am speaking now to over a hundred intelligent men of the Province of Ontario, and I ask every honourable gentleman here whether there has ever been an instance in their recollection when they had a conversation with an intelligent American citizen, and they brought the matter up for discussion, when that American citizen did not say distinctly that he expected Canada to come in with the United States, that he believed it would be infinitely better for Canada to come, and that it would be better for the United States to have Canada? I say there is no an intelligent American in the ninety millions of American people who has not that desire and intention at the back of his mind (Applause), not one! And if this were not so, how otherwise can the use of such language as Mr. Taft used be understood? If he were not thinking of annexation, why should he say that Canada was at the parting of the ways? Why should it occur to him that Canada should not keep on in the old pathway she has travelled for generations? How did he come to think anything at all

about it. Mr. Speaker, unless he was thinking that little Canada was getting to be quite a country, and that it would be well to take it over, and Jim Hill has his nine railways up there, and once we get the opportunity to get in, we will take advantage of it in short order, while at the same time we will get the better of this Democratic House of Representatives. There is no other excuse, there is no other explanation, there is no other reason which can be given, Mr. Speaker. If that were not and is not the desire, the intention and the determination of the American people, why was this language used? And I say, Sir, there is no intelligent answer possible except the one already given. Now we know some of the reasons, and I am going to quote some of them, if honourable gentlemen will allow me to so far trespass on the patience of the House.

“WILL BRING CANADA IN.”—CHAMP CLARK.

Here is a gentleman called Mr. Champ Clark. Now, Mr. Champ Clark is to be, in two weeks or so, the Speaker of the new House of Representatives, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, honourable gentlemen will remember, is to all intents and purposes the Prime Minister of the United States. The Speaker of the House of Representatives appoints the committees of the House, recognizes just such men who wish to speak as he chooses to recognize, and allows just such bills to go through as he chooses to go through—and this is a democratic and republican country, so called. (Applause). But at a rate that is the position of high power and influence which Mr. Champ Clark has achieved, and from which he will deal in the course of a few weeks with this great question. He said: “The Canadians spoke the same language and were the same people. If the treaty of 1854 had not been abrogated, the two nations would have been a great deal nearer together now than they are.”

“Do you think this will end in bringing Canada into the Union?” asked Mr. Norris of Nebraska.

“Yes; I have no doubt about it?” answered Mr. Clark.

“Do you think that will tend to peace with Great Britain,” continued Mr. Norris, with special reference to Mr. Clark’s allusion to universal peace made a moment or two before.

“Yes; I certainly think it will. I have no doubt the time will come when Great Britain would joyfully see all of her North American possessions become part of the republic,” answered Mr. Clark.

There is the statement made on the floor of Congress by Mr. Champ Clark, and, Mr. Speaker, those of you who have read the Journals will have noticed what a great rumpus was created in Washington when this speech was made, and Mr. Taft was very quick and very astute in taking every possible step to minimize the utterance of Mr. Champ Clark, and even cabled across the ocean that it was all a joke. But Mr. Clark declared in an interview that it was not a joke. That what he had said expressed the views which he had always held, and that they were the views which he then held.

J. J. HILL'S CANDID OPINION.

Now let us hear from that well-known Canadian, Mr. J. J. Hill, who, I am sorry to say, has expatriated himself. This is what he said in an interview, and I desire to draw the attention of honourable members to the note of mystery which seems to run between the lines of this interview:

"The public mind must not be deceived by any pretences of political hypocrisy. Every public man either knows or does not know the true value and obvious effect of this reciprocity agreement. If he does not know, he is not fit for his place, and such a confession should banish him from it. If he does know and yet opposes, he is a demagogue prepared to sacrifice the most important interests of his own country, and then close the greatest opportunity opened to it in years, for the sake of some supposed private political advantage which he believes can be won by pandering to ignorant prejudice. "Every such man should be sent to the rear in the future political life of the United States as defective in either brains or honesty. By the fate of this treaty our national character will be tested; and by his vote upon it, each public representative may be fairly and finally judged."

Then he also said in another interview that "conditions in the British Empire are such that, if we let this opportunity pass, it will never come again. If we neglect the opportunity that is now manifesting itself, it is almost a certainty that imperial federation will follow."

NO UNDUE ADVANTAGE TO BRITAIN, SAYS McCALL.

Am I not right, Sir, when I say that there is no answer to these things, no answer as to the meaning, intention and determination of these distinguished statesmen of the American Republic? Then, Mr. McCall, a member of Congress at Washington, said to be probably the most cultured man in the House of Representatives, is the

personal representative of the President of the United States on the floor of Congress, and who had charge of this reciprocity agreement, used the following language in the course of a speech to convince Congress that reciprocity meant prosperity to the United States:

"If it were proposed to add to this country to day another Louisiana purchase" (and by this he meant the purchase by the Jefferson Ministry from Napoleon of the Trans-Mississippi territory, which practically doubled the then extent of the Union) "or if it were proposed to add two or three agricultural States, who would there be to deny that such a circumstance would augment materially the prosperity and wealth of the two countries? And yet to the extent to which this bill goes, that is just what we are doing." (Applause.)

He also said with regard to the position of the United States that, as years went by, if it should appear under this agreement that any undue advantage was given to Great Britain by Canada, it would be within the power of Congress, if it so ordered it, to change the rates at any time, or repeal them all. How did that come to be in his mind, Mr. Speaker? How did he come to be thinking of that? With this great national twin-brother pact, how did he come to think of the possibility that Canada might give more advantageous terms to Great Britain, and it would be within the power of the United States to put down her foot upon Canada if we attempted that? (Applause.)

Now, in the Congress at Washington there is a Hansard which is called the Congressional Record, in which all the speeches are printed, and members of Congress may, if they choose, and happen to be in favour, prepare their speeches and move for "leave to print," as it is called, and they are printed without having been delivered, and in this way their constituents receive the impression that their representatives have delivered the remarkable speeches they read.

