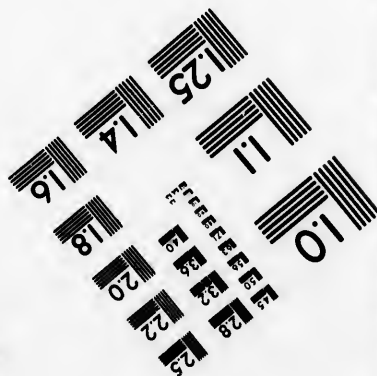
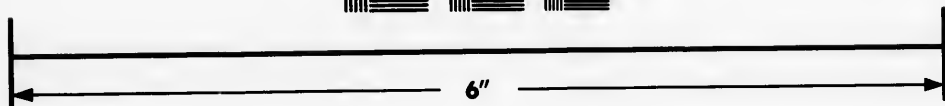
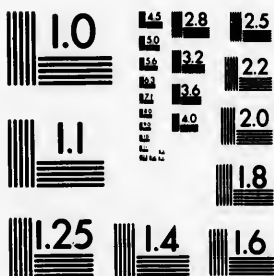


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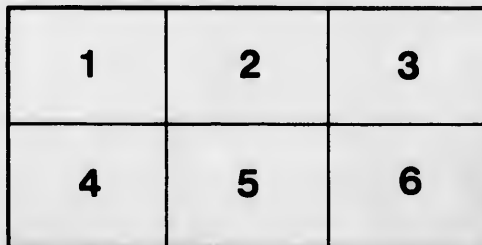
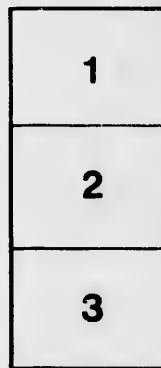
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House of Commons Debates

FIFTH SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. H. MONTAGUE, M.P.

ON

THE BUDGET

OTTAWA, WEDNESDAY, 29TH MAY, 1895.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the debate to which the House has been listening for the past number of days has taken a very wide range, and the House will therefore pardon me if I take somewhat longer time than is usual at this particular stage of the debate to refer to the different points which have been raised. Hon. gentlemen opposite, from the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) to the humblest member who has spoken from that side of the House, have evidently been endeavouring to make their campaign for the coming election; and, in order to do that, they have been urging this House to believe that they possess certain virtues in all the lines in which public men should be virtuous. And in order that I may answer them this afternoon, I wish to consider the claims which have been urged by hon. gentlemen

opposite under four different heads: First, their ability to govern this country; next, their purity as administrators; next, their economy as administrators, and last, the excellence of the trade policy which they have presented to the country. Speaking a very short time ago in the city of Montreal, the leader of the Opposition saw fit to declare his hope, for the hundredth time, that they were about to come into power; and on what was his hope based? Only on this, that the great chieftain of the Conservative party had gone, and that in consequence the elements which followed him were dissolving and scattering. Well, Sir, it is true the old chieftain is gone, and that willing hands are erecting monuments in his honour as evidence of the great work he did for Canada, notwithstanding the abuse of hon. gentlemen oppo-

site for many years. Succeeding him fell that other great man Sir John Abbott, whose work is also recognized most thoroughly by Canadians now of every class; and succeeding him and abused as was his predecessors, Sir John Thompson now sleeps in the soil of his native province, notwithstanding the abuse of hon. gentlemen opposite through successive years, wrapped in the robes of a nation's honour and embalmed in the bitterness of a nation's tears. Though those men are gone, though we mourn them, though their colleagues and old supporters mourn them, though we are glad to know that Canadians mourn them because while they mourn them it is a testimony to the work and worth of the Conservative party as well, I want to tell the hon. leader of the Opposition that the Conservative party of this country is not built on men, but is built on principles, and though those leaders have gone the principles live, and when it appeals to the electors, as we must do very soon, he will find the same old vitality and the same old strength put forth in the campaign, and that the same old victories will perch upon our banners as of yore. This fact he should have considered, that since Sir John Macdonald's death we have won from them, no less than 18 seats; hon. gentlemen opposite have won from us 4 seats. If the hon. gentleman can take any comfort out of that, instead of having been educated at a Scotch school, as he told the people in the province of Ontario, was the case, it seems to me he must have been educated at Dean Swift's Academy at Lagado, where they learned the science of extracting sunbeams from cucumbers. I want to say to my hon. friend that I was somewhat astonished to hear the charge that we were afraid to go to the elections. A few months ago when it was thought we were going to the contest, what was the cry? The cry then was in column after column of the Toronto "Globe," that we ought not to go, and His Excellency was advised in column after column in that newspaper not to permit us a dissolution because we had no right to appeal to the country; apparently hon. gentlemen were then not spoiling for the fray. And the hon. gentleman who sits for Bothwell (Mr. Mills), who is the leading constitutional authority upon the other side of the House, discovered a new constitutional reason which he urged before the people why the Government should not dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country, and what was that reason? That there was too much snow upon the ground and elections could not be advantageously held. It was not the snow that was upon the ground, but the snow that was to fall that disturbed the peace of hon. gentlemen opposite when they thought they had to face the electors. I want to say to hon. gentlemen opposite that the Conservatives of this country are not afraid of the people. We have appealed to them in the

past and have not had very much reason to complain. We are willing to abide by the judgment of the people; hon. gentlemen opposite seem never willing to abide by the judgment of the people. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has constantly expressed his want of confidence in the people; but the people are even with him, for they have voted their want of confidence repeatedly in that hon. gentleman. Sir, the debate has taken this line: an attack upon the members of the Government, an attack particularly upon a want of ability, it is said, that has been demonstrated by my hon. friend the Finance Minister, who leads this House so ably, and who is no unworthy successor of the distinguished men who have occupied during so many years the place in which he sits in the Parliament of Canada. I wish to say to the hon. member for South Oxford that while members of the Government may not have the confidence of their opponents, we do enjoy the confidence of our friends; and, thank God, no member of this Government has had to go back to his constituency to fight with his friends to get the party nomination with which to go to the people. Sir, the hon. member of South Oxford cannot say that. For many years that hon. gentleman was wandering up and down the province of Ontario and at last secured a resting place. I took occasion some years ago in the course of a speech in this House to say that that resting place would tire of him, and my prophecy came true only a few months ago when the hon. gentleman was seeking re-nomination in the constituency of South Oxford. What did they say there? He was wrathful and he abused them without stint; and when he found it was difficult to get the nomination—I do not know to whom he referred—when he found men conspiring against him—he referred to some one on his right or left or behind him, when he said this in the convention:

But he would ask, if it was true that the men be worthy of confidence, who, while pretending to be friendly, were plotting against a colleague. Fair fighting is one thing and assassination is another. While you may call for the head of an enemy, it is not fair warfare to stab a friend under the fifth rib.

And, Sir, it was not a mere local matter, for it was published with the very greatest care by the Toronto "Globe" in order that all and sundry, to use the idiomatic expression of the hon. gentleman opposite, might know exactly what he meant. There came a time, however, when the matter was settled. That time was when a gentleman in Toronto wrote a letter into the riding, a gentleman who had recently been organizer of the Liberal party, stating:

That, in view of the active canvas being made for the Liberal nomination, it might not be uninteresting to Mr. Jackson (to whom he was writing) to know that, when it was decided by the

party leaders, subsequent to the general elections of 1887, that an early appeal should be made to friends of the party for substantial assistance, so as to make the necessary preparations for the next general elections, the only Liberal in Toronto who was asked to subscribe, and positively refused, was Mr. S. H. Janes. He told a friend and myself, when presented with the subscription book, that he had no funds for party purposes.

Well, Sir, immediately that was heard, and immediately that letter was sent abroad, these purists in South Oxford decided that Mr. Janes was unworthy of the nomination of the Liberal party, and my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was selected as a candidate once more; due to the fact evidently that he had been more liberal in the giving of substantial aid. Mr. Speaker, this is a new phrase we have. We have heard it in times past called "Big Push"; we have heard it called "human devices"; we have heard it called "putting down bribery and corruption"; we have heard it called "mesmerism"; we have heard it called "relief for the poor"; but here is a new phrase in the vocabulary of purity: "Substantial aid," and to my mind it expresses it better than any of the other terms. I understand now—and here is another evidence that appears to me as if my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is being stabbed under the fifth rib by some of his friends—I understand that the Liberal party of Toronto are advertising for a new campaign song. Evidently the old song he sings seems to have been played out in the minds of gentlemen in Toronto, because they are asking for a new campaign song. I would suggest to my hon. friend from West Ontario (Mr. Edgar), and who is the poet of his party, who it is said is competing for the prize, that he should compose a poem in which he should employ his genius in settling in proper background, before the electorate of this country, these beautiful gems which are evidence of Liberal purity. But, after the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) had his nomination, he was not even then safe, and his ribs were still in danger, because my hon. friend said that there is a Liberal paper published in the town of Aylmer, in the province of Quebec, and that Liberal paper had something to say in regard to my hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), and here is what it said. Nothing ever so hard was said of him by any hon. gentleman on this side of the House:

An enthusiastic Liberal of Montreal said the other day: If the Lord would only lay Sir Richard Cartwright on a bed of sickness for the next six months, nothing in the Dominion or out of it could prevent the Liberal party getting into power.

That, Sir, is how my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) seems to be appreciated among

HON. W. H. M. 1 1/2

the very gentlemen who he says are so enthusiastically united against the Conservative party of this country. Now, Mr. Speaker, who are the gentlemen who are asking the electors of this country to dismiss this Government, and to place them in power? They are gentlemen who have always claimed electoral purity and who have always practised electoral corruption. They are the men who, in 1874, passed an Act forbidding corruption at elections, and yet in the next election no less than thirty of these were shown to have purchased their seats; and since the introduction of that law, eighty-three Liberal purists have fallen, to 48 Conservatives. Eight purist Liberals have been disqualified to one Conservative. They are the gentlemen who have always claimed that they were the party of righteous legislation in regard to election matters, and yet I remember when they were in power, that every one of these gentlemen voted for a Bill to take a Liberal township, a Liberal stronghold, from a constituency in which it had done its duty for a Liberal candidate at the general election, and to place it over into another constituency where it might do double duty in a by-election. Every one of the Liberals, Sir, voted for it under the guise of righteous legislation. They are the gentlemen who claim to be the party of low taxation, but I challenge hon. gentlemen opposite in this House, as I have challenged them in the country, to name one single item in all their five years of power—except the one item of coal oil, and then they took off an excise duty on coal oil and put a customs tax on tea to make up the loss—on which they reduced taxation. I say that in all these five years of power, they never reduced one single dollar of taxation on the people of this country, but on the contrary, they constantly added taxation on their shoulders, in all adding a customs taxation of three million dollars. Not only that, Sir, but they tell us: They are men who want to take office for the public good. I have their campaign sheet here which says "All they want is office for the public good." Look at them, Mr. Speaker, see the hungry look in their faces and see if it is the public good they are after. When they went into power on just the same cry before, only three or four years elapsed when eight of their Cabinet Ministers "who went into power for the public good," slipped into office for their private good," and one Cabinet Minister who went into office "for the public good," or rather for his family's good, put fifteen of his relatives as pensioners in the public treasury of this country. Sir, the fact is, as I shall show, that in five years of office these Liberals made such a record of blundering stupidity and incapacity, that they were hurled from power by an indignant electorate and so long as the electors of this country remember that they ever were in

power, their chances are very blue for ever getting into power again. Well, Mr. Speaker, let me ask: Why am I discussing these matters?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I will tell my hon. friend in a moment. My hon. friend (Mr. Davies) is smiling, but it is a smile of the lips and he will know it before I get through. Why do I discuss these matters? I discuss them because my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) last night said: When we get into power, we will do just the same as we did when we were in power before. My hon. friend will know that there is very little chance of my making any comparison with the future record of the Liberal party. That is away in the dim and distant future, and the House will therefore pardon me if I say something this afternoon as to their past record, more particularly as we have the certificate of my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies), that when he gets into power: "He will do the same as they did before." I want to say, Sir, in the first place: that standing here to-day, twenty-seven years from confederation, the records of this country show that hon. gentlemen opposite as a party have been wrong on every great public question upon which they ever declared a policy. In all the history of our years as a Dominion, these men have never propounded a policy that subsequent events had shown to be a proper one. Why, Sir, let me in the light of the present, read the announcement of their great leader in 1871, as to a great public enterprise in this country. Mr. Mackenzie on page 672 of the "Hansard" of 1871, says as follows, as regards the Canadian Pacific Railway:—

Mr. LAURIER. What are you quoting from?

Mr. MONTAGUE. The "Hansard" of 1871.

Mr. LAURIER. There was no "Hansard" in 1871.

Mr. MONTAGUE. There is a "Hansard" in the Library made from "Globe" reports of the debates of that year.

Mr. LISTER. There was no "Hansard" then.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend is taking refuge behind a very slim willow. I want my hon. friends from the west to listen to what Mr. Mackenzie said then, and I want hon. gentlemen opposite to take a mental note of it, too, and to say what they think of their policy. Mr. Mackenzie said:

He would recommend a cheap narrow-gauge railway, with steamers on the lakes, instead of a costly broad-gauge road, for the North-west and British Columbia, and the railway across the prairies need not be constructed for many years.

Sir, that was the policy of the Liberal party. Looking back now, was it right or wrong? Looking back now, is there a man who will say it is right?

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes. It was right.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says that it is right. Well, he has always been a narrow-gauge politician, but no Canadian having an atom of regard for public opinion of his judgment will say as he says. I am old enough to remember, and old enough parliamentarian to know, that hon. gentlemen opposite opposed the construction of the great Sault Canal which gives us a water way independent of the people of the United States. My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, last year could not refrain from expressing his pride at the construction of that great work, and thus admitted that he was wrong with regard to it when he opposed it. Why, Sir, let me just read a few extracts, because they are matters of history and the people of this country ought to know them, as to what these gentlemen opposite thought of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Here is what my friend the member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies) says:

This was a contract from which there was no escape politically or commercially, excepting one, and that is annexation to the United States. It is escape that no politician likes to talk about, but it will come one day, and, when it comes, we must take our chance and make the best bargain we can.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Where is the hon. gentleman reading from?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I am reading from a report of a speech delivered in Charlotte-town in the year 1880.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) Where is the report?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I will show the report to my hon. friend. Does he deny the utterance?

