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Commentaires supplémentaires:

Pages 84 & 542 are incorrectly numbered pages 34 & 442.

DEBATES

OF

THE SENATE

OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA

1889

REPORTED AND EDITED BY

HOLLAND BROS

Official Reporters of the Senate of Canada

THIRD SESSION—SIXTH PARLIAMENT



OTTAWA

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1889

THE DEBATES
OF THE
SENATE OF CANADA

IN THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE SIXTH PARLIAMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA,
APPOINTED TO MEET FOR DESPATCH OF BUSINESS ON THURSDAY,
THE THIRTY-FIRST DAY OF JANUARY, IN THE FIFTY-
SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 31st January, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 2:30 p.m.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

NEW SENATORS INTRODUCED.

The SPEAKER presented to the House a Return from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, setting forth that His Excellency the Governor General had summoned to the Senate—

WM. DELL PERLEY, Esq., of the Town of Wolseley, N.W.T.

JAMES REID, Esq., of the Town of Quesnelle, B.C.

JOHN PRICE, Esq., of the City of Quebec, P.Q.

GEORGE ALEX. DRUMMOND, Esq., of the City of Montreal, P. Q.

CHAS. SERAPHIN RODIER, Esq., of the City of Montreal, P.Q.

Hon. Messrs. DRUMMOND, RODIER and PERLEY were then introduced and took their seats.

THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, Baron Stanley of Preston, in the County of Lancaster, in the Peerage of Great Britain, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor General of Canada, and Vice Admiral of the same, being seated in the Chair on the Throne.

The Speaker commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to proceed to the House of Commons and acquaint the House,—“ It is His Excellency's pleasure they attend him immediately in this House.”

Who, being come with their Speaker, His Excellency the Governor General was then pleased to open the Session by the following gracious Speech to both Houses :—

Honorable Gentlemen of the Senate :

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

In addressing the Parliament of Canada for the first time, in fulfilment of the important trust which has been committed to me as Her Majesty's Representative, I desire to express the satisfaction with which I resort to your advice and assistance.

I am conscious of the honor which attends my association with your labors for the welfare of the Dominion, and it will be my earnest endeavor to co-operate with you, to the utmost of my power, in all that may promote the prosperity of the people of this country, the development of her material resources, and the maintenance of the constitutionalities which unite her Provinces.

It is to be regretted that the treaty concluded between Her Majesty and the President of the United States for the adjustment of the questions which have arisen with reference to “ The Fisheries,” has not been sanctioned by the United States Senate, in whom the power of ratification is vested ; and that our legislation of last year on the subject is therefore in a great measure inoperative.

It now only remains for Canada to continue to maintain her rights as prescribed by the Convention of 1818, until some satisfactory re-adjustment is arranged by treaty between the two nations.

A measure will again be submitted to you to amend the Acts respecting the Electoral Franchise, for the purpose of simplifying the law and lessening the cost of its operation.

It is expedient, in the interest of commerce, to assimilate, and in some particulars to amend, the laws which now obtain in the several Provinces of the Dominion relating to Bills of Exchange, Cheques and Promissory Notes ; and a Bill with this object will be laid before you.

A Bill will also be provided for making uniform throughout the Dominion the laws relating to Bills of Lading.

During the recess my Government has carefully considered the subject of Ocean Steam Service, and you will be asked to provide subsidies for the improvement of the Atlantic Mail Service, and for the establishment, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, of a line of fast steamers between British Columbia and China and Japan. Your attention will also be invited to the best mode of developing our trade, and securing direct communication by steam with Australasia, the West Indies and South America.

A Bill will be submitted for your consideration for the prevention of certain offences in connection with Municipal Councils, and to give greater facilities for making enquiries as to such matters.

Several measures will also be presented to you for improving the law of procedure in criminal cases. Among these will be a Bill to permit the release on probation of persons convicted of first offences; a Bill authorizing regulations to be made for the practice in cases partaking of the nature of criminal proceedings, and a Bill to make the Speedy Trials Act applicable throughout Canada.

Bills relating to the inspection of timber and lumber, for the improvement of the Postal System, and for increasing the efficiency of the North-West Mounted Police, will also be submitted for your consideration.

The Royal Commissioners on Labor having concluded their enquiries, I hope to be able to lay before you at an early day their report, with the important evidence collected by them in various parts of Canada.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

The accounts for the past and the Estimates for the ensuing year will be laid before you. These Estimates have been prepared with a due regard to economy and the efficiency of the public service.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

I now commend these several subjects and the others which may be brought before you to your earnest consideration, and I trust that the result of your deliberations may, under the Divine Blessing, tend to promote the well-being and prosperity of Canada.

His Excellency then retired, and the House of Commons withdrew.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill, "An Act relating to Railways." (Mr. Abbott).

THE ADDRESS.

MOTION.

THE SPEAKER reported His Excellency's Speech from the Throne, and the same was then read by the Clerk.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the House do take into consideration the

Speech of His Excellency the Governor General, to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 1st February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

NEW SENATOR INTRODUCED.

HON. JOHN PRICE was introduced, and having taken and subscribed the Oath of Office, took his seat.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (A), "An Act to make further provision respecting enquiries concerning Public Matters." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (B), "An Act for the better prevention of certain offences in connection with Municipal Councils." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (C), "An Act relating to Bills of Lading." (Mr. Abbott).

HON. MR. POWER—I may be wrong, but it occurs to me that it has not been in practice heretofore in this country that the regular business of Parliament shall be proceeded with before disposing of the Address. I understand that these Bills form part of the actual legislation of the Session, and I think they should not be proceeded with before the Address is adopted.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I was rather in hopes that my hon. friend would find it an improvement on previous practice, that the earliest opportunity should be taken to place the business of the Session before the House. If it is a violation of the rules of the House I should be very sorry for having taken such a step, but the Bills being prepared, I thought it was the best course to have them before the House, printed and in circulation as soon as possible.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It has not been the custom hitherto to take up the substantial business of the Session before the Address is passed, but every member will bear in mind that this Chamber, as well as the other, has exercised its sovereign right by introducing a formal Bill after the Speech from the Throne, indicating its power to legislate before the Address is adopted.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I think it is an improvement that we ought to congratulate the Government for having introduced, although we have no precedent for it. The fact is that those Bills will not be taken into consideration until the Speech from the Throne is answered. Supposing the debate on the Address should be prolonged, those Bills would be postponed until the Address was passed. I have no disposition to take up those bills as part of the business of the Session until the usual Act of courtesy to His Excellency has been attended to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to say that if I had been aware that the Chamber would not be in a proper condition to day for the convenience of members, I should not have asked the House to take into consideration the Address to His Excellency this afternoon. It is very inconvenient for hon. gentlemen, not only those who desire to speak but those who desire to reply, that there should be no desks, and altogether the House has an unnatural and uncomfortable appearance, which renders it, I think, unpleasant to go on with the business to day. I would suggest, therefore—in fact, I would move, that the House do now adjourn, the object being not to render it necessary to have the Order of the Day called, and not to have any application to have the Order stand, or to have any motion for an adjournment of the debate—but simply for this: that, as the House is not in a proper condition for the transaction of business just now we should adjourn until Monday.

HON. MR. POWER—What becomes of the business on the Order Paper?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It stands.

HON. MR. POWER—It seems to me that the better way is the regular way—to postpone the Order of the Day and not to move an adjournment of the House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If this is regular I think it is preferable, but if any hon. gentlemen will point out anything irregular about it I shall withdraw my motion.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The incongruity of it is this: if we now adjourn, the Order of the Day is not dealt with at all, and I think the suggestion is a very proper one, that when the House is understood to be adjourned there ought to be some record on our minutes as to whether the Order has been disposed of or whether it has been laid over until Monday.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—Under our rules, when any Order of the Day is not disposed of it stands; consequently, it is unnecessary to have a motion with reference to it; it will be taken up in the ordinary course, as if it had not been disposed of before. It is not really necessary to have a motion to postpone an Order of the Day; if there is not time to get through with it on the day for which it is ordered it stands until the following day.

HON. MR. MILLER—On entering the room I understood that two or three Bills had been introduced before the Order of the Day was reached. While it is perfectly constitutional to do so, still it is very unusual. Under the rules of the House those Bills will take precedence of the Order of the Day for the consideration of the answer to His Excellency's Speech. I think, therefore, that if an adjournment is to be moved it may as well be understood that a motion should be made to the effect that the consideration of His Excellency's Speech shall be the first Order of the Day for Monday.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not understand that that is necessary. If we now adjourn the Paper will stand on Monday as we leave it to-day.

HON. MR. POWER—No, no.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is what I understand—I may be wrong.

HON. MR. MILLER—The second readings of the Bills introduced by the hon. gentleman will take precedence of the Order of the Day.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend from Richmond will see that I purposely

moved that these Orders shall be for Tuesday next, so as not to interfere with the consideration of His Excellency's Speech on Monday.

HON. MR. DICKEY—My hon. friend will recollect that it has always been the practice here that when an Order of the Day is set down for a particular date that the regular motion is that the Order of the Day be discharged, and that it shall be considered at some future day.

HON. MR. MILLER—Although I agree with the hon. leader of the House that the course he pursues is strictly according to rule, if the adjournment takes place now the Order on the minutes will have precedence at the next meeting of the House.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the hon. leader of the House will see it would hardly be respectful to the representative of Her Majesty, when the Address in reply to his Speech has been regularly made the Order for to-day, that in our minutes for this day, for which it has been made the Order, no mention of it should appear. I think the more respectful and the more regular course is the one suggested by the hon. gentleman from Richmond.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not see any occasion for restricting our privileges if we have the right to pursue the course I have taken. One of my hon. friends objected to the introduction of those Bills. If we have a right to introduce them I do not see why we should not do so, when my hon. friend opposite, who is a very high authority on all matters of procedure, admits that it is regular. I do not think that any question of respect or disrespect to His Excellency arises on it at all. We are not prepared to go on with the business, and in adjourning until Monday I do not see anything that can be construed into disrespect to His Excellency. As the course I propose is admitted to be regular I shall persist in my motion to adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 3:40 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 4th February, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

NEW SENATOR INTRODUCED.

The SPEAKER presented to the House a Return from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, setting forth that His Excellency the Governor General had summoned to the Senate James Reid, of Cariboo, in the Province of British Columbia.

HON. MR. REID was then introduced, and having taken and subscribed the Oath of Office and made and subscribed the declaration of qualification required by the British North America Act, 1867, took his seat.

THE ADDRESS.

MOTION.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND moved :

That the following Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, to offer the respectful thanks of this House to His Excellency for the gracious Speech he has been pleased to make to both Houses of Parliament :—

To HIS EXCELLENCY the Right Honorable SIR FREDERICK ARTHUR STANLEY, Baron Stanley of Preston, in the County of Lancaster, in the Peerage of Great Britain; Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor General of Canada and Vice-Admiral of the same.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Senate of Canada in Parliament assembled, humbly thank Your Excellency for your gracious Speech at the opening of this Session, and for your expression of satisfaction in resorting to the advice and assistance of the Parliament of Canada for the first time, in fulfilment of the important trust which has been committed to Your Excellency as Her Majesty's Representative.

We also respectfully thank Your Excellency for your gracious expressions as to your association with our labors for the welfare of the Dominion, and as to Your Excellency's earnest endeavor to co-operate with us, to the utmost of your power, in all that may promote the prosperity of the people of this country, the development of her material resources, and the maintenance of the constitutional ties which unite her Provinces.

We desire to express our concurrence with Your Excellency's expression of regret that the treaty concluded between Her Majesty and the President

of the United States for the adjustment of the questions which have arisen with reference to "The Fisheries" has not been sanctioned by the United States Senate, in whom the power of ratification is vested, and that our legislation of last year on the subject is therefore in a great measure inoperative.

We also respectfully concur in Your Excellency's opinion that it now only remains for Canada to continue to maintain her rights as prescribed by the Convention of 1818, until some satisfactory re-adjustment is arranged by treaty between the two nations.

We thank Your Excellency for informing us that a measure will again be submitted to us to amend the Acts respecting the Electoral Franchise, for the purpose of simplifying the law and lessening the cost of its operation.

We are glad to be informed that it is expedient, in the interests of commerce, to assimilate, and in some particulars to amend, the laws which now obtain in the several Provinces of the Dominion relating to Bills of Exchange, Cheques, and Promissory Notes, and that a Bill with this object will be laid before us.

We thank Your Excellency for informing us that a Bill will also be provided for making uniform throughout the Dominion the laws relating to Bills of Lading.

We hear with great interest that during the recess Your Excellency's Government has carefully considered the subject of Ocean Steam Service, and that we shall be asked to provide subsidies for the improvement of the Atlantic Mail Service, and for the establishment, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, of a line of fast steamers between British Columbia and China and Japan. Our attention, which Your Excellency has been pleased to say will also be invited to the best mode of developing our trade, and securing direct communication by steam with Australasia, the West Indies and South America, shall be cheerfully given to these important subjects.

We shall carefully consider any Bill which may be submitted for our consideration for the prevention of certain offences in connection with Municipal Councils, and to give greater facilities for making inquiries as to such matters.

Your Excellency has been pleased to inform us that several measures will also be presented to us for improving the law of procedure in criminal cases, and that among these will be a Bill to permit the release on probation of persons convicted of first offences, a Bill authorizing regulations to be made for the practice in cases partaking of the nature of criminal proceedings, and a Bill to make the Speedy Trials Act applicable throughout Canada. We respectfully assure Your Excellency that they shall receive our most attentive consideration, as shall also the Bills relating to the inspection of timber and lumber, for the improvement of the Postal System, and for increasing the efficiency of the North-West Mounted Police, which Your Excellency has informed us will also be submitted for our consideration.

We are gratified to learn that the Royal Commissioners on Labor, having concluded their enquiries, Your Excellency hopes to be able to lay before us at an early day their report, with the important evidence collected by them in various parts of Canada.

Your Excellency may rest assured that these several subjects, and the others which may be brought before us, shall receive our earnest consideration, and we trust with Your Excellency that

the result of our deliberations may, under the Divine Blessing, tend to promote the well-being and prosperity of Canada.

He said: In acknowledging, as I now gratefully do, the distinguished honor devolving upon me in moving the adoption of the resolution in reply to the Address to which you have now listened, I desire to say that I am only too deeply conscious of my own inability to do justice to the subject. Many of you may have shared my feelings in the discovery that a life of active commercial engagements precludes that power of expression, that power of marshaling the thoughts in due order which go to the fulfilment of such a duty as has now devolved upon me. I should most gladly have escaped it, and have made myself a silent student of the proceeding and forms of this hon. House, had it not been that time-honored custom has placed it on the shoulders of a junior member. No alternative remains, therefore, but to throw myself on your generous forbearance, and I feel confident the appeal will not be made in vain.

We shall with one voice echo the sentiments of the reply to His Excellency's notice of the fact that this is the first occasion on which he has been associated with our deliberations and labors. We shall assure His Excellency that he is doubly welcome here, as the representative of our beloved Sovereign—and as the distinguished successor of a long list of distinguished men who have presided over the destinies of this great Dominion. Two of these have transferred their great abilities from the Capital to the greatest Colonial Empire the world has ever seen, and have exercised an almost absolute sway over more than 250,000,000 of fellow subjects. We cannot doubt that His Excellency, who has much experience as a Cabinet Minister, and more especially as President of the Board of Trade, will be successful here, and we earnestly trust that his residence among us will be prosperous and happy. It is a subject of regret that the treaty negotiated at Washington for the settlement of the Fishery dispute with the United States was rejected by the Senate of that country. It does not alleviate in the least our regret at the re-opening of a troublesome question to know that we reached in those negotiations the utmost limit of concession

short of absolute surrender of our rights—rights bequeathed to us by our fathers and the heritage of our children. We must fully agree that it is our bounden duty to maintain our rights prudently—temperately, and yet fairly—and to trust to the good sense of our neighbors to the south—now that the exigencies of party warfare have diminished—to avoid any further embitterment of these disputes and facilitate an honorable and fair settlement.

I trust it will be practicable so to legislate on the Electoral Franchise as to make it possible to conduct an election contest without challenge, which, with the most honest intentions, it seems now difficult to do. It speaks volumes for the conduct of our elections that out of 1,140 elections conducted under those Acts, only 6·3 per cent. have been voided.

The expediency of assimilating the laws of the various Provinces in regard to bills of exchange, cheques and promissory notes is too obvious for argument. Many of the differences now existing are only partially known or understood, and uniformity may be secured with much advantage.

Bills of lading are now such an important description of security that any legislation tending to make them more easily and uniformly available will be of the greatest value. I trust that, while on the subject, it will be found possible to impose limitations on the terms of those documents themselves, and prevent the possibility of bills of lading being used which practically exempt the carriers from all liability of any kind.

Probably no public work has attracted greater attention than the great trunk line in this Dominion, spanning the continent and connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific ocean. As a necessary consequence, we have opened up to us infinite possibilities in the way of extending our trade with China, Japan and Australia, and I trust these efforts will be rewarded with success.

A great development of our trade with the West Indies and South America is, to my view, quite practicable without sacrifice, and in this connection let me say that I know of no industry nor any interest in this Dominion which will not hail with satisfaction such an extension on terms of

mutual advantage. It is known to hon. gentlemen that Spain concluded, some years ago, a treaty with the United States which failed to pass the Senate; it is within my knowledge that the Spanish West Indies are ripe for such a treaty with this Dominion, and in my opinion now is the time to strike for a measure so desirable. We can probably obtain an enormous outlet for our lumber, fish, coal and manufactures in return for concessions on the duties now exacted on the staple products of their regions. If such things be possible with the colonies of foreign nations surely they are practicable and even more desirable with our own fellow subjects in adjacent territories.

The Royal Commission on labor having now concluded the work, and made its report, the result of an enquiry so deeply affecting the interests of so many of our fellow subjects, will be waited with deep interest. But no one who has followed the evidence taken before that Commission can be altogether ignorant of the facts it has elicited. I venture to state one broadly—that during all the period of depression from which we are now emerging, capital suffered, dividends disappeared, but wages did not sensibly, if at all, decline; the products of our farms and factories declined in price, all necessaries that enter into the expenditure of our working classes were cheapened, and the means to buy with continued as great as before.

There never was a truer word said than that capital and labor are like the blades of a pair of scissors—the most efficient of tools combined, but utterly useless apart.

I trust that the report of the Labor Commission will indicate the direction in which the condition of our laboring classes can be improved, and I am sure this hon. House will give its earnest attention to every proposal in this direction. I trust I may be pardoned if I invite the attention of hon. gentlemen to one or two facts of our national life which speak volumes as to the progress of this great Dominion, and which will, I trust, give confidence to those who believe in its future and are proud of being in the ranks of her sons.

In 1868 our imports of raw material of all kinds was only \$5,365,000. In 1888 they had risen to the enormous value of \$28,361,347. But this is not all. It is known to most of us that large quantities

of iron and other metals, only partially manufactured, and which might with accuracy be classed as raw materials, are not included in the totals above indicated, and out of three and a-quarter millions of dollars included under this head I think it just to say that the import of raw materials, to be used in our mills and factories, now has to be stated as exceeding thirty-one millions of dollars.

It speaks volumes for our National Policy that nearly the whole of this enormous advance has been since its adoption—the figures being, under the official head, viz :

1868	\$ 5,365,000
1878.....	6,655,000
1888.....	28,361,000

In cotton alone the advance has been from 1,250,000 lbs., in 1868, to 33,500,000 in 1888. Finally—and once more apologizing for the length of time during which I have trespassed on your patience—may I be permitted to refer to the nostrums which are being so persistently urged upon us by our kind neighbors to the south and a few impractical men among ourselves. We believe ourselves to be doing well, to be in good health, to be satisfied with our condition and to need no physician. But we have patent panaceas for ailments from which we do not suffer forced upon us—Commercial Union, Unrestricted Reciprocity, &c. Now, all these prescriptions are, to my mind, founded on an incorrect diagnosis.

Let me state this view in the light of facts. In 1868, of our total exports—principally farming products—61 per cent. went to the United States and 34 per cent. to England.

In 1887 the position was reversed—35 per cent., only, went to the United States, and 60 per cent. went direct to Great Britain.

The process was a gradual one during the intervening years, but slowly and surely it has reached its present proportions, as stated above.

Now, it is notorious that of the exportable products of the Dominion, almost without exception, the United States is a producer and exporter herself. She acted towards this Dominion as a middleman, intervening between the producer and the consumer. The true consumer is Great

Britain, and the consequence of the abolition of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, and of all the little measures of hostility which have cropped up of late years, has only been to divert the trade, so that the services of the middleman have been dispensed with, and with them the cost of his intervention.

Hon. gentlemen, I think that the only result of the blasts which have occasionally assailed us has been to impel us to draw more closely around us the sheltering cloak of our present benign Constitution. I express my conviction that if true to ourselves the future of this great country is not in any sense doubtful.

HON. MR. PERLEY—My short Parliamentary experience, together with a reasonable amount of modesty, would lead me to decline to second the Address which has been so ably moved by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. However, I know that in commencing a task that could be performed very much better by any hon. gentleman in this Chamber than by myself I will have the kind indulgence of every Senator here. However fortunate the people of Canada may have been in the selections which Her Majesty has made of gentlemen to preside over this Dominion as Her representatives, I am sure that on no former occasion has She exhibited more wisdom in Her choice than in the appointment of His Excellency, Lord Stanley, as Governor General of Canada. I am aware that during the very short period that His Excellency has been a resident of this country he has received many expressions of friendship for himself and loyalty to the Crown from the people of Canada; and while he has not had an opportunity of visiting every part of this vast Dominion, I am sure when he sees those portions of the country that he has not yet visited he will find equal friendship and loyalty prevailing amongst the people there. When he visits the far western part of Canada, which I have the honor to represent here, he will hear as decided expressions of loyalty and esteem as he has heard in the older parts of Canada. Allusion has been made in the Address to the non-acceptance of the Fisheries Treaty so ably framed by wise and discreet statesmen, at Washington. It was a treaty

that, I think, guarded the interests of all alike, but it has been rejected. It inconvenienced, no doubt, a large portion of the people of both countries alike. It is a pity that political exigencies should interfere with the results of the labors of the wise and able statesmen who negotiated that treaty. The interest of each country was jealously guarded and watched by its representatives in that conference. Whilst it is a cause for regret that the treaty was not adopted, we occupy this proud position to-day, that we are no more affected by its rejection than are the parties who refused to enforce it. I regret, in common with every British subject in this country, that a threat of non-intercourse was made at that time, still I rejoice to know that that threat had no effect in alienating the loyalty of our people from their Sovereign, but rather had the effect of making us feel our freedom and independence, and our capacity, to use an old saying, to "paddle our own canoe" without the aid of our neighbors.

Now that the elections in the United States are over and political excitement has quieted down I am satisfied that in the near future a conference will be held, at which a treaty will be framed that will be equally advantageous to all parties and to the whole country. I am proud to know that we occupy the position we do at this particular time. Had this threat of non-intercourse been held over us a few years ago the condition of things in Canada, to my mind, would have been very different from what it now is. A few years ago we had no railway communicating with the east and west; our factories were not prosperous; our laborers did not find employment at home, as they do to-day; they had to seek it abroad. Such a threat at that time, no doubt, would have been largely disastrous to our country had it been made. But happening at the time it did we were not in any way inconvenienced by it, and I am glad to know that the markets which our industries have established and the employment which our industries have given to our laborers, and the success of the great railway line across the continent give us an assurance of the greatness and prosperity of our own country that enables us to go on without fear or danger.

I notice that no reference has been made in the Speech to our crop of last year. It is true that in some parts of Canada the harvest was not as bountiful as the husbandmen might reasonably expect, but it is equally true that in other portions the crops were good. With a climate so varied—a country extending, as it does, from the Atlantic to the Pacific—while you have the chilly breezes in the east, you meet, when you cross the continent, the rose in bloom, the perfume of which is fragrant in the air it is hardly possible to have a universally good harvest, and while it may have failed to some extent in parts of Canada, in the great North-West it has not; we have had a magnificent harvest, and, in addition to that, good prices, so that every man you meet is in his person the picture of prosperity, and on his countenance beams the expression of joy and comfort. Mention has been made of the efficiency of the service of the North-West Mounted Police Force. I am not going to dwell on all the matters that have been referred to by the hon. mover of this resolution, but I wish to allude to the police of the North-West. They are a body of military men whom I think in point of intelligence are equal to any military force in the world. That force has been largely improved during the last few years, and, under the management of able officers they have been enabled to command law and order in that country. I may say that they have been enabled to enforce law and order in that country, and you can readily understand that it is a very difficult duty that those men have had to perform in the early settlement of the North-West—a country hundreds of miles in extent, in which in every point of the compass there was a road by which the criminal could escape. Notwithstanding the Indians and the desperadoes that are to be found in every new country in which railroads are being built, and the desperate characters who infested the border, the police succeeded in enforcing law and order in that new territory. If there is one thing more than another that guarantees the efficiency and ability of our Mounted Police to discharge the duties devolving upon them, it is the fact that in so short a time they have been enabled to bring that country under control of the

law. Life and property are as safe to-day in the North-West as they are in any other part of Canada. Horse stealing is almost entirely unknown, and law and order have been restored all over that country. This, I say, is largely due to the able management and the vigilance of the police. The Indian, as you are aware, is a very difficult being to manage. He also has been gathered in from his roving habits on the plains and placed upon a reserve; the scalping-knife has been buried, and the hand that wielded it has been trained to the plough. Anything that the Government can do towards improving the Police Force of the North-West would be, to my mind, a most commendable policy. They are a class of men deserving of it, and any expenditure made on their behalf would be well made, and would receive the hearty approbation of all citizens in the North-West. I do not intend to make any lengthy remarks. I understand that it is not customary to do so in seconding the Address. I assure you that I would very much rather have said nothing on this occasion, and as this is my first effort I have to thank hon. gentlemen for your kind indulgence. I have now much pleasure in seconding the Address moved by my hon. friend in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

HON. MR. SCOTT—In rising to make a few observations on the resolution before us I think I voice the sentiments of every hon. gentleman in this Chamber when I say that the two members who have been selected by the Government to discharge the duty of moving and seconding the resolutions in answer to the Speech from the Throne have performed the task allotted to them with ability, moderation and tact. The hon. gentleman who moved the resolution is new to public life—that is in a parliamentary sense—but he has had a long familiarity with the great public questions that usually come before Parliament. He has occupied a leading position amongst the merchants and manufacturers of the commercial capital of Canada; he has been a leading spirit in the largest bank in this country, and the hon. gentleman has had force of character enough to have marked out the lines, to some degree, upon which the fiscal policy of this country should be based,

so that he is not a novice. The hon. gentleman speaks on all public questions as an authority, and though I differ from him very materially on his views of the great public questions of the day, more particularly on that one to which he has adverted—the National Policy—yet it is at least a pleasure to listen to one who can speak from the intelligent standpoint that he does, and who is prepared to verify his statements with figures and arguments. He will have, no doubt, very many opportunities of having the soundness of those views discussed and tested by perhaps other means than those which he has treated us to to-day.

The hon. gentleman who comes from the great North-West spoke also with a full knowledge of the country which he represents. He has had the advantage of a seat in the other branch of the Legislature, and therefore he is not, strictly speaking, a parliamentary novice. I am glad to welcome the hon. gentleman to this Chamber, and I hope, on those public questions in which the North-West is so deeply interested, that we shall frequently hear his voice. I am free to say that had there been a representative from the North-West in this Chamber a few years ago, probably the Dominion would have been spared the crisis that occurred—a domestic war within itself. We should then have had somebody on the floor of this Chamber who would have brought under our notice the grievances of the people who afterward rose in rebellion. With the first and second paragraphs of the resolutions in answer to the Speech from the Throne I heartily concur, and I think we may all assure His Excellency that the Canadian people deeply and warmly appreciate the great interest he has manifested in the material prosperity of Canada. During the seven months that he has been with us he has taken very great pains to commingle with the people and learn their wants and wishes. He has attended the great agricultural gatherings, where he has had the opportunity of seeing Canadian farmers; he has also been at the meetings of the Boards of Trade, and has had there an opportunity of exchanging his views with the foremost commercial minds in the country. His Excellency has given us every assurance that he takes a deep interest in the welfare of this Dom-

inion. He follows, as has been already observed by the mover of the resolution, in the footsteps of some distinguished men. Lord Dufferin, Lord Lorne and Lord Landsdowne were men who stood amongst the first in the House of Peers in England, and they have continued, and will continue, I have no doubt, to show their appreciation of the Canadian people. One of them—it is due to him to recall his name—Lord Lorne, loses no opportunity to advert in favorable terms to Canada at the various meetings which take place from time to time where colonial interests are discussed. I am quite sure that His Excellency will follow those illustrious men's footsteps, and I am quite sure, from his association with us up to this time, that five years hence we will be all prepared to say that his career as Governor General of Canada was a great success.

Now, coming to the next part of the Address, which expresses regret that the Fisheries Treaty was not ratified by the Senate of the United States, to those gentlemen who are familiar with the debate which took place in this Chamber last year the rejection of that treaty was no surprise. I intimated in the remarks that I gave to this Chamber while the treaty was then under discussion at Washington that I did not think it at all likely to pass there, and I gave my reasons for it at great length. Subsequent events have confirmed the soundness of those views. The reasons I need not now refer to, but they were numerous, and hon. gentlemen who took an interest in that question will remember what they were.

It was not altogether due to its being on the eve of a great political crisis, because I am sorry to say now that the great political crisis has passed and gone another treaty, of very great importance to the two countries, has been rejected by the United States Senate by a majority of 34 to 15, not by any means a party vote. It is deeply to be regretted that there is that evidence of bitter feeling towards—I will not say Canada, because in regard to the later treaty it was more manifested against the mother country, because of the policy adopted towards one part of the Empire.

The next paragraph, I think, is an unfortunate one to be found in the Speech of His Excellency. It is a declaration on the part of Canada that she will maintain the

rights prescribed by the convention of 1818. When I saw that, I read it with very great regret. I think it is to be deplored that we should, in those defiant words, throw down the gauntlet to the United States, and say that we are going back to the barbarous treaty of 1818. We will not go back to it, and therefore it is unfortunate to put that paragraph in the Speech. Neither this Government, nor any other Government, would be sustained by the Imperial authorities in attempting to enforce the letter of that treaty. The condition of things has been so completely changed in the intervening period that it would be folly and madness to go back to that treaty; and as we do not intend to go back to it, and I am quite sure will not go back to it and enforce it to the letter, as is intended to be conveyed in this paragraph, it is unfortunate that the statement should be made there. It is, to say the least of it, not diplomatic. I should much rather the course which I suggested last year should be taken—that is, when they rejected the treaty at Washington we should continue to enforce the treaty that was made, from our own standpoint. There was nothing conceded on the other side but the question of delimitation. I should have liked that treaty better if it had been a larger treaty. I criticized it from the standpoint of gentlemen who alleged that we had got something from the United States. I saw nothing that they had given us, but still I should have been willing to accept a larger treaty than the one we adopted. It is worth while going back to that treaty. If gentlemen would look at the protocol, which is known as the *modus vivendi*, they will see that Sir Charles Tupper, Sir, now Lord Sackville West, and Mr. Chamberlain, advised that the irritation that the old treaty had naturally given rise to should be avoided, and that was the motive which prompted them to adopt the *modus vivendi*. Now it appears that this is to be abandoned. I should regret it, and I think the whole country will share my regret. It would be a great mistake on the part of any Administration to pursue such a policy. With regard to those paragraphs in which measures are promised affecting our commercial interests—relating to bills of exchange, cheques and bills of lading—we shall no doubt be glad to consider them. I am

afraid that the measure relating to bills of lading will be a very delicate one. The hon. gentleman from Montreal adverted to the fact, which is no doubt true, that those bills of lading have become very complex and complicated. The variety of conditions printed on the back of the bill of lading in very small type would take half an hour and a magnifying glass to make them out; yet there are many decisions upon those conditions, defining how far they bind the consignee and the consignor, and therefore any such legislation as the hon. gentleman suggests would have a tendency to unsettle the present condition of things. If it can be done, we will all be very glad to see an improvement effected.

One of the paragraphs, I notice, alludes to the Franchise; it is a proposal to simplify the existing law and lessen the cost of its operation. The Act, no doubt, has been exceedingly unsatisfactory, and will continue to be so until we go back to a recognition of the lists prepared by the several Provincial Governments. Then we shall be spared the expense to which we are now subjected, and we shall have the living men of the time to vote in elections. As it is now, an election held to-day is on a list prepared three years ago. We know that in a country like Canada large numbers of men are leaving, new men coming into take their places—that the people are moving about from one country to another, and consequently the lists are largely defective. An election under such circumstances does not to the fullest extent express the view of the constituency, and to renew the lists every year in the manner that was originally done would, no doubt, entail a very large expense.

Some reference is made in the next paragraph to developing trade with the outside world. My views on that question are in accord with those I have repeatedly expressed in this Chamber. Commerce will find the best channel to flow in, and it is unwise to endeavor to force it into other channels by subsidies. We have from time to time sent abroad Commissioners, with a view to developing trade with other countries, but so long as we maintain a tariff that will prevent the establishment of trade relations with those countries so long will it be impossible to

develop commerce with them. We are told that our attention will be invited to the best mode of developing our trade and securing direct communication by steam with Australasia, the West Indies and South America. The hon. gentleman from Montreal has made comments on this particular branch of the subject. He has told us of the very great development in the importation of raw material. I do not at all doubt it; but has our general trade developed? The raw material has come in for the benefit of the manufacturers, but the great trade of the country has not increased. I find in the Blue Book before us, which has been distributed this Session, that our aggregate trade last year was \$201,000,000, and that in the year 1874 it amounted to \$217,000,000. In 1875 and 1876, those dreadful years while the Grits were in power, the first years of the Liberal Administration, the trade returns were still higher than the figures of last year and the year before. The hon. member has also told us that the United States have thrown great obstacles in the way of our trade with them. Has Canada been entirely blameless in the controversy? Have we not done the same thing in our fiscal policy? But the people are not governed by it; the people of Canada and the United States will trade with each other no matter what tariff laws are enacted. You may build up a tariff wall between the two countries, but the people will trade with each other. When Sir Leonard Tilley was enacting the National Policy he told us that his object was to develop trade with Great Britain and diminish trade with the United States. It was a policy that would favor the mother country. Has that been the effect? Not at all. It has been going the other way, showing how utterly powerless we are to control trade and commerce. Trade will find the most profitable avenue. We may restrict trade, but we cannot drive it into unprofitable channels. Last year we sold the United States, notwithstanding their high tariff—a tariff a great deal higher than our own—\$42,500,000, while to a country which admits everything we send free we only sold \$40,000,000. Does not that show that the United States is a country with which it is profitable for us to deal? Then, from whom did we buy?