No newspaper printed Mr. McCall's remarks, he apparently not desiring that Great Britain or Canada should hear the arguments necessary to secure the majority for the bill. The strange fact is, several of the speeches were withheld for several days from the Congressional Record.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER COMMENT.

Then we have the New York World making use of this language:

"The alarm in England over American-Canadian reciprocity is a big nudge to Uncle Sam that he is on the right track."

Then we have a despatch from New York to this effect :

New York, Feb. 22.

"The annexation sentiment, as the result of the proposed reciprocity agreement with Canada, continues to manifest itself throughout the country. Resolutions have been introduced in the Legislature of North Dakota calling on the North Dakota members in Congress to use their influence to bring about peaceable annexation with Canada's representatives. Mr. Lorille, a member of the Lower House of the North Dakota Legislature, offered a resolution which declared that the Canadian-American reciprocity agreement shows conclusively that the two countries have interests in common and that the people of the two nations can best be served under the same Government.

"These resolutions indicate how the feeling is extending that reciprocity must lead to annexation, and how people are beginning to bring pressure to bear upon Washington. If this active annexation propaganda proceeds, while action on the reciprocity agreement is still pending, it does not require a vivid imagination to realize how it will grow if reciprocity becomes an accomplished fact."

Then we have also the Washington Star, from which I will just read the last two paragraphs dealing with this same question of annexation :

"But the national welfare of both countries will undoubtedly be promoted by the most intimate commercial reciprocity. In time the thoughts of the Canadians may turn towards annexation as the most to be desired of all political boons. The isolation and humiliation of the colonial position will not be forever endurable. Meanwhile, full reciprocity in exchange of citizens and products and steady Americanization."

Is there any man of the most ordinary intelligence, Mr. Speaker, who will stand up in this or any legislative body, and say that any conclusion but one is possible in face of the proofs which I have brought here as to the intention, the desire and the object of these gentlemen with regard to this reciprocity pact? (Applause.)

WHAT EDWARD BLAKE THOUGHT OF RECIPROCITY.

Let me now quote a few words from Mr. Edward Blake, who, speaking with reference to this question, says :

"Our hopes and our fears alike would draw one way. We would then indeed be 'looking to Washington.' Nor is there any fair comparison in this aspect between the new and the old reciprocal arrangements.

"The treaty once made, the vantage ground it gave would naturally be used for the accomplishment of its ulterior purpose, and this political end would be a great factor in the consideration by the States of Canadian views upon changes in the joint tariff, or as to the maintenance or termination of the treaty."

That was the opinion of Mr. Blake several years ago, who he presided as Opposition leader of the Liberal party in Canada.

I submit now, Mr. Speaker, with all possible respect to the intelligence and capacity for comprehension of honourable members of this House, that it is abundantly clear that, whatever our opinion may have been heretofore, we cannot now arrive at any conclusion, we dare not arrive at any conclusion, other than that this reciprocity agreement, in its origin and in its inception, was intended to be worked out to its natural conclusion, or to what Mr. Blake calls "its ulterior purpose," so that in due time the United States of America would take under the aegis of American institutions all the British dominions on the continent of North America.

CANADA'S BIRTH AS A NATION.

Mr. Speaker, at the time of the abrogation of the old reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States, the people then to the fore in the Government of the United States were quite convinced that all they had to do was to abrogate that treaty and within a very few years Canada would come willingly, indeed, anxiously and lovingly, within the folds of the American flag. Sir, Canada did not come. Canada's birth as a nation was coincident with the abrogation of that old treaty. (Loud cheers). Under no imaginable circumstances, at no imaginable time, could she have started out under better auspices for her future growth and her future career as a nation, one of the component parts of the British Empire. (Cheers). Over forty years ago, Sir, we started out with the Canadian union. We got together a number of provinces, separated by long distances, separated also because there was very little knowledge in one province of the people of the other provinces. They were separated, also, by differences of race and of creed, but the people of Canada set to work under the disadvantage of the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty to hew out their own destiny. And they have done it. (Loud cheers). We have had our little disagreements between the provinces, our little differences, Mr. Speaker. Difficulties have been found, as the years have gone by, but we have surmounted them all. A sturdy and determined patriotism has enabled the people of Canada to surmount all these obstacles, and today we are a united people, affording an opportunity for the rest of the civilized world to look on and see how a Christian and civilized people can, without going to extremes, reconcile differences that at

first sight seemed almost insurmountable, and present a front to the observing world, creditable alike to the efforts which they have made, and also to the position which they have gained. (Applause.)

While we were doing this under the benign influence of Providence, which no true Canadian will ever lose sight of or forget; while we were working out our political destiny and providing an object lesson to the other nations of the world, at the same time we were working up to the position which we now occupy, of wonderful commercial prosperity, and just as this great and wonderful prosperity is at the flood, just as it has arrived at its zenith, just at that time, Mr. Speaker, a foreign potentate tells us that we must abandon the path that we have hitherto followed, and enter upon a new and strange pathway, leading in a different direction. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

THE DOMINION WILL NOT RESPOND.

The people of Canada, Sir, will not accede. They will not respond to any such bidding, they will not abandon the pathway, the value of which they have heretofore proved. And, Sir, lest I might be considered pessimistic, already there are signs which go to prove the correctness of my attitude in this respect. This, Mr. Speaker, is not a party matter. Nay, Mr. Speaker, we all believe, we do not all know, but we all believe, although perhaps some of us may not be inclined to admit it, that the majority of the people of this country dislike this proposed arrangement. (Applause). We have had meetings of Boards of Trade, of the Toronto Board of Trade, of the Montreal Board of Trade, of the Associated Boards of Trade of the Province of Ontario; we have had eighteen prominent Liberals of the city of Toronto signing their names publicly to a denunciation of this agreement; we have had Sir George W. Ross, the political sponsor and godfather of the leader of the Opposition (Applause); we have had the Honourable F. J. Davis, his colleague on these benches a few years ago, all denouncing this pact or agreement, and we have had, last but not least, the Honourable Clifford Sifton joining in the chorus of denunciation. (Loud applause.)