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) From what paper?

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend has a custom of denying statements in this House—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I will show to-day that my hon. friend denies them sometimes—

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman knows, if he will allow me—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, some days ago I asked a question of hon. gentlemen opposite, and you ruled, very strongly indeed, and very peremptorily I thought, that

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I was decidedly out of order. I now ask for your ruling, though I ask for no pity from hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. SPEAKER. My ruling, as I stated then—if my ruling is called in question, of course it may be appealed against—is that no hon. member is permitted to interrupt an hon. member who has the floor, except on a question of order.

Mr. LAURIER. I ask your ruling, Mr. Speaker, on this point. The hon. gentleman stated that my hon. friend beside me has the habit of denying statements made by him. I ask if that is in order?

Mr. SPEAKER. I doubt very much if I can be called upon to rule upon that. If the hon. Secretary of State states that the hon. member for Queen's is in the habit of denying statements made by him on the floor of this House, then it certainly is not in order.

Some hon. MEMBERS (to Mr. Laurier). Hear, hear; take it back.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend, I think, entirely misunderstood me, for the very reason that he would not allow me to proceed with my sentence. I said that my hon. friend was in the habit of denying statements which were attributed to him in this House, and I was about to say immediately afterwards that I intended to deal with some of those statements a little later on in my speech. If there is any question of order in the point raised by the hon. leader of the Opposition, I shall be very glad, Mr. Speaker, as I always am, to submit to your ruling. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask the attention of the House to this fact, that instead of the Canadian Pacific Railway compelling us to seek annexation to the United States, it is the one great work which has enabled us to hold ourselves politically independent, and commercially independent, of the people of those states. Sir, let us take a look at a speech delivered by my hon. friend the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who always grows vigorous in his denunciations of the Conservative policy. He said:

This scheme, whether designed or not, is a great crime. Its supporters in the Government may take the attitude of criminal complicity or of stupidity. If they choose the latter alternative, posterity will accord each a coat of arms, the central figure a head, with drooping ears and pensive countenance, the head of the meditative donkey.

Again I refer to a speech made by the hon. member for North Norfolk, in which he said:

Of course, the projectors and promoters of the enterprise would claim that after the road was opened from ocean to ocean, a large amount of through business would be developed, but he thought there was a great deal of fallacy in the estimate of the probable amount of through freight.

Indeed, the whole thing would be a fizzle

from beginning to end. That was the statement made by the hon. member for North Norfolk. I am quoting it now to show—

Mr. CHARLTON. Where is it contained?

Mr. MONTAGUE in the "Hansard"—that hon. gentlemen opposite were wrong upon that great public question. Sir, see the business which has been developed. View their predictions now in the light of subsequent events. Here is another prediction of the hon. member for North Norfolk:

He believed that the estimate of Asiatic trade likely to be secured was greatly exaggerated.

He had often heard the grievance of British Columbia on the floor of the House. * * * * * Those men from that province had seats here, and they made more noise than the delegates from any other province.

Well, Sir, my hon. friend who took that stand went a few years afterwards to Victoria, in the province of British Columbia, and declared that it was the great Liberal party of this country that had promoted and constructed the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It is hard to realize, sir, the vastness and magnitude of the Dominion. Of course, I came by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and it affords me great pleasure to bear unequivocal testimony as to the courteousness of its officials, the completeness of its equipment and the character of the road, and I congratulate you most sincerely on the completion of the great work, which promises British Columbia more intimate relations with the sister provinces. I doubt not that the time is not far distant when lines of steamers will be established between here and Asia, Australia, and the north-western coast of America, and I hope that your most extravagant dreams will be more than realized. The great Liberal party had always been the friends of the Canadian Pacific. The province owed them much with regard to it.

And not only did he praise the Canadian Pacific, and, going still further, he denounced the Conservative Premier, Sir John Macdonald, for not having spent more public money in the harbour of Victoria. My hon. friend will not deny that.

Mr. CHARLTON. I do deny it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. It was made in a speech delivered on the 26th of August, 1886, and reported in the British Columbia papers.

Mr. CHARLTON. Read the extract.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I shall be most happy to do so. The extract is this:

What has Sir John Macdonald done for this city when its representative and Premier of the Dominion? I might ask why Victoria, the fourth port of the Dominion, why for this port there has only been set apart the Estimates the paltry sum of \$8,500 for harbour improvements, and why for these numerous harbours, bays and inlets there is but a grant of \$10,500? Why is it that British Columbia has not received one cent to improve the navigation of the Fraser River?

Sir, the hon. gentlemen opposite seem to be ever the same. They try to put east against

west, and province against province. Even this year while the leader of the Opposition and his colleagues were promising public expenditures in the west, his friends at the same time in the east were attacking us for doing justice to the west. So much with regard to the opposition which these hon. gentlemen displayed against the Canadian Pacific Railway in its early days. Now, Sir, there was a time when the question was how much of the railway should be constructed. Hon. gentlemen opposite said that the line around the North Shore of Lake Superior was no good, and they opposed it with might and main. I want to ask this House now of what use the Canadian Pacific Railway would be to Canada if we had not this great connecting link—how much of a national work it would be? Were we right or were they right? They were wrong. In a thousand ways they have been compelled to admit since. Then there came a time when the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was in distress, a time when danger threatened them, and when they came to this House and asked for aid; and if that aid had not been given, the Canadian Pacific Railway would have been bankrupt, and if the Canadian Pacific Railway had become bankrupt, the credit and progress of this country would have been destroyed for the next half century. Where did these men stand then? They were still, Sir, on the narrow-gauge policy; they were still unable to appreciate the opportunities and possibilities of this country. Here was their policy, as laid down by the member for West Huron, Mr. M. C. Cameron, who is not now in this House, to be found on page 2642 of "Hansard" of 1885:

I say the name of any Parliament, in the face of these facts, that would ratify these resolutions, will stink in the nostrils of every honest man, and the names of its members will go down to future generations as political time-servers and slaves, who for the third time, at the bidding of an unscrupulous and corrupt Government, sold this country to this corporation.

Were we right or were we wrong? Hon. gentlemen opposite know that they were wrong; they know now, in the light of history, that the Conservative party were not time-servers and slaves, but patriotic men, willing to stake the credit of this country, because they knew that in staking its credit they were going to build up the credit and the future of the Dominion. That money loaned at that time was paid back. We lost not a dollar, but we averted a national calamity. Well, Sir, I now come down to more recent times. I come to the great trade fight of 1891, when hon. gentlemen opposite asked us to adopt the policy of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union. Were they right or were they wrong? Once more, Sir, they were wrong, and so wrong that they are now ashamed of it themselves; so

wrong that they now deny that they ever supported it; so wrong that not a Canadian with investments in this country but trembles when he thinks how near Canada came to accepting that sham policy that would have been destructive to the Dominion in times of danger. So much, Sir, for the points of history in regard to the conduct of hon. gentlemen opposite upon great public questions. Now, they are calling for economy. Well, Sir, it is an old cry, the cry of economy, with hon. gentlemen opposite. My hon. friend the member for North Norfolk, when he spoke to the Patrons, declared it to be a time-honoured rule of the Liberal party,—and he might have observed that it was a rule more honoured in the breach than in the observance, as I think I shall be able to show when I deal with that part of the subject. Sir, I want for a few moments to speak as to some of the economies of hon. gentlemen opposite. We have heard a great deal in this House about the question of superannuation. Hon. gentlemen opposite, when they were coming into power—before they were in power—cried out for economy in our superannuation, just as they are crying out now; and yet, when they were in power, they increased the vote necessary for that service 100 per cent in five years, and superannuated many a man that still walks the streets of Ottawa and elsewhere—superannuated them ostensibly because their health was poor, but really because they wanted places for their supporters who were anxious to "serve the public for the public good." Not only that. While they were thus losing money to the country by their mismanagement of superannuation, and I am absolutely correct in my figures, as hon. gentlemen will find—\$53,000 and \$106,000 were the figures when they began and closed—while they were thus constantly losing money to the country, they devised no scheme by which the income and the outgo should be made to balance. And now they attack us notwithstanding the fact that my hon. friend the Minister of Finance brought down a Bill two years ago which goes a long way towards evening up income and expenditure in that branch, and has another on the paper which will wipe out the balance on the wrong side altogether, and make the superannuation fund pay its own way. That is what this Government mean to accomplish. They attacked my hon. friend the Minister of Railways for his expenditure on the Intercolonial. My hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in a table which he made of expenses that they could save—a table which, I am bound to say, if I am not unparliamentary, was not drawn up with a due regard to the rules of Sabbath observance—tried to make out that the Minister of Railways ought to have saved another \$100,000 on the Intercolonial. But, let me here take a note of what my hon. friend from Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies),

said, when he exclaimed, "What we did then, we will do again." Let us see what they did then in order that we may judge what they will do again. Sir, these economical gentlemen had 714 miles of railway under their control. And on that economically-managed railway, in 1876-77, they lost \$507,000; and in 1877-78, \$432,000; and now, when my hon. friend the Minister of Railways has actually wiped out the deficit and made the Intercolonial contribute \$5,000 a year to the treasury of Canada, the hon. gentleman from Queen's (Mr. Davies) exclaims: Let us come in again and see what we can do in regard to the Intercolonial. And remember this, Sir, that the management was then in the hands of a gentleman who said that he had to sit on the treasury with a gun in order to keep his friends behind him out of that treasury. The Minister of Railways has done a great service to the country in connection with the Intercolonial. The past two years have been most trying years upon railway management. Our Canadian railway companies have been compelled to present most discouraging showings, and in the United States the great railway corporations have been in the direst distress. In the whole Republic, with an increase mileage of 1,000 miles, the earnings as compared with the previous year, fell off \$30,000,000. One-third of all their railway mileage went into the hands of receivers, roads with a capital of \$79,924,000 were sold by the sheriff, while in the receivers hands railway property worth \$1,500,000,000 were placed. In the face of these facts the management of the Minister of Railways cannot be too highly complimented. Ask any great railway man in Canada as to the management of that road under him and they will tell you it is splendidly run, and hon. gentlemen in attacking it are but showing their hypocrisy and determination to find fault. What he did last year, Sir, he is doing again this year, viz., bringing it out without loss. How is he doing it? The trade has been less upon it as upon other lines. He is doing it by careful business management, and business management that is fully appreciated in the country. Then, Sir, I want to speak with regard to another matter. Hon. gentlemen opposite claim that they are economists as regards the number of Ministers of the Crown. Why, that is as familiar as the voice of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). It was an old cry in 1873 and 1874. And what did they do when in power? They said that the salaries were too large. Possibly, for they ought to have known their own worth, and were their own judges. The salaries were too big and the number was too great, they said. But what followed? They filled every place, drew every cent of salary, and added one gentleman to the Cabinet without portfolio—in defiance of their professions previous to the elections upon that point. Perhaps I should

say, however, that they did introduce a Bill to do away with one of the ministerial places. They introduced a Bill to do away with the Receiver Generalship; but in order that one of the gentlemen who "took office for the public good only" should not be dispensed with altogether, they made for him another office, and called it the Attorney Generalship. When the Bill creating that office went to the Senate and the Senate threw it out, the effect of that rejection was to reduce the Cabinet by one, but, Sir, that did not suit them. So they withdrew the Bill, all of course "for the public good." We hear a great deal from hon. gentlemen opposite with regard to the salaries of the Civil Service. I am not here to defend the Civil Service. I am here to say that we on this side, all agree that when a man is in the Civil Service, he ought to earn every dollar the country pays him, and that is the policy of this Government. But hon. gentlemen opposite should not say anything with regard to the salaries of the Civil Service. History and the record of public documents sometimes tell tales. Here is a Bill I wish to show the House, introduced by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) on the 8th March, 1875, in relation to the Civil Service of this country. And what does that Bill provide? Second-class clerks, under his Bill, would have had from \$800 to \$1,600 per year. Under the present law, their salaries are \$1,100 to \$1,400. First-class clerks, under his Bill, \$1,600 to \$2,000 per year; under our Bill, \$1,400 to \$1,800. Chief clerks, under his Bill, from \$2,000 to \$2,800; under our Bill, \$1,800 to \$2,400. Messengers, under his Bill, \$400 to \$600; under our Bill, \$300 to \$500. Temporary clerks, under his Bill, not to exceed \$730 per annum; under our Bill, not to exceed \$400 per annum. Extra work of civil servants, under his Bill, 50 cents per hour; under our Bill the payment of a single cent of extra money to these gentlemen is strictly forbidden, unless voted by Parliament. Hon. gentlemen opposite may take all the comfort they like out of this record upon Civil Service salaries. Now, then, I shall take up one more question, and I do this partly in defence of my hon. friend the Minister of Railways and partly because it is a matter on which the people have a right to know the minds of hon. gentlemen opposite. Somewhere in the western part of Ontario, my hon. friend (Mr. Haggart) is said to have declared that the leader of the Opposition had agreed to the Interprovincial Conference resolutions. My hon. friend from East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) brought the matter up and made a great ado about it. He (Mr. Macdonald) made a speech in which he declared that if the Minister of Railways did make such a statement, he should have the manliness to repeat it here, so that the leader of the Opposition might have the opportunity of

contradicting those false statements made on public platforms before the electorate of this country. That is very plain. Then he (Mr. Macdonald) went on to moralize upon the evil practice of making statements not correct. Sir, let him take his lesson home to himself. Now, I am here to give an opportunity to the leader of the Opposition of denying that statement of the Minister of Railways. I say here that the hon. leader of the Opposition did agree to the terms of the Interprovincial Conference. I say to the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) that when he charged the Minister of Railways with having made a false statement, it was he himself and not the Minister of Railways who was guilty. I say still further that that agreement of the leader of the Opposition to support the Interprovincial Conference resolutions is in the public records of this country. You will find, in the speech of an hon. gentleman who formerly represented L'Islet (Mr. Desjardins), a conversation across the floor between the leader of the Opposition and Mr. Desjardins. Mr. Desjardins said :

I have the right to ask the leader of the Opposition, if it is true that he pledged himself to Mr. Mercer to increase the subsidies to the provinces and to carry out the resolutions of the Interprovincial Conference, if he got into power.