From the United States last year we bought to the extent of \$48,500,000, and from Great Britain \$39,000,000. Just think of the difference—about ten millions of dollars in favor of the United States, confirming what I have said, that you cannot prevent our people from trading with their neighbors. That is the spirit of the age; it will go on. You may enact all the differential duties you please, and create extra tariff obstacles, but the people are bound to trade with each other. It is the natural thing to do; they are joined together; they are living alongside of each other, and it is their interest to trade, as the figures infallibly show. Out of our whole trade with the world—\$201,000,000—no less than \$91,000,000—within ten millions of dollars of half of the whole trade—was with the United States. Those figures are unanswerable. They cannot be gainsaid. The hon. gentleman has dragged into the debate a reference to the question of Commercial Union. I do not think Commercial Union has made any progress whatever in Canada. I do not think there is 1 per cent. of the people of this country in favor of Commercial Union, but I believe that 65 per cent. of the people of Canada are in favor of unrestricted reciprocity, as the figures show. There is the evidence of it; you cannot get over it. You cannot interpret the returns in any other way. It is there hard and fast, on paper in our own Blue Books; but does anyone pretend to say that it affects any man's allegiance? Did the question of allegiance crop up when we had the limited reciprocity which prevailed from 1854 to 1866, when our trade sprang from twenty odd millions of dollars to \$80,000,000 with the United States, and when the treaty was abrogated the trade dropped down again? It is preposterous to drag in this question of a man's loyalty in discussing such a subject. If you want to keep the people of this country loyal to the Crown it is not by shackling trade and committing it to the control of a few monopolists in the country and forcing the rest of the people to pay a subsidy to a limited number of people—not by making the public pay tribute to a favored class that you will succeed. Let us have a tariff for revenue and you will find that the loyalty of the people will increase with the trade of the country. You will

have no annexationists then. Where do the annexationists come from? They belong to the Tory part of Canada. (No, no.) Mr. White, of Windsor, is the only one that I know of in Ontario.

HON. MR. HOWLAN—Where is Mr. Ellis, of St. John?

HON. MR. SCOTT—I am speaking of Ontario. I know that Mr. Ellis does profess those views, but he would not find 1 per cent. of the people of Ontario and Quebec in sympathy with him. I know the sentiment of those Provinces is true to Great Britain; but it is natural for the people of this country to seek an improvement in the avenues of trade. It in no way affects the question of their allegiance to the mother country any more than putting a certain number of articles on the free list does. You may extend your free list, but it does not affect the loyalty of the people in any way; but you will remedy dissatisfaction by removing obstacles to trade.

There are a number of measures promised relating to the trade of the country, and as we have a gentleman who is familiar with commercial law I think he ought to advise his colleagues to entrust him with the management of them in this Chamber. We have abundance of time in the early part of the Session to devote to the measures brought before Parliament, and I am quite sure it would be a satisfaction to the Senate if those measures were introduced here, instead of postponing them to a later period in the Session, as is usually done, when they are all rushed through this Chamber in a week or ten days before Prorogation. I throw out the suggestion, and I am quite sure it will be approved of by every gentleman in the Chamber.

HON. MR. POWER—Possibly it might not be thought well that there should be any further discussion on this side of the House on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, but as the hon. gentleman who has just sat down happens to hold views upon one or two important questions that are altogether different from those which I entertain, perhaps the House will bear with me for a few minutes while I discuss other points of the Speech as well as those to which I have

referred. I quite concur in what has been said in the way of congratulation to the two hon. gentlemen who have moved and seconded the Address in reply to the Speech. The Government have been singularly fortunate in their choice of members for this purpose; and I think the Senate is to be congratulated upon the admission to its number of those two Senators. The hon. gentleman who moved the Address is a gentleman of whom I do not know as much as most members from the Upper Provinces, but few men in Canada are ignorant of his name and of his commercial standing. It has occurred to me that there was a peculiar fitness in the selection of the two gentlemen who moved and seconded the Address. The Government during the past nine years have, in my humble opinion, shown a regard, in the first instance, for the wealthy men—for the manufacturers and the capitalists—and second to that—second by a very considerable distance—for the great majority of the population. Now, the hon. member who moved the Address is perhaps as good a representative as could be selected of the first class. He is a capitalist, and is also probably the most extensive and the most fortunate manufacturer in the whole country. He is just one of those gentlemen who are most largely benefited by the fiscal policy of the Government. On the other hand, the hon. member who seconded the Address is a gentleman who represents the country at large. He is a farmer of an advanced kind, and his interests are the interests of the great bulk of the population. I think that the Government have shown a nice discrimination in selecting that hon. gentleman to second the Address and the hon. member who represents the capitalists to move it. There is this further reason for congratulation: Those hon. gentlemen have shown by the speeches they have made that in the matter of ability and eloquence they are important additions to this Chamber. I cannot understand how, if the Government continue to appoint gentlemen of the character and standing of those two members to this House, the newspapers, some of which are very fond of undertaking to belittle the Senate, can continue to do so. We are not elected as the members of the other House are, and in that way we are not representatives of

the people in the same sense as they are; but if the Government continue to call to this Chamber gentlemen like those who have moved and seconded the Address it cannot be said that the Senate is not fairly representative of the bulk of our population.

With respect to the first paragraph in His Excellency's speech, I quite concur in what has been said by the hon. gentlemen who have gone before me. One can fancy that, looking at the records of the last three representatives of Her Majesty, it might have been thought that the Imperial Government would have found it difficult to send a Governor General here to represent the Crown who could be looked upon as standing on the same level as those statesmen do; but we have, in addition to the fact that our present Governor General has been a member of the Imperial Government, the record of the house to which he belongs, a house which, since the days of the battle of Bosworth Field, has always had representatives standing high either in the military or in the political service of the mother country; and although His Excellency has been here but a very short time he has already made a record for himself which is quite sufficient to justify the choice of Her Majesty in selecting him as her representative in Canada.

The next paragraph of the Speech is one which expresses regret that the treaty concluded between Her Majesty and the President of the United States, with respect to the Fisheries, has not been sanctioned by the United States Senate. This is one of the points as to which I cannot concur with the hon. gentleman who has just sat down; and I regret that fact, but I cannot say that I regret the fact that the treaty has not been confirmed by the United States Senate. I felt last Session, when the treaty was under consideration here, and I feel still, that that treaty was an agreement under which we gave up a great deal and got practically nothing in return; and I am pleased that the bargain has not been ratified. Under that treaty, as I have said, we gave up a great deal and we got practically nothing back. Hon. gentlemen may ask: "If that is the case, why did not the United States Senate ratify it?" I think the answer is a very simple one, that in the present temper of the United States Senate they would be

unwilling to ratify any agreement made with Great Britain. Unless I am mistaken, within the last few days the United States Senate have rejected an extradition treaty much more called for by the wants of the United States than of England or Canada, and rejected it simply because it was a treaty made with England. It is undoubtedly a most unhappy condition of things, that a people akin to us in blood, language and habits should entertain so unfriendly a feeling towards the mother country, and, through the mother country, towards ourselves. I do not propose to enter upon any debatable ground; but I cannot help expressing the feeling that in the interest of the mother country it is desirable that the ground of that ill-feeling in the United States should be removed, as it is desirable in our interest also; and, until the Irish question has been settled, this feeling, I am sorry to say, is not likely to abate; and consequently the sooner the Irish question is settled the better for us and for the mother country. To my mind, there is only one possible solution of the Irish question now. I differ from the hon. member who has just sat down on another point with respect to the treaty. I am glad the Government have put an end to the *modus vivendi*. Under that arrangement the United States got everything they wished and we got nothing whatever in return. I hope that before long another treaty will be negotiated, a treaty of a broader kind than that which has been rejected by the United States Senate. There is a hope that we may get some kind of a reciprocity treaty from the incoming United State Government. One of the reasons for my hope is this: one of the great difficulties that the United States Government have to contend with now is their enormous surplus. Anything which will enable the United States to reduce that surplus without materially altering their tariff as to the outside world, and particularly as to England and other European countries, will be looked upon with favor by the incoming Administration, and one effect of the treaty with Canada would be to make a reduction of six or seven millions of dollars in the surplus, and without affecting the tariff as it applies to other countries. For that reason, and because the active friends of reciprocity in the past seem to have been chiefly

HON. MR. POWER.

amongst the Republican party in the United States, I have strong hopes that we may before very long have something like the old reciprocity treaty. I hope that the Government, while maintaining rights under the treaty of 1818, will not pursue a policy which has been followed to some extent in the past, of aggravating the Americans by what the hon. gentleman who moved the Address described, I think, as small, irritating exactions. Now, I feel that a policy like that embodied in the Order-in-Council of last summer, putting a duty on packages containing fruit admitted free, is just the sort of policy which is calculated to excite ill-will and to irritate and annoy our neighbors without producing any corresponding beneficial result for ourselves. I have also very grave doubt as to the wisdom of the policy of imposing an additional export duty on logs.

HON. MR. FLINT—I have not.

HON. MR. POWER—I am always very happy when I have the concurrence of the hon. gentleman who has just interrupted, but there have been a great many cases where I was not able to secure that concurrence and where I still humbly think that I was right. As to the franchise, I quite concur in what has been said by the hon. gentleman from Ottawa: We ought never to have had the Act, and the wisest and most graceful step the Government could take would be to repeal the Act and leave the franchise where it ought to be—with the Provincial Legislature.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—Where it ought not to be.

HON. MR. POWER—There is this to be said in favor of that view: that one of the great difficulties which the Government have had to contend with in framing the Franchise Bill was that sort of the franchise which suited one Province would not suit another, and the Franchis Bill introduced by the Government here, while it proposed to extend the franchise in some of the Provinces, would have narrowed it in others. In a country with populations differing, as ours do, in the several Provinces, it is almost impossible to adopt a franchise which will suit all equally well.

The proper way, instead of making

exceptions, as our own Franchise Act did, would be to allow each Province to adopt a franchise which suits her own population.

I have very little doubt, looking at the fact that we have at the head of our House probably the leading commercial lawyer in the country, and that we have amongst the latest additions to the House one of the leading commercial men of the country, that the measures which are promised us with regard to commercial law will be improvements upon the existing law, and I am quite satisfied to take those measures upon trust. Although I have not generally the utmost confidence in the Government, still I think on this particular subject we may rely with confidence on the prospect that they are going to do a good thing for us. There is this remark, suggested to me by those measures with respect to commerce, that while we are providing to facilitate commerce and make it easier and pleasanter, and while we are spending immense sums of money to improve certain ports in the country, notably the port of Montreal, and while, as I gather from a later part of the Speech, we propose to spend a very large sum to subsidize a line of steamers to promote commerce, it seems to be a fact that on the other hand we are building up a tariff which effectually walls out a large proportion of the commerce which we otherwise might have; and, unless rumor is at fault, it is proposed during the present Session to raise that wall still higher, so as to more effectually shut out commerce. It seems to me to be inconsistent, and almost childish, that while on the one hand we are taking steps to facilitate commerce, on the other we are taking effectual steps to prevent those facilities from being utilized.

With respect to the next paragraph of the Speech, as to ocean steam service, I have very considerable doubt. No doubt it is a very desirable thing that we should get our mails at the earliest possible date, and it is desirable that the mails and passengers should come altogether to our own ports; but it is barely possible that, while those are desirable things, we may pay rather more for them than they are worth to this country. When the measure foreshadowed in this paragraph of the Speech comes before us, I, for one, shall

consider myself at liberty to express opposition to it if I shall think that the price which this benefit is to cost more than counterbalances the benefit itself, and I trust that the Government will not leave out of sight, in dealing with the question, the interests of the existing lines, which have done so much to build up the commerce of this country.

In the same paragraph of the Speech reference is made to the best means of developing our trade and securing direct communication by steam with Australasia, the West Indies and South America. I hope that something more will come out of the measures that are indicated here than has come out of any previous steps taken in the same direction. As far back as 1866 commissioners were appointed by the various Provinces to go to the West Indies and South America with a view of attempting to develop trade between British North America and those regions. The commissioners had a very charming excursion, and they came back in good humor, very much pleased with themselves and what they had seen; but beyond that I am not aware—except that we had to pay a very nice bill for their excursion—that we have had any result from it. Then some two or three years ago a very prominent merchant of St. John was sent out on a similar errand to the West Indies. He made a very pleasant report, and enjoyed himself a good deal, I imagine; we paid the bill, and there the results terminated. A Halifax gentleman familiar with the West India business was sent out a year or two ago, and the experience was repeated in his case; and up to the present time there has been no result from those delegations. We had also some time ago delegates in this country from the West Indies, but no result came from their visit. I think hon. gentlemen should bear in mind that the West Indies and South America are not the unknown regions which a great many gentlemen seem to think. There has been a large trade between the lower Provinces of what is now the Dominion and the West Indies for something like one hundred years; and I fancy that the merchants in the lower Provinces understand that trade pretty well, and that they have been doing as much business as could conveniently and profitably be done under existing circumstances. I think that the alteration in the

sugar tariff some years ago did more to diminish trade with the West Indies than all the steps which the Government will be able to take during this present Session or any future Session will do to extend it. We imported large quantities of grocery sugars from the West Indies under the old tariff; now we import almost none, and the grades used in refining in this country are not West India sugars, as a rule. I am glad to notice that there are certain measures proposed to improve the criminal law, and I trust that the hon. gentleman who leads for the Government in this House may be able to see that amongst the amendments to the criminal law there will be one which will dispense with the services of the Grand Jury. I take it that under our present system the Grand Jury is an unnecessary handicap to justice in its race with crime; and as it has ceased to be of any real value I hope the Government will see their way clear to getting rid of it.

As to the report of the Royal Commission on Labor we cannot say anything, as we have not the report and do not know what its nature is. I notice that His Excellency does not promise that there will be any legislation based upon that report; and I presume that the report will be like the reports of so many other commissions—it will afford pleasant reading for people interested in that particular subject, and will be of no practical value beyond that. It occurs to me that we have altogether too many commissions in this country. Government costs us altogether too much for a country as poor and as thinly populated as this, and with so many unnecessary employes in the Government service, it strikes me as being indefensible that, instead of giving some of those gentlemen who have now very little to do occupation in making enquiries into various subjects which it becomes the duty of the Government to deal with, the Government think proper to go outside of their regular servants and select gentlemen who have served them in the political sphere, and to pay those gentlemen handsome sums for doing work which generally results in nothing, and which, at any rate, ought to be done by the paid and permanent servants of the public.

I notice that the hon. gentleman who moved the Address referred to the fact

that there was now a good prospect of a treaty with Spain with respect to her West India possessions. I only hope that the hon. gentleman is not too sanguine. It is most desirable that we should have a more advantageous treaty with Spain than we have at present, but I cannot say that I feel very hopeful on the subject; for as far back as 1882, I think, the hon. gentleman who is now High Commissioner in England gave us to understand that he was on the point of completing a treaty with Spain which would give us the advantages we required, but we have not heard anything very recently to show that we are any nearer to that treaty now than we were then. Perhaps the leader of the Government will be able to tell us what the latest information is.

There is one thing I should like to say with regard to something that fell from the hon. gentleman from Alberton with respect to one of the members from St. John in the House of Commons. I think it is perhaps better that we should not refer here to the views of members of the other Chamber, but as a great deal has been said with respect to that hon. gentleman's advocacy of annexation I think it only fair to say that the case as against him has been very much over-stated. My information is that the gentleman published some months ago an editorial in his newspaper, not advocating annexation, not saying that he was in favor of it, but simply pointing out what the result of annexation would be upon the material fortunes of the Provinces. He has never since then declared that he was in favor of annexation, and I do not think that it is fair to attribute to any man sentiments which he has not expressed. There is no reason why any hon. gentleman here should not, if he chose, indicate what the effect of annexation would be.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—Does the hon. gentleman read the *St. John Globe*?

HON. MR. POWER—For my own part, I have no doubt that one of the effects of annexation would be a very considerable improvement in the material condition of this country.

HON. GENTLEMEN—No, no.

HON. MR. POWER—I have no doubt at

all about that; but on the other hand there are some things which we value more than an improvement in our material condition, and we might be asked to give up more than the improvement in our material condition would be worth; consequently, it might be that the member for St. John would not be really at heart favorable to annexation, even though he pointed out in his newspaper the advantages which might result from it. For my own part, I think it is best for us to go on as we are now doing under our existing constitution, and do the best we can to govern Canada as she ought to be governed. I only hope that hon. gentlemen opposite will try to govern the country more in accordance with the interests of the Dominion than they have been doing during the past few years.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend from Halifax, as usual, casts a gloomy horoscope for the future of Canada. He seems to see nothing hopeful in its present condition or its future prospects. I may tell my hon. friend and his colleagues that until they are more hopeful and have more confidence in the country itself and its future greatness, so long as they take a pessimistic view of the future of the Dominion, they must expect to remain in the cold shades of opposition. My hon. friend, however, has improved wonderfully upon the position he assumed on former occasions. I will not follow him with regard to the sentiments he has expressed on the question of changing our allegiance. A question of that kind is too absurd for argument here, and I am surprised that my hon. friend should utter such sentiments, or that a gentleman who has taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty should utter the sentiments which the hon. gentleman from St. John did in the public press, and that my hon. friend finds himself obliged, when the matter is incidentally mentioned, to furnish some excuses for his political friend's conduct, which cannot be respected by Canadians, who are proud of the land of their birth and who look upon its future with hope and confidence. What I approve of in the Speech on the present occasion is that it foreshadows nothing new. This has been a year at least free from serious disasters. There are very few Government

measures suggested or required. The legislation is to be more by way of revision, amendment and reform. It is a conservative policy and conservative practice to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. In that policy I believe that the legislation which the Government proposed is designed for and will largely promote the trade and development of the resources of this country. Any legislation which will create an opportunity to utilize to its fullest extent the advantages of our geographical position and develop our internal wealth and our trade resources will meet with the hearty support of the country. I am surprised that my hon. friend should take such a despondent view of those measures which tend to promote the prosperity of the Dominion. The leader of the Opposition has pointed out that the tendency of our trade was with the United States, and that despite our present tariff policy that tendency would increase. But what have we found? Up to the present day, under the new policy, the tendency of our trade has been towards England and not towards the United States. I am not surprised that the hon. gentleman from Halifax should ask this Government to adopt a different policy, because he wants the Government to come to this, the Opposition side of the House, so that he and his friends can get to the other side. The people have shown, however, that they do not want any such change of Government, and the people of the United States have shown that they do not want reciprocity. When the Opposition were in power in '74 the Hon. Geo. Brown was sent to Washington to negotiate a Reciprocity Treaty. What did the United States Congress do on that question? They repudiated a measure which would have given us a large amount of reciprocity in trade, and our public men then declared that we had humiliated ourselves too much by begging for closer trade relations with our neighbors, and the very gentlemen with whom my hon. friend is identified have spurned and repudiated the idea of this country endeavoring to make any further advances, concessions or overtures to the United States. We find the Government in power in the United States to-day are stronger protectionists even than the Government than went out, though the expecta-

tion of the Opposition in this country was that on the Democratic party coming into power the Government of the United States would be more open to reciprocal trade relations with this country than the previous Administration, which has proved a mistake.

I am glad to find myself in accord with my hon. friend in the position he has taken on the fisheries question. He knows the importance of our fisheries. He, a Nova Scotian, knows that England's prestige to-day depends largely on her marine, and her supremacy on the sea is essential to her safety; and the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces will be, in the future, the source from which to draw for protection of the commerce of this country, and to avert blockade. We cannot feel too strongly that we should do all we possibly can to sustain them in their rights, not only under the treaty of 1818, but also against bounty-fed French fishermen. The leader of the Opposition spurns the idea; he is for throwing up the treaty of 1818 and giving the Americans all that they want. A proposition of that kind coming from any public representative will be denounced by every man in the lower Provinces, fisherman or no fisherman. We know well the feeling there. Even lately, when we were threatened with non-intercourse, our people were making ready for it. Though they knew that, for the moment, non-intercourse might paralyze the trade of the Lower Provinces with the United States, it was with the strongest determination they were prepared to meet it, and the result was to arouse a stronger feeling of loyalty amongst the people, to develop inter-provincial and colonial trade and find other outlets for their produce, and they felt that in the end it would be for their benefit. They believe that instead of the United States merchants being the middlemen for the marketing of some of our fish our own merchants should take all their fish to the markets of the world, and instead of building up American ports by sending our products over there to be shipped in bond to the West Indies and South America, we would largely control that trade in our own country. Injurious as it might have proved at the time if non-intercourse had been established, I believe that in the end it would have been of vast advantage to Canada's entire

freedom and independence of American markets.

Now, as regards the treaty of 1818, this "barbarous" treaty, as my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition terms it, I think it is the most humane and generous treaty that was ever conceded to the United States under the then existing circumstances. The people of that country had no right to fish in our territorial waters at all, and no right to enter our harbors for supplies or bait, or for any other purpose. We gave all the concessions they asked for—concessions that they ought not to have had—concessions on the coast of Newfoundland, Labrador and on the Magdalen Islands, which to-day we would regret, and which now imperil the fishing industries of those quarters. I do not wish at the present moment to discuss the fisheries question. I hope that the Government in carrying out strictly the treaty of 1818 will be so guarded in their instructions to their officials that before any acts are committed they must have clear proof of the offence, that the infractions are unmistakable and designed, that they are a flagrant violation of the treaty of 1818. As long as we stand by that treaty and maintain our fishing rights thereunder our fishermen will be proud and thankful. The fishermen of the lower Provinces are opposed to the *modus vivendi*, and were so from the first; and believing that it was only a temporary expedient to prevent any irritation while negotiations were pending in the United States, they accepted it. As soon as they found that all negotiations had failed their desire was then that they be allowed to stand on their strict rights, and they believe that by so doing the United States will find it to their advantage to come in and make a treaty which, I hope, will not be more favorable to our neighbors than the present one. We offered them concessions which, I believe, our fishermen would never have consented to or approved of but for the fact that they considered in so doing they were consulting the best interests of Canada as a whole, and not their own individual rights and interests. The feeling prevails everywhere throughout Canada, as regards our great fishing industry, that we should retain it undisturbed, and concede nothing through any feeling of cowardice.

As to the proposed amendment to the franchise law, it was a measure I approved of at the time it was passed. I was in favor of a uniform suffrage throughout the whole of the Provinces. I believe that the people of every Province should be represented in Parliament on the same franchise. We are homogeneous enough to have but one franchise throughout the whole Dominion. The representatives in Parliament now represent equally and alike all classes of the community, and to continue to do so they must remain under the same uniform basis of suffrage. I believe in the Franchise Bill, not only on that account, but because it extended the franchise, making it almost manhood suffrage. I do not wish to go quite as far as that, but unless we can make the present suffrage less complex as regards qualification and minimize the expense of revision and the publication of the lists I would be very much disposed to support manhood suffrage, to which we are now so near that the line is almost invisible, and I believe we are tending to a loyal and educational qualification with registration.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I imagine I need hardly say that I concur heartily in what has been said by all the gentlemen who have spoken on the other side of the House with regard to the mover and seconder of the Address. It was with great pleasure that I listened to the practical speeches of those two gentlemen, alike in that respect, but different, as one might expect, from their different points of view. I was glad also to hear the remarks of my hon. friends with regard to His Excellency. I had the honor of meeting him and conversing with him at some length shortly after his arrival in Canada, and from that time to this I have become more and more convinced that he has the welfare of the country earnestly at heart, and that he is determined to make himself thoroughly acquainted with its wants, and to do all that lies in his power to meet them. I quite agree with the hon. gentleman from Ottawa that in him we find a worthy successor to the three last Governors General, who all left behind them a reputation in this country to be envied by everyone who holds any official position, and one of whom at least has signalized his abilities in another sphere,

in respect of which we flatter ourselves a little that the experience he acquired in Canada greatly assisted him. In all these matters I concur with my hon. friend, and I am happy to see that there are one or two other subjects in his speech on the Address in which I am able to concur with him. I think I concur with my hon. friends in the general view they take as to the character of the Address. My hon. friends find very little fault with the Address. They approve of it in many respects; and with respect to their disapprobation of it I have this advantage, that they do not agree in their disapprobation, which is a circumstance, at all events, favorable to the character of the Address. My hon. friend the mover of this resolution, in speaking on the fisheries question, spoke of it in a manner at once precise, sensible, moderate and patriotic. I was delighted to hear him express so accurately in different words the views which are expressed in the Governor General's Speech from the Throne. In that respect the hon. gentleman from Ottawa disagrees with him, but I think the hon. gentleman from Halifax, also on the opposite side, agrees with him to a large extent. Our opponents therefore being divided in opinion on this subject, we cannot allow perhaps quite as much force to any objections we hear from some of them as we would if the whole country disapproved of the proceedings of the Government in this respect, as my hon. friend opposite said, more especially of the withdrawal of the *modus vivendi*. "The whole country disapproved of it," he says. Then uprises a colleague and says: No, he did not disapprove of it. If one half of the Opposition, claiming to represent the country, say the country does not disapprove of it, clearly my hon. friend from Ottawa is not correct in saying that the whole country disapproves of it. The whole of the Conservative party, also claiming to represent the country, approve of it; half of the Opposition, with the same claim, approve of it, and I think my hon. friend rather spoke beyond the book when he said the whole country disapproves of it. As to the merits of this treaty and of the *modus vivendi*, I do not propose to enter upon a discussion of them. My hon. friend has not done so. He fully expressed his opinions last Session and so did I, and if

those opinions were worthy of remembrance they will be fresh in the minds of hon. gentlemen who were present. I am sorry that my hon. friend opposite, without intending it, I am sure, should have placed in the mouths of the gentlemen with whom we are about, sooner or later, to renew those negotiations, as a distinguished leader of public opinion in Canada, the expressed opinion of the conduct of this country, that it has been barbarous.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The treaty of 1818.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The treaty of 1818 we must refer to, because we have no other rule of action than the treaty of 1818, and it is this treaty, maintenance of the conditions of which my hon. friend terms barbarous.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I say so still.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Certainly, the hon. gentleman did say so, and I am sorry that he did, and that he persists in it, for I believe that as a public man he has the welfare of Canada at heart, and that his desire would be to assist the emissaries of Canada in making the best possible bargain with our neighbors. But if he tells our opponents with whom we are going to deal, in the inception of the negotiations, or even before the inception, that the treaty which this country insists upon as its right, and a right which is not denied anywhere, except in certain circles in the United States, is a barbarous treaty, and it would be barbarity to attempt to enforce it, I am sorry my hon. friend should take that position. I would rather he had said nothing, since he could not help us in maintaining the position which we venture to assume on behalf of the country, and which I venture to say that he and his friends would assume if they were in our position on this side of the House.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Never.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—A position which my hon. friend would be sure to take on this same subject if it were under negotiation under the same circumstances. I have seen since this House met various statements and communications on the subject of this treaty, mostly coming from opponents of the treaty and opponents of

this country, and I find exactly the line which my hon. friend took adopted by those people. I find, therefore, that he is in concurrence with them, and I am sorry that it is so. Of course, he is entitled to his own opinions, but I repeat that I am perfectly certain my hon. friend would assume a very different tone if it fell to his duty, which it may likely do before long, to assist in the initiation of another treaty with the United States. He would remember then that this barbarous conduct of ours, which I have seen characterized in London papers in the same way—that this barbarous treaty of ours, and our folly and madness in maintaining our rights, are nothing at all to the conduct of the nation condemning us—that while we never forfeited a ship or robbed a man of a dollar, or inflicted any punishment but a moderate fine for violations of our laws, this very nation has been seizing vessels on the open seas—

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—Seventy-five miles from land.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They have been confiscating them and their cargoes, without allowing those who owned them an opportunity to defend themselves before a court of law; yet I hear no reprobation of that conduct as barbarous. However, I will not pursue the subject any further. I hope, with His Excellency, that some of these days we may have occasion to renew these negotiations, and arrive at a just and equitable conclusion with regard to the conflicting rights of the two countries, which will promote the peace and prosperity which my hon. friend, and everyone here, desires to prevail between the United States and this country.

My hon. friend from Ottawa took issue upon another point with the mover of the Address, and these are practically the only two points upon which any serious issue has been raised or joined with the Government—that is, with regard to the trade of the country. My hon. friend from Montreal cited the comparative increase in the imports of raw material to Canada as a striking incident in the commercial history of this country, which it undoubtedly is; and he spoke of our imports, and compared our imports and exports for internal use between us, the United States and Great Britain. My

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hon. friend opposite insisted, if I understood him right, that under the present system trade was continually decreasing; that at the time the former system prevailed, while my hon. friend's Government was in power, the aggregate of the trade of Canada was much larger than it is at the present day. That is what I understood him to say.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I quoted three years which were larger than last year.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understood my hon. friend to make the assertion in rather a broad form. He quoted certain figures to prove that instead of trade increasing under the National Policy, it was decreasing, and he cited some figure relating to a period when his Government was in power, and compared the present year, I think, disadvantageously with that figure. Of course, my hon. friend did not wish to put in issue exactly the amount of dollars and cents that were imported and exported in any one year. What he wanted to show—the proposition that he laid before the House, as I understood it, and as I think every member of the House understood it, was, in broad terms, that under the National Policy trade had fallen off, that trade was not so good now as when my hon. friend's Government was in power. Now, I am going to look just at two or three figures respecting these aggregate imports and exports but before I do so I would like to remark on one fact, which must be obvious to everybody. The imports of raw material having increased from \$5,000,000 to \$35,000,000, we will say, in round figures, during this period, would naturally account for a great reduction in the importation of manufactured articles. That is plain, it seems to me; it cannot possibly be otherwise, because this raw material is manufactured in this country. If it had not been for its importation and the encouragement of manufactures under the National Policy it would have been imported in the form of manufactured goods. I cannot state what the proportion on the value of goods manufactured from thirty millions of dollars worth of raw material would be, but everyone here can recognize, and will recognize, that the

difference in the value of that raw material as imported and its value after its being manufactured must be very large indeed—I might safely say enormous. I mention that because in examining the figures which show the aggregate imports and exports of this country I am entitled to say that we have derived a benefit in this country—not the manufacturers, as my hon. friend says, in particular, but the whole country—every man who has produce to sell, every man who has hands to work with, every man who can assist in manufacture has derived a benefit from the manufacture of these goods. The increase in the value of these goods is made up, not altogether of the profits to the manufacturer; if these goods are worth three times as much after they are manufactured, say \$100,000,000, my hon. friend does not mean to say that the difference of seventy millions of dollars goes into the pockets of the manufacturers. They get their profits, no doubt, but the main portion of the money goes into the pockets of the people of this country—it goes to support those engaged in the work of manufacturing, to tradesmen of all descriptions, and to build up our towns and villages. That is where the money goes, and we are entitled, in making comparisons such as my hon. friend proposed a few moments ago, to consider how much our present imports would represent if these raw materials had been imported into this country in the form of manufactured goods. This is the only basis upon which a fair comparison can be made. That proposition—and I am certain it is a sound one—is to the disadvantage of the statement of the present imports. Now let us see how my hon. friend's proposition works out. In 1868 the aggregate trade of this country was about \$130,000,000. We will take the two years before my hon. friend's Government came into power. In 1872 it was \$194,000,000; in 1873 it was \$217,000,000. It was in the autumn of that year that my hon. friend's Government came into power, but of course the policy of his Government and the Government preceding it was practically the same in respect to duties on goods. There was no real difference between the two. In 1874, which was the first year that my hon. friend's Government was in power, the amount was the same as it was in

the last year of the previous Government—that is to say, about \$217,000,000. From that moment it steadily decreased. It ran down during my hon. friend's administration from \$217,000,000 to \$172,000,000, a difference of \$45,000,000 to the disadvantage of this country. Every year marks a diminution. The aggregate of the trade of this country for the past year was \$201,000,000 greater than it had ever been, with the exception of one year, since 1874-75.

HON. MR. SCOTT—In 1883 it was \$230,000,000.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—But my hon. friend will see that was under the National Policy. The aggregate of trade began increasing the moment my hon. friend's Government went out of power. I do not refer to the small differences which occurred in different years under the same policy: what I say is, that the increase has been steady ever since my hon. friend's Government went out of power and the new policy was initiated. It was \$172,000,000 the last year that my hon. friend's Government was in power; to day it is \$201,000,000.

HON. MR. SCOTT—A difference of ten years.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend's Government was in power five years. If they had remained in power ever since, and the trade of the country had decreased in the same proportion, we should now be burning up our ships for fuel, and our factories and commercial buildings would have become useless. If these figures are to be a test of the trade of the country, from the moment the change of Government took place trade began to increase, and it is at this moment \$30,000,000 more than it was when my hon. friend's Government went out of power. It must be remembered that of the \$201,000,000 we are only counting \$35,000,000 as raw materials imported into the country. If we had imported them in the manufactured state they would have gone far towards adding another hundred of millions of dollars to the imports. That is not to be forgotten; and where has this difference gone? It has gone into the country. It has not gone to sustain manufacturers and their employes, in Man-

chester and the Eastern States. It has built up our own trade; it has supported our own industries and our own people; it has built up our own country. That is what has been done with that margin: that is how it is to be accounted for. So, when we come to appeal to the figures and to look at them in a business like way we find in point of fact that since this system has commenced the aggregate trade has continuously increased, and that it is now within a fraction of the largest that it has been at its most prosperous period; and it has reached that sum without taking into consideration the enormous increment of value that the \$35,000,000 has received.

HON. MR. POWER—I understood my hon. friend from Montreal to state the value of the raw material imported at very much lower figures.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The amount is \$35,000,000. In 1868 it was \$5,000,000; in 1888 it was \$35,000,000, and I speak of the difference as \$30,000,000. It does not seem to me that this is a very unfavorable showing for our trade, nothing to justify the wholesale condemnation of the system which my hon. friend has pronounced. In connection with this, with respect to the reciprocity question, I was very much pleased to hear the tone in which my hon. friend from Halifax spoke of it. As to reciprocity of trade between us and the United States, there is no man in this country who does not agree with my hon. friend from Halifax as to the reciprocity into which we might be able to enter. My hon. friend from Ottawa says, "You cannot force trade away from the United States; you may pass as many differential laws as you like, but you cannot force trade away from the United States." We do not want to force trade away from the United States; we want to trade with every body, and we put every nation in the world on the same footing for the express purpose of trading with every body alike. But there is a considerable difference between the view of my hon. friend from Halifax as to the reciprocity that would be advantageous to us and the view of the hon. member from Ottawa—they are as far apart as the poles. The hon. member from Halifax says justly and wisely that there are a good many articles in which

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we might have reciprocal trade with the United States, as we once had before, for the advantage of both countries. That we admit—everybody admits that. But the hon. member from Ottawa says it would be for our advantage to have universal reciprocity with the United States.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Because we cannot get any other.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Can my hon. friend tell me any way in which we can get that except by annexation?

HON. MR. SCOTT—Nothing of the kind.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend has not proved that there is any chance of getting unrestricted reciprocity with the United States any more than there is of getting such reciprocity as would be advantageous to our country. But what is the difference between the two? What does unrestricted reciprocity with the United States mean? That means differential legislation against the whole of the rest of the world. My hon. friend objects to differential legislation in favor of the mother country, but he is quite willing that we should legislate differentially in favor of the United States and against the whole of the rest of the world, including the mother country. I could understand such an argument from people in the United States, but not from anyone else. I do not see how any Canadian could maintain a proposition like that. My hon. friend, of course, is sincere, and believes he is right. He may be more right than I, but I give my view—I cannot see how any Canadian can advocate differential legislation against the whole world except the United States. And what does unrestricted reciprocity with the United States mean? The United States has twice as large a duty as ours. In order to have unrestricted reciprocity we must have the same tariff as the United States to begin with.

HON. MR. SCOTT—No.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I confess I cannot see how we could have unrestricted reciprocity with the United States if we admitted goods into this country at a lower rate than their tariff. Would the United States allow us to import goods from the mother country at 20 per cent. while

the same goods paid 60 per cent. in the United States? The consequences of that would be that the whole of these importations would be through Canada. If we can imagine that such a result as that could be arrived at I would join with my hon. friend.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The same thing occurs now.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We have Customs houses now.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Goods may come into our country at a lower duty than prevails in the United States, and from this country be transported to the United States.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Although my hon. friend did not say there were to be no Customs houses along the line, I have read a good many articles on this—I will not call it "fad"—but this idea of unrestricted reciprocity, and one great argument urged by its advocates was that there would be no Customs houses along the line.