BREAKING AWAY FROM PARTY.

Then we have one or two other members of the House of Commons breaking with their party. What does that all mean, Mr. Speaker? I think I can understand, and every honourable gentle-

man here sympathizes with men, no matter who they are, no matter what may be the subject matter that causes their action; I think every man in the House, Mr. Speaker, will sympathize with the men who, having been active exponents of their party tenets and principles, come at last to the parting of the ways—(Applause)—when they find that, if they are to be conscientious, they must abandon the old way and must take the new path leading from the old. We can all sympathize with the man who finds himself in that position. And I say that the man who, after having given the matter careful and proper consideration, makes up his mind to meet the consequences, and acts as he thinks right, that man not only deserves our sympathy, but deserves our respect, whether we agree with him or whether we differ from him. (Applause). And I pass from this with this remark, I am bound to say that as a Canadian I was glad to observe that of all these men who were Liberals when they declared they were opposed to this agreement, not one of them disowned the question as to what effect their action would have upon their own political party. And I say that men who act in that way deserve to be honoured by their fellow-citizens. They are just as much Liberals as they ever were outside of this question, as I understand it, and the only discordant note that I have observed during the last few weeks was at the meeting of the Toronto Board of Trade, when one who was utterly incapable, apparently, Mr. Speaker, of thinking for himself—a poor, shrunken, shrivelled soul—wailed out time after time, "Why, are you voting against the Government?" And that was the extent of that man's understanding and appreciation of this great, serious, public question. (Applause). And now, Sir, to-day comes the news that even the Province of Alberta is showing its teeth. (Applause). The men who have chosen to gamble with the political future of the Dominion of Canada are beginning to find that they will not receive that support and endorsement which they imagined they would receive. They find that the glamour which the efforts of interested men threw over the deputations to Ottawa, has worn off, and the people of our Northwest and elsewhere are already beginning to understand this question, to understand what it means as a whole, to understand what the result and effect of it will be with regard to the people of Canada in the future, and especially with regard to that future having relation to their connection with the British Empire. (Cheers.)

The contest is over for the present. The political struggle, at any rate, in the United States is ended for the present. Mr. Taft has

been beaten on the surface, but he has got for himself the credit which he set out to get. He has shown his own political partizans that he, as well as the Democratic party, is in favour of revising the tariff downward, and has done his utmost, while working out his annexation plans as well. And so the Democratic party, when they come into power two or three weeks hence, will find that Mr. Taft is to that extent ahead of them.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Now, Mr. Speaker, just a word or two more. The question for every good citizen of this country to consider is, what will the future bring? What will the result of all this be? What will the consequences be to the people of the Dominion of Canada? What will be the consequences to the British Empire of the future? What will be the consequences to Canadian patriotism, if I may venture upon such a remark? Whatever may be the result, it is too soon now to come to any definite or considered conclusion. But whatever the result may be in the end, I will venture to predict that the people of Canada will not accept, at the bidding of the head of an outside nation, at the bidding of the foreigner, will not accept an agreement which, in the last few words of my resolution, would check the growth and development of trade between various parts of Canada and between Canada and the Empire, and result in commercial union with the United States; would weaken Canada's position and influence as a unit in the British Empire, and frustrate her desire for nationhood within that Empire, and lead to political union with the United States. (Loud cheers.)

No, Mr. Speaker, the people of Canada will rather serve notice upon all outside people that they will not, at the bidding of any of them, abandon the old pathway, but rather that they will in the future, side by side with their brethren of the other over-seas dominions of the British Crown, whose companionship they will esteem an honour, go along with them on that great imperial pathway—sure, rounded with and redolent of great memories and the traditions and benefits of British freedom, British institutions and British citizenship, and which pathway will lead alike to the accomplishment of the desires of the Canadian people, namely, the permanence and continuity of British institutions on the continent of America and to the strengthening and consolidation of the British Empire. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Speaker, I beg leave to move the resolution.

On Thursday, March 16th, the leader of the Opposition, Honourable A. G. MacKay, moved an amendment to the resolution of the Prime Minister in a speech which occupied two and one-half hours. As six o'clock had arrived, there was no opportunity to continue the debate, and Sir James merely said:

Mr. Speaker, the debate on this resolution has not quite taken the turn which I think most of us expected. I have sat here for over two hours listening to my honourable friend with pleasure, because what he said was said in a hearty, remarkably clear and more or less effective manner, though I must say that until the expiration of an hour and a half or an hour and three-quarters, he never approached within touching distance of the subject of the resolution and his amendment. (Applause.)

However, Sir, I am unable to go any further at present, and it is my intention to move the adjournment of the debate. But before I sit down I desire to repudiate and resent on behalf of honourable gentlemen on both sides of this House, and on behalf of every self-respecting Canadian in this country, the suggestion contained in the concluding paragraph of this remarkable amendment, which he has put before the House, to the effect that "this House most earnestly deprecates the expression of views that the loyalty of Canada is a purchasable quantity, only to be retained by Great Britain by paying the price of a complete change of her fiscal policy." I throw it back to the honourable gentleman. (Cheers). No human being in the Dominion of Canada has made such an assertion except the honourable gentleman who has kept us here two hours and a half listening to his address, which he followed up by such a statement as that in his amendment.

I congratulate his followers, Sir, in being led by the only man in British North America who has publicly dared to suggest that the loyalty of Canadians is purchasable. (Cheers.) And I move the adjournment of the debate.

THE DEBATE CONTINUED.