And the leader of the Opposition thus replied :

I am sorry that the hon. gentleman, who is so versed in political matters, has not done me the honour to read my speeches during the last three or four years. I have spoken on that question in Toronto and Quebec, and have always asserted that I was in favour of the Interprovincial Conference resolutions.

The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) and the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) have been telling the people of Ontario that the Minister of Railways spoke falsely when he charged the leader of the Opposition with being in favour of those resolutions. I now ask the leader of the Opposition to rise up—like the gentleman that he is—and say that we were not telling falsehoods, but speaking from the public records of the country upon a grave and serious matter, and that the gentlemen behind him did not know the mind of their own leader on that great question. Sir, the leader of the Opposition will not rise, and he dare not deny the record I read. I say that this is a matter of public concern, because here are his lieutenants in Ontario saying that he will not support those resolutions. But against their statement, here is his public declaration in the Parliament of Canada saying that he does support those resolutions. He made a similar declaration in answer to the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy). I say now, in the light of Parliament, that he did make such a declaration, and I say

still further that that will add \$1,700,000 to the public expenditure of this country, and the hon. gentleman knows it just as well as I do, and the men behind him ought to know it, too. So much with regard to their economy; now I want to say a word or two as to their purity. Sir, they had not been in power a year when they wrote a letter to the superintendent of one of the canals of this country telling him to purchase supplies, from whom do you think? From a gentleman who sat behind them in this House of Commons, supporting their Administration; and without public competition at that. Has this Government done anything of that kind? If we did do so, would not hon. gentlemen opposite howl? Here is the letter :

Public Works Department,
Ottawa, May 5, 1876.

Sir,—I am directed to authorize you to purchase until further orders from Messrs. Frothingham & Workman such iron as may be required in connection with the canals under your charge.

F. BRAUN,
Secretary.

J. G. Sippell, C.E., Montreal.

And what else did they do? They gave to a member of this House who sat in the Speaker's place, which you adorn, Sir, a contract for public printing, without competition, and at rates 50 per cent higher than the work would have been done for by any other job printing office in the country, and when he lost his seat by reason of that contract, they elected him again to the chair. They appointed to office a man who, in London, had been reported as a corruptionist in the courts of the country. And then when they wanted land to carry on a public undertaking, land which could have been purchased at \$75 an acre, they gave private information—see the sworn evidence given before the Senate Committee, a copy of which I have here—they gave information to one of the gentlemen sitting behind them; that man with some associates purchased another part of land just near where this public work was to be erected; the Government of the day. Instead of following the usual method of procuring property in such cases, appointed partisan valuers to value the property; and then, in order to help the men who wanted to sell, they appointed as Government agent, to assist them in the purchase, a lawyer, one of the very men who owned the property. And the result was that they paid \$500 an acre for land which ought to have been bought at \$75 an acre, and they paid for improvements against the purchase of which even these partisan valuers had reported to the Government, they paid thousands of dollars, notwithstanding that they had not even the affidavit of the men who spent the

money. In this whole transaction, the evidence of which is upon record in our public documents, the country lost a hundred thousand dollars. It was open and barefaced piece of corruption. Now, Sir, let me refer to another case. My hon. friend from East Huron—and I deal with this now partly in answer to my hon. friend from South Oxford—said: We only increased the debt by reason of the fact that we were compelled to carry out the obligations left by the Tory party when they went out of office. He then referred to the Welland canal contracts. I tell the hon. gentleman, they were not obliged to carry out the obligations of the Tory party unless it was a good work and in the public interests, and I tell him further that if they had carried out the obligations and practices of the Conservative party, they would have saved hundreds of thousands of dollars to the country. What did they do with regard to the Welland Canal contracts? My hon. friend says that no contracts were cancelled. He was technically right, but morally he was very wrong. The Conservative Government called for tenders for work on the Welland Canal in 1873. These tenders came in in October, 1873, but before they were acted upon, hon. gentlemen opposite came into power. And what did they do? They wrote a letter to the engineer asking whether there was not some informality with regard to these tenders. And there was some informality of course! I have the letter here, Sir, if hon. gentlemen dispute what I say. And the consequence was that these tenders were laid aside, and other tenders were called for. And I am here with the evidence afforded by the public records to give my hon. friend the result of that second call for tenders. On section 2 of the Welland Canal the lowest of the first tenders which were called for and received by the Conservative Government, was \$321,000. In the second calling for tenders the lowest was \$396,000. And the contract was let to the lowest tenderer. In section 3 there was only a difference of \$30,000 between the lowest of the first tenders, and the amount at which the contract was let. On section 5 the lowest tender on the first call was \$266,000, and on the second call, \$312,000; and the contract was let to the fifth lowest tenderer at \$352,000. On section 14, the lowest tender on the first call was \$292,000, and the work was let for \$321,000, notwithstanding that upon the second calling for tenders there was a tender put in for \$292,000. On section 12, the lowest tender on the first call was \$302,000, and on the second call, \$327,000, and the work was let for \$351,000. On section 7, first call, lowest tender, \$251,000; second call, lowest tender, \$283,000; and the work was let by these purity and economy-loving gentlemen at \$327,000. On section 13, the lowest of the first tenders was \$270,000; the lowest of the second tenders,

\$313,000; and the work was let for \$325,000. It will be seen, Sir, first, that the prices at which the Conservative Government would have got the work done was much the lowest, and second, that the lowest tenders were passed over by these gentlemen. Now, just a word as to the method of argument pursued by my hon. friend from East Huron. Taking a certain number of years, he said that the average of contracts to the lowest tenderer in the time of Sir John Macdonald, was 35 per cent, while in the time of Mr. Mackenzie it was 84 per cent. For his comparison he took the years 1874, 1875, and 1876, of Mr. Mackenzie's time. But he forgot this—that the system had changed, that a deposit was required in Mr. Mackenzie's time, while no deposit was required in Sir John Macdonald's time, the consequence being that all the men who tendered under Mr. Mackenzie had to put up evidence and did put up evidence of their ability to do the work, and there was no excuse for neglecting them. Still further, the hon. gentleman omitted to take the year 1877 into his calculation. Had he done so, he would have found this percentage suffer material damage, because, in 1877, this economy and purity-loving party gave forty-two contracts, all told, of which seventeen were let to the second, third, fourth, or fifth lowest tenderers. I want now to discuss another point that came up in the speech of my hon. friend from East Huron, and afterwards to discuss the general trade policy of the country. In the first place, it seems to me that the effort of hon. gentlemen opposite has been mainly to prove that they have not changed their views upon the trade question. I am not going to discuss the question whether they have changed their policy or not. Surely it is patent enough to the people of this country; surely it has become notorious that they have been skipping about from pillar to post, and have discredited themselves before the people of Canada. The only reason they can possibly have for hoping to convince the people that they have not changed their trade policy is that they share the belief of my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) "that the masses of this country are not remarkable for their intelligence," anyway, which opinion the hon. gentleman expressed in a famous letter to the people of the United States some few years ago. As regards the question of protection or free trade, I want to begin my argument by showing that the hon. member for South Oxford has always been the controlling spirit of hon. gentlemen opposite. The light and airy, beautiful nothings of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition do not count against the vigorous demands of the hon. gentleman from South Oxford; and while the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Laurier) may talk gracefully and beautifully, the man who says

It shall be thus and so is the man from South Oxford—and I want hon. gentlemen opposite to remember that when I come to discuss this question of the trade policy. Let me begin by saying that when he sat on the treasury benches—at I want his attention, his distinguished attention for a moment—the men behind him were demanding, night and day, the introduction of protection into Canada. My hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), my hon. friend from South Brant (Mr. Paterson), and my hon. friend who then represented Halifax (Mr. Jones), even the hon. leader of the Opposition himself, in season and out of season, were demanding fair-play for the industries of Canada. I say it to their credit, but I charge it up to their weakness that they failed; and my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island last night complimented the hon. gentleman from South Oxford that he resisted all this pressure, that, notwithstanding the howl and turmoil there was around him for protection, he came out victorious, and stood by his guns, and refused to give it. Now, the fact that he is the leader, the real controller of hon. gentlemen opposite, notwithstanding that they squirm occasionally, is an important fact to be remembered as I come to discuss the position of that party at present upon the trade question. Now, Sir, one or two words as to the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), who impugned some of my motives, I fancy, and doubted my accuracy when I was speaking in the west upon some of these questions. Sir, I had stated, it appears, that in 1887 the gentlemen opposite adopted protection as their policy. I then stated the truth. I stated the fact that Mr. Blake saw that he was wrong, and publicly went back on his course. I am now here to prove what I stated. Does my hon. friend want me to do so? He says they issued no circular to the manufacturers. Well, my hon. friend cannot expect me to carry around all their campaign literature with me. Surely, my hon. friend does not expect me to have all these circulars and to keep them for a number of years. But I state the fact for my hon. friend's information, that such a circular was issued to the manufacturers, trying to humbug them, telling them that they need not be afraid of the advent of hon. gentlemen opposite to power.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is a pity you have not the circular.

Mr. MONTAGUE. It would be a pity if I did not have it, but I have. Here is the circular, Mr. Speaker. This was the circular sent to every manufacturer in the country, and it was handed to me by a manufacturer in the country. Here is the heading, in great, black type:

Mr. Blake on the tariff. Manufacturers have nothing to fear.

It further adds that the condition of the country wont allow a reduction of the tariff to any extent, and that stability of tariffs was what Canada wanted, and that was sent to every manufacturer in the country, and I am glad for the advantage of my hon. friend that I have it. And not only that, Mr. Speaker, but I have a speech of my hon. friend, too. Here is a speech my hon. friend delivered in Toronto, in the year 1887, in the same year, and in the same campaign; and here is what my hon. friend who wants to see the circular in Toronto in the campaign of 1887:

Mr. Charlton said that the circumstances were such that the question of the National Policy was now out of court. That the high taxation, as the reports goes on to say, which was then existing, had to be maintained.

Not only that, Sir, but in the session of 1887, it was the first session I was in this Parliament, the then Finance Minister (Sir Charles Tupper), complimented Mr. Blake across the floor after his conversion to a safe policy, and Mr. Blake did not by the lightest sign attempt to signify his disapproval. My object now is to show that at that particular moment, the hon. member for West Durham, the Hon. Mr. Blake, was on top. He did not stay there very long, however, and our hope that men might thereafter invest their capital in the development of Canadian enterprise without having it made the foot-ball of a party in their mad and unceasing struggle for office. But we were disappointed, Sir. The hon. member for South Oxford got in his sledge hammer blows again, and scarcely had the echoes of Mr. Blake's protection speech died away in the country, when the hon. member for South Oxford was controlling again. There was a new hand on the helm of the ship, there was a new voice dominant among the crew of hon. gentlemen opposite, and the Liberal ship was drifting for the purpose of catching a breeze that would take them into office, but always threatening and meaning the destruction of the platform of assistance and encouragement to the industries of Canada. Sir, what is the fact? The hon. member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) saw that it was a will-o'-the-wisp that the hon. gentlemen were pursuing, and decided to abandon it. He got control for a moment, but the hon. member for South Oxford very soon supplanted him again. I want hon. gentlemen to remember that, because I want them to remember that the hon. member for South Oxford is still in control. He is the real leader, he says so himself. The hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Laurier) is the titular leader; but I want this House to know what the real leader, and the dominant spirit, and con-

trolling influence of hon. gentlemen opposite, says on this question, and to see how much weight they are to attach to the oily and airy nothings that have been put before this country as an excuse for their trade policy. Now, just one word more. I am dealing now with specific denials made in this debate. The hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint), I think, made a specific denial that no gentleman on the other side of the House, or belonging to that party, had ever supported free trade between Canada and the United States. That is what he said, and here are his words :

I mean to say, in answer to the inquiry from me, that no hon. gentleman on that side of the House can point out one line in which the Liberal party have ever advocated the abolition of duties upon articles imported into this country from the United States, through any system of reciprocity.

Great heavens ! Mr. Speaker, has it come to this, that in this Parliament, and within easy reach of the library of Parliament, hon. gentlemen will so far forget themselves as to make such a statement as that ? I do not mean to say that the hon. gentleman did it intentionally. The hon. gentleman did not think that his party had ever adopted any such foolish policy. He never gave them credit for having so little sense. Sir, he had not judged them properly ; I will not read now from the speech of my hon. friend at Boston, which was read last night, which advocated such a policy as absolute free trade, but I will read the resolution that was moved in this House by the hon. member for South Oxford himself in 1880, and I want my hon. friend from Yarmouth to insert this in his speech when he sends it to his constituents, just after his statement that they had never advocated any such policy. Here is the resolution, and every Liberal in the House voted for it, including the leader upon that side :

That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse shall obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of either of said countries should be admitted free into the other.