HON. MR. POWER—My hon. friend is confounding commercial union with unrestricted reciprocity.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I confess I cannot distinguish between them. Unrestricted reciprocity, I understand, is to admit all goods from this country into the United States without paying duty.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Only the products of the country.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—And all goods shall come from the United States into this country free of duty.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The hon. gentleman does not state it fairly at all. The products of Canada, whether natural or manufactured, should be interchanged with those of the United States, but the products of other countries could not be imported and sent to the United States in the same way. The Customs houses between the two countries would still have to be kept up. It would simply be an enlargement of the old Reciprocity Treaty.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend is not in accord with the hon. member from Halifax.

HON. MR. POWER—He is in accord with me on that subject.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Well, he is not in accord with most of the writers on the subject. If we were able deliberately to sit down and decide amongst ourselves here what goods it would be to our advantage to exchange with the United States free of duty we might make an arrangement such as that which has been suggested by the hon. member from Halifax, that we could look upon favorably, which would be of advantage to us, and probably of advantage to our neighbors also. We know that the last Reciprocity Treaty was an advantage both to ourselves and to our neighbors, but I do not conceive and I do not admit that to admit without exception every article grown or manufactured in the United States free of duty, in consideration only of our products, either of manufactures or naturally-grown objects, which is the restricted definition that my hon. friend now applies to unrestricted reciprocity, would be of advantage to us, because it would destroy the whole work we have been trying to do for the last ten years.

HON. MR. POWER—No, no.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It would absolutely hurl on us the weight and power of the capital of the United States, of which everybody knows the enormous magnitude. It would come in competition with our comparatively feeble manufacturers; it would create for them the advantages of a slaughter ground, such as they made of our country before 1878, and we would naturally and necessarily fall into the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the United States. Our manufactures would become as extinct as they were before 1878, and they never could grow as they have grown since that time. Our infant industries would be allowed to tumble to the ground, never to rise again, and all that this country could do would be to cut its lumber and ship it, to denude its forests to make a living for the few people who would remain in it, and be satisfied with selling some of its coarse grains and natural products to the United States. Where would be the prospect of improvement under such a condition of affairs as that? I dare say, however, that

we shall have an opportunity of discussing this question in a way which will lead to some substantial conclusion, which this discussion cannot.

There are one or two minor points to which I will refer in a very cursory way. The hon. member from Ottawa, I think, was right in the view he expressed as to the difficulty of framing statutory bills of lading. I am afraid that would be a very difficult thing to do. A bill of lading must cover the exigencies and contingencies arising from innumerable different voyages, under innumerable different conditions of fact, in respect of which all bills of lading require to contain corresponding provisions. The idea has been entertained by the trade in the United States, and efforts have been made for the last five or six years by conventions and meetings and conferences to get up bills of lading that would be agreed upon as satisfactory contracts between the shipper and carrier, but I think I am right in saying that up to this moment these attempts have been entire failures, and I have no doubt their failure has been largely due to the fact that each bill of lading must be applicable to its own particular voyage and to the particular risks which will occur on that voyage. However, it is a subject of great importance, and it is desirable that the numerous conditions affixed to bills of lading should be restricted. At present they are restricted by law—at least, in my part of the country, which is remarkable for the equitable character of its law; and there a man is not allowed to contract himself out of the consequences of his own fault or negligence. That restriction, it seems to me, is likely largely to affect the conditions inserted in bills of lading. However, it is a subject which requires careful consideration, and if it were possible to agree upon certain principles regulating the conditions which should govern all contracts of that description there is no doubt there would be a great advantage in it.

I would like to say a word also as to the question of ocean navigation. Hon. gentlemen know what sacrifices the country has made to improve its internal communications. It has now the finest through road in the world across its entire breadth, and across the breadth of the entire continent. It is no doubt to the advantage

of the country that as much travel should be attracted to the country as could possibly be managed by any measure within the functions of the Government. We have always recognized the duty of assisting in procuring rapid transit for mails and passengers to this country, but such means as we have hitherto used have, in the course of events, become antiquated. Ships which twenty years ago or longer, when this service was first inaugurated, were considered magnificent vessels, and were amongst the finest on the ocean, have now dwindled down to vessels which people are not disposed to patronize, owing to superior ships on other routes; and adopting the same principle that we adopted when we first subsidized a line across the Atlantic, it would be wise now to assist to a moderate extent to procure the establishment of lines of steamers on both sides of our continent which would constitute our country a thoroughfare between Europe and Asia. The mere question of the money which passengers would pay crossing our continent is nothing as compared with the advantage which would accrue to us in having the world travelling across our magnificent prairies, seeing the facilities for the expansion of life, for the maintenance of countless millions of the old world, who are dragging on a miserable existence where they now are; it would be of enormous benefit to us to show our North-West to the whole travelling world, and by that means probably to attract more attention towards our advantages and to the facilities which our country offers for the production of all necessaries of life than could be attained by any system through immigration agents, or by any other system for promoting immigration that has yet been suggested. I do not know any immigration agent that could produce as strong an impression on the mind of any one as the sight which presents itself to those crossing the continent, travelling three days and three nights through a fertile country awaiting the plough. It is not only the merely incidental and sentimental advantage of being able to say that our country is the thoroughfare between two portions of the old world, but it is the absolute, practical, substantial benefit that we should gain by the making known to the whole world the advantages we possess. Immigration,

of course; of a proper kind, is really the great desideratum of this country. Every man who comes here reduces our debt *pro tanto* and pays his contribution to the revenue of the country. If we had the North-West filled up we should soon be in the position of the United States, which hon. gentlemen oppositely praise, and no doubt with justice, of rapidly reducing our debt and coming to have a surplus. The strain which we have put on ourselves to make these great inter-colonial and inter-oceanic means of transport has been the main cause of our debt, and the best means of relief from our indebtedness is to fill up our country with people who will contribute to pay it off. This is really the motive that the Government have in endeavoring to encourage trans-Atlantic communication by a superior class of steamers to those which this country has yet obtained. I do not know exactly to what my hon. friend from Halifax has referred in speaking of the money being laid out by the Government in the harbor of Montreal. There is no money being laid out or about to be laid out in the harbor of Montreal. Nothing of the kind is contemplated, that I know of. The harbor of Montreal has been built up by judicious and careful management of its own revenues, and not by Government money. I hope the resolution will pass unanimously.

The motion was agreed to.

INLAND REVENUE RETURNS.

AN EXPLANATION.

HON. MR. ABBOTT presented the Inland Revenue Return. He said; the details contained in this report with reference to the sale of liquor in Ontario are all absolutely correct. A summary of these statements has usually been prepared by a clerk in the Department and inserted in the report. In this case the clerk prepared a statement in which he made a gross error. I do not know exactly to what extent the error goes, but some statements have been made animadverting on this mistake, as if it were intentional, and calculated to throw discredit on the operation of the Scott Act.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The whiskey *per capita* that we drink.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That anyone should suppose that there was such a motive, or that it was other than an accidental mistake, seems strange, as the Minister himself speaks of there being a diminution in that consumption, and the details show it. These circumstances make it perfectly clear that the clerk's mistake was accidental. The issue of this report has been suspended. All copies not issued have been retained; two new pages have been printed, and are being inserted in the place of those which contained the mistake, and which have been destroyed. The same pages which are being inserted in the book will be received by everyone who has been given a copy of the report; so it is to be hoped the error will be thoroughly corrected.

HON. MR. SCOTT—A large number of the corrected sheets should be sent through the country. The mistake has created a good deal of excitement.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is what we are about to do.

The Senate adjourned at 5:50 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 5th February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

A QUESTION OF ORDER.

The Orders of the Day having been called—

HON. MR. POWER said: Before the Orders are gone into I wish to call attention to the matter to which I referred yesterday, and which, at the suggestion of the hon. leader of the House, was postponed until to-day. I desire to call attention to the fact that the leader of the Government in this House, on Thursday, before the House had proceeded to take His Excellency's Speech into consideration, introduced three Government Bills which were not *pro formâ*, but were Bills that the hon. gentleman proposed to push

to a final passage in this House. I desire to call attention to the fact that in the course adopted by the hon. gentleman there has been a departure from the usual parliamentary procedure—in fact, that the hon. gentleman's proceeding, as far as I can ascertain, is altogether without precedent. The parliamentary rule, which, I think, is generally well understood, is that no Bill which is intended to be proceeded with is introduced until after the Governor General's Speech has been taken into consideration. That is a principle as to which I think there is no doubt. In case there should be any doubt I shall refer to two or three well recognized authorities. At page 222 of May we find the practice which prevails in our own House as it does in the House of Lords. May lays down the practice of the House of Lords to be as follows: Before the speech is read "it is the practice of both Houses to read some Bill a first time *pro formâ*, in order to assert the right of deliberating without reference to the immediate causes of summons. This practice, in the Lords, is enjoined by a standing order. In the Commons the same form is observed by ancient custom only."

Then May goes on to quote an entry in the Journals of the House of Commons for the 22nd March, 1603:

"That the first day of every sitting in every Parliament some one Bill, and no more, receiveth a first reading for form's sake." This practice, he says "has continued till the present time." Then May goes on to mention the things that may be done in the House of Commons, but he says no questions are asked or petitions presented. At page 225 there is a sort of exception to this rule:

"In case the debate upon the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech should be adjourned, all the Bills of which notice has been given may be introduced. In February, 1880, and again in 1881, 1882 and 1883, the debate upon the Address having been adjourned, the several Bills, of which notice had been given, were brought in and ordered to be read a second time, as if the Address had been agreed to."

But the Address must have been taken into consideration before any Bill, except one Bill *pro formâ*, can be introduced into either House. That is the doctrine laid down by May. The same doctrine will be found in the 2nd volume of Hatsell. I

need not quote that; but in order to show that the practice in Canada is the same as the English practice I shall quote from page 223 of Bourinot, as follows:

"We may now take up the proceedings at the stage where the Speech has been duly delivered by the Governor-General, and the Commons have returned to their Chamber. The Speaker of the Senate, after the retirement of His Excellency and the introduction of a bill *pro formâ*, will report the Speech, which will be ordered to be taken into consideration immediately, or on a future day, the day following, should it be a sitting day, being generally chosen."

The Bill *pro formâ* was regularly introduced by the hon. gentleman this Session, but, as I contend, subsequent proceedings were not regular. We have the practice in the House of Commons as to the consideration of the Speech given at page 231 of Bourinot; and in a note Mr. Bourinot gives the same resolution which I read from May, the resolution passed by the English House of Commons in March, 1603, that one Bill and no more receives a first reading for form's sake. At page 232 Bourinot goes on to give the practice in the Canadian Parliament:

"When the Speech has been ordered to be taken into consideration on a future day it is the practice to move the formal resolution providing for the appointment of the Select Standing Committees of the Houses, and to lay before the Houses the report of the Librarian and other papers. It is not deemed courteous to the Crown in the Canadian Houses to discuss any matter of public policy before considering the Speech. In 1878 Mr. Barthe introduced a Bill in reference to insolvency, but withdrew it in deference to the wishes of the Houses until the Address was adopted. * * * It is the usual practice in the English Commons to ask questions, move Addresses for papers, and to present petitions while the Address is under consideration; and in the Session of 1882, when the debate was prolonged, public Bills were introduced and discussed on the motion for leave, before the Address was agreed to."

I may say that in the English House of Commons the practice is to take the Queen's Speech into consideration at once. Now, I shall refer the House and the hon. gentleman opposite to an authority which, I think, he cannot help regarding as a very weighty one. I refer the hon. gentleman to pages 18 and 19 of the Canadian Commons *Hansard* of 1878. It appears that in the House of Commons Mr. Barthe moved for leave to introduce a Bill to repeal the insolvency law then in force in the Dominion. This was before the Speech of His Excellency had been disposed of:

"Mr. SPEAKER—I would suggest to the hon. member (Mr. Barthe) not to press the Bill at present. It is contrary to our usual practice to introduce a Bill before the Speech is answered."

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the motion which was always made was to protect the right of the House to introduce Bills if they choose, but even then it was considered not exactly respectful to the Crown, and therefore the motion for the second reading was not made. He would suggest that the hon. gentleman should allow his motion to stand until after the Address. It would be considered that the motion was not made, and that it was still on the Paper.

"The motion, with leave of the House, was withdrawn."

So that we have what hon. gentlemen opposite must regard as the very highest authority for thinking that the practice proposed to be adopted by the leader of this House is an objectionable one. I am satisfied that no precedent to justify it can be found in the Journals of either House. I am prepared to go further, and state my own belief that no precedent is to be found in the proceedings of any legislative body in British North America for the course taken by the hon. gentleman; and I think that we in this House should be more conservative and more careful to follow precedents than any other House in the Dominion. We are, or ought to be, the most conservative body in this respect in Canada, and I feel sorry that the leader of this House should be the first to break through a time-honored practice like that to which I have referred. I think it was said by one hon. gentleman here: "Oh, it is true there is no precedent for the hon. gentleman's action, or the practice has been the other way; but that is not of much consequence; it does not violate the constitution." But I think the essence of our parliamentary practice is that we are governed by the custom of Parliament, not merely by laws and by rules, but by uniform practice and long established custom. On that point I shall refer to page 72 of May:

"The law of Parliament is thus defined by two eminent authorities (Coke and Blackstone): As every court of justice hath laws and customs for its direction, some the civil and canon, some the common law, others their own peculiar laws and customs, so the High Court of Parliament hath also its own peculiar law, called the '*lex et Consuetudo Parliamenti*.' This law of Parliament is admitted to be part of the unwritten law of the land, and as such is only to be collected, according to the word of Sir Edward Coke, out of the rolls of Parliament and other records, and by precedents and continued experience, to which it is added

that, 'whatever matter arises concerning either House of Parliament ought to be discussed and adjudged in that House to which it relates, and not elsewhere.'

At page 192 May begins his second book on the practice and proceedings in Parliament with this declaration :

"The proceedings of Parliament are regulated chiefly by ancient usage or by the settled practice of modern times, apart from distinct orders and rules, but usage has frequently been declared and explained by both Houses, and new rules have been established by positive orders and resolutions. Ancient usage, when not otherwise declared, is collected from the Journals, from history and early treatises, and from the continued experience of practised members. Modern practice is often undefined in any written form. It is not recorded in the Journals. It is not to be traced in the published debates. Nor is it known in any certain manner but by personal experience, and by the daily practice of Parliament in conducting its various descriptions of business."

I find that Bourinot, our Canadian authority, lays down a similar doctrine. It will be found at page 210 and page 216. I shall read from page 216 :

"An express rule or order of the House, whether standing or occasional, supercedes every mere usage or precedent. But in the absence of any express rule or order, what can or ought to be done by either House of Parliament is best known by the custom and proceedings of Parliament. The unwritten law of Parliament in such a case has as much effect as any standing order. It must also be borne in mind that in the interpretation of the rules or standing orders the House is generally guided not so much by the literal construction of the orders themselves as by the consideration of what has been the practice of the House with respect to them."

Now, we have amongst our standing orders one which provides for the introduction of a Bill *pro formâ*. I think the fact that the introduction of that Bill is provided for is a clear indication that the introduction of any other Bill is not contemplated. Our first rule provides for the introduction of a Bill *pro formâ*; and a manual prepared by a former clerk of this House, at page 20 refers to the Bill *pro formâ*; and at page 28 I find the following :—

"Should any member offer to present any petitions or returns before the adjournment, they ought not to be refused—"

That is before the adjournment previous to the debate on the Address :

"though it is more respectful to transact no business before the Address is adopted."

So that the practice in this House has been, judging by this manual prepared by

HON. MR. POWER.

an officer of great experience in the Legislative Council of Canada and in this Senate, that it is not strictly proper to receive petitions before we deal with the Speech of His Excellency. Now, I think that the hon. gentleman who spoke about the absence of precedents as not being a very serious matter misconceives altogether the spirit of English parliamentary law and practice. I hardly venture to quote the well-known lines of Tennyson as to England, that she is :

"A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

It has been our practice in Parliament to be guided by precedent, and if there is no precedent it is assumed that the thing that is proposed to be done is wrong—that is, provided that similar cases have arisen before. Of course, if an unprecedented case occurs Parliament has no precedent to guide it; but this is not a case of that sort. This is a case that arises every Session. There are a number of measures which members are anxious to push through, and if the doors are open in the way the hon. gentleman seems to believe, we should have numbers of precedents of the introduction of Bills before the House had dealt with the Speech from the Throne; so that it is perfectly clear that the practice and the rule of Parliament have been against it. I have no interest in this matter adverse to the measures that have been introduced. They are measures which I hope to be able cordially to support, and I am not influenced in the slightest degree by the fact that the hon. gentleman who introduced those measures is a gentleman whose politics differ from my own. My sole desire is that the practice of this House should be kept as it ought to be kept, and that our Journals, when they go abroad and are handed down to future parliamentarians, shall be models of what such Journals ought to be. It is largely because I feel that the action of the hon. gentleman, if drawn into a precedent, would cause a complete change in the character of our Journals that I thought it well to call the attention of the House to the matter, and to give the hon. gentleman an opportunity, if he should think well of it, to take such steps as may be best calculated to keep our Journals in accordance

with precedent and with the practice of English parliamentary assemblies all over the world.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Of course, no one could for a moment suppose that my hon. friend is acuated by any but the best motives in bringing this matter up; but before proceeding to answer what he has said on the subject I would like to ask him if he suggests any substantive remedy for this, supposing the practice to be erroneous?

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman will notice the suggestion made by the right hon. leader of the Government in the case of Barthe's Insolvency Bill. I do not think it would be going too far to have the entries stricken out of our Journals.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will see the difference between this case and that to which he refers as having been pronounced upon by Sir John Macdonald. In that case the gentleman made a motion for the repeal of the insolvency law. In the Commons a member cannot introduce a Bill without the leave of the House, and he has to make a motion to ask for leave, and on that motion there may be, and frequently is, discussion as to whether leave shall or shall not be granted. In the case of the motion of Mr. Barthe to repeal the insolvency law the debate went on for a considerable period of the day before anyone suggested that there was any irregularity about it, and then it was only the suggestion of the Speaker, not that he had no right to bring in the Bill, or to make a motion to be allowed to bring in a Bill; but as they were about to discuss the Address it would be expedient to postpone this discussion until after the Address had been passed. It must not be forgotten that in this instance we are in an entirely different position. It is the right, says our rule, of every member of the Senate to introduce a Bill. He asks for no leave on producing it. It is read the first time without discussion. I am not aware that there is any mode by which a discussion could be brought up as to whether or not a Bill should be introduced. The law says it shall be the right of the member to introduce it. Then, to do so, is a mere matter of routine. My hon. friend pro-

poses that we ought, in some way, to retrace the steps which we took with regard to those Bills on the second day of the Session. While I am free to admit that if I had supposed any hon. gentleman would have any objection to the performance of such a matter of routine on the second day of the Session, after, in a manner, the Speech from the Throne had been dealt with, I would not have introduced those Bills. I thought it convenient that the process of translating and printing those Bills should be proceeded with while we were discussing the Address to His Excellency; but I cannot say that, under the circumstances, I thought it of such importance to bring those Bills before the House at that time, if I had supposed that any gentleman would have considered it a violation of our practice, or showed any want of courtesy to His Excellency, or was objectionable in any other form. The object was not important enough to justify that, but that having been done, it is now on the records of the Senate that those Bills were introduced and read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time the day after the date fixed for the debate on the Address to His Excellency. If we are to retrace those steps we must have some substantial reason for doing it; it must be that we are wrong; it must be because, as my hon. friend says, we have violated some rule of the House, established either by practice or positive rule or by unvarying precedent, and my hon. friend undertook to show that there were specific rules against it and that there was no precedent for it. I take issue with my hon. friend on both points. I say there is no rule of either House which would prevent the introduction of those Bills before the debate on the Address to His Excellency had taken place or had been completed; and I take issue with the other proposition of my hon. friend, by saying that it appears to me there is any number of precedents for the introduction of Bills and the performance of other ordinary routine business before the completion of the debate upon the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not say "completion;" I said before consideration. I guarded myself.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend quoted from a volume in support of his proposition which, I think, laid down the doctrine that there were numerous instances of the introduction of Bills before the completion of the debate on the Address to the Crown.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.—Whether the introduction of those Bills is at one particular stage of the debate or at another particular stage does not seem to me to be of any importance at all. The rule which my hon. friend has read to us from our own rules, and elsewhere, deals with the first day of the Session, as to the immediate proceedings after the Governor has delivered his Speech. The rules refer to that period, not to the period after the first day after the Address has been received and an order has been made as to when it shall be debated. There is no rule which applies to an act of that description. The rule says:

“On the first day of the meeting of a new Parliament, or of any subsequent Session, His Excellency having opened the Session by a gracious Speech to both Houses, and Prayers been said, some Bill is read *pro formâ*; the Speech from the Throne is reported by the Speaker, and a Committee of Privileges, consisting of all the Senators present during the Session, is appointed.”

Now, that was all done exactly as this rule prescribes. On the first day of the Session His Honor the Speaker reported His Excellency the Governor's Speech, and upon that a Bill *pro formâ* was introduced and read the first time, a Committee of Privileges was appointed, and upon His Honor the Speaker reporting to the House His Excellency's Speech it was moved that the Speech from the Throne be taken into consideration the following day. So that this rule had no application to the question before us; it does not bear upon it all. It provides what are to be the proceedings up to the time when His Excellency's Speech is ordered, but there is not a word here about what is to be done after the Governor's Speech is ordered to be discussed on a future occasion, or as to what shall be done on the second day of the Session. The rule of the House of Lords is precisely the same—almost the same language—that at the beginning of the Session, after prayers said, some Bill

pro formâ is to be read; then Her Majesty's Speech is to be reported, and then a committee of privileges it to be appointed. I take this from “Hatsell.” It is a standing rule of the House of Lords, made some time ago, and I suppose that something of the same substance is still in force. There is nothing, therefore, in those rules which my hon. friend has read which prevents any ordinary routine business from being taken up, or any business at all, for that matter, being taken up by the House after those three proceedings have been taken—the presentation of the report by His Honor the Speaker; the presentation of the Bill *pro formâ*, and then doing something or other with the Address—whether it be that the Address is immediately moved, or whether it be that an order is made to take it up on the following day.

Now, what do the writers say on that subject? I think that to some extent the proposition is—and the practice seems to sustain the proposition—that routine business may be gone on with after those preliminary steps have been taken, at any stage of the debate on His Excellency's Speech, whether before or during the debate on the Address. I quote from Bourinot, page 232, which my hon. friend read, in order to show what was considered courteous and what was considered in accordance with precedent and practice in the House:

“It is not deemed courteous to the Crown in the Canadian House to discuss any matter of public policy before considering the Speech.”

Now, how does that affect this case? There was no question of public policy discussed, no question of public policy was proposed to be discussed; there was simply a matter of routine which could not in any way interrupt or retard the discussion of His Excellency's Speech, and it was not within the limits of the rule which my hon. friend read from Bourinot's book. It was not a discussion of any matter of public policy. There was no discussion, and no discussion at all could take place. In the Barthe case there was a discussion going on on a matter of public policy—the repeal of the insolvency law, which applied to the whole Dominion. There, on the suggestion of the Speaker, followed by Sir John Macdonald, the motion was allowed to stand on this ground. But that does not apply to this

case; it has no bearing on it at all, it appears to me. Mr. Bourinot says:

"It is the usual practice in the English Commons to ask questions, move addresses for papers, and to present petitions when the Address is under consideration, and in the Session of 1882, when the debate was prolonged, public Bills were introduced and discussed on the motion for leave before the Address was agreed to."

Now, this is going a great deal further than we went on Friday. While the debate was going on on the Address public Bills were introduced and discussed before the Address was agreed to. I perceive by the Journals of the Commons that several matters of routine were gone into in that House in former Sessions before the adoption of the Address—the appointment of committees, and things of that sort. I take it to be established by what is said in those books, though there is no rule, that any debatable subject being brought up for discussion and discussed, so as to interfere with the proceedings for the purpose of answering His Excellency's Speech, would not be considered courteous. I take that to be the practice, and I do not think that any hon. member who take the trouble to read those authorities will come to any other conclusion.

The principle is that it is not courteous to him to delay answering his Speech, therefore it has not been the practice to bring in matters which require discussion to interrupt the debate, unless, as seems to be the case where the debate is prolonged and it becomes expedient that business should be proceeded with, business has been taken up, and no fault seems to be found in its being done. If, therefore, as I think I have shown, the books which my hon. friend cited contain no rule prohibiting what has been done on this occasion; if, on the contrary, it is recognized plainly as a matter of expediency whether measures shall be proceeded with or delayed, or matters of routine put through while waiting the discussion on His Excellency's Speech, if the introduction of Bills is a matter of routine and right on the part of the members of this House, why should the Senate go back on its steps, retrace what has been done and cancel the introduction of those Bills in some form or other? Would it be right to do that? What would be the inference of it? That we were deliberately, after discussion, resigning a right which we

were perfectly justified in exercising. The act of introducing a Bill *pro forma* is for the purpose of asserting the privilege of the House to do as it pleases in that respect. Its being a Bill *pro forma* is a mere matter of courtesy to the Sovereign, or the representative of the Sovereign, as the case may be, showing the readiness of the House to proceed with the discussion of the subjects mentioned in the Speech. I take it, the substance of the rule is that anything which prevents the House from proceeding with the Address, anything which materially delays or obstructs that being done, would be considered discourteous. That one can perfectly understand, but that the performance of a mere matter of routine can be considered discourteous I entirely deny, and I insist that there is no foundation for such an assertion in any of the authorities that the hon. gentleman has quoted, or any book on the subject that I can find. I repeat, if I had supposed that any hon. gentleman had an objection to this form of proceeding I should not have adopted it, because I do not think the case sufficiently important to justify a discussion of it. There is no occasion for us to be always thrusting our privileges under the eyes of the people, or the Crown; but now that we have done it, I say that the privilege of introducing these Bills in this form is one that might at times be very important indeed. The withdrawal of these Bills from the Notice Paper and from the Journals of the House would be equivalent to an admission that this House had no right to read these Bills the first time; that a member of the Senate had no right to introduce a Bill, and that the House had no right to read it the first time; that it was an excess of their privileges to do so. That admission I am not prepared to make. I think it was entirely within our privilege to introduce these Bills, and that it is a privilege of importance to us, because it might be desirable to introduce measures which would justify any amount of debate as to the propriety of introducing them, rather than they should be delayed until after the adoption of the Address. Therefore, I cannot consent that the records of this House should be so changed as to strike out the entries made in them with respect to these three Bills.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—I take the same view as the hon. member who has just sat down with respect to the question raised by the hon. member from Halifax. Let us look at the reason why the parliamentary practice has been as the hon. gentleman states it: it is that no act of the Senate should be such as would be discourteous to the representative of the Crown. Now, this case is just one in which an adviser of the representative of the Crown makes a motion in the introduction of some of the measures recommended in the Speech from the Throne. He anticipates measures which were recommended, and it cannot be construed as a discourtesy in any way to the representative of the Crown. For these reasons, I think it would be very injudicious and unnecessary in us to retrace our steps. The Bills that were introduced were referred to in the Speech from the Throne. It would be very different indeed for a member, who is not in the position occupied by the leader of the House, to introduce a measure under these circumstances. Therefore, I consider that the introduction of these Bills by one of His Excellency's advisers cannot be construed to be an act of discourtesy to the Crown.

HON. MR. SCOTT—There is no doubt that the universal practice, at least as far as my experience of thirty years goes, has been to limit the proceedings to the introduction of one Bill. Of course, the mere assertion of that right carries with it the right to introduce a dozen Bills, if we so please. It is a mere question of asserting a right. When attention was called to the matter the other day, had the House persisted in pressing the Minister to withdraw the Bills, and he had chosen to do so, it would have been all very well; but I certainly should not agree now to the Bills being withdrawn. It was the exercise of the right of Parliament to introduce these Bills. It was contrary to the usual etiquette, but although I like to adhere to parliamentary rule I am not such a stickler when it comes down to the question of etiquette. It is all very well to observe a practice, and I hope that the practice will not be broken—that this will be regarded rather as an exception—but attention having been called to it once I thought

that was sufficient. I should object to the Bills being withdrawn.

HON. MR. POIRIER—I do not wish to go into the merits of this question, but simply to draw the attention of my hon. friend from Halifax, who has shown himself so conservative as not to allow us to touch the sacred ark of precedent even with a little finger, to this fact, that even in the House of Lords, which is a pretty conservative body, they have not been so careful as that, inasmuch as this very rule of presenting a Bill *pro formâ* is not now, and has not been for some twenty years, followed. They have done away with the practice altogether, and immediately they go on with the consideration of the Address, without even introducing a Bill *pro formâ*. Therefore, I do not see so great an evil or impropriety in touching a precedent when the House of Lords themselves set us the example of interfering with precedent. I may add that the practice of presenting a Bill *pro formâ* was very likely continued because there was no other Bill in readiness; but there is no difference, so far as respect to the Throne is concerned, between a Bill *pro formâ* and real legislation. The position of the two is identical, and as we have not delayed the consideration of the Address, and have only introduced real Bills instead of fictitious Bills, I do not see that such a great breach of the precedents of the House has been committed, since, as I have said, the House of Lords themselves have set the example of doing away altogether with the introduction of a *pro formâ* Bill.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I think the question which is now before us differs very greatly from the position which it occupied when these Bills were introduced. We could then, with great propriety, if we had thought proper to do so, have laid them aside, but having given them a first reading I think all that had been pointed out as to the effects of retrogressive action is undeniable. The position is such that we could not take a step of that kind. It has been abundantly shown that no disrespect was intended or offered to the Crown. When hon. gentlemen remember that it has been constantly pressed upon the Government in this House that they should introduce Bills in the early part of

the Session, and when, for the first time, they have met the wishes of the House by introducing at the earliest possible moment three Government measures, I think it would be a very great pity if objection were taken to the course they have pursued. I do not think we are at all bound by these precedents, even if they exist in all the strength which the hon. gentleman from Halifax is endeavoring to give to them. I think, however, it has been shown very clearly in reply that they are not of that character. I regard it, as the Minister has said, merely as a matter of form—as nothing more than a notice—and the great advantage of giving that notice is that the Bill, having been put in possession of the House, is ready for translation and distribution. There was no intention to take up these measures before the debate on the Address. The very notice that was given that they would be read the second time the day after that fixed for the consideration of the Address shows that there was no intention whatever to interfere with the ordinary procedure, making a reply to the Speech from the Throne the first business to which the House should give its attention. I hold, therefore, that there has been no wrong and no disrespect. As the hon. member from Westmoreland has remarked, there could be no disrespect in the introduction of these Bills by a member of the Government. Had the Bills been introduced by a private member possibly some objection might have been taken. I do not think it would have been a strong one; but these Bills being referred to in the Speech from the Throne, and being introduced by one of His Excellency's advisers, I cannot see any ground for objection. No wrong has been done, and there is no reason why the minutes should be altered. No precedent has been established which is likely to be inconvenient hereafter, inasmuch as no action has taken place, and what has been done has been simply giving notice.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say it is not allowable to discuss a Bill at its first reading?

HON. MR. VIDAL.—I did not say that. I simply said that in this House, when a Bill is introduced and read the first time,

it is merely a notice, on which debates do not arise.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think the hon. gentleman from Halifax has not made out a case. The introduction of a Bill *pro formâ* is the assertion of a right to proceed to business at once, and whether one Bill or more Bills be introduced does not affect the principle. If it is a right we possess there can be no discourtesy to the Crown in the introduction of these Bills. I have been for a long time in Parliament, in the Local Legislature and here, and I am sure that in the Local Legislature we always adopted the same rule of introducing a Bill. I remember in one case it was not a *pro formâ* Bill. I think it was introduced by myself, and there was a discussion upon it. If I mistake not, it was discussed before the debate on the Address was terminated. The introduction of a Bill is the assertion of our right to proceed with the business of the House before the adoption of the Address, and whether the Bill introduced is *pro formâ*, or a measure intended to become law, does not make any difference. There can be no discourtesy to the Crown, and our proceedings have not been contrary to the acknowledged rights of the House.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words, inasmuch as I stand alone on this matter, much to my surprise. Possibly the hon. gentleman from Acadie may be correct in saying that this Bill *pro formâ* is no longer introduced in the House of Lords, but I think I was quite justified in saying what I did, because I find it laid down in May, page 48, that a bill *pro formâ* is introduced in that House, and I find the same statement in Bourinot and in the Standing Orders of the House of Lords. If I was in error as to the practice of the House of Lords I had good reason for the mistake I made. I still do not feel clear that the hon. gentleman is right; because both of the works to which I have referred have been published within the period that he mentioned. The hon. gentleman from Sarnia said that it was very desirable that we should lose no time in the introduction of those measures. Now, if time was a matter of such consequence time would have been gained by adopting the English rule of considering

the Speech from the Throne at once, instead of which we postponed it, for the extraordinary reason given by the leader of the House, that our desks were not in their usual places. Surely the gentlemen who postponed the consideration of the Speech from the Throne on the ground that Senators might feel a little embarrassed in talking without their desks could not be very anxious to push the business of Parliament. Here we are, on the day fixed for the second reading of those Bills, and not one of them is before us. What becomes of the argument of necessary haste? There is nothing in it at all. The hon. leader of the House seems to have misapprehended the reason why I quoted our own rule and the rule of the House of Lords. I did so to show that according to those rules a Bill *pro forma* should be introduced. The expression of that fact seemed to show that it was not the intention that any other Bill should be introduced. I quoted from Bourinot and May clear and unmistakable authority to show that no other Bill should be introduced before the consideration of the Speech from the Throne; and that was the proposition I laid down, that until we had entered into the consideration of His Excellency's Speech it was contrary to uniform practice to deal with any Bill. Two other hon. gentlemen said those Bills were Government measures promised in His Excellency's Speech, and therefore there was no objection to dealing with them. I think the objection to dealing with any Bill is much stronger in the case of the measures mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. His Excellency says that certain Bills will be laid before us. We say in our Address that when those Bills are submitted to us we will give them our respectful consideration. How can we do that when they are already placed before us? The hon. gentleman said that the first reading of those Bills was simply a formal routine proceeding; but any member might have discussed any one of those Bills for any length of time on the first reading; and everyone can see how objectionable it would be that we should be here dealing with measures promised in the Governor's Speech before we had considered the Speech itself. The order for the second reading cannot pass without a motion, and that might be dis-

cussed. Every motion can be discussed, and everyone can see what the inconvenience would be. I was not satisfied with my own opinion about this matter, but I went to Mr. Bourinot, who is recognized, I think, as about the best authority in Ottawa on questions of parliamentary procedure. I stated to him exactly what had taken place, and he told me that the course followed was irregular and contrary to precedent. It is perfectly true that there was originally in both Houses of Parliament the right to deal with any Bill, and that this Bill *pro forma* is intended to vindicate that right; but we have a practice running over more than 200 years—a uniform practice, the other way. I called the hon. gentleman's attention to a resolution passed by the English House of Commons in 1603, which said this one Bill and no more should be introduced. The uniform practice during all this time has been that there shall be only that one Bill, intended to vindicate the right of the House; and then the House, in order to show its respect to the Monarch in the old country and the representative of the Crown here, does not deal with any other Bills until the Speech from the Throne has been dealt with. I can understand that the hon. gentleman has a natural disinclination to withdraw measures which have been already introduced; but inasmuch as they have not been proceeded with, and are not ready to be read the second time, I do not see that any great harm would be done by withdrawing them. The least that should be done would be that the House should declare that the introduction of those Bills the other day should not be drawn into a precedent. I feel I have done my duty as a member of this House in endeavoring to keep its proceedings regular, and if the majority are against me I cannot help it.