On the following afternoon, Friday, March 17th, Sir James continued as follows:—

Mr. Speaker,—It is my purpose to address to the House this afternoon some observations in reference to the question which is

embodied in the motion which I have put upon the Order Paper before the House, and incidentally also a few observations with reference to a portion at any rate of the amendment which has been offered by my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition. In doing this, Mr. Speaker, I shall be as brief as possible. There are several reasons why I shall be brief, but I do not propose to be brief in the sense that I will avoid discussing any of the questions set out in my motion or resolution, nor shall I fail to recapitulate the arguments and reasons why I believe the majority in this House, the majority of the people of the Province of Ontario, with whom we are principally concerned, as well as the majority of the people in this great Dominion of Canada, the brightest jewel in the crown of the British Empire, will all be prepared to stand by, as one man, the preservation of the nationality, the preservation of the Empire, and the preservation of that self-respect which is alike necessary to individuals and communities in order that their pathway through this world may be satisfactory to themselves and others with whom they may be associated. (Cheers.) And, if I do not, Sir, take anything like the time which was taken by my honourable friend opposite, and if I decline to discuss a great portion of the compilation of statistics with which he favored us yesterday, I am sure that my honourable friend will not attribute to me any intention to offer him any personal discourtesy, as we all know that my honourable friend is capable of better things than we heard from him yesterday. And if he chooses to take that attitude which renders it impossible to deal with the merits of the propositions he puts forward—because there are no merits there—if he chooses to do that, it is within his privilege.

THE DUTY OF THE PRESENT.

Now my honourable friend for an hour and a half yesterday read to this House a compilation of mixed statistics, of which the truthfulness is not in question here to-day, and the truthfulness of which I am not concerned to affirm or deny—a mixed compilation of statistics and a symposium of the attitude towards reciprocity for the last generation and a half of several honourable gentlemen who have occupied high positions in the political life of the Canadian world. I am not concerned to dispute the accuracy of the quotations made by my honourable friend from the speeches of honourable gentlemen who were known by the political term “Conservative” and which he gave to us yesterday. It is idle, Mr. Speaker, to suggest, and my honour-

able friend will not suggest it outside of this House—it is idle to suggest that the question or fact as to what Sir John Macdonald's view, or Mr. Foster's view, or Sir Charles Tupper's view of reciprocity, either restricted or unrestricted, of a generation and a half ago was, has anything to do with or should affect in the slightest degree our action in the days in which we are now living in this Canada of ours. (Cheers.) My honourable friend may make all the political capital he thinks he can make out of that. What we are concerned about, Sir, is not the dead past but the living present. (Loud applause.) And our ambition and concern is to so bear ourselves in this the living present that our children and those who succeed us, having regard to our and their desire for the maintenance of British nationality, will have no reason to look back upon our conduct with anything other than a feeling of pride and satisfaction. (Applause.)

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD AND RECIPROCITY.

Mr. Speaker, that Sir John A. Macdonald favoured reciprocity at one time I have not the slightest doubt. Why, I can almost remember, Mr. Speaker, when more than he favoured reciprocity. I can remember almost the birth throes of this Canadian nation, I can remember that out of the travail which this country passed through, owing to the action of those people with reference to whose flag my honourable friend makes the echoes ring in this chamber (hear, hear) Canada came into existence. I can recollect when the lot of the people of Canada was a hard one, when the future had no outlook which any Canadian could reasonably covet, and all owing to the action of those people on the other side of the line when the old Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated. Why, then, were many people in this country, Sir, who, looking where the next meal was to come from, were perhaps in favour of reciprocity. And they would be so to-day, Sir, under similar circumstances. But, Sir, and I say it with reverence: that God the Dominion of Canada has emerged from this stage of pitiable childhood. (Cheers.) It has emerged from that stage of pitiable childhood when it was at the mercy of, the sport and the plaything of, an inimical nation to the south of us. (Applause.) And to-day the Dominion of Canada stands forth strong and hardy, God-fearing and self-respecting. It stands forth to-day in the course of nations of the world as one of the foremost of the out-lying kingdoms, so to speak, of the British nation, and it stands to-day ready

to do that which its self-respect will allow it to do, and stands free to reject all the songs of the sirens, as some honourable gentleman has already called the influences of the American people with reference to reciprocity. We know, Sir, more than that, that when Sir John Macdonald said anything with reference to reciprocity, he said he had tried to get reciprocity and had been anxious to get reciprocity. Certainly, that is true, Mr. Speaker, just as I have indicated, but he did not mean that he wanted it when he was speaking. Not anything of the kind, Sir, and we all know how Sir John Macdonald gasped away his life after the great final struggle in which what took place? In which, as Mr. Edward Farrar said, the removal of the mask of reciprocity from the face of the people who were supporting it, would reveal annexation as the real objective. (Loud applause. And any honourable gentleman who attempts to misstate or misrepresent the attitude of Sir John Macdonald with reference to this great question, will have a not very easy task, one in which it will be quite impossible for him to succeed.

WILL NOT LEAVE THE IMPERIAL PATH.

We have gone on since the time I spoke of a minute ago, and we have increased and multiplied and waxed strong and grown fat, so to speak, and we are to-day in a position when we can afford to show the outside nations that we will not admit any trespassers upon our preserves. We will not permit outsiders to draw us aside, even in the smallest degree possible, from the grand old imperial pathway which we have been following and which we and those who have preceded us have been following for two or three generations. (Cheers.) No, not even at the suggestion of the head of a foreign nation, although I do not wish to say a word of other than the most friendly meaning and intent towards the President of the United States, whom I believe to be a man who deserves the entire respect of his own people and of the people of other nations. (Applause.) But, when the head of a foreign nation comes to us and says, not "Don't you think you had better trade with us?" but, "You people have been going on in your own way but now you must choose. You are now at the parting of the ways." Surely Sir, it is time for us to make our position quite plain. (Cheers.) The man is perfectly honest, perfectly frank, he does not attempt to conceal his true meaning, and he says to his intimates afterwards, and they repeat it, "Now is the time." As J. J. Hill says, "If you don't step in now, influences that strengthen

the British Empire will increase, which will render it absolutely impossible for the people of the United States to get these benefits and advantages which they can now get from the Canadian people," provided, Sir, that they can wheedle the Canadian people into forgetting for a moment the very strong aroma of imperialism which I am happy to say I believe to be the characteristic of Canadians of both political parties at the present time. (Cheers.)