Now, I want to show the position in which hon. gentlemen are. Either the hon. gentleman was absolutely misrepresenting—but I do not believe that, he is not that kind of a gentleman,—or he was passing judgment by imputation when he says that surely no Liberal ever could have been so silly, could have been so lacking in judgment, as to have supported any such policy as that. Sir, I ask him to look down to the front benches and see the gentleman who moved it, and to look down still further on the front benches to the hon. leader of the Opposition, who, time and time again, in his beautiful words, declared with great

sentiment that he was willing to stand by it, to live by it, and to die by it, if necessary. Sir, I ask my hon. friend from Yarmouth not to forget this when he goes to speak to his constituents, but, in the meantime, to make a moral resolve never to trust to the hon. gentleman's opinions on the trade question before he has carefully looked up the record in the library of this Parliament. Then, once more my hon. friend from Yarmouth made another specific denial, and that specific denial was that no gentleman on the other side had ever supported commercial union. I said at the time, "Oh, yes, the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies)," and the hon. member for Queen's said : "Oh, no." The hon. member for Queen's said : "I have denied it time and again in this House." Well, I will tell you what the hon. member for Queen's denied. He denied a speech which he made at the Charlottetown Board of Trade, and the reason he gave for denying that speech was because, he said, it was not correctly reported, that it was reported in an Opposition paper which had done him injustice, and he therefore denied and repudiated it. Did the hon. gentleman ever make any other speeches on commercial union ? The hon. gentleman is silent. The hon. gentleman did make another speech on that subject—and I am not saying now that I do not always accept the hon. gentleman's denial.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) No, you do not. You would not allow me to explain a moment ago.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I always accept the hon. gentleman's denial, but I want to give the House the grounds on which he makes the denial, because, surely, that is fair to the hon. gentleman. There is a paper published in Charlottetown called the "Patriot." I think the hon. gentleman is connected with the publishing company, indeed, I believe, he is president. That journal published a speech delivered by the hon. gentleman on 21st August, 1887, on the subject of political union, and here is what he said at Cape Traverse, P.E.I. :

Commercial union would also settle the nasty questions arising respecting our fisheries. The idea that we would be disloyal to the British flag under commercial union was humbug. He wanted to live under the flag as well as any one, but he wanted a flag under which he could live. The keynote should be struck in the banner province. Commercial union means a uniform tariff from the North Pole to the Gulf of Mexico. The reciprocity treaty of 1854 he was prepared to accept, but he was afraid the Americans were unwilling to concede it. As commercial union seemed to be more easily attainable, he was prepared to support it, because he believed it would secure to us wealth, peace and happiness.

This report was not published in an Opposition paper, but in the "Patriot," of Charlottetown, and the hon. gentleman was or is the president of the company. Hon. gentlemen opposite say they have not recently

changed their trade policy. I am not disposed to quarrel very much with that statement, indeed, I am prepared to accept it in a very large measure, because I want to be fair to hon. gentlemen opposite. I desire to note the resolution moved at the convention held in Ottawa, in 1893. In that resolution hon. gentlemen called for certain things, for a reduction of taxation, for freer trade, for a return to a tariff that would raise revenue; but I defy hon. gentlemen opposite to show a line in which they declared for tariff for revenue only. True, there is nothing in that resolution which declares tariff for revenue only, but I fancy the resolution ought to be read in the light of the speeches which were made at that convention, because the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) last night claimed that we are divorcing sentence from sentence, and I propose uniting sentence to sentence and sentences to the resolution in order that hon. gentlemen may have a fair presentation of their case. In those speeches at the convention as I shall show the cry was for free trade as it is in England, though the resolution was vague and indefinite, the speeches were definite indeed. I do say this though that the hon. gentlemen opposite while they have not, as I admit, changed their policy very recently, they have changed the name of it, just as they did in 1889 and 1890. They supported commercial union. The member for West Ontario wrote a letter in which he said it was unwise to call it commercial union, so they called it unrestricted reciprocity, on the ground that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet"; and so instead of calling the policy now free trade as they have it in England, hon. gentlemen call it a tariff for revenue only, which being interpreted means the system they have in England just as sure as we are standing here to-day. In the resolution now proposed hon. gentlemen say:

The existing tariff should be modified so that it be made a tariff for revenue only.

No protection there—every vestige of protection is to be removed; there is to be no incidental protection, because if such had been their intention it would have been stated. We must accept what hon. gentlemen opposite say, and what they say is that they are not in favour of protection in the slightest degree, but favour a tariff for revenue only. What does that mean? Consult any of the works upon political economy. It means, Sir, the system in vogue in England. Some hon. gentlemen opposite have attempted to conceal that fact; they have been saying, we are in favour of a tariff of incidental protection. Did the hon. member for South Oxford ever say that? Has any one ever heard that hon. gentleman say a word about incidental protec-

tion? What was the speech to which this resolution was the conclusion? Half of it was the bitterest kind of attack on any kind of protection, and the other half was a defence of the English system of taxation. I want to read the resolution of my hon. friend in the light of the speeches that were made before it, and in the light of speeches made after it, and I will leave this House and the country to draw their conclusion. Here are some of the speeches made before it. The leader of the Opposition said at Newmarket:

Not a vestige of protection shall be allowed to remain.

At St. Thomas, he said:

Our policy is the antipodes of theirs.

At Winnipeg:

It was a system of bondage and slavery.

Surely hon. gentlemen opposite will not leave a trace of slavery. At St. Thomas the hon. gentleman said:

Protection is a fraud. We want the policy of Britain, the policy which has made England the greatest nation in the world. Free trade as it exists in Britain is the goal which henceforth the Liberal party of Canada will struggle to attain.

Mr. GILLMOR. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. member for Charlotte says "hear, hear." I will just in a moment mention how delighted my hon. friend who is a free trader was when his friends adopted this policy at the convention, and he patted them on the back and said: That is right, boys, I believe in that policy. But that compliment to them is death to the contention they are now making, that they are not for free trade as it is in England. At the Ottawa convention the leader of the Opposition said:

I submit to your judgment that the servile copy of the American system which has been brought amongst us by the leaders of the Conservatives, is, like its prototype, a fraud and a robbery. I call upon you, one and all, to pronounce at once and give your emphatic support to the proposition that we shall never rest until we have wiped away from our system that fraud and robbery under which Canadians suffer.

Again, the hon. gentleman said:

My loyalty does not ooze from the pores of my body.

I never knew that charge to be made against the hon. gentleman. But he said further:

I do want to go for an example to the mother country, and not to the United States, much as I respect and love the people on the other side of the line.

And once more:

I preach to you the gospel of absolute destruction to protection. Not a vestige shall remain.

Once more:

We shall never rest until it is wiped out entirely.

And once more, at Montreal, the hon. gentleman said :

Our object was the destruction of protection ; there can be no compromise. We stand here against protection, a system of protection has been the bane and curse of Canada. The Liberal party believes in free trade on the broad lines that exist in Great Britain.

In the county of Peel, he said :

I propose we shall follow England's example, and open our ports to the products of the world.

Is there any incidental protection there ? Not by any means, but it is free trade, if the hon. gentleman understood what he was talking about. Now, let me say that we have heard in this House during the present debate an hon. gentleman opposite state :

That the leader of the Opposition at any time in his life has not gone back on any great trade policy which he had advocated for Canada, and put before the people.

Well, Sir, he has not changed possibly ; but, Sir, he has renamed his policy of free trade as they have it in England in order that the pill might go down better with the Canadian people. I have another gentleman to read from. I do not need to name that hon. gentleman because the extracts bear his ear-marks and are self-announced of their author :

These men and their bonused manufacturers are scoundrels great and scoundrels small.

Again :

It is the most villainous system to be found on earth.

Again :

It is thievery, villainy and highway robbery. And so on. Again :

The condition of the people was like a house on fire. The Liberal party were coming to the rescue.

Surely not to put it half out. Again, from the hon. member (Sir Richard Cartwright) :

The National Policy was worse than war, pestilence and famine.

Surely these things are not to be only partially wiped out. And now we come to my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), as to how he interprets it, and this is what he says :

It is a system accursed of God and man.

What did the hon. gentleman propose ? Did he ever propose "free trade as it was in England" ? My hon. friend (Mr. Davies) looks dubious now, as to whether he should answer or not ; but for his information I will tell him that he did. I will tell him so from a speech which he scattered broadcast in the provinces by the sea ; a speech which is said to be "A great deliverance of the Hon. L. H. Davies at Middleton. A masterly discussion of the Trade Question." Now, I want to read what that hon. gentleman proposed, and I want not to divorce that speech

from the resolution which calls for a tariff for revenue only ; but I want to unite them, as they should be united in their life, and as they will be united in death. Here is what he says :

To-day the people of Canada stand face to face with such an issue. And the next contest in this country is to be one between free trade and protection.

Did the hon. member (Mr. Davies) mean just the same kind of fight as they had in England ? My hon. friend is still dubious, but for his information I had better read on :

That great issue—

What great issue, Sir ? The word "that" is an important word there :

—That great issue, (the issue between free trade and protection,) was faced years ago by our fathers at home. Free trade won, and has ever since been the policy of Great Britain.

My hon. friend (Mr. Davies) smiles, but he does not deny his utterance. My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, is not alone, because the hon. gentleman from Queen's (Mr. Davies) presented the same policy down by the sea, as the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Laurier) presented in the convention, and also throughout the country. And now, Mr. Speaker, as to how other people understood it besides the Conservatives. How did my hon. friend from Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) understand it ? He did not misjudge his leader surely. He said "hear, hear," when I said "free trade" a few moments ago. He was pleased. His speech is found on page 53 of the convention report, a document issued officially by the Liberal party, and here is what the hon. gentleman from Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor) said :

Our leaders propose to follow the example of England in trade matters. You cannot find so good an example in all the world.

The hon. member (Mr. Gillmor) said that after he had heard the speeches.

England has fought many of the best battles in the world, but the best battle she ever fought was the battle of free trade. Free trade is good enough for me. Talk about conditions ; conditions do not affect it at all.

And, Mr. Speaker, that announcement of the hon. member (Mr. Gillmor) was met by cheers on the part of the gentlemen who had come together for the purpose of making a policy for hon. gentlemen opposite to put before the country. Reading that resolution of the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), and reading those speeches, I ask any man in this House, or any man in this country, what could they possibly be understood to mean but the English system of tariff ; the English system as it was explained by the leader of the Opposition ? But what have we heard since ? The narrow-gauge member from North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has declared :

That what the people want is to be severely let alone.

That is the laissez faire system of England ; that is the free trade system of England. He said further :

The Government is trying to fool the farmers when they tell them that protection on pork is any good for them. It is something that no intelligent and well-informed farmer will ever believe.

The member for Russell (Mr. Edwards) advocates the removal of beef duties and he wants free trade in beef. On page 1174 of "Hansard," he says :

The statement is made that farmers are protected. I deny that most emphatically.

The member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says :

It is audacity to say that the duties placed on agricultural products are of any value.

The member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) says :

I deny in toto that the farmer requires protection.

Again, he says :

I contend that the free and untrammelled admission of grains under the tariff of 1873 was in any degree detrimental to the agricultural interests.

Again, he says :

The importation of Indian corn was advantageous for Canada.

And I did not see the member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) cheer when he made that statement. And once more the member for North Norfolk says :

The duty on pork is absolutely useless.

Just here let me say this Government differs most emphatically with these gentlemen upon the question of agricultural protection. We say to the people of the United States : If you will give us your markets we will reciprocate, but we won't yield up ours without something in return. Every man in this House ought to stand by that policy. Look, Sir just at the pork protection upon which the member for North Norfolk said we got no advantage. In 1889, we discovered that American prices were so low that they could pay the small duty we had against them and come in here and undersell our farmers in their own market. We sent up the duty, Sir, and this table shows the results, both as to imports and exports, the exports being increased by reason of the industry being encouraged by the protection of the home market :

LARD, HAM, SHOULDER BACON AND PORK.

Imports—	Lbs.
1889	27,000,000
1891	14,000,000
1892	11,000,000
1893	4,000,000

Exports—	Lbs.
1889	4,000,000
1891	7,000,000
1892	12,000,000
1893	20,000,000

So much, Sir, as to the hon. gentleman's opinion upon pork. Now, Sir, reading these statements with the statements made previous to the resolution ; reading these statements with the resolution passed, I want to ask the House what these gentlemen could expect us to understand their policy to be ? Certainly the country understood it. Certainly every man in this House who applied a fair judgment to it, understood as the member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) declared :

That their next fight would be upon the question of free trade and protection.

I wish now, Sir, to refer to a matter to which I have briefly alluded several times in my address. Who is to be the maker of the new tariff ? Hon. gentlemen opposite may talk as to a half-way system, but who is to be the maker of the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite ? Well, we have the announcement, and the hon. gentleman from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) has given notice, that he is to be the Finance Minister when hon. gentlemen opposite get into power. He has made the statement a long while in advance, and so he is safe. But he is to be the Finance Minister when they come into power, and now I want to read into that resolution what the coming Finance Minister says as to his position on this question. At Ingersoll, he said this :

There are some people of the Liberal party who are there for their flesh-pots and their stock of cotton or some other stock, who did him the justice to believe that he would do what he promised, and that he would not be satisfied with half measures.

Once more, at Montreal, he (Sir Richard Cartwright) said :

There is no Canadian manufacturer who need be afraid to face the competition of the world. Our policy is death to protection.

You see, Sir, there is no mistaking what that means. And once more he says, with regard to the fight in the United States, and the defeat of the Democratic party there :

There are two lessons which I think the Reformers of Canada ought to learn. One is presented for our warning and example in the fate which has befallen the Democratic party in the United States. It shows to all who choose to read the signs of the times, that when a party is placed at the head of a great popular movement, if that party is half-hearted in the prosecution of its aim, it will be deservedly swept out of power by the very people who have sustained and advanced it.

And he says then :

When we get into power, there will be no half measures. We will destroy this policy, root and branch.

Now, Sir, in the light of all these announcements I ask hon. gentlemen opposite, what is this House to understand ? They are to

understand one of two things: Either that hon. gentlemen opposite will destroy protection root and branch and go to free trade; or that they are misleading the people of this country. Let them take either horn of the dilemma that they like, because they certainly must except either one position or the other. No half measure; no half way-house; destructive root and branch is to be the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite; and I give notice to the men who have invested their money in the industries of this country, and to the toiling thousands who are supplying their wives and children with bread, that if ever these hon. gentlemen get into power, the hand of the spoiler will be up on them, and that spoiler will be the hon. member for South Oxford, the coming Finance Minister in any Liberal Government that may be formed. And now let me tell hon. gentlemen what is thought of their policy in trade circles. Here is what the "Trade Bulletin," of Montreal, of 15th February, 1895, says in substance, in the course of a long article:

If it were not for the momentous consequences that we fear hang upon the reversal of our present trade policy at this juncture, we would unhesitatingly advocate a change of Government, as too long tenure of office often leads to an abuse of power. The commercial life of a nation is passing through a critical period, and it should be remembered that any radical change in our fiscal system might result in upheavals as disastrous as those which have occurred in Australia and the Argentine Republic, and which have shook the United States to its foundation. The introduction of a policy based on the broad lines of British free trade would be a fatal mistake, and might hurl us into a commercial pitfall from which it would take us years to emerge. It is too well known that if our protective barricade, which insures a home market for our manufactures, were removed, or even lowered to any great extent, the Americans would at once monopolize the home trade.