HON. MR. POIRIER—As my statement with respect to the practice of the House of Lords has been challenged—

HON. MR. POWER—I did not challenge it.

HON. MR. POIRIER—I wish to state my authority. I find it in Bourinot. There are many things in a book, and when one part is taken and other parts are overlooked the conclusion is not

always right. My authority for the statement I have made will be found at page 224 of Bourinot's work. It is the latest authority, May's work having been published before it.

HON. MR. POWER—The edition of May from which I quoted is that of 1883.

HON. MR. POIRIER—Bourinot's work is as late as 1884. He says:

"The practice in the two Houses with respect to the Address was similar up to 1870, when it was simplified in the Senate in conformity with the latest practice in the House of Lords. It is now only necessary to move the Address directly, without going through the formality of proposing a prior resolution in the House of Commons."

I think that is quite distinct.

HON. MR. POWER.—What has that got to do with the Bill *pro formâ*?

HON. MR. POIRIER—It has this: When the House of Lords deem it necessary they do not hesitate to discontinue an old precedent, and they have done away with that prior Bill altogether.

HON. MR. POWER—I thought that the hon. gentleman was going to show that the bill *pro formâ* had been done away with altogether. Instead of that the hon. member has discovered a mare's nest. The quotation which he has read shows that the House of Lords, instead of first proposing a resolution for an Address, deals with the Address directly.

HON. MR. POIRIER—It shows that they have not followed precedent.

HON. MR. POWER—It has nothing to do with the question before the House.

The Senate adjourned at 4:20 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 6th February, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

PETITIONS FOR PRIVATE BILLS.

MOTION.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the time for presenting petitions for private

Bills, which expires on Saturday, the 9th inst., be extended to Friday, the 1st day of March next.

The motion was agreed to.

THE SESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

MOTION

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the appointment of the sessional committees as they appear on the Notice Paper, omitting the last one (Committee on Divorce).

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I rise to a question of order. Under the 14th Rule of the House the hon. gentleman cannot proceed with his motion, inasmuch as the rule requires a full day to intervene between a notice of motion and the motion itself. I intimated when the notice was given that this difficulty might arise if the question were raised. Believing, as I do, that notice of those committees might as well have been given on the second day of the meeting of Parliament as not, I shall press for the enforcement of the rule.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I dare say my hon. friend is within his right in taking this objection. Of course, I cannot imagine what motive he has for doing it. The rule of the House requires an intervening day between the notice and the motion, but I was in hopes that no objection would be raised, and that we might facilitate business a little by taking this step forward. If my hon. friend insists upon his objection I do not know that I have any power to proceed with the motion.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Unless my hon. friend can give some better reason than he has given I shall insist upon my objection. My hon. friend says he cannot see what motive I have: the motive is that the rule is not complied with, and it is only right that we should abide by the rules of the House. I was in hopes that the hon. gentleman might be able to give some better reason than attributing motives to me for objecting to his motion.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend must not suppose for a moment that I offer any insinuations as to his motive. His motive I suppose to be a good one. I may say that I had a very large number of suggestions offered to me by members of the House respecting the committees,

on Monday, when I intended to give the notice, and those suggestions were so numerous, as to changes on the committees, that I could not then give the notice, but it did not occur to me that there would be any objection to moving them now.

HON. MR. MILLER—What is the objection?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That there should be a complete day's notice.

HON. MR. MILLER—I think the objection is well taken.

HON. MR. HOWLAN—I move the suspension of the 14th Rule.

HON. MR. MILLER—That requires notice also. I do not see what will be lost by allowing the appointment of the committees to stand over until we meet again, if the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg persists in his objection.

THE SPEAKER—The objection by the hon. gentleman is well taken.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—It has been customary in this House not to raise objections on unimportant matters. The very gentleman who has taken this objection and who suggests that the rules should be at all times adhered to is one of the first to violate them. Sometimes he makes two or three speeches on the same motion. It is to our own interest to have the committees appointed without delay. The Votes and Proceedings have been on our desks since morning, and we have had ample time to look over the lists and see whether any changes have been made on the committees. They are practically the same as the committees of last Session.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman says that I am one of the greatest violators of the rules in the House. I would remind the hon. gentleman that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. I do not think any hon. gentleman violates the rules of the House oftener than he does, by reading speeches and long extracts from papers.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I admit it, and that is the very reason I now say that we should not make objections unless there is some important reason.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I presume nothing will be lost by allowing the motion to stand until the next sitting of the House.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (D), "An Act to amend the Railway Act, 1888." (Mr. McCallum).

DELAY IN PRINTING.

The Order of the Day having been called, second reading Bill (A), "To make further provision respecting inquiries concerning Public Matters,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said—I am sorry to say that this Bill and the two that follow on the Orders are not yet before the House. I was informed a couple of hours ago that they were on the way from the printing office here, but they are not yet distributed, and I must ask that the Order be allowed to stand until the 20th inst.

HON. MR. POWER—There is a saying about new brooms sweeping clean, but the new Printing Department does not seem to do its work in accordance with that old saying. I trust that after the adjournment the machinery will have got into better working order than it seems to be at present, for if three short Bills like these cannot be printed in a week's time what are we to expect when the heavy work of the Session begins?

The motion was agreed to and the Orders of the Day were discharged.

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m. until Wednesday, the 20th inst.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 20th February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at eight o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE SESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

MOTION.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Sessional Committees be composed as follows:

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY—SENATE.

Hon. Messrs.

Almon,	MacInnes, (Burlington),
Baillargeon,	Miller,
Bellerose,	Odell,
Botsford,	Poirier,
Boucherville, De,	Power,
Drummond,	Ryan,
Gowan,	Scott,
Haythorne,	Sullivan,
Lacoste,	Trudel,
Macpherson,	Wark.

(Sir David Lewis),

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING—SENATE.

Hon. Messrs.

Casgrain,	Macfarlane,
Dever,	Ogilvie,
Girard,	Perley,
Gowan,	Pelletier,
Guévremont,	Power,
Haythorne,	Read,
Kaulbach,	Turner,
McClelan,	Vidal,
McKindsey,	Wark.
McMillan,	

BANKING AND COMMERCE.

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	Miller,
Archibald,	Odell,
Bellerose,	Paquet,
Botsford,	Price,
Boyd,	Reid,
Carvell,	Robitaille,
Chaffers,	Ross,
Clemow,	Ryan,
Cochrane,	Sanford,
Drummond,	Smith,
Lacoste,	Sullivan,
Lewin,	Thibaudeau,
McCallum,	Trudel,
McMillan,	Turner,
MacInnes (Burlington),	Vidal,
Macdonald (Midland),	Wark.
Macpherson	

(Sir David Lewis),

RAILWAYS, TELEGRAPHS AND HARBORS.

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Alexander,	Montgomery,
Bellerose,	Miller,
Boucherville, De,	O'Donohoe,
Carvell,	Ogilvie,
Clemow,	Perley,
Cochrane,	Power,
Dickey,	Price,
Drummond,	Robitaille,
Hardisty,	Reid,
Kaulbach,	Ryan,
Leonard,	Sanford,
McCallum,	Scott,
McClelan,	Smith,
McDonald (Cape Breton)	Stevens,
McKay,	Sutherland,
McKindsey,	Turner,
Macdonald (B.Columbia),	Vidal.

CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	Macdonald (Midland),
Archibald,	Macfarlane,
Armand,	Macpherson,
Botsford,	(Sir David Lewis),
Chaffers,	Miller,
DeBlois,	Odell,
Drummond,	O'Donohoe,
Flint,	Ogilvie,
Girard,	Paquet,
Grant,	Pelletier,
Howlan,	Perley,
Leonard,	Power,
McClelan,	Read,
McDonald (Cape Breton),	Robitaille,
McInnes (B. Columbia),	Rodier,
McKay,	Ryan,
McKindsey,	Scott,
McMillan,	Smith,
	Stevens.

STANDING ORDERS AND PRIVATE BILLS.

Hon. Messrs.

Almon,	McMillan,
Archibald,	Macdonald (B. Col.),
Armand,	MacFarlane,
Bellerose,	Merner,
Bolduc,	Miller,
Botsford,	Montgomery,
Carvell,	O'Donohoe,
DeBlois,	Ogilvie,
Dever,	Paquet,
Flint,	Pelletier,
Girard,	Poirier,
Glasier,	Power,
Gowan,	Read,
Grant,	Reesor,
Guévremont,	Rodier,
Hardisty,	Ross,
Haythorne,	Scott,
Howlan,	Stevens,
Lacoste,	Sullivan,
McInnes (B. Columbia),	Sutherland,
McKay,	Trudel.

REPORTING DEBATES.

Hon. Messrs.

Bolduc,	Perley,
Boucherville, De,	Power,
Casgrain,	Rodier,
Haythorne,	Ross,
Howlan,	Scott,
McCallum,	Thibaudeau,
Macfarlane,	Trudel,
Merner,	Vidal.

The motion having been called for the appointment of a committee on the restaurant,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: With regard to this committee, I am rather inclined to drop this motion altogether. I do not know that there is any necessity for appointing a standing committee on the restaurant. It would be expedient, I

think, to make it a sub-committee of the Committee on Contingencies. For this reason, and for other reasons which will occur to hon. members, I think it is better not to have this a select committee, and I therefore ask permission to withdraw this motion.

The motion was withdrawn.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING PUBLIC MATTERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved second reading of Bill (A), "An Act to make further provision respecting Inquiries concerning Public Matters." He said: This is a Bill which I am sure will be readily concurred in. A difficulty has arisen in the prosecution of inquiries by commissioners, some witnesses declining to answer questions put to them, on the ground that their answers might criminate or tend to criminate them. The sole object of the Bill is to remove that difficulty, by providing that they shall not be entitled to any privilege of the kind; but making further provision, also, that if the evidence which they give should criminate them they will not be prosecuted in consequence of it, unless they are guilty of perjury.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—To what class of prosecutions does this apply?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Inquiries into public matters. There is a law which authorizes the appointment of commissions for making such inquiries, and the value of these investigations has often been destroyed by the fact of persons, supposed to be implicated in the matters inquired into, having refused to answer, on the ground that they might criminate themselves. This Bill provides that no witness examined before such a commission shall be excused from answering any question put to him on the ground that he might criminate himself, and at the same time, in justice to the witness, it prevents any use being made of his answers to take criminal proceedings against him. The details of the Bill will come up to-morrow, and I shall be happy to receive suggestions when it comes before a Committee of the Whole House.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

CORRUPT PRACTICES IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (B), "An Act respecting Corrupt Practices in Municipal Affairs." He said: This Bill is one which is framed, perhaps not absolutely to supply any want in the common law of the country, but to declare in plain and positive terms what that common law is. I have no doubt that the offences against public order which are defined in this Bill are punishable under the common law of England. If I am right in that respect, the principle has fallen into disuetude; the acts reprobated in this Bill frequently occur, and it has been generally supposed there is no remedy and no punishment for them. The acts to which I refer are acts of corruption by members and officers of municipal councils, and the object of the Bill is to define offences of that description and to provide a punishment for them—that is to say, offences consisting in the reception of corrupt consideration by members of municipal councils for the votes which they give upon measures before them, and offences committed by municipal officers in receiving corrupt consideration for performing any of their duties as such municipal officers, and imposing a punishment for doing so. The law is by no means new. It prevails in the neighboring country, and it is a matter of notoriety that convictions have been obtained there for offences of this description, while in Quebec a law has been passed defining these offences in very much the same way as they are defined here; but naturally, the Province having no jurisdiction—not that necessary kind of jurisdiction over criminal offences—has not been able to constitute those offences a crime and affix to it punishment as for a crime. For the purpose of remedying this difficulty and of placing on the Statute Book a law which defines clearly and plainly, so that no one can mistake or ignore what constitutes a criminal offence in the performance of his duty as a member of a municipal council or as a municipal officer, and providing punishment for offences of that description, this law has been framed and introduced.

The motion was agreed to.

RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day having been called, second reading, Bill (D), to amend "The Railway Act, 1888,"

HON. MR. SCOTT asked that the Order be allowed to stand, as he had not had an opportunity to compare the Bill with the Railway Act.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The object of this Bill is this: the Railway Act provides that in making a drain across a railway track permission to do so must be obtained from the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. Now, that is all very well as far as important works of the kind are concerned, but this Bill only deals with minor drains—that is to say, drains costing not more than \$400. If the work involves a larger cost permission must be had, as now, from the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. Most of the Bill is law now in the Province of Quebec, but of course if the hon. gentleman wishes to let the Order stand until to-morrow I am willing to meet his view. I move that the Order of the Day be discharged, and that it be placed on the Orders for to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 8:30 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 21st February, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (27), "An Act to amend the Weights and Measures Act, Cap. 164, Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (E), "An Act to permit the Conditional Release of First Offenders in certain cases." (Mr. Abbott).

DIVORCE COMMITTEE.

MOTION.

The notice of motion having been called for the appointment of the Select Committee on Divorce,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said—I have received an intimation from Mr. Haythorne, of Prince Edward Island, that it would not be convenient for him to be a member of this committee, and of course if he asks to be excused there is nothing more to be said. The principle on which this committee was composed was that every Province should be represented upon it, but my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island declining to act, and circumstances which I need not detail rendering it impossible to get a member of this committee from Prince Edward Island, I would ask the House to substitute for the name of Mr. Haythorne the name of an hon. member who has always been active and attentive to the question of divorce, the hon. Mr. Kaulbach. With that suggestion, if it be agreed to, I would move that the Divorce Committee consist of Hon. Messrs. Dickey, Gowan, Kaulbach, McClelan, McKindsey, Macdonald (B.C.), Ogilvie, Read, Sutherland.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do not rise to make any objection to acting on that committee, but I decidedly disapprove of the basis on which the committee has been selected. A committee of this kind, before which matters of the gravest importance, severing the sacred tie of matrimony, affecting not only the parties themselves and their families, but society at large—matters requiring the exercise of most careful consideration and deliberation—should be selected entirely apart from any idea of provincialism. The best men should be selected, irrespective of the Provinces which they represent in the Senate. The committee has very important judicial functions to discharge, involving a vast amount of searching enquiry, and its decisions should only be rendered after the exercise of great deliberation, as exercised in courts of law. It is essential, to my mind, that men brought up in the exercise of the legal profession, qualified to elicit and analyze evidence, and apply the principles of law which govern such cases, should be selected to this important committee. I have had long experience on those committees, and also in the framing of the new rules, and have come to the conclusion that members of the medical profession should be appointed. I remember last Session we had

some serious cases, one in particular—the White case—and if it had not been that one of the members of the committee was a medical man, we would have experienced great difficulty, because some of the questions had to be approached with a great deal of delicacy. There were questions put to one of the witnesses which almost paralyzed some of the members, but which had to be asked, the witness not being disposed to answer. If it had not been for the presence of medical men on that committee I believe we would have failed to elicit the evidence as thoroughly as we did. I remember my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Almon) saying that the evidence was given in such a gross manner that it shocked even him, and he thought the questions were put in an unscientific manner to elicit such replies. As this is a matter of great importance, involving the investigation of difficult and delicate questions, it differs from all other committees, and it seems to me that it is quite immaterial whether all the Provinces are represented upon it, so long as we secure the services of the best qualified members of the Senate. We should know nothing of provincialism in this House. I can understand why it should have some influence in the selection of the other committees, where the members are minutely acquainted with questions affecting the interests of their constituents, and therefore the selections should be made with a view to giving representation to every section of the Dominion; but in this matter we are dealing, not with local subjects, but with matters of a judicial character. It is, and will be at all times, unsatisfactory to consider these cases of a judicial character by legislative process and proceedings, and, as some would have it, bound by no precedents. The decisions cannot possibly be uniform, but since we are obliged to deal with them we should have a committee selected independent of provincialism altogether. The courts of justice—even the Supreme Court, the highest court in the land—are not representative of the Provinces, with the exception of the Province of Quebec, which, owing to its code of laws, requires special representation. The Government have said with regard to the other members of the Supreme Court that it is not

necessary that they should come from several Provinces, although they have been taken, thus far, from the great divisions of Canada. The Government have further told us in this House that it is not necessary in the selection of members in the Cabinet that every Province should be represented—that the best men, who command, by their ability and their public career, the confidence of the people, should be selected. Therefore, when my hon. friend has come to this determination that, in the appointment of this committee, affecting sacred rights, the public morals and interests of society, provincial representation should be recognized, he, by that means, destroys chances of securing the most essential qualification—that the best men for the purpose should be got. At present we have no basis at all for divorce proceeding; we have no basis on which a petition for divorce should be brought. Last Session, when my hon. friend, the leader of the Government here, closed a debate on a divorce case with greater ingenuity and force, and I must say temerity, than he would have exercised if he had not closed the argument, he declared that we were paramount to all law and precedent—that we could ignore the established mode of procedure and decisions of the past, and set ourselves in opposition to the decisions of the Quebec courts on the same issues and evidence with which we have been dealing—that we should disregard all that, and form our opinion on our own best judgment and discretion. That is the position that my hon. friend took; and, therefore, I am not so much surprised that in the appointment of a committee of this kind he does not consider it essential that the selection should be made with any view to the judicial decisions to be arrived at. My hon. friend went so far—he and the hon. member from Barrie (Mr. Gowan)—as to say that we were far in advance of England as regards the rights of women and preserving the dignity of womanhood and their essential position in society. He went back so far as to show that in the past divorce decisions in England men were permitted with impunity to use physical violence to their wives and keep concubines in their houses. He might as well have gone back to a time when what we now consider petty larceny

and simple misdemeanors were capital offences. Still, it must be remembered that we owe our legislation to the laws of England; and in the mother country, both in the House of Lords and in the divorce courts they have been careful, in dealing with these cases, to be governed by precedent. Divorce has been allowed in England on the same principle that applies to separations in the Province of Quebec. I have been told heretofore that I am opposed to divorce. So far I am opposed to it, and I have acted strictly, as I believe, in accordance with principle. I believe that we should have certain rules to guide us—that we should not be a law unto ourselves, and defy precedents and the authority of law and of legal principles. We should certainly have some rule to guide us, some basis on which we should act in all cases. According to our present system you could bring in a Bill asking for divorce for any cause you please, even to incompatibility of temper. There is no principle on which you could throw out such a Bill on its introduction, no basis for deciding against it, if my hon. friend's contention is right. If we must have these divorce cases in the Senate we must, to do justice and equity, exercise the functions of a court, to which it should have been relegated long ago. Let us understand that we are to be governed by certain fixed principles, and will not permit laxity in granting divorces, which could not fail to have a most demoralizing effect upon the country. Every one is supposed to know the law and to be governed by it, yet we come here and say that we exercise the paramount power of Parliament, that we are superior to the law, that we are legislators, and that our opinions, our wisdom and discretion are paramount. I say our power should be exercised on known and intelligent principles. If people can come here under the impression that they can rely upon their influence with members of Parliament, bound by no principles or precedents, to get a divorce, it will lead to a great deal of laxity, and we will be inundated with petitions. If we must deal with divorce here I shall endeavor to do my duty, as I have always done, in the state of life to which God has called me. I know my infirmities—perhaps not all of them—I cannot see myself as others

see me, but whatever I undertake to do I try to do to the best of my ability. I have no objection to acting on the divorce committee, conscious, as I am, I have self-esteem enough to believe that the interests of morality and of society and the rights of all parties will not be injured by having me on the committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am glad to hear the conclusion of my hon. friend's speech, because I was beginning to fear that he was opposing the motion I had made to place him on the committee. It flatters me, also, I would like to say to the House, to find that the hon. gentleman remembers so well all the doctrines which he says I advocated last Session on the subject of divorce. Though I am not on this committee, I do not think that has much to do with the question, but since, from the conclusion of my hon. friend's speech, it appears that he is willing to act on the committee, of course I am glad to see that he agrees with the nomination I have made, although he may not have agreed altogether with the basis on which the selections are made. I am happy to see him on the committee, and the committee, I think, may be pleased to hear from my hon. friend such a distinct enunciation of the course he intends to pursue in dealing with the subject of divorce. It is a good thing to know beforehand what may be expected, and my hon. friend has given us a very good exposition of his views on divorce. As to the idea of provincialism in the formation of the committee, the principle adopted was not intended to be irrefragable, and to apply, under all circumstances, whatever might be the merits of the parties. This subject of divorce may be brought up in respect of a resident of any one Province of the Dominion; and, other things being equal, it appeared to me a fair and reasonable proposition that the committee should be framed so as to represent all the Provinces. I laid down no principle about it; I advocated no provincialism; I recognized the general principle that, so far as practicable, all the Provinces of the Dominion should be represented on every committee, provided always, of course, the hon. members are suitable for the purpose, which I fancy every hon. member of the House is for any committee. That being admitted,

I have never heard objections raised to any committee because it represented all the Provinces of the Dominion. Now, in this instance my hon. friend has not said a word against any member of the committee. He is apparently perfectly satisfied with the committee, and I think the House is satisfied, yet, if my hon. friend's ideas were carried to the extreme which he advocates we would be obliged to strike the names of good members from this committee. The hon. gentleman is not appointed because he belongs to a certain Province, but because he would take a useful and intelligent part in the proceedings of the committee, but if it happens that there are such men in every Province, as I know there are, it is desirable, *cæteris paribus*, that every Province should be represented. That is the object of the mode of selection in suggesting to the House the appointment of this committee, and I am happy to know that my hon. friend, though he is an exception, will prove a member who will be of great advantage to the House.

The motion was agreed to.

INQUIRIES CONCERNING PUBLIC MATTERS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (A), "An Act to make further provisions respecting inquiries concerning Public Matters".

In the committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I explained yesterday the general purport of this small Bill. The original Act provides for the making of inquiries under a commission by the Governor in Council, and it is provided there that the commissioners shall have power, under the second section, to enforce the attendance of witnesses and to compel them to give evidence, but no such witness shall be obliged to give an answer which would render him liable to prosecution. It is for the purpose of remedying a difficulty that has arisen out of that section that this Bill is introduced. By it, that section 2 is repealed, and the two clauses which are before the House are proposed to be substituted. Clause 2 is simply a repetition of section 2 of the old Act, and section 3 removes the claim which a witness may make of privilege in answering

questions which might criminate him. That is done in the usual way, by providing that no evidence so taken shall be admissible against him in criminal proceedings. It is of frequent occurrence in our legislation that witnesses are obliged to answer questions which might criminate them, but in such cases they are relieved from the consequences of giving such evidence.

HON. MR. MONTGOMERY, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Bill be now read the third time.

HON. MR. ALMON—Under the Canada Temperance Act a man who is brought before a magistrate may be asked if he has been fined before; he is obliged to answer, and if he says "yes" he is punished. That is one of the outrages which that Canada Temperance Act permits. It grates very much on the feelings of people of the 19th century, and I trust that this Bill will remove one of those very objectionable clauses from the Canada Temperance Act.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I will inform my hon. friend that this Bill applies only to the process of inquiry by commission under a particular statute in public matters. It does not apply to trials of that description.

HON. MR. ALMON—I am very sorry that it has not a wider scope.

HON. MR. VIDAL—The amendment of last year does away with the objection to which my hon. friend refers.

HON. MR. ALMON—It did away with the section which compelled a woman to give evidence against her husband, but if I am correctly informed it does not remove the objectionable section to which I have referred.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time and passed.

CORRUPT PRACTICES IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (B), "An Act

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

respecting Corrupt Practices in Municipal Affairs."

In the committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT said—I have no doubt that hon. gentlemen perfectly understand the principle on which this Bill is framed, and the only question now needful is to see that it is in proper shape.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Is the Bill taken from any special legislation in England on this subject?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am not aware of any special legislation on the subject, but I have been informed, when inquiring as to how that fact stood, that under the common law of England these offences, or nearly all of them, are indictable, without the necessity for any special enactment. In fact, I understand it to be the opinion of lawyers here that these offences are indictable at common law; but it was thought advisable to endeavor to define them as nearly as possible and place them on the Statute Book, as we have placed on the Statute Book the definition of nearly all other crimes against public order.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Do you know if there is any such legislation in force in New York State?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand that there is an Act of the Province of Quebec which deals with the subject, but in Quebec they have not the power to constitute an offence of this kind a crime and to punish it as a crime; and therefore it was thought best to repeat the enactment here, and make the offence a crime. The language of this Bill is not exactly the same as the Quebec Act, but a good deal of care has been taken to make the language fit the crime, and the punishment also.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

BILLS OF LADING BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (C), "An Act relating to Bills of Lading." He said: The preamble

of this Bill states very clearly what its object is. Questions arise, sometimes, as to how far the consignee of goods mentioned in a bill of lading can enforce the rights of the shipper as respects those goods, and such questions have arisen in other countries, and in our own also. There is another difficulty which sometimes arises since bills of lading have been assimilated to negotiable paper—that is, that bills of lading have been signed, purporting to evidence the receipt of goods on board the ship, but in reality the goods have not been shipped. These bills passing into the hands of a third holder for value should, of course, give him a remedy against somebody. The courts have invariably held that although the master or other agent of the ship, and the agent of a railway company or other carrier, is authorized to sign a bill of lading or a receipt for the goods which he actually receives, he has no such authority in respect of goods which he does not receive; and very-serious difficulties have arisen on that point. It is to remedy, to a certain extent, these difficulties that a statute was passed in England some years ago, and has ever since been the law of that country; and the present law is almost, in so many words, a copy of the English law. It varies only in one expression, which I think is entirely in accordance with the principle of the Bill. The Imperial statute is 18 and 19 Vic., cap. 111. For my part, personally, I would be disposed to go further than this Bill does, and insist that the ship owner or railway company having appointed a person to sign receipts to become negotiable should become responsible for his acts; but that subject has been very largely and very able discussed, and the consensus of opinion seems to be that that would be going too far, and therefore it has not been embodied in this Bill. As it stands, I move that the Bill be read the second time.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I would ask my hon. friend whether this Bill affects in any way the rights of the vendor or shipper?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; there is an express clause that applies to that. The second clause of the Act has been framed expressly to save such rights:

Nothing in this Act contained shall prejudice or affect any right of stoppage *in transitu*, or any right of an unpaid vendor under the civil code of Lower Canada, or any right to claim freight against the original shipper or owner, or any liability of the consignee or endorsee, by reason or in consequence of his being such consignee or endorsee, or of his receipt of the goods by reason or in consequence of such consignment or endorsement.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am very glad of this clause, because there has been a conflict of authority on this question, and a great variety of decisions in the courts, whether the property of the goods should be in the hands of the consignee or the parties to whom the articles have been endorsed, and yet a right under that contract cannot be enforced by him, but must be by the original parties to the bill of lading. It seemed to be an inconsistency, and in my practice I fell into that error in bringing an action on the contract against the consignee, and found I could not succeed.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive, on examining the Bill closely, that the decision will remain with the tribunals of the different Provinces.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I feel a good deal of hesitancy in recognizing Bills of this nature, unless especial necessity for them exists. We all know the law relating to bills of lading is one that has arisen out of the necessities of merchants, and the decisions of courts are based on well known principles, that have been guides in the past, and I would like if my hon. friend would point out, if possible, where any defect has been observed in the Act relating to bills of lading? I do not remember myself that there has been before the courts any special case to show any necessity for this Bill. So far as the difficulties are concerned, I am not myself aware that they conflict with the laws of the Province with which I am most familiar—the Province of Ontario—and if my hon. friend is aware that the necessity for such an Act exists we should be glad to hear it. If the decisions of the courts have shown the necessity for legislation of this kind I can quite recognize the propriety of its being introduced, but I have always a fear of disturbing the well understood principles that govern those cases, by special legislation. I know that often when the courts come to interpret

our new Acts, they find the meaning of the words is something different from what former decisions would lead us to believe they are. I think it would help us very materially if it were known that this special legislation was based on any actual necessity—that the law, as it exists, is a failure in any one of the Provinces.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Minister of Justice, I understand, had his attention called to the defect in the law which this Bill proposes to remedy, by reports of cases which have occurred in other Provinces of the Dominion.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Not in Ontario.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I cannot inform my hon. friend in what Province, but he has had his attention brought to it several times, and has fallen in with similar cases in his own practice. In the Province of Quebec I can state that on two occasions, in my own practice, I had occasion to study this question, and it was in course of those proceedings that I formed the opinion I hold, that in reality the carriers should be held liable as well as the parties who signed the bill of lading. There are two cases, to my own knowledge—one a large shipment of flour, and another a large shipment of cattle, which were made the vehicles for the defrauding of banks, and the parties were left without any remedy whatever.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Then the master should have been indicted for fraud.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. McCALLUM moved the second reading of Bill (D), "An Act to amend the Railway Act." He said: The object of introducing this Bill is to make it more convenient and less expensive for land owners to cross railways, when they want to drain their lands, than is provided by the Railway Act of last Session. The Bill is a very short one, and as it has been before the House for some days I do not know that it is necessary for me to say much more about it, until it is before the Committee of the Whole, when I will explain it clause by clause.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The subject matter of this Bill has in the past been dealt with usually as a Government measure. The Railway Act, from time to time, as amended, and improved no doubt, and codified, has contained provisions giving authority to a particular tribunal to deal with questions which this Bill now proposes to place before another tribunal. Under the Railway Act the powers that are now proposed to be conferred upon municipal councils are allotted to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. It is changing the authority from the Railway Committee of the Privy Council to an ordinary township council. Under the Railway Act passed last Session one of the special duties of the Railway Committee is to enquire into, hear and determine any application, complaint or dispute respecting a variety of matters, and among those matters is the one that is now the subject of this Bill, under the 14th section, which it is proposed practically to repeal by this Bill.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Not to repeal it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—This Bill practically repeals it, so far as the case of any work under \$400 is concerned. Section 2 provides that on application of a municipal council those portions of drains and ditches crossing railway lands are to be built by the company if under \$400 in estimated cost. Now, it has always been felt necessary that the Railway Committee should have those large powers in reference to an important class of cases, this being one of the number, not so much because disputes arise between municipalities and railway companies, but because the public are largely interested.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The railway company do the work always.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The existing law officially provides that it shall be done by an official appointed by the Railway Committee.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—My Bill provides that the railway company shall do it themselves.

HON. MR. SCOTT—We all know that any disturbance of the railway tracks by

the introduction of culverts, openings in embankments, ditches crossing railway beds, &c., are just so many more elements of danger to the public. And if a municipality is to have the right to put in a culvert or pierce an embankment wherever they chose, no matter what opposition the railway company may offer, then I think we will have added materially to the dangers of railway travel. It is well known that railway ditches drain certain sections of the country, and that the railway companies, in their own interest, make culverts wherever necessary. They must lead off the water and find a sufficient discharge for it, so that it will not be a source of danger to their embankments in the spring, or in times of freshets, and I think it would be a very grave mistake to place the authority in the hands of a township council, to imperil a railway embankment at any point they chose to direct that a culvert shall be made. I have myself had considerable experience in respect of questions arising between municipalities and railway companies. Fortunately, wherever a point of difference arose, where it was fairly claimed that the company ought to drain off the water from the adjoining lands, I do not know of a single instance where an appeal has gone to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. Now, the hon. gentleman proposes that all over the Dominion this important jurisdiction shall be changed from the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, which is the safeguard that the public have, and given to the township councils. I don't think Parliament will sanction any such change. I think myself it would be exceedingly unwise and exceedingly dangerous. The hon. gentleman who has introduced this Bill comes from a Province where municipal councils are granted very much larger powers than in any other portion of this Dominion. Where municipal law has been refined to the greatest degree that it is safe to carry it, and where township councils have very large powers under the Railway Act of Ontario, no such power is given to township councils. There is in the Railway Act of Ontario an authority that directs how this work shall be done, and that authority in the very Act that

he would seek to change and amend, the Act to provide for the crossing of railways by streets, drains, water-mains, &c. Now, the Legislature of Ontario, governed as it is by a body of men educated in municipal councils, felt it was not safe in all cases to entrust those township councils with so important a matter as the right to penetrate a railway embankment wherever they think proper, and they provide that the Commissioner of Public Works shall be the tribunal to stand just in the position that the Railway Committee of the Privy Council stand with reference to those railway Acts that are under the purview of the Parliament of Canada. That Act gives large powers for the making of ditches and crossing of railways, but it directs that unless the railway company and the municipality agree that the special matter shall be referred to the Commissioner of Public Works. He is the authority. I do think it would be carrying the principle entirely too far to change the management and control and sovereignty, over so important a matter as that, from the Railway Committee of the Privy Council to municipal councils. It is very well known that in those cases the Railway Committee properly favor the municipality. The expense, as rule, is placed upon the railway company. There are no costs attending the application to the Railway Committee. The application may be made by letter. The Railway Committee do not require a municipal council to be represented in any way before them. They take cognizance of all documents that come before them, and send their own official to the spot in dispute, without any expense to the municipality, and then they decide fairly and equitably what proportion of the expense shall be borne by the company and what by the municipality. Nothing can be fairer than that. The hon. gentleman may have some grievance in his own locality, but I think before seeking so radical a change, one in which the interest of the public is so largely involved, he ought to endeavor to meet the case by the mode pointed out by the statute. I am not myself aware, although I have had considerable experience in connection with railway litigation, of a single case that has been necessary to go

to the council with, because the railway companies ought and do endeavor to meet the wishes of municipalities. Sometimes an unreasonable demand will be made where an element of danger will be created, and there it is very properly resisted. It is for the railway to say whether the work ought to be carried on in the way the municipality desires or not. I wish to call the attention of the Government to the subject matter of this Bill, as it is one under their control, and ought not to be introduced by any private member.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think there is something in the last clause of this Bill which says that the mode of arbitration and procedure shall be the same as that under the Railway Act; therefore, as far as that goes, the railway company would not be put to any inconvenience when the same rule is applied as in any ordinary case, and an order is given by the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. It seems to me to be pretty hard for gentlemen who want to have their lands drained to be at the expense, delay and trouble of applying to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. There should be no danger. The public should be protected, and when we consider that by this Act it is not intended that the municipality shall touch the property of the railway—

HON. MR. SCOTT—Yes; of course, it is crossing the railway.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—But the work is to be done by the railway company; the parties wishing to drain cannot touch the railway property at all; culverts, ditches and drains must be made entirely by the company, and they certainly can make all those improvements required to drain a man's land without danger to life or to property. Looking at the Bill now, I see that one of the great objections raised by my hon. friend has failed, as it is entirely in the hands of the railway company to do the work, and the owners of the soil cannot interfere with the road-bed at all. For men who wish to have their land drained, which is a very important matter in this country, to be obliged in all instances to go to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council is

HON. MR. SCOTT.

not in the interests of land owners or agriculturists of the Dominion. I cannot see where it will endanger the public or endanger the property of the railways when railway companies are required to make those improvements by their own officers. Therefore, I think my hon. friend's Bill might be allowed to go to the Committee on Railways to be discussed there in detail.