WHAT VIEWS SHOULD GUIDE—PAST OR PRESENT?

And when I hear my honourable friend talking at such great length of the opinions of Conservatives of a generation ago, I am tempted to ask myself not only what application has the attitude of these Conservatives in the distant past to the decision we should give on a question which concerns us to-day, surrounded with and relating to the conditions of affairs of the world to-day—I not only ask myself that question, Mr. Speaker, but I ask myself, who is the old Tory in this Chamber to-day? (Hear, hear.) Does the honourable gentleman mean that because Tories—(and I am getting to be prouder of that appellation every day that I live, Mr. Speaker). (Cheers.) Does the honourable gentleman mean that we should throw away all the ideas which should govern us in our discussion of and the consideration and decision of a question which is surrounded by the conditions of to-day, and be guided by what the opinions of men were some twenty-five or thirty years ago? Why, Sir, that is not Toryism. That is a sort of old, moss-grown Toryism which one reads about but which no one ever saw. (Applause.) And that is the doctrine which my honourable friend apparently expects us to adopt, and that is the guiding condition of mind which he wishes us to accept as being what will move us in the future. And when I hear that I ask myself what about Sir George Ross? I wonder what his condition of mind was before he got to be a simple scoundrel like myself. (Laughter.) I wonder what the attitude of Mr. Sifton has been, and what also the attitude of mind of seven or eight honourable gentlemen who formerly had seats on the Liberal side of this House, including my honourable friend's neighbor and chum, Honourable E. J. Davis, and who are to-day in accord with us on this reciprocity question. (Applause.)

COMPARATIVE PRICES—BUFFALO AND TORONTO.

I regret to say that I was unable to hear all the honourable gentleman on the other side of the House who spoke. I wish it had been otherwise, as no doubt I would have been entertained and instructed.

But the only argument which was heard from the beginning, when the honourable gentleman who is Whip on that side made a speech—and, knowing the ease with which he can make a good speech, I hope that he will pick out some good subject in the future and address this House more often. All the arguments, as I say, from the beginning down to that of the honourable Leader himself, failed to show that their thoughts revealed anything except that very sordid doctrine that somebody could get two cents and a half more a pound for lamb in Buffalo than in Toronto. The question of nationality, the sentimental question, the question of the effect upon our nationhood and our common Empire, was never discussed except to a very slight extent by my honourable friend the Leader and he only mentioned it in an incidental way. However, all of us will remember the extended story. There was another compilation by the honourable member for Haldimand, who delighted to wax eloquent and earnest as to the comparative prices in Buffalo and Toronto. As if, Mr. Speaker, the whole question was to be settled by Buffalo and Toronto. Then my honourable friend—I merely mention it now because I was struck with the circumstances—my honourable friend from West Huron made clear what has been a little uncertain to us during the past year or two. He made his position perfectly clear as that of an independent member of this House, so that hereafter we will know that on any question under consideration he does not count in any enumeration there may be of any of the parties in the House, that he counts simply one and the only one in the party to which he belongs. (Laughter and applause.) This he led us to understand and I have no doubt with that purpose in view, and I of course am not complaining of it, nor finding fault, nor do I wish to be understood in any invidious sense at all. I only mean that my honourable friend has made it clear, and thought it his duty to do so in order that we may not make any mistake on this side of the House in future. (Laughter and applause.)

THE TEMPTER TO ANNEXATION.

Now my honourable friend from Haldimand, who I am sorry to say is absent at present, gave us a long dissertation about prices in Buffalo and Toronto, and shewed us that the price of lamb was higher in Buffalo than in this city. And, Mr. Speaker, my honourable friend, after he got through with one schedule which he had in his hand would stop and say, "Mr. Speaker, this is the tempter to annexation." The tempter was not Mr. Taft but the market in Buffalo, and he was

cheered to the echo by honourable gentlemen opposite, including the Leader, every time that he made this crisp and more or less pregnant remark. Of course, one might have expected him to give some statistics with reference to the difference in prices between, for instance, Buffalo and Chicago, the difference in prices between Chicago and Omaha, between New York and San Francisco, and to tell us, if he could, whether the tariff with Canada affected at all the great differences in the prices between these places, where, I may say, the differences are much greater than the differences between Toronto and Buffalo. (Applause.) But, my honourable friend fought shy of that, and, feeling his way, as one always does no doubt in skating over thin ice, he rushed along beyond this question, with the result that the particular point which I have just indicated was not raised during his speech at all, and he sat down, having made this point, having emphasized it over and over again, that the tempter was in the markets at Buffalo and not Mr. Taft, making it clear over and over again that the reason why the Canadian people wanted reciprocity was simply because the price of lamb was two and one-half cents a pound more in Buffalo than in Toronto and that a hog could be sold in Buffalo for a dollar and a half more than in the city of Toronto. (Applause.)

We shall see now, Mr. Speaker, where that doctrine leads him, and we will show where it leads the Leader of the Opposition. I desire just to refer for a moment to the most astonishing and surprising thing connected not only with this debate but connected with the proceedings of this House for a long time, and that is the amendment of my honourable friend. My honourable friend never introduces an amendment with less than three, and oftentimes seven, clauses. My honourable friend has no use for a clean-cut motion emphasizing and focusing all his objections to a certain line of policy. Unless he can spread his reasons and objections over a few sheets of paper, he thinks he has not accomplished any object. I do not think he has accomplished any object this time, except to make it clear to all observers of parliamentary proceedings in this country that the amendment now in his name on the records of this House is one the like of which was never before brought forward in the Legislature of the Province.

CANADA'S LOYALTY A PURCHASABLE QUANTITY!