I have now given the statements of hon. gentlemen opposite; I have given the interpretation of their policy by their own friends; I have given its interpretation by independent trade journals; and I say to them that they are either on the broad lines of free trade, or else they have been humbugging the people of this country—humbugging some classes by a cry of free trade and humbug others by other means—sending circulars around possibly to the manufacturers and others who have invested their capital, telling them that they need not be afraid. But the hon. member for South Oxford will control, and he says there will be no half measures when he gets into power.

An hon. MEMBER. When?

Mr. MONTAGUE. When? Early in the next century, some time, it is said, but certainly not in this. Now, I want to say a word or two about my hon. friend's grow-

ing funny at my expense in connection with protection in Great Britain. I am delighted to have caused the hon. member for South Oxford a smile. He has been fishing so long with such a melancholy bait, and with such disastrous bad fortune, that the smile that was said to have been a German silver smile, which he wore in days gone by, has gradually changed into that bluish hue with which artists have always painted that space that lies between abandoned hope and absolute despair. Well, Sir, I am glad to cause even a smile at my own expense, and I do not begrudge him the pleasure. What did I say in the country? I said this, that England, after four or five centuries of protection, took down her barriers and bade defiance to the world. That is what I said, and the hon. gentleman proceeded to prove it. The hon. gentleman read a Tariff Act passed in England some hundreds of years ago; and his only answer to my assertion that the only country which had adopted the policy he had been advocating had done so only after centuries of protection, was to cause this House to smile at the absurd wording of that Tariff Act. Some of the hon. gentleman's newspapers alleged that I had not told the truth when I said that England had been a protective country for centuries; and I am here now to say to my hon. friend from South Brant (Mr. Paterson), who paid me great attention in connection with this subject in the country, that I did not state one word that was untrue. I said that the woollen industry, the cotton industry, the iron industry, and every other great industry of England had been built up under a system of protection; and I now say, further, that no country has ever grown great that has not grown great by protection. Do hon. gentlemen deny it?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies) smiles and denies. Why, Sir, it is the statement of my hon. friend the member for North Norfolk, made in 1878. I am quoting it literally. These gentlemen are like the old ballad, "The Hunting of the Snark." You remember the story. When the butcher and the beaver did not agree very well, the butcher contrived to make a separate sally; but in a short time he found himself alongside the beaver again. Then the ballad continues:

Neither betrayed by a word or a look
The disgust that appeared in his face,
But the valley grew narrow and narrower
still,

And the evening grew darker and colder;
Until from sheer nervousness, not from good
will,

They marched along, shoulder to shoulder.

Now, the statement has been made, and it has been made constantly in this debate,

that England was brought to the verge of ruin by protection.

Mr. GILLMOR. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend says, "hear, hear." I was sure my hon. friend would say that, and he has had evidence of it from the opinions of hon. gentlemen opposite. Here is a work of a free trade historian who was patronized by John Bright, and who wrote his books at the bidding of the Cobden Club. Here is what this author, Augustus Mongredien, says on page 133 of his book :

This adoption of free trade principles was not the result of pressure from adverse circumstances. The country was flourishing, trade was prosperous, the revenue showed a surplus, railways were being constructed with unexampled rapidity, the working classes were fully and remuneratively employed, the imperial average of wheat for the week ending June 28th was 47s. 11d. per quarter, and bread was cheaper than it had been for many years. The prevailing convergence towards free trade principles simply proceeded from a conscientious recognition of economic truths.

My hon. friend smiles. No doubt he has read it. My hon. friend states that he is above the authority of the historians of the Cobden Club; but I prefer to take their opinion, even to that of the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor), or that of the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Langeher).

Mr. GILLMOR. He says it was an immoral practice.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Well, I am not dealing with morals or with immorality. That is not in my department; it belongs to the department of the hon. member for North Norfolk. What I stated was this, that England grew prosperous by protection, and I have proven it out of the mouth of a free-trade Cobden Club historian who, I think, will be accepted by this House. I have quoted him for this reason, that when I made some such statement in the country, the Toronto "Globe," whose representative is here, said that I had misquoted Mongredien; and if the "Globe" reporter wants this copy of the book, he can have it in order that he may retract that misstatement of his paper. I quote it because I wish to say to this House and to the country that neither in this House nor on a public platform have I ever stated what I believed to be untrue, or stated a fact as to which I had not made all the inquiries in my power to substantiate its truth. Now, what has been the history of England on the trade question? Why did she adopt free trade?

Mr. LAURIER. What is the title?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Here it is, I will pass it over—History of the free trade movement in England by Augustus Mongredien.

Mr. GIBSON. What about the proclamation to the Indians?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Hon gentlemen opposite are in a bad way. Now, I want to discuss why England adopted free trade and what her previous policy was. Hon gentlemen opposite know that Mr. Cobden made a prophecy. What was the prophecy? It was that in ten years every country under the sun would adopt the same method and the same tariff. That is why England adopted free trade—largely to get the markets of the world. Did she get them? Just let me give the hon. gentleman some examples. The duty levied against Manchester goods by the French in 1860, was 12½ per cent; in 1882, it rose to 16 per cent; and in 1882, it was 42 per cent. The duty in France on Leeds goods in 1860 was 10 per cent; in 1882, 32 per cent; and in 1892, 50½ per cent, in other words, France is a sample of just what the nations of the world are doing, namely, shutting their markets to England. And England, as I shall show from English resolutions and from the English "Hansard," is beginning very severely to feel that effect herself. She had enjoyed protection for 400 years. The hon. member for South Oxford taunted me with having gone back 400 years and he said, that is the spirit which dictates the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. I want to show that the spirit of modern times is the same and a good deal stronger than was the spirit then. Austria adopted protection in 1879; Russia increased her tariff in 1877 and 1881. Germany put up hers higher in 1879; France increased her tariff in 1882 for purely protective purposes; Spain did the same in 1887 and 1888; Greece adopted a high protective tariff in 1889; Switzerland took the same course in the same year. Sweden and Norway also followed suit, and Italy began protection to her agriculture last year—and so on through the whole list of European countries. What I want to show to the hon. gentlemen and the people of this country is that the policy which the Opposition propound is one which every other country has rejected, and I put this question to the people. There are two teachers before them. The one is the teacher of history and experience, cool, calm and unbiassed, that gives its warning. The other teacher is hon. gentlemen opposite who are anxious to get into power—for the public good, they say themselves—for the pleasure and profits of office, we know very well from their history. I ask the people of this country: Are they going to accept the teaching of history and experience? or are they going to accept the teaching of hon. gentlemen opposite, who in five years have adopted five policies, and each time declared that the policy they then adopted was the true and only policy for the redemption and salvation of Canada? Just a word or two with regard to the United States. I remem-

ber saying in 1893, in this House, that the United States had not adopted free trade, that they would not very materially reduce their tariff, and that if their Government did so, the Democratic party would be defeated and turned out of power. The hon. leader of the Opposition and the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) shook their heads and smiled an incredulous smile, and said: You do not know anything about it. We are now in the course of the year 1895, and events have proved that I was right.

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Mr. MONTAGUE. No, the Democratic party were not defeated in the United States and the tariff reform did not get a death blow in the United States! Surely the hon. gentleman does not assert that?

Mr. LAURIER. Tariff reform and the Democratic party are two things.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend says that tariff reform and the Democratic party are two things. So also, Sir, honest tariff reform and hon. gentlemen opposite are two things. The Democratic party in the United States have pursued just about the same policy of turning and twisting on the trade question as hon. gentlemen opposite have, and the fate of the Democratic party in the United States will be the fate of hon. gentlemen opposite in the coming campaign. What caused the defeat of the Democratic party in the United States? The hon. member for South Oxford declares that they did not go half far enough, and that was the reason they were defeated, and he proposed to go still further in this country. Just a word or two concerning the condition of England; and I do this because of the constant reference which has been made to the glowing condition of England by hon. gentlemen opposite who have spoken from time to time. I have here,—and I must here pay the highest compliment to my hon. friend from East Hastings (Mr. Northrup) who discussed this question so thoroughly—a report to show just the condition of agriculture in England at present. The commissioners appointed to inquire into the agricultural depression have obtained reliable data, and in their report of 15th March, 1895, they state as follows:—

The gross value of land in the United Kingdom has fallen in the last thirteen years by £13,400,000 and rents have been reduced from 5 to 75 per cent.

The wheat crop, which averaged £31,000,000 from 1870 to 1875, has fallen in 1894 to £7,600,000.

Every kind of crops in regard to which the English farmers looked for profit, has fallen in price.

And the "Field," an agricultural journal, says:

HON W H M 2

Last year we imported agricultural products to the value of £142,000,000, £18,000,000 of which could have been raised upon the fields of Great Britain, had foreign competition not been allowed to prevail.

Here is a message sent to Canada by a gentleman from the county of Simcoe, and who has written to the Orillia "Packet." Here is what that gentleman says:

Things are bad in England among the farmers. Everything comes from abroad. Cassells are even now issuing a book printed in Holland. The Bibles from the Oxford press have a little note to show that they were printed in Germany. However well free trade may sound in theory, practically it is a failure, and I sincerely trust that Canada will never adopt it. England gets her eggs from Holland, her butter from Denmark, her cheese from America, and her beef and mutton from Australia. In the meantime the Essex farmers are going through the Bankruptcy Courts at the rate of 300 a year.

Just one word more. An agricultural society in England recently passed a resolution. What was that resolution? It was that the difficulty with English farmers was that no matter how bad the harvest, they never had a good market or increased prices. That contains a lesson for us. We have had a high protective duty on wheat. Hon. gentlemen opposite have said that it never did us any good. The time has come now when the National Policy is doing us good now on wheat.

Mr. CHARLTON. Why?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Because it is 15 cents lower in the United States than it is in Canada, and because we have a high tariff against the United States. Hon. gentlemen opposite say: But there is a corner in wheat. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I have taken pains to find out what this duty means now to the Canadian farmers. I have wired to various sections—

Mr. CHARLTON. There is no wheat in the farmer's hands.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend is always wrong, I am afraid. If he had allowed me to show that circular before he asked for it, he would have saved himself some confusion, and if he had allowed me to read telegrams from men whose opinions he will not dispute, he would have saved himself some confusion and some regret. I have telegrams from every section, the facts concerning which I read. I will pass them over to the hon. gentleman if he wishes, and I think he will accept as conclusive the one I shall read at the end. At Seaforth, my informant tells me, 4,000 bushels of wheat have been marketed at the higher price, and 15,000 bushels are still held by the farmers. In St. Mary's, according to my informant, 5,000 bushels have been

marketed at the higher price, and 20,000 bushels are still held. At Dunnville, 5,000 bushels sold, and 40,000 bushels still held. At Brampton, 2,500 sold, and 20,000 bushels are to be found in half the county. At Mitchell, 1,000 bushels sold, and 20,000 bushels held by the farmers. At Lucan, only 500 bushels sold, but 25,000 bushels still held by the farmers. At Hagersville, 5,000 bushels sold, within the last month, and 15,000 still held. At Exeter, 10,000 bushels sold, and some farmers, my informant says, are holding from 300 to 800 bushels, many thousands of bushels being held in the township, and many farmers around this village are holding two and three years' crops. The unfortunate down-trodden farmers whom my hon. friend has been talking about have been able to hold three years' crops of wheat. Now, this is the report from Mr. W. W. Oglivie, of Montreal, who knows, perhaps, just as much about the wheat question as my hon. friend from North Norfolk. By telegram, dated 27th May, Mr. Oglivie writes:

Late reports show that from a million and a half to two million bushels wheat are still held by farmers in Ontario. As usual in cases like the present, they are holding for still higher prices. Some districts in Manitoba are delivering freely at present prices.

There is the telegram of Mr. Oglivie, of Montreal, who knows his business. What does that mean? Let us take his lowest estimate of a million and a half bushels of wheat held by the farmers of Ontario. According to the "Globe" newspaper of 24th May, they are getting from 14 to 15 cents more than they are getting in corresponding towns in the United States. Multiply 1,500,000 by 14 cents, and you have \$210,000 given to the farmers of the province of Ontario by the National Policy, on wheat alone. My hon. friend from Charlottetown (Mr. Davies) smiles at that. He does not like it. These are facts he does not like and he never will like; but the farmers like them, and the farmers to-day are thanking their stars that they did not take down the bars and allow American wheat in free as the hon. gentlemen did in 1878, and yet what is the policy of hon. gentlemen? It is this. Let us take off the farmers' protection! Let us import foreign grain and foreign meats, and destroy our home market. Sir, we are against that from start to finish unless we can get other markets in return.