HON. MR. SCOTT—My hon. friend did not catch my point. It is not a question of expense or drainage, but it gives the municipality the right to say that a railway embankment shall be pierced at a particular point. The railway engineer says: "We cannot do it safely there; it is an element of danger to our road." The question of expense does not come in. My hon. friend does not catch the point at all. It is that the construction of a culvert across a railway shall be left to a township council. I do not think a township council should be entrusted with so much power. When a dispute arises between a municipality and a railway company as to the place at which a ditch shall cross the railway the Railway Committee of the Privy Council is the only proper tribunal, because they will send an official of their own to say where this drain ought to be. It is simply a question to decide where the safest and best point for the crossing is to be made.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Of course, I may be permitted to explain this a little further. My hon. friend from Ottawa cannot have considered the Bill, or he would not look at it as he does. I believe that the Act of last Session is conceded by all parties, and even by the hon. leader of this House, as being too stringent, and the hon. gentleman said last year that he would give his attention this Session towards making it more favorable to the interests of the people. It is on record in his speech here. If a man at Vancouver or down at Cape Breton wants to get a drain through his farm and across a railway he has to come before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council before he can get permission to do it. If the railway companies are allowed to go on in this way they will next be telling us what crop we should sow on our farms

and how to till them. The hon. gentleman from Ottawa says that this Bill will be dangerous to railways. As far as draining across railways is concerned, this Bill provides that the railway companies shall do the work themselves; for I am opposed, and have always been opposed, to having anyone interfering with railway property but the railway company themselves. What I am asking for in this Bill has been the law in Lower Canada since 1859. If it has been a good law for Lower Canada all this time, certainly it cannot be very bad for the other Provinces of the Dominion. The first clause of the Bill is taken from the Railway Act, which has not been repealed by the Revised Statutes of Canada. This has been the law in Quebec, yet my hon. friend from Ottawa gets up here to-day and says he would compel every farmer who wants to drain his land to come before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. Under the provisions of this Bill the Railway Company will do the work in all cases, and if there is a dispute as to who shall pay for the work it shall be decided by arbitration. There is nothing unreasonable about that. If the amount exceeds \$400, and it is an important work, the parties have to come before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, as at present; so it is only dealing with minor drains. Then, after the company makes the drain the amount for which the owner of the property is liable stands as a judgment against the land. The railway company is protected in every way, more so, even, than the law of Lower Canada. My hon. friend ought to be liberal enough to allow the Bill to go before the committee, where I could explain it in detail.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend who has last spoken is quite right in saying that I sympathise with the object of this Bill. I think, as I said last year, the clause inserted in the Railway Act of last Session is in some respects too stringent, and that there should be a remedy devised that would prevent the farmer or local proprietor from being injured in respect of his drainage by the construction of the railway. I have risen now, not for the purpose of opposing the second reading of the Bill as it stands, but merely to call the attention of the

members of the House, who are members of the committee, to the fact that there are two or three points in this Bill which I think go too far. The committee will require to look at them, and put them in a more equitable shape, not only out of consideration for the railway companies but out of consideration for the public. Both of these objects, I think, will have to be considered in the Railway Committee. My hon. friend says that his Bill is the same as the Lower Canada Act. With regard to the first clause of this Bill, it is similar to the Act of Lower Canada, but it makes one or two rather striking alterations. It enables the local municipal council to make the law as to the amount of damages which the company may have to pay if anything is wrong.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Before a court.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The words are: "shall be subject to any regulations as to damages." The word "damages" is inserted here. This would give authority to local municipal councils to make the law as to damages. In other respects the old law of Lower Canada is not unfair. But there are two points in the other two clauses which are not taken from the law of Lower Canada; they are entirely new. Firstly, the Bill says that if a drain is to be made across a railway it shall be competent for the council to send a provincial land surveyor, who shall decide where the crossing of the railway is to be made, and who shall make plans and specifications as to the mode in which it is to be done. I think my hon. friend goes too far there. I do not think many provincial land surveyors are competent to decide where would be a safe place to make a tunnel under a railway. I think my hon. friend will have to reconsider that, to some extent; and further than that, this local land surveyor has the duty imposed upon him of estimating how much the tunnel will cost. If, according to the estimate, the tunnel will cost only \$400 or less, the railway company have got to do it, and not only have got to do it (because if they were left to do it in their own way, no doubt they would do it safely), but they are to be subject to his plans and specifications; so, if he decides to make a wooden culvert

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

under a railway, such as the first train passing over it will crush in, the company are bound to do it in that way, or do all that is necessary at their own expense. Because my hon. friend will see that by that clause it is the estimate of the local land surveyor that the local municipality is governed by. He might prescribe a work requiring an expenditure of thousands of dollars to make it safe, and estimate the price at \$400; the municipality would pay \$200, and the railway company would have to pay the balance, whatever it might be. I know that my hon. friend does not wish to do injustice, and that he wishes to have the Bill put in reasonable shape, so that it will be just to all parties. I would therefore suggest that it be referred to the Railway Committee.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It is not a private Bill.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I want it before a Committee of the Whole House; I want the discussion on the Bill to go into our *Debates*, so that the people of this country will know who is in favor of giving them justice and who is not, if it comes to that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think that the subject requires consideration. If there are merely verbal alterations to be made in the Bill they can be made a great deal better in the Railway Committee. The measure will then have to come before the House on the report of the Railway Committee, and the whole matter can be discussed. If the Railway Committee strikes out anything which my hon. friend thinks ought to be in the Bill he can move to have it restored.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I am in your hands, of course.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not want to dictate to my hon. friend. I want to help him to make a fair Bill; and I think we shall get a better Bill by sending it to the Railway Committee first.

HON. MR. SCOTT—This is not a private bill, and if it goes to the Railway Committee it must be by special vote. The subject matter with which he deals in four clauses, which are not very long, requires eight pages in the Ontario Act.

HON. MR. CLEWOW—It shows the superiority of his legislation.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

HON. MR. McCALLUM moved that the Bill be referred to the Committee of Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 4.45.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 22nd February, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS.

HON. MR. GOWAN, from the Select Committee on Divorce, presented their first report upon the petition of William Henry Middleton.

The same was read by the Clerk.

HON. MR. MILLER—Is this the case on which there was a special report last Session?

HON. MR. GOWAN—Yes.

HON. MR. MILLER—Are these proceedings in accordance with that report?

HON. MR. GOWAN—Yes; entirely. I move the adoption of the report.

The motion was agreed to on a division.

HON. MR. GOWAN presented the second report of the Committee on Divorce on the petition of William Gordon Lowry.

The same was read in English at the table.

The Second Assistant Clerk proceeded to read the report in French.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE and others—Dispense!

HON. MR. GIRARD—I do not understand English very well, and I would like to know what this report contains. I do

not want to vote upon it without understanding the subject before the House.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—The reason why I called "dispense" was, that we do not meddle with these questions of divorce, and I thought it was imposing upon the House to take so much time in having the report read in both languages.

HON. MR. GIRARD—It is very true that we generally are opposed to divorce, but on some occasions we are called upon to vote on these questions, and I, for one, would like to know what I am voting on. In view of the duties we have to perform here I think I am only doing what is right in asking to be informed on what is going on, even in matters of divorce.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE.—At the time we asked for a translator in the House the hon. gentleman seemed so indifferent that I supposed he thought we might as well have everything in English in the Senate.

THE SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman is entitled to have the report read in French.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—No doubt.

The report was then read in French, and adopted.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—I would suggest, at the beginning of the Session, that we should continue to follow the usage in those matters, and adopt all these reports connected with divorce proceedings on a division.

HON. MR. GOWAN presented the third report of the Committee on Divorce on the petition of Bennett Rosamond, and moved its adoption.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. GOWAN presented the fourth report of the Committee on Divorce on the petition of Arthur Wand, and moved its adoption.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. GOWAN presented the fifth report of the Committee on Divorce on the petition of George McDonald Bagwell, and moved its adoption.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (F), "An Act for the Relief of William Henry Middleton." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (G), "An Act for the Relief of William Gordon Lowry." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (H), "An Act for the Relief of Bennett Rosamond." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (I), "An Act for the Relief of Arthur Wand." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (J), "An Act for the Relief of George McDonald Bagwell." (Mr. Turner).

GENERAL FEE FUND OF THE SENATE.

MOTION.

THE SPEAKER read a letter from the Clerk of the Senate, transmitting a letter from the Auditor-General, respecting the general fee fund of the Senate.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand the question which is raised by this correspondence is whether or no the fees and revenues, as they may be called, of this House are to be retained, disposed of and dispensed by this House, or whether they are to be paid in, along with other revenues of the Dominion, to the Receiver-General. The Auditor-General contends that under the statute it is necessary that these moneys should be paid into the Department of the Receiver-General. The subject is one which, I think, requires some consideration, and therefore I would move that this correspondence be referred to the Committee on Contingencies, for the purpose of being considered and reported on to this House.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 4 o'clock.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 25th February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

GRAND JURY SYSTEM.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. GOWAN rose to call the attention of the House to the supposed uses, and to the actual working of the Grand Jury system, in connection

with criminal procedure in the several courts of Canada. Also, to the value and importance of the Ontario County Crown Attorney system in the same connection, and ask if the Government has had under consideration the propriety of submitting a measure to Parliament for the abolition of grand juries, and substituting for them some general system of public prosecutors similar to that which exists in Scotland, or whether the Government has under consideration the desirability of extending the benefits of the County Crown Attorney system, in connection with criminal procedure, to all the Provinces in the Dominion?

He said: I quite admit the difficulties in doing away with a long established legal institution—the full consideration necessary before acting. The Grand Jury system in England has existed for ages, and has certainly so far survived. It has been vigorously assailed, but notwithstanding the many changes in criminal procedure it exists; but other usages and laws which existed for centuries have been swept away, both here and in the mother country, and the public gain thereby was soon clearly recognized. The day has gone by when the cunning work and devices of remote ages are held sacred, merely because it is old, and the worship of legal idols, especially, has in modern days been brought to the test—the common sense test of utility and fitness. Change merely for change sake is always objectionable, but cautious, gradual, permanent reform, based on experience, and for the love of excellence, must commend itself to every thinking man.

Some forty-six years ago I entered on judicial life with something of the feeling that "all things are good when old," and I look back on nearly forty-one years of continuous judicial service with opportunity for seeing the actual working of the Grand Jury system, during that time having had occasion to meet these bodies rarely less frequently than four times in the year—sometimes as many as six or seven. I may be excused this reference to myself, my object being to show I am able to speak from ample opportunities for observing. What hon. gentlemen may think of my conclusions I know not. I will only say they have not been hastily formed.

My impressions gradually settled down into the conviction that the Grand Jury had survived its usefulness, and a study of the Scotch Public Prosecutor system, which has worked well and satisfactorily

for centuries, confirmed that view, and suggested the advantage of applying it, in modified form at least, to criminal procedure in Canada; for I quite agree in an observation made by the learned Chief Justice of Ontario, made to a Grand Jury in 1880, that "it is quite impossible to dispense with the institution until some very careful substitute is found." I submit, however, we have an admirable model in Scotland, one long tried and thoroughly tested, and if the wisdom of a scheme is to be measured by its successful working, that of public prosecutors in North Britain commends itself for imitation and adoption.

Hon. gentlemen will know that the main and primary function and duty of our Grand Jury is, in effect, to determine whether the magistrate, stipendiary or ordinary, who has committed a prisoner to gaol on a criminal charge after hearing the evidence against him, had any justification for subjecting the prisoner to trial—whether, in fact, the committing justice had or had not perverted his duty and committed a prisoner for trial upon a charge unsupported even by *prima facie* testimony.

Stipendiary magistrates, in Ontario, at all events, are able and experienced lawyers. The ordinary justice of the peace may not always be fully up to the mark, but each and all constitute tribunals competent to commit an alleged offender to gaol to await his trial, and we must suppose the appointing power (wherever it may reside) takes care that such tribunals are competent and disposed to discharge their duties aright. There is, at all events, action in the light, and individual responsibility—and rightly so, for it may be four or five months before a Grand Jury can pass upon the case of a prisoner committed for trial.

What is to be said touching the functions and operations of the Grand Jury which constitutes this tribunal of review upon the findings of the subordinate Ministers of Justice, often men of large experience in their duties, who work openly under a sense of personal responsibility, and whose oath of office requires them to do equal justice to the rich and the poor—"Justice to the citizen and the stranger demanding it as accuser or accused."

Few are intimate with the actual working of the Grand Jury system, so that its defects and the evils connected with it

rarely attract public attention. My purpose will be served in referring briefly to some of what I regard as inherent and insuperable evils of this accusing power.

The institution of the Grand Jury dates back to the earliest period of English history, its purpose being to enquire into criminal charges and offences supposed to be committed in the locality, and of returning unto the court to which it is summoned its delivery thereon. Always a clumsy means of certifying cases for trial, it has degenerated into "little better than a sham." It is in several respects mischievous in its tendency, and certainly is out of harmony with the genius and spirit of our system of criminal jurisprudence.

One of its worst features is its secret and practically irresponsible character, every member of the body being sworn to secrecy before he is admitted to act. The best guarantee of civil liberty—the open administration of justice—is wanting, and publicity, the very essence of confidence in judicial proceedings—the greatest security for good conduct—is strictly guarded against. A secret tribunal of this kind, where a majority decides, is practically irresponsible, and may be made to serve as a block to a proper prosecution—a screen for an offender who has been sent up for trial by a magistrate after an open enquiry.

In all my experience I am not aware of any case in which it has served as a bar to an unfounded prosecution, wherein the sole agency of a responsible Crown prosecutor would not have accomplished the same thing. But I am strongly of opinion that bills have been ignored and charges suppressed that in the interest of justice, and indeed in the interest of the person charged, if innocent, had better been disposed of by public, open trial. There are temptations to covert approach and tampering with such a body; and it has been said, I fear not without ground, that the recommendations of individual jurors from the neighborhood, strongly imbued with local or other prejudices, have prevailed against evidence. Possibly the advice and assistance of the Crown counsel may frequently serve to overcome this, but even in this there is a danger (I mean the free access of Crown counsel to the jury for advice and assistance), for a

passive jury may become the mere conduct pipes for giving expression to the convictions of the Crown counsel, without any responsibility attaching to him. His advice may be good, but in finding a bill or no bill on the evidence before them the jury are alone seen and responsible. The Crown counsel has certainly opportunity, as I have said, for presenting his views, for which, from the secret character of the tribunal, he is in no way amenable.

Then the Grand Jury is a changing body—those from time to time composing it being men not accustomed to the examination of witnesses or the investigation of facts. How easy for a partial or unwilling witness, or one who has become interested in averting a trial or conniving with the accused or his friend, to suppress or color his statements in the secret examination before the Grand Jury. There is no adequate check upon such a one. Again, it is quite possible that the Grand Jury or the necessary majority may be prejudiced or moved by mistaken pity, and so refuse to put a person on trial; and even when their action is warranted they are not in a position to justify their finding. The interposition of a Grand Jury does not shorten the imprisonment of a person committed for trial, even if a bill be ignored, but the necessity for it may cause his detention for five or six months, in some cases, unless he claims, as he can in Ontario in most criminal cases, the right to be tried by a judge without a jury.

Another weighty objection to the Grand Jury is this: there is no challenge, such as there is to the petit jury. Persons related to or closely connected with the prosecutor or the accused may be on the Grand Jury—personally or politically connected, as friend or antagonist—or persons who have a strong personal or pecuniary interest in the matter to be dealt with, or men who hold and have expressed strong opinions on the case. Such persons, every one will say, ought not to be on the Grand Jury in the particular case. But how is it effectually to be guarded against, the safeguard of full right to challenge wanting? Nor is it a sufficient answer to say the verdict of a petit jury must be unanimous, the finding of a Grand Jury is by the majority, but who can calculate upon the influence that may be exerted in a

secret tribunal by one or two of its members, moved by prejudice or influenced by unworthy and evil motives—nor is such a thing improbable of occurrence. To my mind this is a grave objection.

Then there is the possibility of mistakes without corrupt motive—mistakes that may lead to very serious consequences. I do not press this objection not being an evil inherent in the system; all the same, gross mistakes have been made, to my certain knowledge. A good many years ago, before the appointment of Crown Attorneys, the foreman of the Grand Jury brought in several bills into court, and one of the prisoners was about to be arraigned when, by the merest accident, it was discovered that only eleven of the Grand Jury heard the evidence, the others having left the Grand Jury room for some purpose. In another case the jury heard a near relative of the accused, an intended witness for the defence, whose name happened to be the same as that of the chief Crown witness, who happened to be out of court when the name was called, and the other entered the Grand Jury room and gave evidence that induced the Grand Jury to ignore the bill.

An eminent Crown counsel, now on the Bench, mentioned recently to me a matter that occurred in his own practice. He had witnesses to prove the distinct admission by the accused of his guilt. The Crown officer sent them before the Grand Jury, who heard the evidence; but, singular to say, ignored the bill. The explanation of the Grand Jury did not speak much for their intelligence. It was this. "Why, we had no evidence against the prisoner but what he said himself." One would have thought such evidence sufficient to satisfy an ordinary mind, but not so with this jury.

Even in the city of London, where it is supposed the most intelligent grand juries in England are summoned, the same has occurred. I recollect several cases of the kind recorded in the *Law Times*. One was the case of a foreman by mistake endorsing "a true bill," whereas the Jury had actually ignored it. The prisoner was tried and found guilty, though the judge charged in his favor. The mistake was discovered and pointed out, but there was no remedy—everything was regular on its face, and the intention could not be per-

mitted to override the act. This gross failure of justice was remedied, after a fashion, by a pardon through the Home Office.

Another case I remember was an indictment against a man and woman. The jury really found, no bill against the woman, and the practice was, where two were indicted, to draw the pen through the name of the party against whom no bill was found. This, by mistake, the foreman omitted to do, and both prisoners were convicted and sentenced. The judge in that case cut the knot with courage, if not sanction of the law, and discharged the prisoner. And still another case: A prisoner had a very remarkable name, and the foreman of the Grand Jury happened to be in court when he was arraigned, and spoke up, saying: "Why we ignored that bill," and sure enough it proved to be the fact. The foreman explaining, "not because we did not think there was a case, but because he had been sufficiently punished by the imprisonment since commitment."

The cost of grand juries is considerable—from \$40,000 to \$50,000 yearly in Ontario, I would say. This would be saved were the body abolished. I am not disposed to advance the saving of money as a cogent reason in itself against the institution, but certainly an improved, a safer and more efficient system, modelled something after the Public Prosecutors in Scotland, could be obtained with a smaller outlay. If grand jurors were not required it would leave more material free, from which to select the Petit Jury, which every one will admit is the more important one of the two—the one that finally decides upon the guilt or innocence of the accused.

It has been urged that the Grand Jury system is an educator of the people, those serving as grand jurors gaining a certain knowledge of law and a right conception of its salutary influence, which they become agents in diffusing in their neighborhood, and thus inspire the public with more respect for the law and its administration. Perhaps so, and a man in a lifetime may have two or three opportunities for gaining such knowledge; but it must be homeopathic in amount, and it seems to me that an intelligent reader of one of our great dailies, which rarely fail to give full and intelligent reports of import-

ant cases, would gain much more information at his own fireside.

The Grand Jury system, I know, is regarded by some as "a great bulwark of our liberty," a representative and democratic institution. It is an ancient institution, no doubt; but I fail to see how it can deserve the name of a democratic institution—how it can represent even the county from which it comes, except by a legal fiction, and I can discern no propriety in a grand, or any other jury, fulfilling a sworn duty "in accordance with the public will." In the dark days of England's history it may have stood between the people and arbitrary power. I think Hallam mentions one case, not with approval—indeed, he rather thinks they forgot their oath; but few in the present day fear that arbitrary power will venture to raise its hand in the courts or elsewhere; and if it did the people of this country would not, I am very sure, fight behind the feeble barricade of a modern Grand Jury.

"Popular liberty" and "popular rights" are happily established in this country on a sure basis, and are understood and valued, and I must utterly deny that grand juries are in any sense or to any extent the palladium of either. Possibly this clinging to a worn-out institution grows out of the fear that the country could not supply its place, but I have all confidence that an honest and competent non-political substitute may easily be found. Why should we Canadians have any fear on this head? The history of our country has shown that the people of Canada are keenly alive to the value and importance of the due administration of justice, and prepared to uphold it—no country more so in the whole British Empire; and, I will venture to add, no place where a larger proportion of able and honest agents, fitted by professional training for administration, can be found. In the year 1877 I called public attention to some of the evils I have pointed out in the Grand Jury system, and also to facts going to show it was discredited—that even then a large number of criminal cases never came before grand juries, but were tried by a judge, without a jury, upon an act of accusation prepared by the local Crown attorneys from the depositions taken before the committing magistrates. I said:

"It may be noted that now, as a matter of fact, by far the greater number of criminal charges in Ontario are submitted for trial on an act of accusation, in the nature of an indictment, which the County Crown Attorney prepares, the intervention of a Grand Jury being altogether dispensed with. I refer to trials before the County Judges Criminal Court, which, as you are aware, possesses a jurisdiction embracing for trial, by judge alone without a jury, nearly every offence known to the law, except capital felonies. In this judicial district only thirty-one cases during the present year were submitted to grand juries; ninety-two were cases not brought before them at all but were tried by the judge without a jury, and all upon charges formulated by the Crown Attorney from the depositions taken before the committing magistrates; and the proportion will probably be the same in other jurisdictions in Ontario. A late return to the Legislature showed that only one-fifth of the prisoners committed last year, embracing all the more serious charges, passed before a Grand Jury—the presentation of all the rest, or four-fifths, the Crown attorneys were alone responsible for."

And I also pointed out another fact—the power of Grand Juries being cut down, discredited as it were, by statute. I may quote the following passage:

"Moreover, there is evidence on the Statute Book that the Grand Jury are not so entirely trusted as in former years, for in a number of cases they are disabled from entertaining a charge unless there has been a preliminary proceeding, or the indictment for the offence by the direction of the Attorney-General, or by direction or consent of the court or judge having authority to try the same."

Some two years after this, in 1879, public attention was aroused in England by a very scandalous case which occurred there. It brought into bold relief one of the inherent evils of the Grand Jury system, and went to show the danger of entrusting such a body with a power of enquiry in the nature of a review into the decision of magistrates after an open examination of witnesses. I had referred to this danger indeed for years; I thought that neither in the interests of public justice, nor indeed in the interests of one accused, was a secret enquiry, such as a Grand Jury makes, desirable or safe.

I will ask permission of the House to read from a leading article in one of the great London dailies, referring to the case of Sir Francis Truscott, and the Grand Jury system generally and giving an instance of the power which a Grand Jury possesses, of sending a man for trial upon evidence taken in secret, with which he has never been confronted. The circumstances were briefly these: A charge of libel was made before a magistrate against Sir Francis Truscott, and when

the magistrate heard the evidence he refused to grant even a summons. There was really nothing in the charge, and the magistrate dismissed it. Nothing daunted, the prosecutor waited till the next sitting of the Central Criminal Court, went before the Grand Jury, produced a post-card containing the supposed libel, and probably swore to the handwriting of Sir Francis Truscott. At all events, the Grand Jury found a true bill, and the process of the court followed. Sir Francis was ignorant of the proceeding—was, in fact, on the continent at the time. The result was, the charge hung over him for a month, until he returned, when the case came up for trial and he was vindicated. Such a scandal might well produce comment. The article from which I will read was in the *London Times*:

"The action of the Grand Jury which put an alderman and the proximate Lord Mayor of London on his trial for libel upon evidence given in his absence, behind his back, calls attention anew to the singular survival among us of this ancient institution. It may be hoped that the circumstances will give it its long desired *coup de grace*. Grand juries have had their history, and once had their uses. They have served in past generations as means of testifying to the public opinion of the country, and it still occasionally happens that this purpose of their existence is faintly recalled.

"These futile presentments—a relic of ancient activity—serve to illustrate the uselessness rather than the utility of grand juries as exponents of public opinion; and, indeed, it cannot be doubted that there are ample means of ascertaining the balance of public judgment at once quicker and more trustworthy in their action. What other purposes do grand juries serve? They have functions, as parts of our machinery of criminal justice, which are generally useless, or injurious only as impeding the action of the courts; but, as the case of Sir Francis Truscott proves, they are sometimes positively mischievous, exposing an innocent man to all the annoyance and disrepute of being subjected to a criminal trial upon evidence altogether insufficient to sustain such a charge. They never serve a good purpose, and at times they serve a bad one. This ought to be sufficient to procure the abolition of an institution that has lost its use. But old institutions die hard among us, especially if, though their use has departed, they add any touch of dignity or of ornament to the life of rural denizens.

"We pass by at once the notion that grand juries are of any value as exponents of public opinion.

"It is with grand juries as a part of the machinery of the criminal law that we now have to deal. The purpose of their existence in this character was to correct the errors or imperfections of the actions of local benches of magistrates. A magistrate or magistrates in petty sessions might com-

mit a man for trial upon evidence that did not even raise a *prima facie* case against him, and the Grand Jury might stop the case from going further by finding that no true bill had been established against the accused. On the other hand, it might conceivably happen that a local bench would wrongly decline to send for trial a person against whom a sufficient case had been established, and the complainant could then go before the Grand Jury and, by convincing them that he had evidence enough to require a trial to be heard, could obtain a true bill from them. Is either of these purposes of any value now? We cannot say that no magistrates ever commit a man for trial upon evidence that does not establish a *prima facie* case; but when the accident happens there is no saving of time of any importance in getting the prosecution quashed before a Grand Jury, while this mode of obtaining the result is always unsatisfactory to the accused. The hearing of the Grand Jury is in private, and the baseless character of the evidence on which the charge is founded is thus never publicly demonstrated. Suspicion may always arise—and not infrequently does arise, in such cases—that the evidence for the prosecution was somehow manipulated in the Grand Jury room, so as to lose the force it had at the preliminary investigation before a magistrate. We do not suppose this ever does happen; if it did it would furnish an additional argument against the machinery; but the result is, that an unfortunate man, against whom we must assume there was no case whatever, remains under a cloud from which he is never properly cleared. The feeling of the inadequacy of this private investigation was, we believe, the leading motive that led the late Recorder of London, Mr. Russell Gurney, to condemn so strongly the retention of grand juries. The other side of their action is at least equally to be condemned. It is this which has been forcibly illustrated by the case of Alderman Sir Francis Truscott. The Grand Jury can send a man for trial upon evidence with which he has never been confronted.

“Nothing can justify a system under which evidence given in private is made the ground for officially declaring that a man must be put on his trial. The course of justice must be open from beginning to end, and the wrong suffered by a secret committal is even greater than that suffered by a secret acquittal. In the latter case society may suspect that the legitimate penalties of wrong-doing have been illegitimately evaded. In the former case an innocent man has to complain that a secret and irresponsible tribunal has proclaimed him suspected of guilt upon evidence given in secret and in his absence.

“Grand juries have been long known to be useless institutions; Sir Francis Truscott's case proves that they may be injurious, and the claim for their abandonment is founded upon a positive wrong. We must, however, insist upon the truth that mere uselessness affords a strong argument for the removal of any part of our judicial machinery that must, by its existence, prove an impediment to the prompt discharge of judicial functions.”

On the very grounds referred to in this article I had years before argued for the abolition of grand juries, and the fact of Sir Francis Truscott's case showed a particular evil I indicated as possible having actually occurred.

What I said from time to time to grand juries was not with any desire of an expression of opinion from these bodies, but as the means of directing public attention to the subject, and promoting, if possible, an enlightened discussion. My object was, to a certain extent, accomplished, and the matter was freely discussed in the public press some years since.

Grand juries I addressed in every case adopted the views I presented; but like bodies, I must say, did the same thing in the case of eminent judges who held the contrary view. From the very seat from which I spoke the late Sir Matthew Cameron, a most able judge, coming after me, took occasion to “blow a counter blast,” strongly favoring the retention of the Grand Jury, and the body he addressed expressed concurrence in his views—as did a Toronto Grand Jury some time after, with emphasis. And so it was in the case of other judges for and against the system. In almost every case the opinions expressed from the Bench were echoed from the jury box. I may say also the late Chief Justice Draper held Sir Matthew Cameron's views respecting grand juries.

In point of fact, the judges of Ontario are divided on the subject. I mentioned the names of two deceased judges who thought it inexpedient and unsafe to abolish grand juries. I may say, on the other hand, that the late Chief Justice Harrison on several occasions declared himself in favor of the abolition of grand juries.

I feel I ought to give the reported words of my friend the late Sir Matthew Cameron. I will accordingly read from the report of his address at Barrie in 1880:

“The Grand Jury might also become a thing of the past. He referred to the Bill passed by the Ontario Legislature reducing the number of grand jurors required to be summoned from twenty-four to fifteen, but it had not yet become law, because it was doubtful whether the Provincial Legislature had the power to make such a law; but it was hoped the Dominion Government would take the matter up and allow the Act to pass; but inasmuch as they had not done so the Act was not yet in force.

“The Grand Jury was expensive, it was urged by those who would have it abolished. But the question was, could a better or cheaper system be devised. The whole cost of the Grand Jury system would probably not exceed \$1,200 a year in a county of ordinary extent, a sum which he thought would be exceeded were the Grand Jury super-

ceded by a Crown Prosecutor, as has been suggested. The Grand Jury has been designated, by reasons of its important functions, the bulwark of our liberty. But apart from its value in this respect it was useful as an educator. Grand jurors, during their attendance at court, gained a knowledge of the laws and heard much of interest and importance. Going home and diffusing this knowledge among their neighbors they helped to establish in the land a correct and salutary conception of the law, and to inspire the public with more respect for it. A man's liberty was of the utmost importance, and we should hesitate before taking away any of the protection which the law throws about it. As to the want of training urged against grand jurors, His Lordship said he thought more of the opinions of twelve practical men than of one learned man. Men of skill and learning were apt to theorize. Speaking of the need for the existence of the Grand Jury, His Lordship's opinion was that men were constituted pretty much as they were hundreds of years ago. There were still to be found contentions and wranglings; men were, as ever, liable to be carried away by their passions. Our forefathers had been wise in their generation. There had been displayed by them in times past great precision, great intelligence and great learning, in their provisions for the safety of the subject and the just administration of the law, and he did not think that such a change had come over subsequent generations as to warrant the doing away with valuable institutions which they had founded for the protection and well-being of the individual and society at large. All courts were expensive, but necessary. It might be urged that not one hundredth part of the population were engaged in litigation, while the rest were taxed to pay for it. But what was the case of litigants to-day might be the case of other people to-morrow. He had mentioned this question of the abolition of the Grand Jury to every one of these bodies whom he had the honor to address, and asked their opinion, that it might be sent, as others had, to the Secretary of State. He was aware that a Grand Jury sitting in the place of the one he was addressing had given an opinion favoring the abolition of this tribunal; but most grand juries had taken a different view of the question. The representative of a constituency might, on the spur of the moment, support some movement apparently looking towards economy, and without reflecting on the ultimate issue of it. So, men who have objected the Grand Jury system may have been led to do so, actuated solely by the question of expense. His Lordship had, therefore, dwelt at some length on this subject in order to present it clearly and fully to them, and to have their opinion as to whether it would be advisable to change the system, and what character of change, if any, they would suggest."

I will also, if the House will bear me, quote the views of two very learned judges now on the Bench—the Hon. J. H. Hagarly, Chief Justice of Ontario, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Gwynne, of the Supreme Court. In addressing a Grand Jury in Toronto some years ago the former said :

"With reference to the usefulness of that old-fashioned institution, the Grand Jury, without entering into the constitutional question he would simply say it was quite impossible to dispense

with it until some very careful substitute was found, which the present law certainly did not present. Parliament, in its wisdom, of course, might decide on a substitute, but until that was done he was sufficiently old-fashioned in his notions to think that grand juries could be made use of as a most excellent institution, performing a most important function in the administration of justice, and standing, as he had often known them to stand, as a very proper barrier between absurd charges frequently made and the innocent person who was thus saved the ignominy of standing in the dock on a charge that no twelve men could entertain."

Mr. Justice Gwynne, in an Assize address to a Grand Jury, at Kingston, spoke of the evils of the system, and after referring to the preliminary examination before magistrates, and the inconvenience of requiring another enquiry before a Grand Jury, the learned judge continued :

"Such, however, is our law, that at the busiest portions of the year you are called from your avocations and private pursuits to render to the country the invaluable service of determining whether the magistrates who have already investigated the cases have or have not grossly perverted their duty, and whether there is, in fact, any sufficient justification for the detention of persons whom they have committed, and for subjecting them to trial for the offence charged. I do not pretend to suggest that the intervention of grand juries should not still be maintained in State offences, as a protection to the subject against the tyranny of the Government, if the days for Government acting the *role* of tyrants are not passed away; but to call for their intervention in those cases of crimes against society at large, which are the ordinary subjects for the consideration of grand juries, is, to my mind, an absurdity which can only be accounted for by that veneration for antiquity which seems to overshadow in some things the human mind. * * * Well, gentlemen, the law calls upon you, twelve at least concurring, to investigate these cases, which have already been so investigated that, as a result, five out of the eight accused are confined in gaol in the custody of the sheriff, and I trust you will find, as indeed I doubt not you will, that the committing magistrates have not been so arbitrary and unjust as to commit the parties without some *prima facie* evidence justifying the putting them on their trial—that, in fact, you will find that their labors have not been in vain, and perhaps you may be induced to enquire whether the service you are called upon to render the public is of that value as to present an equivalent for the inconvenience to which, in your capacity of grand jurors, you are put."

The subject was a good deal discussed by the general press, and I have numerous articles cut from leading journals before me. I shall only occupy your time with the substance of one, but it is from the pen of a man of great ability—the ablest and best informed public writer on the continent, in my judgment. I will read from the *Bystander*, an admirable publica-

tion, which was given up a few years ago, to the great regret of its many readers:

"The Grand Jury question continues to be the theme of observation from the Bench. Everybody knows that the history both of the Grand and Pettit Jury is, in its details, a chapter of accidents. But in its main character neither of these institutions is accidental; nor is the origin of either of them so local or personal as some recent antiquaries seem to imagine, the jury being found in Scandinavia as well as in England. The Grand Jury was, perhaps, in its origin merely an instrument for bringing offenders to justice, very necessary at a time when there was no regular police, as well as for presenting local matters requiring reform. This function is now almost obsolete; but the same cannot be said as to the cognate function of determining what cases ought to be sent for trial. Some sort of preliminary consideration of the evidence there must be; it will never do to put a man in the dock on mere suspicion; all the authorities say in effect that, if the Grand Jury is abolished, a public prosecutor must be instituted in its place. Certainly the Grand Jury, in its present form, seems a waste of time and money. Nor, sitting in secrecy as it does, and without the guarantee afforded by clear personal responsibility, is it perfectly fit on all occasions to be entrusted with the key of justice. Into its conclave political and social considerations may find their way. This liability was brought home to the minds of most people in England by the case of Governor Eyre, which the Grand Jury refused to send to trial. But political feeling had been excited, and the Grand Jury closed the gate. A public prosecutor would be guarded by his professional instincts against irrelevant considerations, and though he would, in the first instance, owe his appointment to the Government, it is difficult to imagine any circumstances in which his care for his own reputation and his interest in his office would be likely to give way to his desire to oblige a Minister. To the institution of a public prosecutor in time we shall probably come.

"By the abolition of the Grand Jury some better materials might be set free for the composition of the petit juries. Assuredly it can only have been accident that assigned the more important function to the weaker tribunal. In England it is appalling to see to what hands the most momentous causes and even the issues of life and death are consigned. If the judge is strong and uses his influence he may guide the jury right, but otherwise the result must be often a mere toss-up—or, what is even worse, it must be decided by the tricks of advocates. Any sort of prejudice is sure to carry the day. Our people are, on the average, better educated and more intelligent than the English; yet we have had recent proof that the jury-box may be swayed, in the face of the clearest evidence, by local sentiment, and more than once suspicion has prevailed that grosser influences were at work."

I am unable to say how opinion preponderates amongst the superior Ministers of Justice or amongst professional men, nor can I speak with absolute certainty of general public opinion on the subject. All I saw, however, in the general press, favored the abolition of grand juries.