Now, I will show you why, at least as far as I am able to make honourable gentlemen see as I do. The honourable gentleman said in his speech that he was glad to hear me say there was no question

of loyalty in this matter. Neither is there, Mr. Speaker, and I shall have a word or two to say on that in a few minutes. I am glad and I am proud that there is no such question and it has not been raised except by the honourable gentleman himself, and what does he say here? "And this House most earnestly deprecates the expression of views that the loyalty of Canada is a purchasable quantity only to be retained by Great Britain"—(fancy, by Great Britain)—"by paying the price of a complete change of her fiscal policy, and saleable to the United States in exchange for tariff concessions." "Two cents a pound for lamb, there is where the tempter is." (Laughter and applause.) This language is remarkable indeed. Such language coming from the Leader of a party and from the leader of men, who, I believe, have just as much interest in the future prosperity of this country as any other body of men within the confines of this Dominion—is, I repeat, remarkable indeed.

Some Honourable Member—He will be sorry for it.

Sir James—My honourable friend says, he will be sorry for it. Perhaps so, but I am afraid if he is, he will keep his sorrow hidden about his person somewhere. (Laughter.) I challenge and defy the honourable gentleman, or any of his followers, in this House or out of it, to show any justification anywhere, to show in any language used by any man of prominence on the public platform, or to show the utterance of any responsible newspaper in this country to justify the language which he uses in this amendment. I am of course excepting his colleague from Haldimand who was exceedingly outspoken, but otherwise there have been no such suggestions, Mr. Speaker, and it is one of the most comforting, one of the most suggestive, one of the most satisfying features in this situation, that a man who objects to this reciprocity idea could possibly feel, that all our people are united in their one idea of nationhood, in this one idea and desire to strengthen and consolidate in the future that great political entity known as the British Empire. (Loud cheers.) And my honourable friend "butts in," if he will allow this expression, on this very desirable and comfortable state of affairs with this language. Sir, if I was guided or influenced entirely by party consideration, I should feel thankful that my honourable friend did so, for the following reasons.

THE AMENDMENT A BOOMERANG.

My honourable friend from Haldimand, amid the cheers of the honourable gentleman's friends around him, made it clear however

that the attitude at least of the Opposition in this House to-day is that the question with relation to reciprocity, with relation to Great Britain, and with relation to our future generally, depends entirely on the markets in Buffalo and elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) And, Sir, therefore, it is that the honourable gentleman, the Leader of the Opposition, before twenty-four hours have elapsed, meets that nemesis which generally follows closely the footsteps of a man who takes an unfair advantage either in politics or in private life. And then we have this language: "And this House most earnestly deprecates the expression of views that the loyalty of Canada is a purchasable quantity"—the market in Buffalo—"only to be retained by Great Britain paying the price of a complete change of her fiscal policy, and saleable to the United States in exchange for tariff concessions"—the market in Buffalo, there's where the tempter is! So that the amendment itself, and every honourable gentleman who votes for it, denounces the honourable member for Haldimand in good set terms, in plain and unmistakable English, and there I leave it with you. (Loud applause.)

The honourable member for Haldimand did not tell us anything about the difference in prices between New York and Toronto. Now I am not going into this question, but as a matter of fact every householder in Toronto knows the truth of what I am going to say, that there is not an article which we need on the table that he could not buy cheaper in New York City to-day than in Toronto. And as to the cost of living generally, there is only this one item to be excepted, namely, house rent. But by living outside the city, say, in New Jersey, and becoming what is called a commuter, it is possible to escape the high rents of the city proper.

THE OPPOSITION LEADER'S ILLUSTRATIONS.

Now every man has his defects. I have mine; many of them. My honourable friend over there, the Leader of the Opposition, has some—a few. (Laughter. Well, Sir, one defect of my honourable friend—it is hardly fair to call it a defect—one peculiarity of my honourable friend, is that he is a poor illustrator. But like most men who are poor hands at illustrating a subject, he does not see this himself, (Laughter and applause,) and consequently he goes right ahead, irrespective of what argument is ruined or what awful results may ensue, because he has a confidence in himself that none of those around him feel. (Laughter.) The first of my honourable friend's

illustrations was something about a horse and a quantity of hay. In some way, which doubtless could be investigated and explained by some finely drawn mind, but which is impossible to me, my honourable friend suggested that a man on one side of the boundary line owned a horse and a man on the other side of the boundary line owned some hay, and that the horseman should buy some hay and the hay man should buy the horse, and each one would have the advantage! (Laughter.) I say he is not a success as an illustrator. It may be so. But then again I may be wrong. My honourable friend may be right, and my density of apprehension may be to blame perhaps in not understanding the effect of the transactions. My honourable friend here on my right suggests that it would be easy to locate the advantage as soon as any considerable quantity of hay got inside the horse. (Laughter.) I agree with that, but I am a little suspicious of my honourable friend's suggestions in this way, and am afraid he does not throw any real light on the subject.

Then, Mr. Speaker, there was one other illustration, and it does not arise out of the speech of my honourable friend here, but from the old, reliable (?) journal, *The Globe*, which reports that my honourable friend when down at Bowmanville the other day, the place of residence of my honourable and sedate friend over yonder, and that he made a speech over there. Now one of the things he said—and this has nothing to do with the point I am making—he denounced Sir William Van Horne. He said Sir William Van Horne was taking Canadian money down to Cuba and investing it. I imagine that is true, but, Mr. Speaker, what on earth, or under the earth, has the fact of Sir William Van Horne taking money to Cuba to invest to do with the question of whether the people of Canada would be wise or foolish in adopting or rejecting reciprocity? (Applause.)

SAVING MONEY IN THE WEST.