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

After Recess.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I have already occupied so much time that I propose to reduce what I have to say to the briefest

possible space. Before you left the Chair, Sir, I was speaking upon the question of the effect of the protective tariff on the price of wheat. Since you left the Chair, I have had placed in my hands further evidence of the truth I then asserted. The prices, I am told, at Gretna, Manitoba, on May 20th, were from 72 cents to 74 cents per bushel, while at Niche, North Dakota, the price was only 60 cents, the one point being only a short distance across the border from the other, this showing that the same effect has been attained in Manitoba as has been secured in the province of Ontario. I am still further able to inform the House that an hon. gentleman sitting opposite to me sold only a few days ago something like 3,500 bushels of wheat at Fort William for \$1.00 per bushel, while the price at Duluth was only 81½ cents on the same date. I had, Mr. Speaker, before the House rose for dinner stated what my view was with respect to the adoption by England of a free trade policy. I have shown, I think, to the satisfaction of the House that the effort of Great Britain and the hope of Great Britain was to secure other markets abroad, thinking that other countries would follow her own example. I showed also that Britain was disappointed in that hope, that instead of her securing other markets, those other markets were being closed still more against her as the years went by. I have now to say in reference to what some hon. gentlemen have urged on the other side of the House, that no farmer can be found in Great Britain who is not a protectionist so far as his industry is concerned; and I have still further to say that the policy of free trade was carried in Great Britain, not by the votes of farmers, but by the very strongest support of manufacturers, who contributed large campaign funds to the Cobden Club and carried it in spite of the agricultural population of that country. I have still further to say that every protectionist fight that has been won in the countries of the world has been won largely by the influence of the farmers. And I have not to go abroad, nor have I to bring any evidence that will be disputed by hon. gentlemen opposite, for in 1878 the protective tariff fight was won by the farmers of this country who not only wanted their home market for themselves, but who had the broad and proper idea that the creation of a varied industry extended the home market and gave them a better opportunity to sell their products. I have not to go outside the ranks of hon. gentlemen opposite for evidence of what I have said, because in a speech recently delivered by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), he admitted that the defeat of the Liberal party in 1878 was aided by the votes of 30,000 Liberal farmers who left the Liberal ranks to join the Conservatives in putting these gentlemen out of office. And why? Because they had refused to keep the home

Chair, of the price I have evidence prices, I 20th, bushel, price only on the et has been I am e that to me g like m for Duluth ate. I e rose with of a nk, to effort Great broad, follow that e, that those more have e hon. ide of and in list so I have I free not by strong- con- obden agricul- have donist commu- argely And I to ed by 8 the e far- anted t who crea- home unity to out- posite cause hon. Cart- of the votes e Lib- a put- why? home

market for the Canadian farmer. Some of my hon. friends smile at that. Well, I suppose they put no faith whatever in the statement of the hon. gentleman from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), but I am quoting him literally. Now, Sir, not only has England failed in regard to securing the markets of other countries, but England is to-day—and I say it in the light of evidence which I have in my possession—England is to-day in many respects growing very weary of the policy which was adopted then; and not only that, but as I shall prove to this House, to the absolute satisfaction of hon. gentlemen opposite. England in the very highest places is beginning to reverse the policy of free trade which she adopted some years ago. Sir, I thought no truer word was ever spoken than was spoken by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) the other day when he declared to this House that England was the slaughter market for creation. No people have appreciated that fact better than the capitalists, and the artisans, and the agriculturists of that country. English boards of trade, trades unions, consuls abroad, agricultural societies, as I can prove by the evidence of the official debates in the English House of Commons, are now moving in the direction of a defensive tariff, and the English Parliament itself has practically, in one sense, abandoned the free trade policy and adopted in one respect a protective policy. My hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) dissents, but I will prove to my hon. friend that I am absolutely right. I suppose he (Mr. Mills) will not controvert me in this statement: That the ideal policy that England had in view was, that the cheaper she could buy the products for her people, no matter where they came from, the better it was. That was the ideal policy in Great Britain, and I can show the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), that they have abandoned that policy only very recently in the House of Commons in England. Just a word or so, Mr. Speaker, as to some of the industries of Great Britain. First, as regards the iron industry. Ryland's Iron Circular, which is the official voice of the English trade, on 22nd September, 1894, contained the following:—

For a number of years past very serious apprehensions have been aroused by the circumstances of the iron industry in the United Kingdom, more especially in view of the progress made by competitive countries. In commercial circles it is now quite a common thing to hear our iron industries spoken of as a manufacture that has ceased to make progress and is doomed to gradual decay. An examination of the returns for some years past appears to confirm this view.

It says further:

The summary of the situation is that there reigneth hand-to-mouth buying, keen foreign and home competition. This applies as well to iron as steel. The export trade of bars, sheets

and wires has gone to the continent, so much that more than one prominent iron merchant is contemplating the establishment of a foreign office for facilitating the buying of continental iron.

A late annual report of the secretary of the British Iron Trade Association, says:

The iron trade has for several years been having a bad time of it in this country, as various foreign countries are now our active competitors in it. As a sign of the times, and an illustration how continental countries are now competing with us in the one article of iron alone, I may state that the Great Central Railway station at Birmingham, the very centre of the British iron trade, which is one of the largest—if not the largest—in England, had recently been constructed exclusively of Belgian iron.

I commend this sign of the times to gentlemen who say that workmen are rushing to England looking for work. A Belgian firm was doing work in England while thousands of English workmen were standing idle looking at them, and as a result of this, English iron being driven out of English markets, what has come? Sir, blackened blast furnaces, silent mills and idle employes by the thousands. Sir, I have here Ryland's Circular for 1894. In the one of the numbers, 22nd December, 1894, you have an article upon the decline of the iron trade. It is called "In memoriam." And it tells a sad and disheartening tale. Let me quote its words:

The summary of our list shows that there are about 406 blast furnaces standing idle, that will never be put into blast again, and 126 finished iron works that will probably never be worked again.

And, Sir, why is this? Let the London "Iron and Coal Trade Review" make answer:

We have pointed out that the threat of successful competition in natural markets on the part of the United States is not a mere bogie; it has become a stern reality. It was shown at a recent meeting of the Middlesboro' Chamber of Commerce by Sir Edmund Head in unmistakable terms that in Alabama iron is produced and sold at about five shillings per ton less than it costs at Cleveland, the cheapest centre of the pig iron industry in this country.

And here let me give you some figures to show how the manufacture of iron, once monopolized by England, has gone to other lands. The following table shows how England is being met with competition abroad:

TONS OF IRON PRODUCED.

	1856.	1886.	1893.
Great Britain.....	3,586,387	6,870,665	6,977,000
Germany	363,881	3,339,863	4,937,461
United States.....	883,137	5,634,543	9,157,000

England doubles her production since 1856; the United States multiplies hers by 11, and Germany hers by 12, during the same period. The "London Iron and Trades Journal" recently said:

If iron manufacturers and exporters have been carefully watching the English and foreign markets during the last few months, the figures that have come under their eyes must have caused them not a little astonishment and anxiety as to the future. The enemy is again at our gates in the form of foreign competition, but it is not this time either Germany, or Belgium, or France with whom we have to reckon, but our most protected kinsmen in the United States.

I shall quote here from a recent speech made by Mr. Lowther, M.P., in the House of Commons of England, upon this very subject, as reported in the English "Hansard" of March 15, 1895 :

They were always told that the idea of any country in the world being able to compete with the United Kingdom was absurd. The President of the Board of Trade was aware that at this moment the pig iron manufacture of the Southern States of America, Alabama, was being landed at Glasgow at a price lower than that at which it could be produced at a profit in the great iron-producing centres of the United Kingdom.

Sir, what are the facts shown by the English "Hansard," which I have here. Recently, the Chambers of Commerce, of Sheffield, of Birmingham, of Bolton, of Bristol, of Cardiff, of Newcastle, of Steekton, of North Staffordshire, and other great manufacturing places, have all passed resolutions showing that the depression in this great trade was on account of two facts : first, that the home market was consumed by foreign products, and second, that the foreign markets have not been opened to English productions. Now, Sir, let us see for a moment as to another great industry. Take the sugar industry of England. Will hon. gentlemen opposite say that the sugar industry of England is prosperous ? Is there a gentleman there who will state that ? Let me tell them that Germany has become the greatest competitor of England, not only in her own markets, but in the markets of the world as well. In 1836, Germany began to give bounties, and that year the production was 141 tons of sugar, while in 1893, Germany produced 1,745,137 tons. And what has England been doing ? In 1893 she took no less than \$50,000,000 worth of sugar from Germany, while Germany brought not one single pound of sugar from Great Britain. And what has been the result ? Here is the result to be seen in the Liverpool "Courier" of a recent date :

Another well-known Liverpool house has resolved upon the stoppage of their works. Messrs. Jas. Leitch & Co., 10 Dale Street, and with a refinery on Blackstock Street, have determined upon this serious step in consequence of the condition of circumstances which prevent the manufacture of cane being a profitable business. The closing of their refinery means, at any rate, that 200 men, many married and with families to support, will be added to the already too large army of the Liverpool unemployed. This firm has been in existence for about fifty years.

Mr. Gladstone's consolation that more sweets are now manufactured in this country is no salve to the hundreds and thousands who have been deprived of their livelihood in a war of which all

the glory falls to the peddling philosopher and political schemer, and all the profits to the bounty-maintained foreigner or the speculator who are to be found preying upon the disasters of commerce.

The closure of the refineries of Messrs. Heap, Jaeger Bros. has now been followed by the stoppage of Messrs. Leitch & Co.'s works. Outside Liverpool the results are worse. Bristol has practically ceased to refine, there are only a few Clyde refineries continuing the struggle, and the London sugar refineries will certainly not boast of being prosperous, the well-known firm of Martineau having stopped their works temporarily.

My hon. friend (Mr. Laurier) wants to apply the same policy to Canada, because the sugar industry is one of the industries in which the hon. gentleman has the knife up to the hilt, and when he spoke in Montreal he said : Let the people of Canada buy their sugar abroad like the people of England do, and let the refiners put their sugars into jams and make jams instead of supplying Canada with sugar. Does any one want such a policy here, yet that is the policy which hon. gentlemen propose. Now, Sir, just a word or two as to the general trade of Great Britain. We find that Germany is gaining ten to one on Great Britain in the markets of the world in the supply of manufactured articles. The hon. gentleman will find that statement in the report of the English consul resident last year at Berlin, and here is what Sir Lothian Bell said the other day to his association :

Cottons, woollens, ralls, machinery will be produced as heretofore, and in overflowing measure : they may be produced even by Englishmen, or by men of English race, as now ; but they will be produced by them, not in Lancashire, Staffordshire, Lanarkshire or Yorkshire, but on the banks of the Ohio, at the foot of the Alleghany, or it may be in even more distant quarters still.

We find also that England is losing the trade of India, and it is going where ? To protected countries. She has lost her markets in other countries, and her colonies largely as well. Now, Sir, is all this being suffered meekly by the British people without a murmur ? By no means, Sir. If my hon. friends will consult the English "Hansard" of 27th February, 1895, they will find that in the House of Commons the statement was made by one of the most prominent members of that House that already twelve hundred million dollars of British capital has been driven to investment in foreign countries, and what is the reason ? My hon. friend smiles too soon again. The reason, as given in the Parliament of Great Britain, is that it has gone abroad to get beyond the reach of hostile tariffs, because it cannot be invested in England to supply those foreign countries with the products. Now, Sir, is Parliament sleeping ? My hon. friend smiled when I said that the Parliament of England had taken this matter into their own hands. Let me re-state the principle, which I declared was the principle of absolute

free trade, namely, that the cheaper the people can buy the manufactured product, the better for the people. Let us see how England regards that. In the English House of Commons, on the 19th February, 1895, a resolution was passed, and passed unanimously, which was in fact a protection resolution. Man after man was challenged to say a word against it, and did not do so. That resolution—and mark its wording—was as follows:—

That, in the opinion of this House, it is incumbent upon Her Majesty's Government, in the interests of the industrial classes of the United Kingdom, to restrict the importation of goods made in foreign prisons by the forced labour of convicts and felons.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friends smile; but what difference does it make where the goods are made, so long as the people get them cheap? My hon. friend says that had nothing to do with the question of free trade or protection. Let me tell him what a great member of the British House of Commons said with regard to that question, and then we shall see at whom he was sneering when he said it did not mean protection. Here is what Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said:

He (the President of the Board of Trade) does not come to the consideration of this question biased in any way by those eternal principles which were laid down the other day by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which teach us that the lower the price of commodities the better it is for the nation. He has flung aside those proposals as though they were the proposals of belated philosophers.

Speaking thus of the speech of the president of the English Board of Trade, who supported that resolution, on which there was a discussion occupying 44 columns of "Hansard," and not a single man to be found to raise his voice against it. What was the reason of that? The reason was that the brush industry of England has been ruined by the competition of foreign prison-made goods coming from Germany. What matters it whether the goods are made in prison or anywhere else, so far as the principle is concerned? The brushes were good, the prices were low. Then why are they to be shut out of England? Because their importation has ruined the British brush industry and left British brushmakers without labour. If that is not protection, Sir, I do not know what is. England has begun in that resolution the protection of her own industrial classes. Not only that, but let me tell hon. gentlemen that Mr. Chamberlain, speaking recently on the question which hon. gentlemen say is dead in Great Britain, declared:

I am inclined to think that in our staple trades—for instance, in the coal trade, in the iron trade, in the cotton trade, and, above all, in the greatest of all our trades, the trade of agriculture—the margin of profit has entirely disappeared.

Up to the present time wages have not fallen at all in proportion, but if the present state of things continues it is simply inevitable either that wages will have to be considerably reduced or that works will be closed, land will lie idle, and the numbers of the unemployed will be largely increased. * * * I find that there are a number of people, and I think an increasing number, who under the present conditions of trade are coming to the conclusion that our free trade policy has been a failure, and who would therefore be ready to go back in the direction of protection.

When she opened her markets to the world, she had a monopoly of two things. First, of the world's markets, and second, of skilled labour and the most improved machinery. The time has come when she has lost both monopolies, and not only that but her markets at home largely. Not many years hence, we may look for a reversal to some considerable extent at least, of her policy of trade. That is my conviction, and it is borne out by the signs of the times. Now, Sir, I want to speak for a few moments as to the result of the elections recently held in the United States, and to draw a comparison between that country and Canada in regard to the recent depression. While the depression was wide-spread, there can be no doubt that the depression in the United States was intensified and multiplied a hundred-fold by the uncertainty which existed in regard to the tariff of that country. That is certainly in accordance with hon. gentlemen's knowledge; they know it as well as I know it. The very first scare was that the protective policy would be entirely destroyed. Capital ceased to be invested; the product of the factories began to be shortened; labour was lessened also—people were thrown out of employment and their families out of bread. The second cause of that depression was that there was a largely increased importation in consequence of the tariff reductions which were made. Though they were nothing so radical as the hon. gentleman from South Oxford professes here, these importations lessened the employment of home labour, of course. Let us take an extract from the Dublin "Evening Telegram" of February 2nd, 1894, when the tariff Bill was going through United States Senate. It spoke as follows:—

There is at present going through the United States Senate a measure which ought to be of vast importance to Irish industries, especially in the woollen and linen industry of this country. The time to take the field is not after the new tariff has been in operation for some time, but on the day it comes into operation.