I think the question is worthy of con-

sideration by the Government (with all the advantages which a Government possesses for a full examination), in view of a uniform and better procedure applicable to the whole Dominion, by substituting for the Grand Jury a more perfect system for working out on safe lines an important branch in the machinery of criminal procedure. Such a change has been strongly urged in England, and a remark made by the Lord Advocate of Scotland in an address in Edinburgh before the Social Science Congress struck me at the time as highly suggestive. He said: "It certainly strikes a Scotchman as singular that English law-givers should be engaged in investigating this problem upon first principles, as if it had never been attempted before, when, if they look north of the Tweed, they will find it practically solved to the satisfaction of the community."

Some thirty years ago a young Scotsman settled in Ontario, full of life and energy. He was soon pushed to the front in matters of public concern, where methodical and business habits were required. Of course, he became a grand jurymen, and naturally his fellows selected him as foreman. He industriously applied himself to gain a knowledge of the duties of the new position. Having done so he arrived at the conclusion the Grand Jury was a useless, if not a mischievous institution, and he contrasted it with the excellent system in the land he had left. With the courage of conviction he at once acted, told his fellow jurors, "I can see no manner of use in what you are doing; we are a bill of expense to the country, and we are losing our own time. Let us recommend that the thing be abolished." And accordingly a presentment was prepared to that effect. That Scotsman is no longer young; his energy, ability and self-denial secured for him deserved success; he is now one of the merchant princes of Canada, and I rejoice to see him at this moment occupying a seat on the floor of this Chamber. I will not venture to name him, but it is gratifying to know he is in sympathy with my move. Yes, he is one of the men from north of the Tweed to whom the Lord Advocate referred as knowing, and therefore valuing, the admirable system of public prosecutors in that country.

In Ontario the ground is well prepared

for a change in that direction, and modern legislation has led up to it. Let me take a brief review.

The conduct of criminal prosecutions in the Province of Upper Canada was in a very unsatisfactory condition for many years previous to 1857. In the early settlement of the Province offences of a serious character were rare, the counties few in number and the law officers of the Crown—the Attorney and Solicitor-General—were able to give personal attention to the conduct of cases at the Assizes, usually two in the year, the sittings of these courts being regulated by the judges, and following each other at such intervals as enabled this to be done. But it was not so in courts of General Sessions of the Peace; these courts were held four times in the year, at periods appointed by statute. The great bulk of the criminal prosecutions in the Province was in these courts, and these prosecutions were left to take care of themselves, or, what was still more objectionable, left to the conduct and control of private individual prosecutors, who engaged counsel to conduct them. In process of time, owing to a rapidly increasing population and other circumstances not necessary to advert to, the volume of criminal cases largely increased, and the law officers of the Crown, members of the Government, necessarily engaged in many other duties, could rarely attend the Courts of Assize; the number of counties also increased, and with this came added courts, so that it was quite impossible for the Attorney and Solicitor-General to give personal attendance except at courts at the seat of Government, or, in exceptional cases, at the Courts of Assize in other parts of the Province, and the practice arose for the Attorney-General to commit the Crown business to members of the Bar selected by them, who acted for them at the Courts of Assize—more recently, to leave the business to the local Crown Attorney, though that, I believe, has been rarely done. A constant change in Crown officers was inevitable, and could scarcely conduce to efficiency or gender a full sense of the responsibilities of the position—the appointments being only *ad hoc*.

The Court of Quarter Sessions, with a greatly increased business in number and importance of cases, remained as before—

prosecutions controlled by individuals or left entirely to the courts. This condition, in a matter so important as the administration of the criminal law, was calculated to cast discredit on the law and its administration, and there were, in fact, many instances of gross failures of justice from the imperfect presentation of cases, or partial or personal feeling or prejudice entering into a prosecution. Complaints became numerous and serious of the evils generated under such system.

In 1855 I remember a series of articles appeared in the only law periodical then published in the country; and, indicating public opinion, were supposed to some extent to have stimulated the legislative action which shortly after took place—the passing of the law which has survived in all its integrity the love of change, not an inconspicuous feature in modern legislation. I refer to the County Crown Attorneys Act, the work of the right hon. gentleman, now the First Minister of the Crown in Canada. That Act was passed in the year 1857, and is one of the best and most valuable of the many statutes effecting reform in law procedure which Sir John Macdonald has placed on the Statute Book. In one of the articles I refer to, setting out with the proposition that counsel acting for and commissioned by the Crown was essential to the due administration of justice in all the criminal courts, and called for with a view to the more efficient restraint and punishment of crime, and moreover that aided by public prosecutors the business of the Courts of Assize would be on a better, safer and more economical footing, it was urged:

“If it be necessary that a Crown counsel should conduct the criminal business of the Court of Assize (and that it is necessary no one denies), is it not equally necessary that there should be such an officer for a like purpose at the Quarter Sessions? Both are courts having criminal jurisdiction, with similar powers for the punishment of offenders; if the Courts of Assize can sentence to hard labor in the common gaol, or to long imprisonment in the penitentiary, so can the Courts of Quarter Sessions. A judgment of the Court of Assize affects liberty and character (comprehending the interests of many—wife, children, relatives, &c.), in no greater degree than would a judgment of the Quarter Sessions. Are the cases at the Sessions few and insignificant? No; these courts sit four times in the year (the Courts of Assize sit only twice) and dispose of more cases than the Superior Courts; and, if we leave out capital felonies and some few offences excepted from the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions, the description of cases in both courts is the same. Do the judges of Assize need the assistance of counsel more than the

judges of the Courts of Quarter Sessions? Certainly not. What then—does a crime when presented for trial at the Quarter Sessions lose the distinctive character it has at the Assizes? An offence against the peace or dignity of the Crown—the Queen, the plaintiff—is at the Sessions to be regarded wholly as an offence of private nature, affecting only the individual injured (who is allowed to manage and conduct it as he sees fit)—that the party injured is, in fact, the plaintiff? Certainly not, or the law would confer upon him the rights of a plaintiff. A crime, then, is to be regarded in all respects as losing nothing of its nature or character whatever tribunal it is brought before for investigation. But in practice the Queen is represented in the Courts of Assize, and by her representative “learned in the law” brings her cases before the court and jury, presenting them in that clear and intelligent way which so greatly aids the administration of justice; while in her Courts of Quarter Sessions her cases are left to take care of themselves.”

In respect to the value of a public prosecutor at the Assizes it goes on to say:

“On the Assize day the Crown officer appears, commonly at the opening of the court. He knows little or nothing of the business he has to conduct; even of the cases remaining from the last Assizes his predecessors may not have left any notes for his guidance; of the new business he must look to the depositions and other papers for his information. The Crown officer’s first care, then, is to hunt up the depositions and papers in each case, and to examine them, that he may be able to judge from the facts and circumstances alleged what offence should be charged and how it should be set forth; and herein are important considerations, for the same facts may support charges of a very different character, and a misdemeanor or a more serious charge—felony—or several charges of a like hue, may rest on the facts. Again, the charge may require to be varied in several courts of an indictment as they can be sustained in evidence. The examinations, etc., taken by magistrates, are not to be relied on as designating the offence with legal accuracy—what it may be is to be collected from the statements therein—and it is often necessary to examine the prosecutor and his witnesses *viva voce* to understand the matter set out in the depositions, or to obtain data from facts and circumstances necessary to be alleged and proved, but yet not stated in the depositions. Having decided on the offence to be charged and the mode of laying the same the indictment is drawn. The Crown officer must then ascertain if the witnesses necessary to the finding a bill and proceeding to trial are present. If not they must be sent for, or if impossible to procure their attendance in time an application must be made to put off the trial to another court—frequently causing great inconvenience to the prosecutor, the witnesses and the public, and working with unnecessary severity against the party accused.

“If an indictment be found the trial goes on, the Crown, if need be, exercising its right to challenge. The prosecution is conducted by an officer of the Crown, who feels that his duty is, not to fight for a conviction, but to lay the facts bearing upon the matter calmly and deliberately before the court and jury—his aim is to bring under review all that tends to throw light upon the charge, his only wish that the supremacy of the law may not be defeated from the omission of proper evidence, or through any inaccuracy in the

proceedings. Whether examining witnesses or addressing the court or jury he feels his position; and being specially appointed to aid in the administration of justice he is free from that bias which, otherwise, he might not be able to divest himself of if the paid advocate of the party directly affected.”

And speaking of the anomalous procedure at the Sessions the writer observes:

“Then the Clerk of the Peace prepares an indictment, as best he can, on the depositions returned to him. In ordinary cases he may be equal to it, but he is not competent to determine the way in which the charge should be laid, the sufficiency or completeness of the evidence, etc., for competency involves a thorough knowledge of the body of criminal law, the law of procedure and the law of evidence. Can it be a matter of surprise, then, that prosecutions are defeated from defects in the indictment, or fail for want of sufficient evidence being at hand.”

“The indictment drawn, the duties of the Clerk of the Peace as to the proceedings are at an end; the jury is then called, but the right of challenge in the Crown is here a nullity. At the trial the Chairman examines the witnesses (re-examining them if needed), and cross-examines the defendant’s witnesses, and is compelled to combine in some measure the office of judge and Crown prosecutor. This is obviously an anomalous position, the judge at any moment liable to have exception taken to his mode of examination, his questions objected to, and then required as a judge to decide on the propriety of the questions by himself proposed. Yet this is forced on the chairman wherever counsel is employed on the defence, for he has either tacitly to allow justice to be defeated, by permitting half answers and doubtful or colorable assertions to go before the jury as evidence, or to elicit the whole truth, by examination and cross-examination of witnesses. This observation has special force when the witnesses for the prosecution are disposed to favor the accused. But sometimes the complainant will retain counsel. Why should he do so. It is not a proceeding to give satisfaction to him, but to vindicate public justice. He has but expense and trouble. The fruits of the conviction, when the criminal has any property, go to the country or the Crown. With counsel, then, so retained, the matter is not bettered; he is disposed to identify himself with the complainant, and look on his client as the prosecutor, instead of considering himself acting for the Crown. Will he not be moved to handle the case just as he would an action of trespass, giving an exaggerated view to the jury, and using all his ability to secure a conviction against the accused—in whose favor the benevolent principle of the English law has made all exception, and commands the very judge to be his counsel. Any one familiar with the proceedings at Quarter Sessions must have been struck with the contrast between a counsel commissioned by and acting for the Crown and the counsel employed by the complainant—the former conducting his case in a fair, calm and ingenious manner, the latter professedly acting for the Crown, but in reality bring all the tact and ability he is master of to advocate his employer’s views.

“Our own experience has presented many cases in which no doubt could be entertained of the guilt of the parties; and yet, by reason of some

defect an acquittal, of necessity, took place; and from different quarters we have heard of similar cases in which the ends of justice have been defeated. Again, an offence is committed and public justice—the safety of the community—demands that the offender should be proceeded against and punished. But the party injured reasons thus: 'To have the prosecution properly conducted at the Sessions I will be compelled to employ counsel and pay him out of my own pocket; and this, too, in addition to my personal expenses and loss of time, etc., in attending the court. It may be my duty to lend my aid in punishing a criminal act, but it will be better for me to put up with the injury done than subject myself to the annoyance of a cross-examination of defendant's counsel, and be at such trouble and expense. The public are as much interested in the prosecution as I am; the county will be the gainer; I cannot be.' The matter is then allowed to drop. Even where willing to engage counsel parties are not always able to do so—and yet the law professes to shed its protection over all. Criminals are thus allowed to escape, and, emboldened by impunity, to persevere in crime. Is this reconcilable with justice or the principles of sound policy?

And the suggestions follow, viz. :—

"That in every county or union of counties, for judicial purposes, a barrister of several years' standing should be appointed, with some certain tenure of office and a small salary attached to it (as it were, a retainer from the Crown), with certain fees on every indictment and trial, the fees now payable to Clerks of the Peace for indictments to cease. An arrangement of this kind would induce respectable practitioners to accept an office that would thus confer a certain status.

"The duties of the County Attorney might be as follows: To act for the Crown at the Quarter Sessions in the same way as the Attorney-General, or other Crown officer, officiates at the Assizes; to receive from magistrates and coroners the informations and papers in criminal cases; to inspect these papers and examine the character and sufficiency of the evidence; to secure the necessary documents and the attendance of all necessary witnesses—in a word, to get up the evidence and arrange all things ready for the trial. To attend, also, at the Assizes, and assist the Attorney or Solicitor-General, or Queen's Counsel (as the case may be), and in the absence of such an officer to conduct the business himself. And, moreover, to assist magistrates by his advice in their primary investigation of important cases. The County Attorney might also see to the enforcement of forfeited recognizances; appear for the Crown on application to bail prisoners; might have the charge of prosecutions, under the law for summary convictions, connected with the revenue or public domain—in fact, all cases prosecuted in petit sessions by public officers in the name of the Queen.

"We have now noticed briefly what has occurred to us in favor of the institution, and the duties we would have assigned to County Attorneys, and believe the subject is of sufficient importance to claim the attention of the law officers of the Crown during the present Session of Parliament. The point occupying greatest prominence is the absolute necessity for Crown prosecutors at the Quarter Sessions; and we appeal to every one conversant with the transactions of these courts if criminal trials can be conducted satisfactorily, or consistent with the public interest, on the one hand,

and what is due to the accused on the other, while criminal prosecutions are left to take care of themselves (unless, indeed, the judge acts in the double capacity of judge and public prosecutor), and defences are conducted by counsel for the accused—if compelling parties injured in addition to their loss, to pay for conducting a trial for an offence of a public nature is reconcilable with the spirit of justice and attention to individual rights, and if there is not a consequent unwillingness to prosecute, or private agreements to compromise, in defeat of justice—if cases of failure in justice and abortive prosecutions against guilty parties are not of frequent occurrence at the sessions, from errors in the indictment, defects in the evidence, the want of searching examination of witnesses, and the like. Need we pursue this question further, having everything that can be deduced from principle and experience in support of our views. While, then, it must be admitted by all that the interests of the public require that no guilty offender should escape punishment, it would seem an equally clear and incontrovertible position that whenever, from any defect in the system of prosecutions, or from whatever cause it proceeds, a prisoner escapes that punishment which is due to his crimes, substantial justice is wounded and public wrong thereby increased."

All that was said applies now to the several Provinces where the office of local Crown prosecutor (Crown Attorney) does not exist, and I have dwelt on the subject, for I am particularly desirous the matter should be placed as fully as possible before all concerned. If hon. gentlemen will bear with me, I should like to give a general view of the County Crown Attorney system in Ontario, and to refer to the statutes for those who wish to fully examine. The Act respecting the appointment of local Crown Attorneys will be found in Consolidated Statutes of Upper Canada, cap. 37. It provides that barristers of at least three years' standing at the Bar shall be appointed to aid in the administration of justice, and to perform the duties assigned to County Attorneys, and disables the officer or his partner in business from being directly or indirectly concerned as counsel or attorney for any person or party charged with treason-felony or other offence punishable under the criminal law.

Cap. 106 of the same statutes prescribes these duties, which are: To receive from magistrates and examine all informations, etc., connected with criminal charges; if necessary, cause such charges to be further investigated, and to secure the attendance of witnesses, etc.; to institute and conduct, on the part of the Crown, prosecutions for felonies and misdemeanors at the Courts of Quarter Sessions; and, in the same

manner as law officers of the Crown, institute and conduct similar proceedings at the Assizes. To watch over the conduct of cases at the Sessions, and without unnecessarily interfering with private individuals who wish to prosecute, to assume wholly the conduct of a case where justice towards the accused seems to demand his interposition.

It also is made his duty to assist the Crown officer in the criminal business at the Assizes, and in his absence to represent the Crown at such court.

If required by general regulations touching his office, he is to institute proceedings before justices of the peace in a variety of matters made punishable on summary conviction, and is empowered to institute such proceedings on a complaint in writing, or as public prosecutor, in cases wherein the public interests require the exercise of such office.

He is required also to advise magistrates and instruct them in respect to criminal offences brought before the magistrate for preliminary investigation or for adjudication, and a general provision requires the County Crown Attorney to perform such duties as may be assigned to him under general regulations by the Governor-in-Council. Before he is qualified to act he must take the oath prescribed for the faithful performance of his duty. These are the chief provisions respecting the County Crown Attorney system in Ontario, faintly outlined.

Before leaving the subject of the County Crown Attorney system and public prosecutors I should like to quote the opinion of the celebrated Lord Brougham, expressed in a letter to his friend the Procureur-General of France.

After speaking of the excellent organization of the French High Courts of Cassation: "I confine myself for the present," he adds, "to the office of public accuser, a necessary institution in every state, which we entirely want in England." * * *

"It seems incredible that in a civilized country in which the principles of jurisprudence have been so profoundly examined, an anomaly as glaring in the machinery of our jurisprudence as leaving to chance the execution of the criminal law should have continued down to the present day. You will scarcely believe that when a man with us has been the victim, either in his person or his property, of any crime or misdemeanor, the prosecution, the preferring of the accusation, should not be the duty of any public functionary.

The individual, who has already suffered from the consequence of the offence, is bound by the magistrate to become the public accuser. He has already suffered much; it is not sufficient; he must bring to justice those who have inflicted this suffering upon him. Hence springs a host of inconveniences too long to enumerate, of which I shall cite but one, and that will be enough. Nothing is more frequent than the tampering with the prosecutor by the guilty person, when he chances to be rich. I have known, at the time when forgery was punishable by death, many persons acquitted because they had bought off those who had been obliged to enter into recognizances to prosecute. When the trial began the witness did not appear; and one of the strongest reasons in favor of the abolition of capital punishment has been found in the great difficulty of compelling the injured persons to prosecute the guilty. This capital defect does not exist in Scotland nor in France. Thus, in Scotland it never happens, as with us, that on the one hand the guilty escape and on the other that, from time to time, prosecutions are inspired by unworthy motives. The Grand Jury affords no remedy for this evil; on the contrary, it is a body acting without the least responsibility, and frequently commencing a prosecution against justice. For as the majority out of twenty-three jurors decides, we can never tell whether such or such a juryman was one of the twelve who voted for the prosecution, or of the eleven who were of the other opinion."

I have noticed somewhat in detail the County Crown Attorney system of Ontario, for I desire to bring its excellent features under the notice of hon. gentlemen from Provinces where the system does not exist, and I can bear testimony to its value and admirable working. It is only right I should add that without some such system to take the place of the Grand Jury institution I dare not say it would be safe to abolish that institution, but with the erection of some such system throughout Canada a great and needed reform would be accomplished, a more perfect criminal procedure provided; and the subject is one expressly reserved under the British North America Act to the Parliament of Canada. On the grounds I have referred to I maintain it would be in the interests of justice, secure more certainty in punishment and be a wise and economical reform, one not difficult to accomplish. How and under what tenure Crown prosecutors should be appointed, the limits of their duties, and other matters of necessary detail, it would now be premature to enter upon, as it is outside my purpose now to discuss the appointments required, and whether made by the General Government or otherwise arranged, these considerations properly belonging to a matured measure.

I may remark that under the law in Ontario the offices of Clerk of the Peace

and local Crown Attorney were combined in the same person. This was doubtless originally done on grounds of economy and expediency. My own view would favor a nearer approach to the Scotch system, which has worked so well and drawn to it a full measure of public confidence.

The several Provinces can abundantly supply the necessary agency. In Ontario there are trained officers that can be utilized.

I am myself quite satisfied a comprehensive scheme of the character indicated is feasible, would be calculated to secure uniformity as well as a better and more responsible system for criminal procedure, and would certainly not cost more than grand juries.

Such a work is one that should be undertaken by the Government, with its ample means for enquiry and looking to the ways and means.

I have placed my notice on the Paper to enable me to lay before the Government and the people of Canada what my experience has convinced me would be a valuable reform. I hope to secure the attention of thoughtful men, inside and outside of Parliament, to the subject.

If I have succeeded in favorably impressing my hon. friend and leader, and other hon. gentlemen in this House, I have not spoken in vain. What I have said will in some way reach the Government, and I hope may receive such consideration as the importance of the subject entitles it to. In that case I am not without confidence of a favorable result, and earnestly hope, next Session, at all events, to see a measure brought down dealing with the subject; for in the interests of sound and safe administration it should, I think, commend itself to those who are primarily responsible—for the reform proposed is based on the principle that it is the duty of the State to detect crime, apprehend offenders and punish them, and that independently of a private party.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am sure the House has listened with great interest, and is under deep obligation to my hon. friend for the study and research which he has devoted to this question of the value of the Grand Jury in the administration of justice. It is probable that this venerable

system is perhaps getting too venerable for the present age. There is no doubt that it is cumbrous, and in many other respects unsatisfactory. The progress of our free constitutional system, under which offences are tried by independent judges—judges entirely independent of outside influences—has rendered the protection which the Grand Jury was calculated to give to the citizen practically unnecessary. There is no danger now of any interference by the Crown, or by a powerful subject, either to cause an unjust prosecution of an innocent person or to shield a guilty one. Such practices have become practically things of the past, and for protection from them, which was largely, no doubt, the reason for the existence of the Grand Jury, that institution is no longer necessary. The preliminary inquiry, it seems to me, so far as it is necessary, into offences which have already been investigated by a magistrate, can best be made by a person trained for the purpose; and probably such an officer as my hon. friend has indicated would be a much more satisfactory means of making this preliminary inquiry, than a tribunal composed of a number of gentlemen, who are selected rather with respect to the amount of property which they happen to possess than with reference to any special fitness which they may be supposed to have for making such an inquiry. It would be extremely probable, as any one might of himself judge, that the results of a system of that description would be precisely such as my hon. friend has unearthed and has disclosed to us during his address. But at the same time it must be recollected that the great benefits which this antiquated system has conferred upon the people in the past, the security, the protection, which it afforded them through centuries, has greatly attached the people to the institution of the jury; and it would be dangerous and unpopular with the people generally to make any attempt to disparage the efficiency, the position, the power or the advantages of the jury system in any phase of it whatever. It is to be feared, therefore, that at this moment public opinion has not reached a point where it will be safe or judicious to attempt to do away entirely with the Grand Jury system, and substitute for it any other, no matter how well conceived it may be. I

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can say, however, in answer to my hon. friend's question, that the attention of the Government has been attracted to this question for a long time past, and they have had it under very serious consideration; and I may promise him that as soon as the tendency of public opinion is such as to justify an attempt to remove this tribunal altogether from the administration of the law, the Government will be prepared with a measure to substitute for it one which will be calculated to perform all the duties of the ancient Grand Jury in a more satisfactory, a more speedy and a more economical manner. It will be impossible for me to state at the moment what precise description of officer would be substituted for a Grand Jury, as my hon. friend asks me to do, but that will be a subject which will, of course, require the careful consideration of the Government; and I hope before long, perhaps next Session, that the Government may be able to present a measure having the tendency which my hon. friend's address indicates that he desires, and which I think his address is very well calculated to hasten.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I listened with a great deal of interest to the observations which fell from the hon. gentleman who brought this inquiry under the notice of the Senate, and he, no doubt, has given it a very exhaustive study, and his experience, from the position he held before he came to this Chamber, gave him a very large opportunity of studying the question. It would appear, however, that at a very early period he seemed to form the opinion that the Grand Jury system had survived its usefulness, and that it was an institution which might fairly be abolished when something that would serve its purpose could be introduced in its place. The hon. gentleman has told us that so far back as ten years ago he gave expression to similar opinions, and that an agitation at that time had begun. I think even earlier than that an agitation for the abolition of the Grand Jury had commenced in Ontario, and in the observations I am about to make on this question I speak of it entirely from the Ontario standpoint. For the last ten or fifteen years in Ontario I believe I am safe in saying that no progress whatever

has been made leading to the abolition of the Grand Jury system. It would have been an exceedingly interesting thing for this House to be advised, and perhaps the hon. gentleman may have in his records the opportunity of telling us what proportion of the judges of Ontario have decided in favor of the abolition of the Grand Jury. He gave us the name of one gentleman who was very decided against it—that is, the late Chief Justice Cameron. He gave us the name of another, the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal, Justice Haggarty, who gave a very guarded answer when his opinion was sought to be evoked, in which he stated that until some better method had been adopted the Grand Jury system must continue.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I mentioned also the late Chief Justice Harrison, who strongly favored the abolition of grand juries.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I have heard from time to time the opinions of, I suppose, nearly all the judges of Ontario on the subject, but I have not kept notes of them, and I am not therefore in a position to speak positively; but I venture to affirm that at least four-fifths of them have expressed their opinion in favor of continuing the Grand Jury system.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I do not think so.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I have no doubt the Secretary of State's office would furnish us with the information, because for some years it was the practice of every judge of Assize in Ontario to call the attention of the Grand Jury to the proposition for its own abolition.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I only know of three.

HON. MR. SCOTT—For a term of years I recollect every judge brought it up at the Assizes, and my impression was that a very large number favored the continuation of it. At all events, they gave expression to their views, and possibly in the judge's charge and the Grand Jurors' reply we might be able to get the opinion of those judges; but I have no doubt if the Government really seriously contemplate making any impor-

tant change they would, of themselves, ask the judges to express opinions, because they have all formed very decided opinions on the subject, one way or the other. I was rather amused at the diplomatic answer of my hon. friend, the leader of the Government, as to the time when they were going to take it up. It rather involved immortality, I thought. It struck me if they ever do take it up and deal with it that it will be very far in the future.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The hon. gentleman differs from my hon. friend behind me on that subject.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It will not be in the near future, I am afraid. My experience has led me to this conclusion, that where for a long series of years—in this case for centuries—power has been vested in the people, the tendency of the age has been to extend it to them rather than to diminish what they have, and, therefore, there are men behind the House of Commons, even, that would have to be consulted before the Grand Jury system could be abolished. My experience is that at least nine-tenths of the people of Ontario are in favor of the continuance of the Grand Jury system. No doubt, my hon. friend is quite right in giving us the weak points. I have often myself seen that there has been a miscarriage of justice owing to the Grand Jury being influenced in the way he has indicated. I have frequently had it under my notice where two or three strong men from a particular locality, knowing a good deal about the circumstances of the case, have given their own views, and they have been accepted rather than the sworn evidence. No doubt that has occurred. All human institutions are imperfect, and we cannot look for perfection in the Grand Jury system. The hon. gentleman suggests that this alternative tribunal which he would propose, similar to what exists in Scotland, if selected from conscientious men, free from political bias, would be the very best tribunal to replace the Grand Jury system. I quite agree with him, but the fair-minded man, without any political bias, would be an exceedingly difficult person to catch. Therefore, I am afraid that we should not, from that standpoint, at all events, be

obtaining a very great improvement. However, I do not at present regard it as a live question in politics. To a certain extent I am quite in accord with the hon. gentleman that there are weak points about it, but I consider that it has also very strong advantages, that it is a great educator of the people, that it semi-annually brings to the court and to a knowledge of the general business of the country a very considerable number of the important and leading men of the country. Take, for instance, any ordinary county town in Ontario. You have some seventy of the principal yeomen of the county brought together to take part in the administration of justice. It is a gratifying thing to them, it connects them with the administration of justice, to a certain extent, and makes them responsible that justice shall be carried on fairly and properly, and it has had, from my own observation, very many advantages purely and entirely from that standpoint, wholly apart from any other consideration. Therefore, I do not think that the great body of the people of Ontario would be disposed to favor its abolition. The replies from the grand juries given for some years, perhaps from 1876 to 1886, could, I think, be easily obtained. The hon. gentleman might move for the returns if they are in the Secretary of State's office. If they are not there they would be sent to the Attorney-General's office in Toronto, but the judges invariably send those answers, where they involve important questions, such as the one we are now discussing, to a record office either at Toronto or at Ottawa; so we could have the advantage of getting at the opinion of grand jurors themselves, and that really is one of considerable importance. The hon. gentleman has informed us that four-fifths of the criminal cases are disposed of without the interference of the Grand Jury. That is quite true, but it is at the request of the parties charged. The prisoners themselves are the persons who decide that question. They are asked whether they wish to be tried without a jury. Some men prefer to be tried summarily. They think, perhaps, the police magistrate, or stipendiary magistrate, or the judges of the county courts, may be good natured men, and they will probably get off better if they happen to be guilty. If they are innocent men they prefer a short

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and quick trial to get rid of the trouble. They are themselves the arbiters of that question, whether their cases will go to a Grand Jury or be tried summarily before a judge. I fear that at present very little progress will be made towards the abolition of the grand jury system, but I think it would be a matter of very great interest, and it will help us, no doubt, when this case is further discussed, to know what the opinions of the Grand Jury and the opinions of the judges are, if they are on record.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I will not occupy the time of the House by making any extensive remarks, but I am sure we must be all thankful to my learned friend from Barrie for having brought this matter before us in the elaborate way he has done. He has shown us that there is great laxity in the prosecutions for the Crown before grand juries, and miscarriage of justice in consequence. Had my experience in Nova Scotia been of a like nature I would probably have been more prejudiced against the Grand Jury system than I am. The jury system in Nova Scotia, and I have had large experience as Crown counsel there, is a respectable and respected institution, not only for its antiquity but for its efficiency; but I admit it has largely outgrown its influence and that its influence has to a large extent gone. However, until the Government can suggest some better system I should be disposed to hold to what we at present enjoy. There is a safeguard under the Grand Jury system which, with proper care, is in the public interest. My hon. friend from Barrie has shown cases of miscarriage of justice under the jury system. I cannot, however, see how any twelve men can bring in a presentment without some evidence to go upon. The judge in charge of the Assizes charges the jury with the evidence, and there are other checks and safeguards—the witness for the Crown is sworn before the whole court and before the judge. The Clerk of the Crown gives him a certificate and he goes before the Grand Jury. If all those cautions and guards are observed I cannot see how possibly there should be such a miscarriage of justice under the jury system as my hon. friend has represented to the House. Notwithstanding that, I

am under the impression, and I think public opinion is going that way, and the judges in Nova Scotia are beginning to believe that a better system might be provided, notwithstanding the great respect that they have for that ancient institution, the Grand Jury.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I should like to say that I did not propose to bring in any measure just now, nor did I propose any reference to a committee in this matter, because I think that the Government of the country should not, in so important a matter, anticipate well-considered public opinion. The Government has means of ascertaining public opinion which a private individual does not possess. It is quite competent, and not unusual, for the Government to ask questions of different public officers—of the judges, members of the profession, and others who are capable (because it is not everyone who is capable) of forming a correct opinion with a full knowledge of the subject. I candidly stated that I was not aware how the balance of opinion was with the superior Ministers of Justice—with the judges of the country; but I do not think, and do not agree with my hon. friend from Ottawa, that there is such a very large preponderance on the Bench in favor of the Grand Jury.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I was only speaking from memory.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I know of several judges who are in favor of the abolition of the Grand Jury. The Government can always ascertain, in the usual way, what the opinion of such men is. With regard to moving for addresses from grand juries, I am not prepared to do that, because I would not value the evidence of the presentation of a Grand Jury at anything. They invariably re-echo the sentiments expressed by the Bench. In nine cases out of ten they will do so. If the judge urges the necessity of the abolition of a Grand Jury the body will express favorable views. If he urges that it should be retained they will do the same thing; and besides that, I do not think they are men as capable of forming an opinion as the judges and the profession.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Certainly not.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I am very far from desiring any step in advance of public opinion for any measure. Perhaps in a measure affecting administration of justice merely you may go in advance of public opinion, but any measure that is strongly in advance of public opinion, in matters such as I could indicate, is in my judgment wrong, and why? Because it teaches men to violate the law with impunity, and every violation of the law with impunity is calculated to weaken the arm of constitutional authority. I do not desire anything of the kind, and I do not desire that this measure should be even introduced by the Government, unless they ascertain that the ground is properly prepared for it. If my remarks are to reach the people, and they should assist in the forming of public opinion and directing it to what I believe is good and correct, I am satisfied. I have spoken with all the fairness that I am capable of upon a subject of which I know something; and, having done so, I have accomplished my present object.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—The expression that has fallen from the leader of the Government leads me to believe that something will be done in this matter. The abolition of the Grand Jury system requires the concurrent action of the Provincial Legislatures. There is another point to which I shall take the liberty of calling the attention of the hon. gentleman. Amongst the functions of the Grand Jury, what seems to me to be a most useful one is that it is a kind of commission of general inquiry into the workings of prisons, asylums and other public institutions, in which, in my humble opinion, the usefulness of the Grand Jury is specially seen. I may say that I have listened to the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Barrie with the greatest attention. I heartily concur also in the opinion expressed by the leader of the House. In my opinion, we ought not to part hastily with established institutions that have rendered good service in the past, though it is my opinion that the Grand Jury does not fulfil the requirements of the present condition of society. As briefly remarked by the hon. gentleman from Ottawa, all human institutions are imperfect, and we should not conclude, from the fact that abuses have grown out of the Grand Jury system, that

therefore the system has no value. I have no doubt that an investigation of the records of the working of the Grand Jury in the different Provinces would discover that it has worked a great deal of mischief in its time. I recollect a case myself that had some *eclat* in Montreal at the time, which showed very plainly what abuses could be perpetrated under that system. On one occasion two very influential men were accused of a crime, and were to be indicted before the Grand Jury. It happened that their lawyer, who is a very clever man, and who, I think, was a partner of the Crown prosecutor, procured a list of the Grand Jury, interviewed them before the term, and secured in advance a presentment in favor of the accused. It happened afterwards that through the good offices of the Attorney-General the man who acted in this way, and who was accused before the criminal court for tampering with the jury, was acquitted on account of informalities in the proceedings. Of course, this may be only one of those instances where the mischief is due rather to the imperfection of human nature than to the weakness of the system. My own impression is that mischief frequently results from the working of the Grand Jury. For instance, it has happened within my own personal knowledge that persons accused, instead of having had their preliminary examination before a magistrate, were indicted before the Grand Jury, and were brought before the court even without the knowledge of the other party, and without affording the parties any opportunity, which they would have had if brought before the magistrate, to guarantee themselves against the accusation, and were obliged to go to trial; while, if the accusation had been brought before the magistrate in the first instance the suit would have been abandoned.

HON. MR. GOWAN—That was done in Sir Francis Truscott's case in England.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—With reference to the suggestion of the hon. gentleman from Barrie as to the advantage of having a Crown prosecutor—that is, an officer whose duty would be to enquire into crimes and bring such matters before the courts, without the co-operation of the private prosecutor—I agree with the hon. gentle-

man to a great extent. My hon. friend made a comparison between the system existing in Scotland and the system in France. I think the system which prevails in Canada leads to compounding of felonies, and in many cases parties who should go before the criminal court and should be punished, enjoy immunity from punishment because they have money, and have been left in a position to settle the matter with the private prosecutor. I had myself, though a lawyer, occasion to bring personally a criminal accusation before a court of justice, and the costs I incurred and the result of the whole thing were such that I decided that if I were attacked in the future I would try to defend myself, but should never look for redress to a criminal court. In fact, to expect the individual who is wronged to take the initiative proceedings, and to incur all the responsibility and all the costs of criminal procedure, places such a burden upon his shoulders that in many instances it is a denial of justice. This means immunity to the guilty party, so that I think this is a matter which commends itself to the serious consideration of the Government. For my own part, I am very glad to have heard from the leader of the Government in this House that there is some intention on the part of the Administration to examine into the question. It requires, however, the concurrent action of the Local Legislatures with the Federal, because part of the administration of justice is in the hands of the Local Governments.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (27), "An Act to amend the Weights and Measures Act, Chap. 104, of the Revised Statutes." He said: This is a Bill for the purpose of providing a better mode of putting on the official mark indicating the number of gallons contained in a package than the mode which is provided by the existing Act. The law requires that the number of gallons shall be marked by the authorized officer on one of the staves of the barrel—the bung staff of the barrel—which is not visible when the barrels are piled, and it is soon filled up and obliterated

while being rolled about the floor. The object of the Act is to provide that the capacity of the cask shall be marked on the head.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Would it not be better to read the Bill at length at the Table and get rid of it. There is only one clause to it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—A word or two in the Bill will have to be changed, which refers to a clause of an old Act, and which I cannot find at present.