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to the last illustration of my honourable friend. As an instance of the excessive freight charges to farmers along the Canadian Pacific Railway, he told of a farmer who wanted to ship a bull calf from Calgary to Lacombe, 100 miles, but finding the C. P. R. charges so great he bought a rope and led the animal all the way and saved an average of \$2 a day during the tramp. (Laughter.) There is not one of us, Mr. Speaker, who would think of doubting the good faith or the word of my honourable friend, but I ask honourable gentlemen here whether it is not a pretty hard task that is put up

to us when we are asked to believe that the man led the bull all the way. (Laughter and applause.) Now, here you have the bull and here you have, say, my honourable friend the Leader, and between them was a rope. What a suggestive word. At any rate, between them was a rope, and, as far as we know the case, there was nothing in this story of my honourable friend to contradict it; as far as we can understand there was the most unrestricted reciprocity between the bull and the honourable gentleman as far as movement and action were concerned. (Laughter.) I am sorry there are some honourable gentlemen in this House who perhaps will not be able to get the complete meaning of what I am saying because they were not brought up under rural conditions, but those who were will find it very hard to be convinced unless it appears that the next day the honourable gentleman, after paying sorrowfully for the witch hazel and arnica necessary, declared with considerable emphasis that in this business of travelling with a bull reciprocity of movement should be in future restricted, not unrestricted. (Loud laughter and applause.) If you ask me how this illustration fails, I shall reply that I give it up. I do not know how it fails; I cannot see that it applies at all. But it may be, as I said awhile ago, Sir, that I am dense. I cannot see how it applies; therefore I cannot see how it fails. (Laughter.)

BIG ISSUES EVADED BY OPPOSITION.

Well, sir, we have put forward our convictions with regard to this great and serious question, and there has been no attempt, no pretence of an attempt, to answer the straightforward, direct and serious language and statements of President Taft, of J. J. Hill, of Mr. Champ Clark, and of Senator Beveridge, who, by the way, I believe, will be here shortly. Senator Beveridge was defeated for re-election to the Senate. His term expired on the 4th of March, and he is coming here to get local color and information in order to write a book on Canada, so that apparently we will have an opportunity to see this gentleman, who who, at any rate, had the virtue of frankness, and stated deliberately that his purpose in supporting reciprocity was to get back from Canada the American capital which had gone there to be invested, and have it reinvested on the American side of the line, where American workmen would get the benefit of it. (Hear, hear.) All these statements are unanswered. There has been no attempt to contradict or controvert them. When my honourable friend did get down to the subject himself, like his colleagues, he said we can get a

few cents more for lambs and a dollar and a half more for a hog, that is what we want in this matter, and that, according to my honourable friend is what influences the people.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that is true with regard to the attitude of the majority of the farmers of Ontario. In fact, I know quite well that it is not true. I come from a constituency where probably, with the exception of some cheese factories and one or two flour mills, there is nothing in the shape of a manufactory. They are all farmers, and I have not the slightest doubt, Mr. Speaker, that these farmers will see this question as the great majority of the people see it.

We have argued that the effect of this bargain if carried out will be practically to separate our East from our West, and just as we have developed and linked together by the ties of commercial activity all the different sections of the Dominion of Canada, just as we are beginning as a people to understand each other and to understand and appreciate the little differences which exist between the different provinces, just as we are stepping out into the limelight of the noontide of our national triumph and glory to face whatever the future may have in store for us, just at that moment the tempter appears—the market at Buffalo, with two and a half cents more for lamb, and we are asked to turn aside and abandon our nationality. (Applause.)

ANNEXATION THE ABIDING AMERICAN DREAM.

Why, Sir, a gentleman who was in Washington when Mr. Champ Clark delivered his speech, tells me what I knew before, that there is not an American who talks upon the subject in Washington who denies that the whole, sole object of the American people at this time is to bring about, not forcibly, but to gradually lead the Canadian people up to annexation. (Laughter.) And it is all very well to laugh, but Mr. Champ Clark himself says, "You may take what I have said as a joke if you please, but I never said a word in my life that I meant more earnestly than that." Champ Clark said that on the floor of Congress. He will be the Speaker of the new House of Representatives in a couple of weeks, and as such he is the equivalent of the Prime Minister here. Now, honourable gentlemen will hardly believe what I am going to say, but it is a fact nevertheless. There is a publication in Washington controlled by Congress called the Congressional Record, which is similar to the Hansard at Ottawa, and in which is published the speeches delivered in Congress. This has noth-

ing to do with the question we have been discussing, and I merely mention it as of interest, but it is a very common thing for members of Congress to prepare long speeches and ask formally for leave to print them. This leave is granted, and these speeches are printed in the Congressional Record and sent out through the constituencies by thousands, and the constituents read these long speeches, which have never been delivered? Now, during the debate in Congress I am in a position here, understanding the importance of what I am about to say, to declare that more than one speech in which this desire for annexation was mentioned was held back from publication in the Congressional Record. (Hear, hear.) And for I know they may be held back yet.

Here, Sir, is a letter which I have received from a man whom I have known for twenty years, a good, straight, whole-souled Irish Roman Catholic who lives in Montreal. He writes me this letter from the Clayton House, Wilmington, Delaware, March 12th, and after some preliminary words, he says: "There can be no disguising the fact that this unfortunate arrangement not only spells annexation, but it is hailed by all the leading politicians here as such. During the last two weeks I have had occasion to witness the closing spasms of the late Congress, and the strongest influence was brought to bear on the members to carry through the bill, chiefly because of its certainty to bring about annexation. Both Republicans and Democrats talk that way privately, and some prominent Democrats quite publicly."

"It is not yet too late to stir up that fine old British sentiment, and in every county in Canada public meetings should be called and such a protest sent in that Sir Wilfrid would be made to understand that it is not Washington that should dictate the trade policy of Canada."

And I think, Sir, I may as well read the concluding portion also: "In conclusion, let me congratulate you and those who stand around you in this our country's hour of trial, emulating the noble example set by those sturdy U. E. Loyalists of other days, standing true to that grand Old Flag (God bless it that has waved a thousand years and is still good enough for me.)" (Loud cheers.)

CANADIAN ACTIVITIES NEUTRALIZED.