And, suiting the action to the word, in the city of New York on the day the tariff went into operation 1,908,274 pounds of English and Irish woollen cloth and 7,822,829 square yards of dress goods were waiting to be entered at the customs house of New York to compete with the product of the labouring people of the United States themselves, while from September, 1893, to 1st March, 1894, there were imported into the United States,

of manufactured woollens, cottons, silks, flax and hemp goods, \$44,000,000 worth from Great Britain. Under the changed tariff, from September, 1894, to March, 1895, there was imported \$78,000,000 worth, the labour in the making of which was taken away from the American people and given to British people. That was good for the British people, but it was bad for the people of the United States. And, Sir, that would be just the result of the destruction of our tariff here, as hon. gentlemen know very well. They know that the reductions which were made in the United States tariff did not bring it down to the present height of our tariff; they know that the United States tariff is still higher than ours; and yet the hon. member for South Oxford declares that they did not go half far enough and that when he gets into power there will be no half measures. Now, as to the depression which existed in this country between 1874 and 1878, had the importation of foreign goods anything to do with it? I think I shall be able to prove that the importation of foreign goods had something to do with it. What evidence do hon. gentlemen opposite want? Surely nothing better than the hon. gentlemen themselves. I can produce here the speech of my hon. friend from South Brant (Mr. Paterson), saying that there was disastrous competition from the United States; the speech of the hon. member for North Norfolk, saying that there was competition and that it ought to be done away with; the speech of Mr. Jones, of Halifax, saying that our sugar refiners were being ruined and praying to Heaven and the Finance Minister to do something for those sugar refiners when he refused the clamour, as my hon. friend from Queen's would say, for aid to our industries. I will prove it not only by these gentlemen but by the official circular issued by Mr. Burpee, then Minister of Customs, who advised his collectors all over the country that American goods were being imported, at slaughter prices in our markets, and that they had better look out sharply for the value of goods as they came in. If that is not sufficient, I have the report of the American consul at Toronto, in 1877, who, writing to his home Government, said in effect: We have accomplished it at last; we have killed the industries of Ontario. Your export of goods is growing from year to year, and we have fixed the Canadian industries so that they never shall revive again. Is not this an evidence that the importation of these goods had something to do with regard to the depression which then existed? I want to call the attention of the House to this fact, that the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, as explained at present, is a policy which gets nothing and gives everything. Unrestricted reciprocity had its faults, and they were great and serious; but under

unrestricted reciprocity, though we gave everything to the United States we got something, however small it might have been, in return. But to-day if you follow out the policy pronounced upon favourably by hon. gentlemen opposite, we give everything to every country in the world and we get nothing from any country in return. As to the question of depression, have we felt the depression of these last few years to anything like the same extent as we felt the depression from 1874 to 1878? Why one financial paper says that Canada stands as a chimney in a burnt factory compared with other countries of the world, and the London "Financial News," says that Canada seems to be the only country doing well in these times of distress, speaking of the way in which Canada weathered the storm. The "Canadian Journal of Commerce," speaking on the same subject, says:

The manufacturers there (in the United States) have stocks on hand which are unsaleable. They are in great need of ready cash, and if Canada's market were now unprotected, there would be such an influx of American goods as would drown out the industries of this country like one burst from a reservoir. The calamity would bring the manufacturers of Canada into a worse financial and industrial plight than that, in which the Americans are. The tariff, with all its faults, is demonstrating at this time more than it has ever done the value and the necessity of guarding our industries from slaughtering operations.

That is the opinion of the commercial world voiced by the mouthpiece of commercial institutions, which treats of commercial matters free from any political bias. Now, I have a word to say as to the temper into which the hon. member for South Oxford worked himself over the free list. Ice was free, he said, and leeches were free. I only stop to ask this House whether it is worthy of any public man pretending to have statesmanlike views, to enter into such pettifogging criticism at a time when his utterances on the policy of his party are being looked to with great interest, and when people look to him instead to propound a policy which would be of some utility to the country. As to the free list, the hon. gentleman said that it contained only three articles which went into general consumption, and that everything else was for the purpose of aiding the manufacturers. Well, I have no hesitation in saying that the policy of the Government is a policy of free raw materials as much as possible, for the manufacturing industries of Canada, because such a policy must result in giving cheaper goods to the consumers and at the same time give employment to Canadians engaged in the manufactures into which these raw materials enter, and by giving employment to them an enlarged home market to the agriculturists. The hon. gentleman has found fault with our tariff as regards raw materials, but what was the policy of

the hon. gentleman himself, in 1873, when in power? He found a few things on the free list for the benefit of the manufacturing interests and he put his knife in to them at once. He added nothing to the free list, but the first act of the hon. gentleman was by Chap. 6, Victoria 37, 1874, to put 10 per cent on each of the following articles, which were on the free list, under his predecessor, in order to destroy, if possible, the industries of the country:—

Cotton netting for rubber shoes.
Cotton warp.
Flesh for hatters' use.
Felt for hats and boots.
Prunella.
Silk twist for sewing hats and boots.
Machinery for mills and factories, not made in Canada.

Has the hon. gentleman's policy changed? We will now come to the titular leader of the Opposition, who made a speech in Winnipeg a short time ago. He said this:

We shall attempt to get this money which will be lost, if we take off some of the present taxation, and to make up the deficit which will arise, it will be necessary to get an addition from some other sources. This will be attempted to be done in this manner: In the first place, there will be a difference made in the present tax imposed upon raw material which is to be used for manufacturing articles.

Did the hon. gentleman mean that as a tax upon raw material? If I understand the English language that is what he meant, and although the Toronto "Globe" has been apologizing ever since, the hon. gentleman has never yet taken it back, so that his policy remains at that at present. Not only did hon. gentlemen opposite thus tax these small articles, but they put 50 per cent upon raw sugar, 40 per cent on refined, and the result was that every refinery in Canada was closed notwithstanding the protests of Mr. Jones, of Halifax, and other Liberals interested, and we were consuming foreign sugar, while our own people were idle. Another fallacy to which I want to call the attention of the House is the charge by the hon. member for South Oxford that because he had taken off some taxes and declared that by so doing he had relieved the burdens of the people that therefore the Finance Minister admitted that the National Policy was a tax on the people. Was ever assertion more ridiculous? What kind of taxes has the Finance Minister taken off? In the first place, we admit that a tax on raw material is always a tax which the people have to pay. The Finance Minister, first of all, took the tax off raw sugar; then he took the duty off tea, and then the duty off coffee; then the bill stamps law was done away with as well as the newspaper postage which was a direct tax to almost every family, and if the hon. member for South Oxford will add these various items up he will find that we have taken some ten million dollars off in these very items, not to mention the reductions

made last year at all. The assertion, therefore, that because the Finance Minister reduced the taxes and claimed credit for it, he admitted that this tariff policy was a policy of taxation of the people, is an assertion so utterly absurd as scarcely to require refutation. In all their changes of policy, Sir, I am bound to admit there has been one idea common to all the schemes and that idea has been to destroy the industries of the country. If anything were ever wanting to show that the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite is absolutely to destroy the industries of Canada, that want was supplied by the speech of the hon. member for South Oxford as well as the speeches of the hon. gentleman who succeeded him. For, from beginning to end, it was an attack upon the industries of Canada. I have here, Sir, the campaign book of the Liberal party.

An hon. MEMBER. The new one?

Mr. MONTAGUE. A new one, yes. It says that the Liberal party lives upon the decay of principles that are opposed to it; and it says, further, that the Liberal party is a party whose leaves are ever green. In answer, Mr. Speaker, that sort of description applied to my hon. friend from South Oxford, a gentleman whose leaves of hope are ever green. But the Liberal party not only lives upon the principles that are opposed to it, but if I am not mistaken, the only way in which it wishes to live is by the decay of the industries of the country; for nothing gives the hon. gentlemen greater pleasure than to find a vacant shop or a silent factory. They rejoice over an individual being out of work as if they had even returned to power itself. Now, just to show how anxious hon. gentlemen are that our industries should not prosper, I want to say a few words, which I may address to the leader of the Opposition. The hon. gentleman went down to Montreal and made a speech there, telling the people of Montreal: You have increased in population from 1881 to 1891 by 39 per cent, while from 1871 to 1881 you increased 31 per cent—a miserable 8 per cent improvement under this great National Policy. But the hon. gentleman forgot to include a part of the county of Hochelaga, into which the city of Montreal has grown by her artisans taking up their residence there. Instead of the miserable increase of which the hon. gentleman spoke, he should have given an increase of 102,000 between 1881 and 1891, as against an increase of 62,000 between 1871 and 1881. But, Sir, after the hon. gentleman had spoken in Montreal, and told them there that the National Policy was doing them no good, he went to Winnipeg. He had attacked us in Montreal for not creating industries in Montreal. But what was the policy he pursued in Winnipeg? Speaking to the people of Manitoba, what did he

encourage them to do? Did he encourage them to trade with other parts of Canada, to help to build up an interprovincial trade in order that we might be mutually interdependent and mutually prosperous? Did he encourage them to help build up Montreal? No; he told them that there proper places to trade with were St. Paul, Minneapolis and Chicago. The hon. gentleman did not repeat these sentiments at Montreal. But he got compliments upon that speech. Not from Canada—he never gets compliments from the Canadian people; the policy of these hon. gentlemen draws compliments from abroad. The Conservative party are always opposed by outside elements. What we ask for is the support of the Canadian people themselves. Here is a compliment to the hon. gentleman's speech from the Minneapolis "Tribune":

During the thirteen years that we had the Canadian markets, up to 1866, trade with the North-west provinces of Canada was very large and profitable. Our jobbers in all common lines and our manufacturers of flour, lumber, furniture and farm implements all testify to desirable Manitoba trade, which Mr. Laurier's policy would again make possible for them.

Sir, the hon. gentleman is welcome to the congratulations of the Minneapolis press, but the congratulations of the Minneapolis press will never carry him into power in this Canadian country. The hon. gentleman seems always to talk for American applause and I am bound to say that he succeeds in getting it. Now, Sir, just a word or two as to the industries of Canada. We have had specific charges in this House as to our industries, and now I have some specific information. I will not give in detail the figures as to raw materials, as they have often been given in the House. Here are, however, some of them and they indicate the increased employment given to our people:

RAW MATERIALS IMPORTED.

	1871.	1879.	1893.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
Wool	2,061,576	4,976,758	10,503,645
Cotton	1,245,208	9,720,708	40,263,333
	\$	\$	\$
Gutta percha...	90,536	133,214	862,113
Silk	35,556	206,471
Hemp	199,179	1,115,124
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
Sugar	21,000,000	22,000,000	343,000,000

But I want to say a word or two as to our cotton and sugar and some other industries generally, and then I shall go on to some specific points. Here is a table which shows what we have been doing.

	Hands.	Wages.	Capital.
Cotton—			
1891	8,502	\$2,102,603	\$13,208,221
1881	3,527	714,250	3,476,500
Woollen—			
1891	7,156	1,884,483	9,357,658
1881	6,877	1,382,859	5,272,376

Foundries and machine shops—

	Hands.	Wages.	Capital.
1891	12,808	5,152,157	16,736,703
1881	7,788	2,724,898	7,675,311

Rolling mills—

1891	2,006	843,500	2,307,540
1881	699	255,020	697,509

Smelting works—

1891	1,901	851,930	4,159,481
1881	974	279,449	2,172,100

Agricultural implements—

1891	4,543	1,812,050	8,624,803
1881	3,656	1,241,279	3,995,782

Carriages and wagon-making—

1891	9,056	2,999,572	8,029,621
1881	8,713	2,275,290	3,798,861

Rolling stock—

1891	5,018	2,235,524	2,592,984
1881	3,154	1,295,841	1,630,598

Tin and sheet-iron working were not separated. By comparison they stand thus:

	Wages.	Capital.	Output.
1891	\$1,729,680	\$4,557,578	\$6,749,056
1881	953,736	1,993,054	3,738,246

In 1878, we had 2,200 looms in our cotton mills; in 1895, we have 12,104. We had 111,000 spindles in 1878; to-day we have 491,000. In 1878, these mills employed 1,310 men, women and children; now they employ 8,216. At that time they paid \$276,000 in wages; to-day they are paying \$2,102,330. And, notwithstanding the contentions of hon. gentlemen opposite, it has been demonstrated in a masterly way by my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) that cotton was being sold here, quality considered, just as cheap as in the markets in England. My hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) still doubts. He would doubt no matter what sort of evidence I brought forward, so I need not pursue the subject in detail. Then, Sir, as to sugar refineries. In 1878, there were four refineries. How many men did they employ and what wages did they pay? Not a single hand did they employ and not a single dollar of wages was paid. In 1891, they employed 1,927 hands and their product was \$17,127,000. It is the policy of the Government to maintain these industries rather than bring in the product of foreign labour from the United States, or from any other country, more particularly as, within the walls of that protective tariff, we have produced a competition which has given prices to which no Canadian can object. I take the town from which my hon. friend from South Brant (Mr. Pater-son) comes. I am sorry my hon. friend is not here. He has admitted that the National Policy has made him rich. I think I have seen the question in the "Globe": "Has the National Policy made you rich?" The National Policy has made the hon. gentleman from South Brant rich, and I am

s.	Capital.
57	16,736,703
98	7,675,311
00	2,307,540
20	697,509
80	4,159,481
49	2,172,100
50	8,624,803
79	3,995,782
72	8,029,621
90	3,798,861

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Output.
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glad it has. But the hon. member says that is not the question ; has it done anything for you ? I tell my hon. friend that he could not grow rich without affording opportunities for labour to hundreds and thousands of people through all these years ; and, as he has grown rich he has, I have no doubt, paid his people a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, I am glad to know that the men who work for him have been buying their houses and growing rich as well. Well, Sir, Mr. Paterson's confectionery works, according to the commercial reports, were rated in 1878 at from \$6,000 to \$10,000. In 1895 it was rated at from \$75,000 to \$150,000. Then as to other industries there : Buck's stove works, in 1878, were rated at from \$50,000 to \$75,000 ; to-day they are rated at from \$200,000 to \$300,000. Harris, Son & Co., agricultural works, were rated, in 1878, at from \$30,000 to \$50,000, and to-day their works are assessed at \$135,000. The Waterous engine works have risen from \$150,000 to \$200,000 or \$300,000. And only the other day, when the Waterous Company proposed to leave the city of Brantford, the city granted them a large bonus, which is, perhaps, the most expensive protection we can possibly have, and if the hon. member for South Brant were here I would challenge him to deny that he had voted for that bonus, because he was anxious to keep these people in the city of Brantford, for the reason that, as the paper supporting him declared, it was better to keep them there if they could, not only to give strength and prosperity to the city, but to afford a market to the farmers around the city. But my hon. friend from Brant has been making a public utterance as to his own business under the National Policy. He admits that he prospered, but he says it is not due to the National Policy. Speaking last fall he said as follows :—

He would make the comparison with 1893. The National Policy was to keep the Canadian market for the Canadian manufacturers. Well, in 1878, \$88,000 worth of candles came into Canada ; in 1893, \$86,000 worth came in. It kept out \$2,000 worth—only \$2,000 worth all over the Dominion. In biscuits, Canada imported in 1878, \$24,000 worth, and in 1893 we imported \$32,000 worth. What chance had Mr. Paterson to be rich with that ? In 1878 \$97,646 worth of pickles came into the country, and in 1893 it had risen to \$109,530 worth. Those figures did not bear out the assertion that the National Policy had made him rich.