The motion was agreed to and the Bill was read the second time.

CONDITIONAL RELEASE OF FIRST OFFENDERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (E), "An Act to permit the Conditional release of First Offenders in certain cases." He said: This is a Bill prompted by the desire to give to the offender, on account of his youth or of extenuating circumstances that may have occurred about the commission of a crime, his previous good character, and the like, some chance of reforming himself before he is brought in contact with the contaminating influences of criminals in gaols and reformatories. It has become a matter of remark—in fact, it is almost universally true, that however trifling may have been the offence which consigns an offender to gaol and the society of other criminals, however comparatively innocent he may be at the time he receives his first conviction, he is tolerably certain to come out of prison a confirmed criminal, a man practically a member of the criminal class thereafter. In England this subject has attracted a great deal of attention, and two years ago an Act was passed by the Imperial Government enabling the court which convicted a youth answering the description I have just given, with extenuating circumstances, to order that that person be permitted to come up on a future occasion for sentence, giving him thereby a period of probation during which, by good character, he might redeem himself and avoid the necessity of going to gaol at all, or having the brand of perpetual infamy

stamped upon him, as it were, and the bad influences of contact with other criminals. The law has been found to work well, and the Bill which I propose to read the second time is a copy of that Act, merely altering the names of tribunals, so as to make it workable in this country. The second clause of the Act provides :

2. In any case in which a person is convicted before any court of larceny or false pretences, or any other offence punishable with not more than two years' imprisonment, and no previous conviction is proved against him, if it appears to the court before whom he is so convicted that, regard being had to the youth, character and antecedents of the offender, to the trivial nature of the offence, and to any extenuating circumstances under which the offence was committed, it is expedient that the offender be released on probation of good conduct, the court may, instead of sentencing him at once to any punishment, direct that he be released, on his entering into a recognizance, with or without sureties, and during such period as the court directs, to appear and receive judgment when called upon, and in the meantime to keep the peace and be of good behavior.

That expresses precisely what the Bill is calculated to do, and the remaining clauses simply provide the machinery which is requisite to carry that into effect.

HON. MR. HAULBACH—I think in some cases the courts have almost anticipated this legislation. To my knowledge, in cases where the youth of the offender, the trifling character of the offence, or other mitigating circumstances justified leniency, the judge has informed the party that on his next coming on the circuit he would pass sentence on the case. In fact, the whole system should be reformed, and I think this Bill is a step in the right direction. I read the other day the report of the Inspector of Penitentiaries and Prisons, and I think there is a great deal in that report which is worthy of careful consideration, not only with regard to the punishment of crime, but how far reformation can be had—how far you can classify offenders, so that those guilty of minor offences might not be corrupted by being imprisoned with the incorrigible class. I think the whole system might be revised with a great deal of benefit, and punishment inflicted with the object of being reformatory. It is much more important that the prison should be made a place for improvement than that it should be merely a place for punishment.

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HON. MR. SCOTT—The Bill, no doubt, will meet with the approval of everybody who has had experience of the administration of criminal justice. I am aware that a practice has been in operation for some time in Ontario that is pointed out by this Bill. I cannot tell what authority there is for it, but I know it is common, not alone where the party charged is young, but also in cases where the offenders are grown up. I have known many cases where the judge has directed them to go at large on their own recognizances, to appear at some future time for sentence, and if the party has behaved properly sentence has never been pronounced. I suppose there is nothing on the Statute Book to warrant it, and this Bill may be for the very purpose of giving authority for the practice that has been in operation for many years, to my knowledge.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I think anyone who has had experience in the administration of criminal law will hail with great satisfaction the expression of that power on the face of the Statute Book. I am aware of many instances in which, from the nature of the offence charged, or from the youth of the prisoner, judges have taken the course of taking the recognizance of the party to appear, when called upon, for sentence. The practice, I know, is very general of doing so, but I am not aware that that practice has ever been applied to cases of felony. In cases of misdemeanor I have done so myself frequently. I have taken the recognizance of the party to appear at a future day if called upon, but I am not aware that it has ever been acted upon in cases of felony. At all events, it is better that the power should be expressly set forth as a guide to the judges, because individual action will be moulded to conform to the indications given on the Statute Book. A similar measure has worked well in England, and was hailed with pleasure by the judges there. I am exceedingly pleased to find that the Government of the country have directed their attention to the subject. In the cause of humanity and for every reason, it is desirable the Act should be put on the Statute Book.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think it is very probable that the idea of the statute has been derived from a practice which has

prevailed, to some extent, of judges on the conviction of a certain class of offenders allowing them to depart, sometimes by giving bail, but more frequently on their own recognizances, to appear when called upon to do so. The discretion exists with every judge to pronounce sentence when he deems fit to do so. He is not bound to pronounce sentence the moment the trial is over. Generally he does not do so. My hon. friend will see that this Bill systematizes that idea in a way that it could not have been done before the passing of the Act. For instance, it provides a means by which, if a prisoner violates the obligation which he assumes when he is allowed to go on probation, he can be brought before a justice of the peace, and the justice sends him to the court before which he was tried. If the court is not sitting he can be allowed to go on bail, or he can be remanded to gaol. All this machinery is provided by the Bill. And as to the discretion given which the court has frequently exercised before, generally where the crime was so insignificant that the judges did not wish to imprison the offenders this Bill systematizes that discretion, extends and expands it, and provides the machinery for working it out in such a way that the period after trial is a veritable period of probation, and if the young man wishes to reform himself he has an opportunity of doing so.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

The Senate adjourned at 6 o'clock.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 26th February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were reported from Committee of the Whole, and read the third time, and passed, without debate.

Bill (C), "An Act relating to Bills of Lading." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (27), "An Act to amend 'The Weights and Measures Act,' Chapter 104, of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (E), "An Act to permit the conditional release of First Offenders in certain cases." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 27th February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS OF THE SENATE.

CONSIDERATION OF REPORT POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day having been called—"Consideration of the second report of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said—I would ask the hon. gentleman to postpone the consideration of this report for a short time. I notice that it contains a recommendation for an increase in the salary of the chaplain, one of the officers of the Senate. I think it requires the consideration of the House, and I would like to have a little time to look into it myself. There has been under discussion by my colleagues and myself, for some time past, the propriety of inquiring into the expenditure incurred in legislation, and I propose to-day or to-morrow to give notice of the appointment of a joint committee, if the House assents, to act with a committee of the Commons, for the purpose of making such an inquiry. In the face of that inquiry it would be well, perhaps, to postpone a little any change in our own expenditure, unless it be to diminish it, to which I presume nobody would object. If there is any portion of this report that requires immediate attention, perhaps that might be proceeded with now.

HON. MR. READ—If it is the pleasure of the House, we might adopt the recom-

mendation that Arthur Ralph be appointed as sessional messenger. Would it be in order to adopt that recommendation of the committee?

HON. MR. MILLER—You might move that he be appointed, as recommended by the committee.

HON. MR. DICKEY—If it is a pressing matter it could be dealt with by the House in that way.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—I think it would be as well to leave the consideration of the report until it can be accepted or rejected as a whole. The suggestion of the leader of the Government is a correct one. Nobody will suffer if the report is not adopted to-day. It would be impossible for the chairman of the committee to name a day when the report can be taken in consideration and dealt with.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is obvious that the two items of the report are subject to very different considerations, and do not depend upon each other. My hon. friend (Mr. McInnes) misunderstood me if he supposed that I wish to postpone the whole report. We might dispose of the first item now and let the other stand over for future consideration.

HON. MR. READ moved that the first paragraph of the report be concurred in, as recommended by the committee.

HON. MR. MILLER—I think it is just as well that the motion should be a substantive one—that Arthur Ralph be appointed, as recommended by the committee. I do not think it would be well to cut up the report, and adopt a portion of it only.

THE SPEAKER—The motion will appear on the Journals that Arthur Ralph be appointed, as recommended by the Committee on Contingent Accounts.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. READ moved that the Order of the Day for the consideration of the report be discharged, and that it be taken into consideration this day fortnight.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. READ.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (14), "An Act to incorporate the Alberta Railway and Coal Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (15), "An Act respecting the Kootenay and Athabasca Railway Company." (Mr. Reid).

The Senate adjourned at 3:45 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 28th February, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE DEFENCES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.), inquired of the Government:

1st. How does the question of the defences of British Columbia stand at the present time between the Imperial and Dominion Governments?

2nd. Whether it is intended to begin the erection of batteries this year on the localities approved in the neighborhood of Esquimalt?

3rd. Whether cannon or armaments for the proposed batteries are being prepared under the direction of Imperial authority, and if so, when will such armament or cannon be shipped to the Pacific?

He said: I hope I will not be considered an alarmist in bringing this matter before the House. I think it is well, in view of current events in Europe, to consider questions of this character, lest they should be lost sight of. The necessity for some means of defence on the Pacific shores of the Dominion has been fully acknowledged by the Imperial and Dominion authorities; and with a view to being accurately informed where batteries ought to be placed a party of Royal Engineers, detailed from Halifax, has been surveying in the vicinity of Esquimalt and Victoria for the last three years. I believe that certain points have been determined upon and approved for the location of batteries. We hear from time to time of the increasing strength of the Russian arsenal at Vladovistock, opposite the shore of British Columbia;

but as yet no steps have been taken by the Imperial or Dominion authorities in the direction indicated by my questions. We also find in leading English journals the note of warning sounded by the highest military authorities. The Under Secretary of State for War, at a recent banquet in London, while alluding to the arming and preparations for war by European powers, spoke of the war cloud hanging over Europe, and expressed the opinion that no one could tell when the peace of the great nations might be disturbed. At a public meeting held afterwards at Birmingham we find Wolseley speaking in the same strain, and using almost the same language as the Under Secretary, but with more emphasis. We also notice meetings held by Lord Brassey, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and a number of distinguished naval and military officers and eminent civilians, pointing out England's danger from being unprepared to meet other nations; and immediately on the heels of those warnings we see accounts of the great activity in English dockyards and arsenals, preparing for emergencies. Her Majesty's Speech at the opening of Parliament, a few days ago, alludes to the uncertainty of maintaining peace, and advises being prepared to face eventualities. Looking at all these surroundings, it would not, therefore, be unwise on the part of the Dominion to gird up its loins, look to its weak spots and take steps to have them strengthened. I trust that the hon. gentleman who is to reply to me will tell us that the Government have not lost sight of the question, and that before long something will be done in the direction to which I have alluded.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend, I think, is quite right in saying that no apology was needed for putting these questions. They are on a subject of vital importance, not only to Canada but to the Empire. I have to inform him, in reply to his questions:

1st. A large number of Imperial despatches and Orders-in-Council in relation to this subject have been received in the Department of Militia and Defence, and the correspondence is still proceeding. These papers are, in the main, of a confidential character. Such of them as are not of a confidential nature can be pro-

duced at any time, should the House desire their production, but the papers which might be brought down at present, without prejudice to the public interest, would not suffice to place the position of the question fully before the House.

2nd. It has not been decided definitely whether the erection of batteries in the neighborhood of Esquimalt will be begun this year. The matter is still under consideration.

3rd. The negotiations between the Imperial and Canadian Governments respecting the preparation of armaments are of a confidential nature. They are proceeding satisfactorily, but the papers cannot properly be brought down at present.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I would like to draw the attention of the leader of the Government to the fact that there are other points, if the fortifying of the ports of British Columbia is to be taken into consideration, that should not be overlooked. There are the termini of the Canadian Pacific Railway—New Westminster and Vancouver—which, of all places in the Province, ought to be protected, inasmuch as the absence of defences there might interfere with the transportation of troops across the continent. There is also Nanaimo, the great coaling station of the Province. These are points that require as much protection, possibly, as Esquimalt itself. I think it is very desirable that the defences of these places should be put in the best possible shape at as early a date as possible.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If my hon. friend will give notice of the question, on which I am not informed at present, I will ascertain, as far as possible, and give my hon. friend an answer on the subject.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I merely make a suggestion.

The Senate adjourned at 3:40 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 1st March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

A PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION.

HON. MR. CLEWOW, in the absence of Hon. Mr. O'DONOHUE, moved that when the House adjourns to-day it do stand adjourned until Monday, 4th March, at 8 o'clock in the evening.

HON. MR. KAULBACH objected, on the ground that the 14th Rule, which requires an intermediate day between the notice and the motion, had not been complied with.

THE SPEAKER ruled that the motion was not in order.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (14), "An Act to incorporate the Alberta Railway and Coal Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (15), "An Act respecting the Kootenay and Athabasca Railway Company." (Mr. Reid, B.C.)

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (21), "An Act respecting the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway Company." (Mr. Botsford).

Bill (35), "An Act respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company." (Mr. McCallum).

Bill (31), "An Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company." (Mr. Hardisty).

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 4th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTINGENT ACCOUNTS.

MOTION.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) moved the adoption of the third report of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts. He said: This report merely recommends the appointment of L. N. Garneau to the office of Assistant Clerk of French Journals, now vacant, at a salary of \$600 a year.

The motion was agreed to and the report was adopted.

NEW BRUNSWICK AND PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD moved the second reading of Bill (21), "An Act respecting the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway Company." He said: This Bill has for its object the extension of a trade which has sprung up unexpectedly—the export of freestone to the United States. The New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway connects with the Intercolonial Railway at Sackville, and the quarries, which it is contemplated to facilitate the export of this stone from, are about three miles from the present line of the road. There are two companies engaged in quarrying this stone in the Chignecto Basin, and the extension of this road will give the Intercolonial Railway a deep-water terminus as well as the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island road. I may state for the information of hon. members that last year one of those companies exported to the United States some 3,000 tons of build-

ing stone, and they exported to Chicago some 600 tons of the same stone by rail over the Intercolonial and Grand Trunk railways, and the parties who are interested in those quarries state that the price they got remunerated them for transporting the stone even that distance by rail. It arises from the fact that it is very superior stone, and in fact is superceding that from the celebrated Connecticut quarries. The stockholders of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island road have been informed by the owners of the quarries that they intend to carry on that industry very extensively, provided they can get railway facilities to transport it to the United States. The New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway is chartered by the Local Legislature, but inasmuch as it connects with the Intercolonial Railway it comes within the purview of this Parliament, and they ask for power to extend their road to a deep-water terminus to accommodate this new and important trade which has sprung up.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

NIAGARA GRAND ISLAND BRIDGE CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. MCCALLUM moved the second reading of Bill (35), "An Act respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company." He said: This is a very short Bill, merely extending the time for commencing and completing the work.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

RED DEER VALLEY RAILWAY AND COAL CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. HARDISTY moved the second reading of Bill (31), "An Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company."

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (24), "An Act to incorporate the Dominion Life Assurance Company." (Mr. Merner).

Bill (O), "An Act to incorporate the Hawkesbury Lumber Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (19), "An Act to incorporate the Assinaboia, Edmonton and Unjiga Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (25), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada." (Mr. Macdonald, Toronto).

Bill (30), "An Act respecting the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec." (Mr. Macdonald, Toronto).

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 5th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills, reported without amendment from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, were read the third time, and passed:—

Bill (14), "An Act to incorporate the Alberta Railway and Coal Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (15), "An Act respecting the Kootenay and Athabasca Railway Company." (Mr. Reid, B.C.).

THE COST OF LEGISLATION.

MOTION.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved—

That a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the Country in respect of legislation, and the practicability of reducing it; and that such committee shall consist of the Hon. Messrs. Miller, Scott, Vidal, Ross, and the mover.

And that a Message be sent to the House of Commons requesting their concurrence and joint action in such enquiry.

He said: In rising to move this motion, which has been on the Paper for some days, it is not my intention to occupy much of the time of the House by explanation. I imagine that every hon. gentleman in the Senate is familiar with the subject of this motion that the proposed

committee is intended to investigate, and very little may be said by way of informing them as to the facts. But I have a few statistics which I should like to submit as showing the extent to which the expenditure of Parliament, in the matter of legislation, has increased since Confederation. It is the striking increase in that amount which has led my colleagues and myself to the conclusion that it is time we should see of what this increased expenditure is composed, how far it is necessary, and, if not necessary, how far it can be reduced. I am aware, from expressions I have heard from some members of the House, that there is some idea that this motion is calculated to impinge in some way upon the privileges and rights of the Senate. Nothing could be further from the intention of the motion than that. The object of the motion is to appoint a committee to enquire into the expenditure of both Houses—to enquire into the entire expenditure involved in legislation, and to ascertain how far that expenditure may properly be reduced. No hon. gentleman will suppose that a question of this magnitude will be minimized by devoting the attention of the committee to cheese-parings of one kind or another. The increase in the expenditure is very much more than what might be represented as cheese-parings, as I will proceed to show the House by the citation of a few figures. At Confederation, taking, we will say, the year 1871 or 1872, when first the expenses were classified as they are now, the total expenditure in respect of legislation, including the Library, was \$392,830 for both Houses. That includes salaries, mileage and contingencies of the Senate \$88,195; salaries, contingencies and mileage of the House of Commons, \$253,500; the library, \$15,000; printing and stationery, \$34,000; elections, \$1,151. Now the expenses of last year for these same subjects amounted to \$807,423, an increase of over \$400,000 in the expenses of legislation. In stating the expenditure of 1872 I have not selected a special or exceptional year. I selected that because it was the first year in which the expenses were classified exactly as they are to-day. Now, let us take a shorter period—from 1870 to 1880. The expenditure of the Senate in 1870 for salaries, contingencies and mileage was \$67,797; in 1880 it was \$138,563.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The indemnity had been increased.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No doubt that is one cause of the increase. But that makes a difference which would amount to more than double the amount of the increased indemnity. Taking the same years for the House of Commons: in 1870 the salaries, contingencies and mileage of the lower House were \$226,800; in 1880, they had reached \$360,094, an increase of more than one-half. The Library, in 1870, cost \$6,000; in 1880 it cost \$22,893. The printing and stationery in 1870 amounted to \$76,643, which is a very exceptional amount, nothing like it having been expended during the four or five years preceding or following it. There was some extraordinary expenditure in that year, which I have not ascertained, which caused it to be very large; nevertheless, the expenditure in 1880, which is less than it was in 1879, was \$70,276. In 1870, the expenditure for elections was \$2,512; in 1880, it was \$6,278. Now let us see how this compares with 1888, when there was no increase of the indemnity, except in respect of a small number of additional Senators—not many, I think, because there were some vacancies. In 1880 the expenditure was \$138,563; in 1888 it had reached \$150,754, an increase of \$12,000. The expenses of the House of Commons in 1880 were \$360,094; in 1888 they had reached \$424,543. In 1880 the Library cost \$22,893; in 1888 it had increased to \$34,181. In 1880 the printing and stationery was \$70,276; in 1888 it was \$89,611, an increase of about 25 per cent. In 1880 the election expenses were \$6,278, while in 1888 they amounted to \$108,334. There are some exceptional circumstances about that which produced the great increase, but at the same time it is perfectly obvious from these statements that there has been, not a gradual, but a rapid increase in the expenses of legislation, including the expenditure in respect of both Houses. Now, this has made much noise—it has been much talked of. The Houses are censured; our own House, more especially, is spoken of as spending large sums of money and producing small results. Our results will speak for themselves. The labors of the Senate, inas-

much as it is not a political body, and is not so conspicuous in the public eye as the other House, which is largely devoted to those matters, are not so well known to the public; but the legislation of the Senate, if the public knew exactly in what way it was done and how successful and necessary it is, would assume a very different position in the estimation of the public. However, fortunately we are not dependent upon that. The consciousness of doing our duty in legislation is all we can expect, and that, I hope, we shall in the future, as in the past, continue to earn. But with regard to the expenditure, that is a matter which appeals directly to the public sympathy, which the people are more apt to lay hold of than anything else, except, perhaps, the dearth of long speeches in this House, for which they blame us. But as to the public money, the public accounts show what we spend. The public know the increase of our expenditure, and we are constantly asked why it is that the same House, with very few more members than we had years ago, is spending much more money than it formerly did, and why it is that year by year our expenditure increases. I think the labors of this committee, if they are judiciously selected, as I believe they are, will place before the public, if necessary, the fact—that we are making a sincere and honest endeavor to find out why it is that our expenditure is increasing; and if, upon that investigation, we find there is anything that we can retrench we will show the public—that we are capable of economizing. In doing this we do not place ourselves in any respect under the control of any other body, or party, or person, beyond our own House. This committee will report, when its investigation is completed, to both Houses. It will be for us to deal on our own behalf with the report of that committee; and so also will the House of Commons, on their part, if they think proper, when the report is presented to them. I think, therefore, the objections that we have heard *par dessous les branches*, that we are abandoning, or in danger of losing, some of our privileges, are entirely without foundation. We are making use of our rights to enquire into our own affairs, and we desire to be joined in that enquiry by the other House, in order that the enquiry

can be entered upon into their affairs: and that in that way we may be able to place before the country, and more especially before ourselves, a comprehensive view of the whole expenses of legislation, and, upon that view, to ascertain some mode of reducing them.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The motion which the hon. leader of the Government has placed in the hands of the Speaker is, no doubt, a very laudable one, and I am quite sure that this House will lend its aid and support in any way that it possibly can to a reduction of the expenditures of this country. The hon. gentleman's observations in regard to the great increase are, as far as this Chamber is concerned, somewhat misleading; because, for at least three-fourths of that expenditure this House is in no degree responsible. The Senate has not had the opportunity, from time to time, of raising its voice against that increase. In order that the House may properly appreciate how much of the responsibility for this increased expenditure attaches to this Chamber I have just noted down what the expenditure of the two Houses has been in a period of, say, fourteen years. In 1873-74 the expenses of the Senate over which we had in any way control amounted to \$54,416. We can control, no doubt, the salaries of our own officials; we can control what are called the contingencies of the House and the expenditure in connection with the newspapers. We did control, until three years ago, the moneys that we paid for stationery, and similar items; but beyond that the Senate is perfectly powerless. Any report of this House would be the merest child's play, so far as its influence could be felt elsewhere, where the money votes arise. Since 1873-4 the expenditure of this country has enormously increased. In the Senate it has grown from \$54,416 to \$63,594. That is an abnormal expenditure, no doubt; it is about \$5,000 higher than it should be. I am quite sure that any committee named by this Senate will be able to reduce that amount considerably below the figures of last year. That \$63,594 is large because the Government of this country thought proper to take the control of the purchase of stationery away from the Senate, and to vest it in a political head of the Government. I have in my hands here the cost of the

stationery; it is rather an entertaining subject, as we are discussing economy. In 1873, when the Senate controlled its own stationery, the amount was \$5,400; last year it was \$9,313, a jump of 50 per cent. from the years we controlled it ourselves. The Senate were free traders; they bought their stationery in the cheapest market. The policy of the Government is to buy in Canada, even at a higher price, and then we are told that we are an extremely extravagant body because of this increase, when we have not the smallest influence or control over the expenditure. We merely send in a requisition, and they attach the prices; and yet we are told that the Senate has become so extravagant that it is necessary to appoint a committee to enquire into its expenditure. Another reason for a large expenditure is, as I have heard, that the stock of stationery had run down and a larger order was given than would usually be required, and that less will be required next year. That would really reduce the expenditure which this House has control of to \$58,000. It is an increase, no doubt, of \$5,000 in the last fifteen years. Now, that is the gross extravagance of this House, that in the last fifteen years we have increased the expenditure that we controlled by \$5,000. I find that the expenditure in the House of Commons has grown from \$129,602, in 1873-74, to \$189,191 in 1888. Their increase has been \$60,000, while ours has been \$5,000. In 1886, the expenditure of the House of Commons—that is their domestic expenditure, meaning the clerks of the House, the stationery, the payment of the *Debates* and keeping up of their reading room—was \$237,000, while ours, for the same year, was \$61,000. Now, it does seem to me that it is like saving at the spigot while we are losing at the bung. If any one is curious to take up the Public Accounts and go back as far as 1880 it will be seen that every year the expenditure under the control of the Government—I am not speaking of public works, or anything beyond the civil list—has steadily risen \$1,500,000 a year. In that year it was \$24,850,000; next year it was \$25,502,000; next year, \$27,067,000; the next year \$28,730,000; the next \$31,107,000; the next \$35,037,000, the next \$39,011,000; the next \$35,657,000, and last year

\$36,718,000. What are our fragments of dollars compared with these millions of increased expenditure. We are told by the Government that the Senate can render valuable assistance by stopping a leak that prevails in the two Houses, yet we find this vast expenditure going on, the population not increasing, the trade of the country going down from year to year under the fostering policy of the Government. (No, no.) A young and growing country like this is taken hold of by the throat for the purpose of making a few wealthy, and then the Senate is to be invoked to render valuable assistance to the House of Commons in stemming the extravagant practices of the Houses of Parliament. Everybody knows that the Estimates come up to this House when the guns are firing announcing the approach of His Excellency to close the Session. We are given about five minutes in which to discuss the expenditures of the country. The Supply Bill does not come to us until the country is practically committed to it, and it is perfectly idle for the Senate to raise its voice against an increasing expenditure; yet we are told that by this committee we are to save a considerable sum of this big stream of money which is pouring out from the public treasury from year to year. My hon. friend said that this was to be no cheese-paring proposition. It does seem to me that no other term is strictly applicable, except the one which he has used, in view of the figures that I have given to the House. I am entirely averse to the appointment of the proposed committee, because I consider it a perfect farce. The expenditure of the country is controlled absolutely by the House of Commons; they have their Public Accounts Committee, in which the Opposition call attention to expenditures which they consider unnecessary or excessive. Then the Estimates are discussed in the other Chamber; the Finance Minister makes his Budget Speech, as he is no doubt doing at this moment, calling attention to the expenditures which he proposes for the coming year. Through the press, and otherwise, attention is called to the increased expenditures year by year. What has this House to do with it? No more than a cipher in the consideration of the

question. What would our remonstrance amount to? We are told, when the Supply Bill comes up, "Your duty is to pass it." We are not given an opportunity to discuss it. When it comes to us at the last moment, if we attempt to say anything about it we are told that the measure belongs to the other House, which controls the purse-strings. That is no doubt true, and it is there that economy must begin. To say that a body of gentlemen in this Chamber will control an equal number from the other Chamber, where money grants originate and where public expenditures are controlled, is to suggest something which is very improbable. It is the duty of members of the other Chamber in the House and before the Public Accounts Committee to take steps to curtail the public expenses to the extent the present condition of the country demands. That is the true mode of meeting the increased outlay, which I deplore, as I have no doubt every hon. gentleman here deplores, but which we have no power to stop. We do call attention to it, but the Blue Books show that the increase of expenditure goes on from year to year. I suppose a day will come when it will have to stop, but that day has not yet arrived. No doubt, for a country with a population of 5,000,000 the expenditure of this Government is enormously in excess of what it ought to be—enormously in excess of that of any country in the world with equal population. Being a young, and vigorous and prosperous country, Canada has within itself those vital energies and vast producing powers that enable it to stand the waste and extravagance that have gone on from year to year. The only time the expenditure of this country was ever called to a halt was during that five years which have been so much abused, which we are told was the most wretched period that this country ever endured—the five years during which the Mackenzie Government were in power. From 1867 the annual expenditure increased from \$13,000,000 at Confederation to \$23,316,000 in 1873-74. And what was it in the last year that the Mackenzie Government were in office?—\$24,455,000. If my hon. friend will limit his resolution to the first portion of it I should be very glad to serve on the committee, but I do feel that it would be a farce for us to presume to meet an equal number

of gentlemen from the Chamber which has absolute control of the public expenditure, and who, it is to be presumed, will be friends of the Administration. You cannot form a committee there that would be otherwise, because the followers of the Government are largely in the majority. Is it likely that a committee thus formed will be influenced largely by any arguments that we could use? It is too childish, at all events, for me to appreciate. I cannot serve on the committee unless I can see some substantial good to come from it. It would be superceding, to some extent, the committee on Public Accounts. So far as a committee of this Chamber is concerned, I shall be glad to assist in any way I can to diminish the expenditure under our control. No doubt it can be reduced two or three thousand dollars if they give us charge of the expenditures for stationery; but if we have to pay more for stationery than we could procure it for ourselves the House is not responsible for the increased expenditure. The items we can control are not very numerous. The salaries amount to \$33,362; pages, \$936; sessional messengers, \$1,250; charwomen, \$1,968; stationery, \$9,313; newspapers, \$1,889; postage and mails, \$757; tradesmen's accounts, \$3,459; unforeseen items, \$2,968; *Debates*, \$7,690. Our principal increase is, of course, in the *Debates*; we pay a considerably larger sum than we did a good many years ago. The chief items in which the increase are in the past year are stationery, increased from \$6,024 to \$9,000; salaries from \$32,578 to \$33,362; and the *Debates* from \$7,240 to \$7,690. It will be seen that the Senate is really entirely powerless for other increases, and is not in any degree chargeable with general extravagance or the increased cost of legislation. My hon. friend knows very well that the main sum that has caused this large increase is the sessional allowance. One year, during the term, it was increased to \$1,000, and one year to \$1,500, and in the *Debates* there was an increase of cost. Of course, in the House of Commons the increase has been very large, but I suppose to some extent it is natural, because there was an increase in the number of members; but certainly not sufficient to warrant the increase shown by the figures. In the

Senate the increase was \$5,000; in the Commons it was \$60,000. I would therefore ask the leader of the Government if it would not be better to appoint a committee of our own; beyond that I would not like to go. My hon. friend says that the appointment of the committee will not lead to any sacrifice of the privileges of the Senate—that it will not result in the House of Commons taking the control. I know pretty much what the history of these things has been, and I have heard it foreshadowed that it means something very different. I have no doubt it does mean this. Perhaps it is right, if the Senate think it proper, that the House of Commons would take control of the payment of all those items over which the Senate heretofore has had jurisdiction. They are not very many; the Commons practically control the salaries now, because they vote them each year. They can take exception to them at any time. I see that we have kept within the sum that the House of Commons has authorized us to use. In 1884 the House of Commons voted us \$56,000 and we only spent \$49,000. The House of Commons, no doubt, would see where they could do a little cheese-paring, as far as the Senate is concerned. I have no doubt the accounts of the two Houses might be kept by one office; the two post offices might be amalgamated, and they might consider whether it would be worth while to cut down the newspapers we have in our room. They may do that if they like, and take control of the contingent accounts, as they, no doubt, will if the power is to be entrusted to them; it would certainly result in that. I thought when the Senate gave up the power of purchasing its own stationery it made a great mistake, and the result shows I was right, because the Government pay more for it now than it formerly cost us, and the increased expenditure is attributed to us. With those observations I beg to say to the House that while I am most anxious to act on this committee, so far as the first paragraph is concerned, to take into consideration our expenditure, I must oppose the formation of a joint committee, knowing that it simply means that this House shall be entirely ignored on that joint committee, and that its representations will really amount to nothing, because it

is clear the House of Commons is dealing with this subject, and will continue to deal with it in the manner it pleases. It is not going to do more or less at our instance.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am sorry to find my hon. friend not exactly opposing any attempt at economy, but saying everything he can imagine that has a tendency to induce opposition to it. I did not expect that he would take that ground. I would like to examine, in the first place, the ground on which his arguments are based, and ascertain how far these figures that he quotes justify his statement that the chief increase in the expenditures of the Senate arises from the manner in which the stationery is purchased?

HON. MR. SCOTT—I read the items.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend did read the items, but he drew deductions from them with which I cannot agree, and with which I think the House will not agree. I have the exact figures of the various increases taken from the reports every year, carefully, by one of the best statisticians of the country, and the figures I gave my hon. friend in the House a few minutes ago were correct.

HON. MR. SCOTT—You did not quote the Senate expenditure.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; I stated that the expenditure in 1886 was \$117,222, and that in 1888 it was \$150,754.

HON. MR. SCOTT—That is taking the indemnity.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; everything.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I did not take the indemnity.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—In forming an estimate of what this House costs the country it is necessary. In 1886 the expenditure was \$117,222, and the following year it was \$143,039. That is a difference of \$26,000, in one year; and I call my hon. friend's attention to the fact that these were years in which the Government controlled the stationery. The first of these three years in which the Government controlled the stationery the expen-

HON. MR. SCOTT.

diture was \$26,000 less than 1887 and \$33,000 less than it was last year.

The comparison which I made a moment ago, showing the increase in our expenditures from a certain period to a certain other period, shows that it is very large—in point of fact, considerably over \$400,000 since 1872, and the addition to the indemnity made at that time, if taken off, would not reduce that much—not more than \$30,000. And this is the sum which we propose to enquire into in this House, which my hon. friend treats as trifling, as a bagatelle, and as mere cheese-paring; because, as he says, it only consists in the difference in the price of stationery. But is there \$400,000 difference in the price of stationery since 1872?

HON. MR. POWER—There is no such difference.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Was there \$33,000 difference between the price of stationery in 1886 and 1888?