We have argued and have not been contradicted, Mr. Speaker, that the general effect of this agreement will be to separate one locality from another. As I have said we have just fairly become united,

connected together by the ligaments of trade, and we say that the adoption of this agreement will destroy all that, that the grain of the extreme Northwest will go down south to the Northwestern States. The further East you come, the grain and other products will go down to Chicago, and in both cases will be manufactured into flour by American workmen, the benefits of manufacture kept from the Canadian people, and the great transeontinental railways which we have created at such an immense expenditure of money will be rendered, as far as the Eastern ends of them are concerned, in a great measure useless. We have taken that ground, and we say that besides taking away the trade from our Canadian routes, that our trade activities will be neutralized all over the Dominion of Canada, and, Sir, there has been, with the exception of the matters that I have mentioned as not germane to the question, but which did not affect the question as it is before us to-day at all, there has been no answer given because no answer was possible. (Loud cheers.)

Sir, I am not through quoting. My honourable friend did so much of it yesterday that I have adopted his habit, and I want to quote a little, too. I am not ashamed to quote the words of a distinguished Liberal statesman like Mr. Clifford Sifton, who says: "I decline to entertain for a second the suggestion that Champ Clark, leader of the Democratic party, was not speaking seriously of annexation. If it had not been for Mr. Clark and the Democratic party, this reciprocity agreement never would have passed the House of Representatives. It was he who put it through. Let him speak for himself. He says he and his party are in favour of this proposal because it leads to annexation.

"What did Mr. Taft, leader of the Republican party say? Canada is a strong country; it has a great storehouse of natural resources. He says that it has been pursuing a strong and successful policy of development, but is now at the parting of the ways. 'Therefore,' he says, 'before Canada is irrevocably fixed in the policy leading to the consolidation and strengthening of the British Empire, we must turn her from her course.'" (Cheers.) One cannot but admire the candour and frankness of such a deliverance.

LEADS AWAY FROM HOME—HON. GEO. E. FOSTER.

Now then let me quote a few words from another gentleman whom my honourable friend quoted with a good deal of satisfaction yesterday, namely, Honourable George E. Foster: "There is danger,

deep danger, on this path we have entered and it leads away from home. I pray, Sir, the full meaning of this first step may soon burst upon the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian people. This land is ours. We have made it. Please God we keep it an abiding national home for our children's children to remote generations of happy citizens of an empire whose name is synonymous with liberty and whose permanence makes for the triumph of the highest civilization and world-wide peace. This proposal cuts square across this ideal, endangers it, and may overthrow it entirely. It will weaken the ties of Empire, weaken the affections of new generations, and create new attachments till, like Samson of old, we shall be shorn of our strength." (Cheers.)

But, Sir, I apprehend that the people of Canada will not easily be decoyed away from the old pathway which their fathers and they have followed for a long series of years. I apprehend they will not easily be decoyed away, at any rate by men of an alien nationality, who do not conceal from the world at large their intention to put every possible obstacle in the way of the strengthening and consolidation of the British Empire of which we desire always to form a part. (Cheers.)

CANADA WILL STAND FIRM.

We will stand firm, that nothing will cause us to depart from the way pursued by our fathers in spite of all the offers, in spite of all the suggestions of the prominent public men of the United States whom I have mentioned. We say we will take this course having behind us the earnest sentiment of a majority of the people of this country without regard to political party. Three years ago a prominent public man in great Britain who is not closely allied to either of the political parties, discussed the future of Canada with me. In the course of the discussion I said to him, I do not believe you can find five hundred men from Vancouver to Newfoundland who can read and write who will stand up and ask for separation from the Empire. (Cheers.) But I said if enthusiastic young Cabinet Ministers in England continue to declare that they have banged, bolted and barred the door against the interests of his Majesty's Overseas Dominions and we go on, as we have a right to go on, negotiating commercial treaties with outside nations, and if we find that British preference is steadily, year after year, refused to us, how can we guarantee what our people may do

fifteen or twenty years hence, when perhaps the whole question of trade, within the Empire and elsewhere may be put forward in a way quite unexpected by us now?

And now, Sir, three years only have elapsed, we are face to face with one feature of the question suggested by me, and a decision must be given. The situation is clear and unmistakable. In singularly clear and unmistakable language we are told by the head of a foreign nation that the time has come for us to choose. I repeat that I have every confidence as to what the answer will be. It will require more than the mere material and sordid influences of which we have heard during this debate to make us forget the traditions of the past and the hopes for the future which are ours, and which we hope to pass on to our children. (Loud applause.)

MR. TAFT MAKES NO ATTEMPT AT DISGUISE.

If any doubt exists of the absolute correctness of the position taken by Sir James Whitney as to the desires, intentions and objects of Mr. Taft and the people of the United States, it may be dispelled by the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Taft in New York on 27th April:—

"I have said that this was a critical time in the solution of the question of reciprocity. It is critical because unless it is now decided favorably to reciprocity it is exceedingly probable that no such opportunity will ever again come to the United States. The forces which are at work in England and in Canada to separate her by a Chinese wall from the United States and to make her a part of an Imperial commercial band reaching from England around the world to England again, by a system of preferential tariffs, will derive an impetus from the rejection of this treaty, and if we would have reciprocity, with all the advantages that I have described and that I earnestly and sincerely believe will follow its adoption, we must take it now or give it up forever."

And following that speech and based upon it, Congressman Prince, of Illinois, embosomed himself as follows:—

He said that the pouring of Americans into the Canadian northwest and the attitude of the controlling forces of the Democratic party, could mean nothing else than annexation, reciprocity and partial free trade with Canada being the first step toward that end. "I say to our neighbors on the North, be not deceived," said Mr. Prince. "When we go into a country and get control of it, we take it. It is our history, and it is right that we should take it if we want it, and you might as well understand it." The Speaker has so said; the party back of him has so said, and it does not deny that that is its desire.

HOW ABOUT THE CANADIAN FARMER?

Still further, President Taft in addressing a number of farmers in Washington on the benefits which would accrue to them from reciprocity used this language on the 8th day of May, 1911:—

“If we take down that wall we will benefit by it, for we shall sell more agricultural products to Canada than she will sell to us! We do now and we shall sell her even more after the treaty goes into effect.”

What a prospect for the Canadian farmer!