In that is a very ingenious statement. But what has become of the greatly increased consumption ? It is true that the imports are about the same. Had it not been for the National Policy they would have been much larger and we should have been using the products of foreign labour. The way to measure the fourth of the business in which he is engaged is to look at the evidence of

these figures. As to pickle-making and bakers and confectioners :

Pickle-making—

Establishments	3	17
Hands employed	25	89
Wages	\$ 4,200	\$ 20,090
Output	24,000	119,000

Bakeries and confectioneries—

Establishments	1,180	1,836
Hands employed	3,963	7,043
Wages	\$1,122,266	\$2,283,553
Output	9,476,975	15,433,108

It will thus be seen, Sir, that the market has grown immensely, and that Canadian labour has been supplying it. This fact the member for Brant did not mention. Just a word or two as to the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). You remember, Mr. Speaker, that last year when the question of canned tomatoes came up in this House, my hon. friend was extremely solicitous about a cent being taken off canned tomatoes.

Mr. CHARLTON. Peaches.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Peaches, yes ; but tomatoes as well. Peaches and tomatoes were the especial object of my hon. friend's solicitude then, just as wrecking privileges were the especial object of his solicitude in other days. Well, Sir, what is the reason that he is so anxious about canned tomatoes and canned peaches ? I find that in 1881 there were four canning factories in North and South Norfolk. I do not think there were any before 1878. I find that the capital invested was \$13,000 ; that the number of hands employed was 91 ; and that the value of the produce was \$34,000. I find that in 1891, under this iniquitous policy which my hon. friend denounces from platform to platform, the number had not increased, but that the capital had risen from \$13,000 to \$144,000, that the number of hands had risen from 91 to 409, and that the value of products had risen from \$34,000 to \$273,000. These figures are for the county of Norfolk alone. This explains the anxiety of my hon. friend that these canning men should have a special advantage. Well, he was anxious for them, but he was anxious for the farmers of the county of Norfolk who have devoted their fields to raising the articles which are used in these canning factories, and out of which the farmers are making more money than they possibly could in any other line from the same soil. Taking the country over, in animal and vegetable goods, canned and cured, in 1881 the wages paid were \$4,432,000 ; in 1891 the wages were \$8,408,992. And how have prices ruled ? I sent down to Mr. Kavanagh's grocery, in Sparks Street, Ottawa, to get the prices, and I found out that before the National

Polley came in, these canned tomatoes for which my hon. friend has so great a solicitude, were worth \$2 per dozen; while last fall they were selling at 98 and 99 cents per dozen. And yet the hon. gentleman says that the duty is always added to the price. Which is best, Sir, that we should consume American canned goods put up by American labour, fed by American farmers, or consume our own vegetables, raised by our own farmers, put up by Canadian men and women who are fed by the Canadian farmer? Well, let me speak of some other points which I, in company with my colleagues, visited. I am only now dealing with small points. There is no point as to the industries of the cities. Hon. gentlemen admit that point. I went to Chatham, and discovered that these National Policy industries were not all existing within the great cities. My hon. friend from Kent (Mr. Campbell) will be able to tell me whether there was a great wagon industry before 1878; or whether there was a great fanning mill industry in Chatham before 1878.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend says, yes; but I have telegrams here from proprietors and other men, and from the mayor of Chatham. The hon. gentleman will admit that Mr. Manson Campbell, mayor of Chatham, is a reputable man; and Mr. Manson Campbell's telegrams states that:

In 1878 there were less than 50 wagons a year built in Chatham. The Chatham Wagon Company was established in 1882; it makes 2,000 wagons this year, and other factories make 600 or 800 in the town of Chatham.

In fanning mills, Mr. Campbell himself made 300 in 1878. In the last three years he made 6,000 mills each year, and the price of these same fanning mills to the farmers have gone down one-fourth. My hon. friend from Kent seems to have blundered. Would he like to see this wagon factory destroyed? His policy will do it. Now, as to the town of Wingham, from which my hon. friend from Huron (Mr. Macdonald) comes. We held a meeting at Wingham, and we found new factories there; we found a furniture factory which did not exist previous to 1878.

Mr. MACDONALD. The town of Wingham gave large sums of money for the purpose of helping this industry.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And my hon. friend voted for those sums, my hon. friend voted for those bonuses, my hon. friend voted to place a direct tax on every man in the town of Wingham for the purpose of starting an industry in that town, and yet he supports a policy which will destroy the industries of Canada. I can tell him that industries in the town of Wingham did

not amount to much before 1878. I have the telegrams here if he wants to see them. And I will tell him that the chair factory—

Mr. MACDONALD. The population of the town of Wingham increased 1,500 from 1872 to 1878, but from 1881 to 1891 it only increased 247.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I have not got the population figures. It may be that they are like the circular letter to the manufacturers which my hon. friend spoke about. But I want to tell him that the chair factory was established in 1888. I want to tell him that a large furniture factory was established in 1887 and that its capacity was largely increased in 1888. I want to tell him that when I went to the town of Wingham they said to me about my hon. friend from East Huron, "He makes long speeches, but we believe with the London 'Advertiser,' that one smoke-stack is worth a ten-acre field of men that talk, and talk, and talk." I want now to say that we visited the town of Galt, the Manchester of Canada. The lights were in the factory windows at night, the factories were working overtime, and the workmen came to my hon. friend the Minister of Finance, and said: "Don't change this policy, but let us earn our living on Canadian soil." The farmers came to us and said: "We have got the very best home market that is to be found on this continent." We went to the town of Peterboro', and we did not find a Liberal who was in favour of the trade policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. When you mentioned it to them they denied it, and they said they were for protection, and they would not allow the hon. gentlemen opposite, if they got into power, to give anything else. We went to Listowel, and we found a piano industry. They said to us, "Keep up the duty on pianos, we want the industry to prosper." We went to the town of Bowmanville, and we found that they had recently, by vote of 44 to 4, paid a big bonus to keep an industry in that town to employ their own people, and to furnish a home market for the farmers. Now, I want to tell the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) who lives in London, and who has grown so jolly of late, that new industries have started in London.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). No.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I must accept the statement of my hon. friend, but my hon. friend must accept the proof which I give him of my statement in reply. I want to tell him that previous to 1895 not a pound of iron enamelled ware was made in London. I want to tell the hon. gentleman that the ware that was consumed in Canada was brought from Germany and the United States. I desire to inform him further that

the manufacture of that ware was begun this year by the McLary Company, of London, who have invested \$150,000 in the business, and who are turning out a weekly product of \$1,500, and they wire me that in a few weeks they will be doubling their output and supplying a large part of the market of Canada. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that is not a new industry, that it existed in London before. The hon. gentleman knows it did not, just as well as I know it at the present time.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). I can tell the hon. gentleman that Elliott's factory was a very large one in 1878, that it is dead and went into bankruptcy. The Globe Manufacturing Company also went into bankruptcy. The London Manufacturing Company—two of them—also went into bankruptcy.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman has not substantiated his statement. The buildings once occupied by these industries are now occupied by others. The hon. gentleman has gone out of a very small hole. I stated that new industries were being established in London, and the hon. gentleman said, no. I have established my point, and the hon. gentleman has gone around by a circuitous route to answer me. I want to say not only that, but further that we are not only establishing, and, indeed, have established sugar industries, cotton industries, agricultural industries, but we are beginning to establish a great iron industry.

Mr. CHARLTON. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. "The hon. member for North Norfolk says, 'Hear, hear.'" The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I., also smiles.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman seems to think this is purely an Ontario policy. "I tell him there is no reason why New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island should not be manufacturing just as well as Ontario." Does the hon. gentleman deny it?

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). The hon. member for Hastings showed that the union itself was a calamity.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend from Bothwell grows dubious again. Let me tell him for his comfort that I am quoting the member for Brant in a speech he made in 1876, in this House, in which he said he desired protection for all Canada, not for any particular part of it, and that the eastern provinces should be better off than even Ontario under it. Hon. gentlemen opposite certainly have declared that they will destroy any hope of an iron industry being established in this country. To-day, a great iron industry is about to be established in Kingston. These will cover the construction and operation

of a blast furnace, steel plant, blooming mill, and rolling mill. The works are to cost \$600,000; daily capacity of furnace will be 250,000 pounds of pig iron; the capacity of steel plant will be 30,000 pound of steel blooms; capacity of blooming mill, 80,000 pounds of steel or iron bars; hands required, 300 to 500. Kingston is to provide \$250,000, secured by a first mortgage. Where are the returns expected from at first to recoup Kingston? Largely from the bounties given by this Government, and not only by this Government, but by the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat. While hon. gentlemen opposite are standing here railing against the policy of encouraging Canadian industries, their leader in the province of Ontario has done what? He has passed a statute under which he gives \$125,000 a year, or \$1 per ton over what the Dominion Government gives for every ton of pig iron produced in Ontario. Not only is this industry being established at Kingston, but at Hamilton, as well as an iron industry is being started. I received a telegram yesterday from prominent Hamilton people.

Mr. MILLS (Bothwell). Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend doubts again. Hon. gentlemen opposite said that this enterprise was on paper merely. I tell them now that the cost of the smelting plant will be \$400,000; that all the foundations are laid; that all stacks and smelting arrangements and casting house are erected; that everything is on the ground except engines, boilers, and connections; that the cost of steel plant will be \$200,000 more; that the company will employ 100 hands in the iron department, and 200 or more in the steel department. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite are they going for ever to abandon the idea of establishing an iron industry in Canada? They ought surely to give the House an answer to that question, because they say they will destroy protection to that industry at once. They say that that industry can be established with this market. In reply, I say that the same statements were put forward when the attempt was first made to establish an iron industry in Great Britain, and the same statement was made in regard to the iron industry of the United States. And what is the result? In the United States, by the system of protection and bounties given they are producing iron, which is being sold in the markets of Great Britain cheaper than it can be produced in Great Britain itself. Do hon. gentlemen accept that statement?

Mr. LAURIER. I do not deny it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman had better not deny it. I have here the English "Hansard," because some of the journals supporting the hon. gentleman did deny it. I have a letter, moreover, from

the manager of the Alabama Iron Works giving figures with respect to iron production and prices, and I have speeches delivered in the House of Commons in which the attention of the president of the English board of trade is called to the fact that iron from Alabama is being laid down at Liverpool cheaper than it can possibly be produced at Cleveland, which is the centre of the black district of England. Sir, there is no use in multiplying illustrations. It is child's play. Everywhere in all the lines of industry capital is being invested and increasing numbers of our people are being employed. Hon. gentlemen know it and dread it, but the people of Canada appreciate it. One or two words more as to our industries, and then I shall close. Hon. gentlemen opposite have made a very strong attack on our census—they have attacked trifling points in it. They are dealing in small figures and attacking little points which in any census are peculiar. This, Sir, is not the business of statesmen. It is trifling with the House and the country. Where is the real and great increase of our industries shown? It is shown in the industries where the output is over the value of \$50,000 per annum. Industries having a yearly output under \$2,000 only represent 6·7 per cent of the whole and only increased 55·6 per cent. On the other hand, industries having a yearly output of \$50,000 and over, formed 54·8 per cent of the whole, and increased 69·6 per cent during the decade. Not only so, but hon. gentlemen opposite assert that the manufacturers have grown rich and the labourers have grown poor. Take the fifth group of industries, with an output of \$50,000 and over, and hon. gentlemen opposite will find that these establishments in 1891 took \$155,460,492 of raw material and

worked it up into \$260,795,190 of finished product, the added value being \$105,334,698. Labour received of this, \$46,842,640, or 44·5 per cent; while capital received \$58,492,056, or 55·5 per cent. In 1881, \$96,361,536 of raw materials was worked up into a finished product of \$153,767,771, the added value being \$57,462,235. Of this, labour received 41·8 per cent, and capital 58·20 per cent. So the artisan is better off individually under the present policy than he was under the policy adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite while the number employed is very largely increasing. I have shown, I think, from start to finish not only by the facts I have adduced, but by the very sneers which I have produced from hon. gentlemen opposite, that no matter what they may name their policy it has had one central and leading idea, namely, that industries should not be established in this country, and that the Liberal party would destroy every item of encouragement for those industries, should the party get into power. That is the policy they have supported, and that is the policy which hon. members on this side of the House cannot and will not accept. We are proud to say we have encouraged industries; we are proud to believe we have to a very large extent increased the home market; we are proud to know that home competition has produced its legitimate effect, namely, low prices; we are proud to know we have done some thing towards making a better, a greater, a more harmonious and more independent national life, because you cannot have a successful national life without you have the various industrial classes, without you have the warp as well as the woof, the industries and the farmers to supply the wants of the artisans who are engaged in those industries.