HON. MR. SCOTT—I read from the Auditor-General's report. The expenditure we control is what we can fairly discuss.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We control, not only the stationery, but all the contingencies of the House. We also bear our proportion in various other matters in which the other House shares with us. I instance the Library increase, which, during the last year, was \$4,000. That is not stationery. The printing and stationery increased \$15,000, though my hon. friend says that the increase is only \$3,000. But, in fact, my hon. friend begins by doing what it would be time enough to do when we get the report of the committee. He undertakes to say at once, without sufficient evidence before him, what the cause of all this increased expenditure is, although he has not yet had information enough to determine that. He, himself, is a member of the sub-committee which has been appointed to enquire into the cause of the increase in the cost of stationery. I don't think that committee has yet commenced its investigation. If it had made its enquiry, and had placed before this House its report, the hon. gentleman would be in a better position to give an opinion as to the cause of this

item of increase. But be that as it may, whether \$3,975 increase in stationery last year was necessary or not, it accounts for a mere fraction of the increase going on from year to year in the expenditure for legislation. My hon. friend is rather inclined to take up the question of the general expenditure of the country. He says, "What is the use of going into the small increase of \$3,000 or \$4,000 when the general expenditure of the country is increasing to such a large extent?" It does not appear to me that this is any argument at all on this matter, and I am not prepared to follow my hon. friend at this moment into the question of how far the country is or is not extravagant in its general expenditure. The question before the House at this moment is whether the expense of legislation in this House and in the House of Commons, and the general expenditure of the two Houses, can be reduced. I do not propose to go into the other question at all; but supposing we are increasing our annual general expenditure more largely than we ought to do, what follows from that? Not that we should not enquire into expenditure which, perhaps, we can have something to say in controlling. We all know that under our constitution the people hold the purse, and that they have approved of this very expenditure which my hon. friend finds fault with. They have pronounced upon it every year, and they have voted by large majorities that the expenditure of the Dominion is justifiable. I do not attempt to follow my hon. friend on the general question any further than that. My hon. friend's argument reminds me of a story of a certain lady of high rank, whose character was supposed not to be altogether immaculate in every respect, but who attended church regularly, always going to mass. On being ridiculed for that she replied: "Why, if guilty of one sin, should I be guilty of every other sin?" In the same way I ask: Why, if we are extravagant in this House or the other House, and spending too much money on stationery and other things, though the Government may be guilty of greater extravagance in administering the affairs of the country, ought we to refuse to enquire into this sin of ours because we are guilty of some other sin? That is a great fallacy. Here is an expenditure,

something patent before our eyes, which nobody can say has any other value than the legislation which is derived from it, and the executive power exercised by the Government possessing its confidence. That is, we have no public works, no canals or railways to show for our expenditure and the people are crying out and saying there is too much money expended in those two Houses of Parliament in making our laws. That being the case, we have it in our power to enquire into the facts, and if we are not spending too much, what better vindication can we have than a report of a committee carefully selected from both Houses as to what the expenditure really is? If, on the other hand, we are guilty of expending too much, shall we say we will not amend, because the Government is guilty of spending too much money in other ways? That is a reason that would not go down with the country as justifying this House for such a refusal. The hon. gentleman goes on to prophecy a number of things which he thinks will happen to this House if we consent to the committee. In the first place, the five men from this House are to be nothing in the hands of the five men to be selected by the Commons. Why not? Why can we not hold our own, in a discussion of that kind, with the Commons or with any other body on the face of the globe? I do not hesitate to say that I should be satisfied to place five gentlemen selected from this House alongside of five men selected from any other legislative body, and that the five men selected from the Senate will do their duty and hold their position as well as any five men who can be selected from the Commons, or any other source. I think it is a humiliating admission, and not one founded on fact, when the hon. gentleman says that five men from this House would be entirely in the hands of the five men appointed by the Commons. If the Commons take it upon themselves to disregard the prudent suggestions which a committee of this House may choose to embody in the report, who will have public opinion on their side, then, I would like to know? We will be supported by the public and by public opinion in doing what our representatives may find to be right if we concur with them; and if we are unable to carry what is right it is not we who will

suffer in the estimation of the public and of the country. But I see no reason why the result of the enquiry by five men of each House would be disastrous to us. We shall have as much to say in regard to the expenditure in another place as of the expenditure of this House, and as to its prudence we will have the same voice as the remainder of the joint committee, and I see no reason to fear any of the evil consequences which my hon. friend predicts. I see nothing that the House of Commons can do in respect of this House except by our own consent. We are just as much an independent and integral part of the Legislature as the other House; our vote is just as necessary to the passing of a law, and we are just as well able to maintain our position with respect to our domestic economy. I see no reason at all to fear any undue exercise of authority by anybody, person or House, whatever, in respect of the subject matter of this motion. I do not think anybody can interfere with us without our consent; I do not think we will consent to anything unless it is just, and right, and proper that we should consent, and I doubt very much if the recommendation of this committee, whether influenced most by our own members or by the other, will be disregarded, if, when it comes before this House, we think it right, and just, and proper to abide by it, or that it can be enforced if we object to it. I am very anxious that my hon. friend should be on this committee. I would call his attention to the fact that there are two subjects which are joint, which do not affect this House only, but both Houses—the expenditure on the Library, which is now very large—\$34,000 last year, and the expenditure for printing and stationery, which is now nearly \$90,000. They appertain to both Houses, and a joint enquiry is certainly most expedient in respect of these matters. I think it is more becoming the dignity of this House and more becoming our position to take part in an enquiry, as to the expenditure in the Commons as well as our own House, than to stand aloof, and say that we have nothing to do with the expenditure of the other House—let them spend as much as they like, we will look after ourselves. I say, no; we are an integral part of the Le-

gislature; certain duties devolve upon us, and one of those duties is to look after the expenditure, as far as we can do, in every part of the halls of legislation, as well as in our own. I hope, therefore, my hon. friend will allow his name to remain on the committee.

HON. MR. POWER—The two speeches of the leader of the House I think contain a reasonable show of argument in favor of the appointment of a committee to consider the expenditure of the Senate. I do not think that they contain any argument to induce us to go any further than that. Certainly, looking at the figures produced by the hon. gentleman from Ottawa, it is perfectly clear that we are not the body who should be expected first to raise this question of extravagance. Our extravagance is a mere trifle, as compared with the extravagance of the Commons. As far as there is extravagance here—I grant that there are certain items in which small reductions might be made, but the possible reductions are very small—I think that if the Commons had agreed to appoint a committee, and had recognized the fact that they were extravagant, and that we were so in a less degree, and had asked us to concur with them, there would not be so much to be said against the proposal; but when this proposed step against extravagance begins in the Senate it would look as though we felt that we were really the more guilty party. Now, that is not the case at all. The hon. gentleman from Ottawa dealt with the general expenditure of the Government. I do not propose to do that; but I wish to call the attention of the House to some other figures. I go back to the year 1878, and I find that in that year the expenditure for civil government was \$812,103. Hon. gentlemen who were in this House at that time will remember that it was argued in a most energetic way by gentlemen of the same political faith as the leader of this House that that expenditure was altogether too great, and should be reduced. Now, I turn to the Public Accounts of last year and find the expenses of civil government, which it was claimed were too large in 1878, have increased from \$812,000 to \$1,258,000. There is an increase of more than 50 per cent. in the expenses of civil government

—the cost of running the various departments of the Government here in Ottawa. Surely, with such an enormous increase elsewhere, as compared with the very trifling increase in the expenditure of the Senate, the demand for economy ought to have begun somewhere else. It is possible to save \$400,000 in the expenses of civil government; and it is, perhaps, possible to save \$15,000 in the expenditure of the Senate. I find that the total expenses for legislation in 1878 was \$596,000; the expenditure for the same purpose during the past year was \$807,000, an increase of something over \$200,000. It is clear that the increase in the expenditure of the Senate is a mere trifle, and that the great bulk of the increase is in the House of Commons, while the increase in civil government is perfectly enormous. The conduct of the Government, in proposing to begin a policy of reduction here, reminds me somewhat of the famous proposal of Artemus Ward, to sacrifice all his wife's relations. The Government do not wish to cut down departmental expenditure, and they do not propose to cut down the expenditure in the House of Commons, but they say, "The poor old men in the other end of the building have not a single departmental officer there, and we shall make them the scape-goats for the extravagance of others, and take away from them the little control they now have over their expenditure." They will probably take away our post office and consolidate it with their own, and put the whole consolidated establishment in the hands of the Commons; they will consolidate the law and translation departments of the two Houses, and put them under the control of the House of Commons. Then this Senate will present this humiliating appearance to the public: that we shall be simply a body of middle-aged and elderly gentlemen, who draw an indemnity, and who endorse every measure which comes up from the House of Commons, and on occasions will be allowed to dot an "i" or cross a "t," but will not have power to appoint a messenger. I don't think anything could be more objectionable or undignified than that. The hon. gentleman gave as his principal reason for the appointment of this joint committee that the people were crying out against this expenditure for legislation. Perhaps

they are. I have not heard any very loud outcry. The fact is, one of the misfortunes in this country is that the people do not seem to think very much about the expenditure going on here or elsewhere; but I am perfectly satisfied that if the people knew the facts there would not be any very great outcry against the Senate.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Hear! hear! That is what I said.

HON. MR. POWER—I regret very much that the hon. gentleman from Richmond is not in his place; because some years ago he dealt with the whole question of the expenditure of Parliament, and showed in a most conclusive and satisfactory way that the Senate were really less open to accusation for extravagance than the Commons. As to the increase which has taken place in certain items that the hon. gentleman has referred to, the causes are not very far to seek. For instance, the hon. gentleman has pointed out that the expenditure in connection with public printing has increased. That increase is due to the fact that under a measure passed by the hon. gentleman's government some years ago the public printing was placed in the hands of one of the Departments here, and, as a matter of course, the expenditure has increased.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It was much larger during the time of the Mackenzie Government.

HON. MR. POWER—Then the hon. gentleman has no good ground for his accusation that it has increased.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It has been diminished since then, and is now increasing again.

HON. MR. POWER—At any rate, the increase in the present instance is due to the fact that the printing is being done by a Department and not by a contractor. Then the hon. gentleman has not the slightest fear as to what this committee may do. I do not share the hon. gentleman's confidence in connection with that matter.

There is another item that I wish to refer to as to last year's expenditure. I think that the increased expenditure last year was due very largely to the great Mackenzie River Basin committee, which

absorbed a considerable amount of money, and constituted a large item in the Senate expenditure. I trust that we are not to have any similar committee this year. That committee did its work, and did good service, but it cost a good deal of money. The reason why I do not feel the confidence the hon. gentleman does is this: I may be mistaken, but I am afraid that the hon. gentleman himself is not as strong—that his feelings on behalf of the Senate are not just as strong as they might be; and we might find this state of things existing in the joint committee, that when some proposal was made—for instance to consolidate the law and translation departments of the two Houses—the hon. gentleman might probably think that was not on the whole an objectionable thing, and he would be found voting with the House of Commons representatives in favor of such a motion. It is not at all improbable that if a proposition were made to consolidate the two post offices, the hon. gentleman will be found voting in the same way; and then, if the joint committee made such a recommendation, what position would we be in? If we resisted the adoption of the report of the committee, a report secured by the weakness of one of our own members, we would be held up to the country as being opposed to retrenchment. I don't see anything whatever to be gained by our taking part in a joint committee. A small saving may be made in the expenditure of the Senate, but that expenditure should be recommended by a committee of our own. We can deal with that ourselves, and I fail to see any good object to be gained by going outside of our own body. Let us keep our own door steps clean, and let the Government and the House of Commons look after their own.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—As there will be a vote on this amendment, I may as well say a few words on the question. I had not made up my mind what stand I would take, and when the hon. gentleman from Ottawa spoke I thought I would wait for the reply of the leader of the House to make up my mind, and this reply is now before us. I may say that the weakness of the reply was such that it converted me to the views of the hon. gentleman opposite. The leader for the Government says that there is no argu-

HON. MR. POWER.

ment in the remarks made by the hon. gentleman from Ottawa, when he states that the Government ought to begin by showing that they are willing to work for economy. I find that to be a very good argument, because the leader of the House cannot say that the expenses of the Senate, while they are large and increasing, are extravagant, while there is extravagance and great extravagance, in the administration of the Government. As the hon. gentleman opposite has shown, part of the expense of this House are due to the Government. It is well known that the Government, in this House as well as in the Commons, controls not only the legislation but controls the majority. A man would be blind if he could not see it every day. The expenditures through the Committee on Contingencies have to be approved by the Government, although this Senate is so belittled by the Government that there is not one Minister in it with a portfolio, and every year reports for increase of salaries have been approved by the leader of the House. Then, when he has aided in this extravagance he comes to the House and says: "You must here, in the Senate, appoint five judges to confer with five judges to be appointed from the other House, and decide whether you are extravagant or not." The hon. gentleman ought to be the first to show a good example. The Government ought themselves to begin by showing that even in this House they are opposed to increases of salary and other expenditures. This they have not done. The first step of theirs is to come here and ask for a committee, and the way they ask it is, I may say, an insult to the House; because it is as much as to say that the gentlemen who constitute the Contingent Committee of this House do not understand how to administer the public money, and that it is necessary to appoint a commission of four or five members to look into the question and to suggest better means to secure economy in our expenditures. Then, to say that five members of the other House are to be asked to decide upon the question of the administration of our contingencies is certainly injurious to this Senate. No member in this House will deny that on that committee there will be a majority of the friends of the Government. Five have been chosen in

this House, and of these five four are supporters of the Government. Does any one believe that the choice of the other House will be Opposition members? Surely not. Then, when the proportion is four to one here, and probably three to two in the other House, who can say that that committee will report according to what will be for the best interests of the country? I am inclined to think, seeing the stand taken by the Government, that the report will be just according to the views that the members of the Government on that committee will hold; because these men, having confidence in the Government, will suppose that their suggestions are in the best interests of the country, and act accordingly. Then, what will be the position of this House? Will it be possible for us to reject the report? I say it will not, especially if it should be adopted in the other House. And suppose the Senate should do so, then it would go abroad that the Senate of Canada was opposed to economy, while we know the fact is quite the reverse. I know something of economy. On one occasion the Government of the Province of Quebec, seeing that there was extravagance in the public expenditure and that it was difficult to make both ends meet, and that they would soon have to resort to direct taxation, came to me and asked me to endeavor to effect a saving in the public expenditure. We did not go to the Upper House; we went to the Legislative Assembly, and the result was that in eight years the expenses of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec were diminished by \$111,000. The Government of the day were true to themselves and to the country, and adopted the best means to retrench. They did not want to economize on one hand in order to be extravagant on the other. Look at the extravagant expenditure of this Government on public works! Not long ago we found that the expenses of Ministers travelling through the Dominion amounted to thousands and thousands of dollars. No doubt, members of the Government have a right to their legitimate expenses when travelling on the public service, but when we see the manner in which these gentlemen expended the public money they should be the last to ask this House to initiate economy. I might point out, as an illustration of the the manner in

which the public money is squandered, that post offices are being built in small places, in counties which the Government are trying to influence. Two or three years ago I asked the Government about certain post offices, and the reply was, it was impossible to erect post offices, except in large cities. What do we find now? Wherever they hope to secure a county, a post office is built at an expenditure of from \$10,000 to \$20,000 when a building that would not exceed \$4,000 or \$5,000 would serve the purpose. I could mention even villages where such buildings have been erected. I say, from my place here, that this is not only extravagance, but it is trying to buy up constituencies *en bloc*! yet we are asked to clear out our messengers and do our own work in order that money may be saved for expenditures of that character? It is an insult to the Senate. As the hon. gentleman from Ottawa says, if the Government had asked for a committee of this House to look into the matter I would be happy to give my assent, because I go for economy. The hon. leader of the House said that the public are largely interested in this question of economy. No doubt they are, but in my frequent visits to different constituencies in my own Province I have never heard the Senate or the House of Commons charged with extravagance; but I have heard hundreds of times complaints of the Government's extravagance. Therefore, if we are to investigate this matter at all let us appoint a commission to examine into the expenditures of the Departments, and then it will be time enough for the Senate to look into their own expenditures. If the expenses of this House are too large whose fault is it? The Government control the funds. From Confederation until two or three years ago our Clerk discharged all the duties of his office without an assistant; now we have two or three officials there. Why? Because a sinecure must be found for a gentleman who was highly recommended. Although he was worthy of a situation, as the son of a worthy father, it is too bad that the Senate should be charged with extravagance because the Government of the day made the appointment. Now, with reference to the expenses of printing: two or three years ago I had to send my

servant man with a horse and cart to the post office to bring home some hundreds of Blue Books. They related to the enquiry on the Riel affair. I have them yet, and they are there for any one who will take them. Who was guilty of that extravagance? The Department of Justice. The Senate had nothing to do with it. The orders of both Houses were that five or six copies should be distributed to each member, and no more. Why was that order not complied with? I know, for my part, I received some hundreds of copies. I never complained of it until now, but since this House is reproached in a way that I consider insulting, it is only right that I should mention it. Then, as to the increase, there is a good reason for it. Before 1875 there was no *Hansard* in the House of Commons; the expenditure on that service now amounts to some \$30,000 a year. That is an expenditure for which I would vote at any time, because there is no better way to prevent men from talking too much. They know that years hence their utterances will be on record, and they have to be careful how they change their opinions, lest they should be confronted with their inconsistency, and the country has the advantage of knowing what its representatives say in Parliament. While I approve of the official reporting of the *Debates* of Parliament, believing it to be in the best interests of the country, I consider that the service accounts for a very considerable part of the increase of expenditure. The leader of the House says that in moving for this committee we are to have a certain control. I cannot see the force of that argument. On the contrary, I think the Government have decided that they cannot rely upon five members of this House alone, but must have five of their supporters from the other House on the committee to supervise our expenditures. It is reversing the position of this House. We are supposed to be a revising body, but in this instance our expenditures are to be revised by the Lower House. If there is any independence in the Senate this motion ought not to be adopted, unless the last paragraph is struck out. If that amendment is made I have no objection to the appointment of the committee, because I believe a considerable reduction of our expenditure

could be made; but a better mode of dealing with it would be to reduce the number of members on the Committee on Contingencies. Appoint a committee of five members, men who understand the matter, the best men in that committee, and you will soon find an improvement. When there is a large committee it is difficult to increase a deserving official's salary without having a demand made to increase the salaries of others at the same time. When we undertook to retrench at Quebec we adopted the system of having sub-committees to do the work, and they had only to get the approval of the committee when the work was done. It worked so well that, as I have already stated, we effected an economy of \$111,000 in the contingencies of the House of Assembly. In view of my experience on that occasion, I thought it my duty to say a few words on this subject to-day.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am surprised at the opposition to this motion. We are asked to appoint a committee to enquire whether the expenditure on legislation in this country can be reduced. It is a question which should be enquired into. It does not reflect upon the position of the Senate, or imply that we have been extravagant in this branch of Parliament. We have grave reasons for considering this question and asking the Commons to join with us in the enquiry. It seems to me that it is but right and courteous to invite the co-operation of the co-ordinate branch of Parliament. My hon. friends who oppose the appointment of this committee have shown the best reasons for holding this investigation. They say there is extravagance, not only here, but in the general expenditure of the country. My hon. friend from Halifax says there has been in the expenditures on the Civil Service an increase beyond what is reasonable or justifiable. If we in this House take the initiative in this matter we are doing what is right, and we will be commended for it by the country. The expenses of the Senate are small in comparison with those of the other branch, but what do we find announced to the country? They are told by the Opposition press that the Senate is extravagant in its expenditures, that it costs much more than it is worth to the country. By

asking for this enquiry we do not admit extravagance here, but we say that it is wise and expedient that the matter should be investigated. Looking at the tendency which is manifested in the Committee on Contingencies to yield to the importunities of parties coming before them, I think it is necessary to check any unnecessary expenditure. That the committee has committed this House to grants which many of us did not approve of is an evidence of the necessity at the present time of calling a halt, and examining whether there has been any extravagance, and, if any, where it exists and how it can be checked. I might go into reasons for sustaining the Government in enlarging the expenditures in view of the increased business of the country, and show that there has been no extravagance, and that the enlarged outlay is legitimate and necessary to meet the requirements of the country. I say the expenditure of the country is a proper subject for enquiry, and I believe it is creditable to the Senate that it is taking the initiative in this matter.

HON. MR. VIDAL—A great deal of talk is being indulged in with reference to this very simple matter before us. Much that has been said, in my judgment, has very little bearing on the question, as affording any light to us guiding us with reference to our action. It has been admitted on all hands that there has been a very large increase of expenditure in connection with the legislation of the country. It has been very clearly shown, and I think acknowledged by all, that this House is not to any great extent responsible for it—that the extravagance, if it may be called so, can be traced more largely to the other House than to us. Now, it appears to me, although objection has been taken to the formation of a committee charged with such a duty as making this investigation and report, it is the most desirable step that could be taken. The strongest argument that has been brought against the appointment of this committee is that the extravagance of the Government, generally, in all the Departments is greatly in excess of anything in connection with the legislation; that they ought to begin with reducing the expenditure for civil government, and then they might come to us. That reasoning does

not rest on a good foundation, and for this reason: no member of the Government, I fancy, would feel that he was particularly called upon to direct attention to the extravagance, if it may be so called, or the increased expenditure with reference to legislation, while he might be charged to look at his own Department and see what could be done to reduce the expenditure there. I can see great impropriety in any Minister of the Crown taking up this question, and I think it is proper it should be remitted to the two Houses of Parliament themselves. They are the parties that can, with the greatest propriety, look into the matter. Any Minister of the Crown would feel a delicacy in forcing his own views on the House. When the matter is left to ourselves, and a committee appointed by ourselves, we have every reason to believe that the duty will be faithfully discharged, and the proper amount of attention and respect given to the conclusions at which that committee may arrive. Something has been said about the exceeding great power of the committee of the other House, and that no power would be left with the members of the committee from the Senate. It is not much of a compliment to the members of this House. From my acquaintance with them I do not think anyone of them could be influenced to do what his conscience did not approve of, by any pressure brought to bear on him from the other House. I believe that every gentleman who has been named would stand up honestly and manfully for the carrying out of his own convictions and maintaining, particularly, the rights of this House. That there is any disposition to make the bearing of this enquiry to be simply a reduction of the expenditures of this Chamber is, in my opinion, entirely erroneous. I do not think that has entered into the mind of the mover of this resolution at all, but it is the only way that the large expenditure that has been proved to have been incurred by the two branches of Parliament can be properly looked into and checked. We would be acting wisely in giving our consent to the appointment of this committee, and I certainly join in the expression of the leader of the Government here with reference to retaining on the committee the name of the hon. gentleman from Ottawa.

HON. MR. VIDAL

I think it is exceedingly desirable that he should be on the committee. We would then have the benefit of his criticisms, and who knows but we might arrive at such a conclusion that the action of this committee, being sustained by the two Houses of Parliament, might be found to have a strong bearing on the departmental work outside, and that if we, in the Legislature, commence with this retrenchment of expenditure there is every reason to believe it will be followed out in all the branches of the Civil Service. At all events, when the two Houses of Parliament have confined their own expenditures to the narrowest limits compatible with efficient service they will be in a better position to call for a reduction of expenditure in the departments. I think it is a move in the right direction, and will not only have the effect of reducing the expenditure for legislation, but ultimately the expenditure for civil government generally, which has been so strongly condemned by so many members who have spoken this afternoon. I hope that the members appointed from the other House, working in perfect harmony with the gentlemen from the Senate, will, by the result of their investigation, and the conclusions to which they may come, and the recommendations they make, be of vast service both to this Chamber and to the Government, and to the country generally.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—Since the death of Mr. Montizambert, has the hon. gentleman heard it rumored that it was intended to combine the offices of the law clerks of both Houses, and make other changes of that character?

HON. MR. VIDAL—No; I have never heard the faintest syllable in reference to such a change.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is not in the secrets of the Government.

HON. MR. WARK—As this proposition has come from the Government, I think it is not advisable that the Senate should oppose it. Our decision might be misconstrued. It might be said we were opposed to any attempt at economy. I think, therefore, that if this joint committee is formed, and submits a report, it

will be able to trace a great deal of what is now called extravagance in the two branches of Parliament to the Government. As a member of the Printing Committee I know that loads of papers come to it, and very few of them are ordered to be printed; nevertheless, we commenced with six volumes of Sessional Papers, and last year we had seventeen. These were filled largely with documents under the control of the Government. The archives, published by one of the Departments, fill one volume; the Canadian Pacific Railway, and all the returns called for respecting it, fill another volume—and so on. I might go on enumerating them, but it is not necessary. It is sufficient to say that from six volumes at Confederation they have risen to seventeen volumes now. With regard to the Library, the committee of this House is simply appointed to assist the Speaker in the management of the Library. We have nothing to do with controlling the expenses. The Government decided that the clerks in the Library should be placed on the same footing as the other employés in the Civil Service, that their salaries should gradually advance, according to the terms of their service, and when the Librarian died the Government decided that two Librarians were necessary. Of course, all that adds to the expense. Then, with respect to the works purchased for the Library, it depends altogether on the Government. They may give five, or ten or twenty thousand dollars as they please. The committee of this House which meets the committee of the other House on the Library has no control of the expenditure. I should like to see the hon. member from Ottawa serve on this committee, and I think the result of the committee's labors will be to call the attention of the Government to the extent of their responsibility for the expenditures of both Houses.

HON. MR. POWER—As we are making history, I beg to move this resolution, so that we may be able by-and-by to see who are responsible for the history we have made. I move that the second paragraph of this resolution, providing for joint action of the House of Commons, be stricken out. That will show that we are anxious to economize, so far as we are

concerned, but we do not want to interfere with other people.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I must vote against the amendment. The argument of my hon. friend who moves it is that the expenditure is largely in matters with which the two Houses are jointly connected, and in which we are supposed to have a certain control, and on that account he should himself join me in voting against the amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not propose to prolong the debate. The adoption of this amendment would be, practically, vacating our functions, admitting our inability to deal with anything beyond the limits of our own Chamber, and confessing the absence of jurisdiction on our part over the expenditures of the whole Dominion. I think we ought certainly not to imply anything of the kind—that we ought to insist upon a thorough investigation of the whole matter, to see where the expenditure really occurs. Let us be vindicated. My hon. friends say there is no public outcry at our expense. I have seen it stated, within three days, that the expenditure of the Senate—of “the old idiots of the Senate,” is the expression used—is over \$600,000 a year, and I therefore urge that we should make the enquiry general, and see where the expenditure really is.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—It is well known that this House has no control over money matters. We are called upon to do more than we have a right to do: we have to call the attention of the House of Commons to look into their own affairs. We would go astray in accepting the motion, while in amending it in the way the hon. member from Halifax suggests we would be just attending to our own business, and leaving the other House to attend to theirs.

HON. MR. POIRIER, speaking in French, said he should oppose the amendment and support the original motion, but would hold himself free to take such action on the report, when presented, as circumstances required. He would not support any proposition or recommendation which would interfere in the slightest degree

with the rights and privileges of the Senate.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman who has just sat down thought that the amendment was not a judicious one, and that it was illogical. He said it would be highly improper that we should enquire into the expenditure of the House of Commons. I fail to see why a committee of this House should not enquire into the expenditure of the other House. The House of Commons continually enquire into the expenditure of the Senate, and there is no reason why we should not enquire into the expenditure of any department of the public service. If this committee was able to point out where a large sum of money can be saved in the House of Commons I think it would be doing good service. I think, therefore, that the criticism is not well founded. The hon. gentleman, although he would probably vote against any resolution that I might move, was obliged to confess that he voted against it with a good deal of reserve and hesitation. He said, however, that there is this about it—if we are making a mistake now there will be time enough to get over the difficulty—later on, when the report of the committee came up. The hon. gentleman knows that, *C'est le premier pas qui coûte*. This is a step which cannot be retraced. The hon. gentleman who leads this House made this motion after consultation with his colleagues. His colleagues are not particularly interested, as they have shown by leaving us in this House for so many years without a departmental officer in preserving the dignity of the Senate, and the hon. gentleman has been put forward to make this motion, as a means of getting in the thin end of the wedge; and, as I said before, you will find that when the committee come to report, one of the results of our adopting their report will be that the few privileges which the Senate still retain, of managing their own affairs independently of the Government and of the other House, will be taken away. I am satisfied of this, that the hon. gentleman who leads this House, if the consolidation is proposed in the supposed interests of economy, will vote for that consolidation, against the independence of this House.

HON. MR. POIRIER.

HON. MR. KAULBACH.—Then we will not accept the report.

HON. MR. POWER—I have seen so many votes taken in this House, where there was really no party issue involved, and where the majority voted—a great many of them like my hon. friend who has spoken last, in fear and trembling, in dread that they were doing wrong, but still voted as their political leader wished them to vote—that I have very little confidence if the report comes in here from this committee, sustained and recommended by the leader of the House, which report proposes to shear the Senate of the few privileges it still has, that there will be, even in the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, sufficient courage and independence to vote down the report of that committee. Then we will be just in this position, that we shall be reproached if we vote against the report, on the ground that we stand in the way of economy. I think that we cannot be asked to do more than to save what we can within our own jurisdiction. Let the Government and the Commons who have the control of the purse assume the responsibility of everything else. If we make it clear that there is no extravagance in the administration of this House then we shall have done our duty, and I think that is quite sufficient.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not propose to answer my hon. friend from Halifax, but I desire to protest against the hon. gentleman assuming as the basis of his argument, as he has done twice—once when he rose before, and now for the second time—that I shall be any more ready to sacrifice the rights, privileges and interests of this House than any other man in the Senate.

HON. MR. POWER—Time will show.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I would like to say a word or two on this question. It seems to me that the discussion has assumed a very wide ground, and is not within the terms of the proposition. The motion is that a select committee be appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the country in respect to legislation—not merely the expense in this House, but the expense generally of legislation. There

has been a great deal said of the very large expenditure in respect of legislation, and more has been said in respect of the expense of this House than of the Commons. Now, what does this motion propose? It proposes, in effect, a free conference with the Commons in respect to its expenditure, and to see if possible if it can be reduced. The hon. gentleman from Ottawa, and other members of the House, have not the slightest doubt that we shall be easily able to vindicate the expenditure that has taken place here, and that it will compare most favorably with the expenditure in the Commons. If any other objection is raised I would rather suppose it would come from the Commons, and if they refused to act on the committee it will be seen that we are willing to have everything exposed, and if they decline to appoint a committee the country will understand that they have not the same wish or the same desire to have their expenditures fully looked into that we have. I believe that nothing can be brought out before that committee that will not bear investigation, and that nothing will be brought out that will be in any degree to the disadvantage of the Senate. If the other House appoint a committee the whole subject will be dealt with, and they will, no doubt, look very carefully into the expenditure here, and I trust that hon. gentlemen here will look with equal care and astuteness into the expenditure that may be properly charged to the Commons. We will just invite the Commons to a free conference with us, if possible, and no hon. gentleman will deny the necessity for it to cut down the expenditure. If there is any ulterior object, or if the result should be a declaration of any intention to invade the just privileges and independence of this House, I certainly would vote against it; but it seems to me, on the contrary, it maintains the independence of the House, and maintains its position as a branch of the Legislature and its right to enquire into this very important subject. If we desire economy we must have facts to go upon. It is very well for people who talk of extravagance to say that there is enormous expenditure, and so on; but if this committee bring out the facts and figures then the public will be able to form a sound opinion. I am certainly sorry to

have to vote against the hon. gentleman from Halifax, and I shall vote for the original motion, because I think it is asserting a right, and asserting it in a proper way.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—May I ask the hon. gentleman from Halifax if, after the statement of the hon. leader of the House, it would not be well to withdraw the amendment?

HON. MR. POWER—I think it is better not. It is better not to trust too much to the future.

The House divided on the amendment, which was lost on the following division:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Armand,	Lewin,
Baillargeon,	Paquet,
Bellerose,	Pelletier,
Chaffers,	Power,
Grant,	Scott,
Haythorne,	Stevens,
Leonard,	Trudel—14.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	Macdonald (Midland),
Archibald,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Bolduc,	Macfarlane,
Botsford,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Boucherville, de	Merner,
Casgrain,	Montgomery,
Clemow,	Odell,
DeBlois,	Perley,
Dever,	Poirier,
Dickey,	Read,
Girard,	Reid (Cariboo),
Glasier,	Robitaille,
Gowan,	Sanford,
Hardisty,	Smith,
Howlan,	Sullivan,
Kaulbach,	Sutherland,
McCallum,	Turner,
McKay,	Vidal—37.
McKindsey,	

The main motion was declared carried on the same division reversed.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (32), "An Act to incorporate the Victoria, Saanich and New Westminster Railway Company." (Mr. Power).

The Senate adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 7th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE DOMINION.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midand) rose to

Call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in connection with the proposal of the Government to open up extended commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies;

And enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure in relation to the same?

He said: To a large gathering assembled last December in the Exchange Rooms, Georgetown, Demarara, composed of the leading merchants, bankers, planters and attorneys of estates and others who were good enough to afford me an opportunity of addressing them in, as I was careful to state to them, an unauthorized way, as to the desirability of extended commercial relations between their country and Canada, I promised:

1st. That immediately on my return I would bring the subject before the Toronto Board of Trade for its consideration and action.

2nd. That upon the assembling of Parliament I would, in my place in the Senate, call its attention to the subject, also, by putting a notice upon the Paper for the purpose of having it discussed, and

3rd. That I should do everything in my power, by my tongue and pen, to make the colony better known in the Dominion than it had been heretofore.

I made these promises thinking possibly that the Government might be influ-

enced to move in that direction, but without having the slightest idea that its policy during the present Session was to take that shape. The first of these promises I lost no time in fulfilling, by the delivery of an address before the Toronto Board of Trade, and notwithstanding the announcement of the Government as to its purpose in relation to that trade, I see no good cause why I should delay carrying out my promise in relation to the Senate. Indeed, I think it all the more fitting that what I have to say should be said before the Government brings down the particulars of its plan. I may add that it is now on record as the expression of opinion of that influential gathering in Demarara that "they (its members) warmly desired closer relations with the Dominion of Canada."

This resolution they were good enough to pass at the close of my address, and I cannot, therefore, but express my gratification that the trade openings which, to my mind, British Guiana and these islands present, which so invitingly await us, which have been so long neglected and so unwisely overlooked, are now in the present Session to have the attention of the Government, with a view of turning them for both countries to the best possible account.

I was not, I must say, prepared for the amount of interest which these humble efforts, as far as they have gone, appear to have awakened, but if I am to judge by the number of letters which I have received, by those letters of introduction which I have written, by the people who have made enquiries, by those who have already gone, and by those who are going to the Islands and to British Guiana; I have been led to ask myself if these be the results which came from the observations of a private individual, travelling for his own pleasure, and bringing these under the notice of the Board of Trade, what must be, what may be, the result when the concentrated power of the Government is brought to bear upon an opening so full of interest to the people of this country?

The Government ask the House for its assent in providing subsidies for the improvement of the Atlantic Mail Service and for the establishment, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, of a line of

fast steamers between British Columbia and China and Japan, and also ask it to consider the best mode of developing our trade and securing direct communication by steam with Australasia, the West Indies and South America.

I shall ask your attention only to that portion of the Government's policy which relates to Australia, South America and the West India Islands.

I may be allowed, just at this point, to say that one pressing need of our country is that of population.

It is, of course, self-evident that if our population were double what it now is that the proportion of our debt *per capita* would be just one half of what it is.

That our national works, in the construction of which our debt has been largely increased, would be turned to account in an immensely increased measure.

That our manufactures, many of which are worse than idle, would have enlarged room for their productions, and that our farming community would have a greatly enlarged market for their products.

This is not the time to discuss this subject, although I may say that I believe that additions of immigrants vastly in excess of any who have yet settled among us could be induced to add to the wealth and the importance of the Dominion by becoming owners in fee simple of the countless homes which await the settler.

But our policy is, under any circumstances and at all times, that of the largest possible commercial intercourse with the largest possible number of friendly states or nations.

To consider, then, the proposal of the Government, look first at the colony most remote from us—Australia.

It may be that there are advantages greater than any that I have been able to perceive which would accrue to the Dominion by attracting the trade of the Australias by the Canadian Pacific to the old world, and hence that may be a reason for desiring rapid steam communication with that colony. Whether or not that would justify any large expenditure, or even a moderate expenditure in that direction, I leave it with others to determine; but for all purposes of trade between the two countries on anything like an extensive scale, a moment's reflection will, I think,

convince anyone that such an expectation is not likely to be realized.

In fact, the cause which led to the tardiness of the discovery of Australia, that of its remoteness from the other portions of the globe, must necessarily act as a bar to extended commercial relations between the Australias and Canada.

Nature has been most profuse in the bestowment of her gifts to that country; and, as though it were in view of her being so far removed from the family of nations, has endowed her so richly that she has within herself everything that a nation requires to make it great, prosperous and independent.

The superabundance of her gold has helped to change the value of commodities throughout the civilized world.

Her coal and iron make her independent, so far as manufacturing is concerned, of any nation on earth. Her climate is so suited for wool-growing that if but the tenth part of her three million of square miles were peopled, and a reasonable proportion devoted to sheep-raising, she could grow wool enough to supply the wants of the world; while the wheat fields of Southern Australia are sufficient to give food to the continent.

Indeed, it may be affirmed that she wants nothing. Her manufactures, in some departments, have reached a perfection far, far in advance of anything we have attained in Canada. I refer especially to the manufacture of fine woollens, broad and narrow, and also to the finest rugs, wraps and blankets. In these goods by far the finest exhibit at the Collindaries, equalling in perfection of coloring and excellence of finish anything which could be produced in any part of the world, were those from the woollen mills of Dunedin, in New Zealand. Almost everything which we have to offer she possesses, so that she looks upon us as her rival in nearly all which constitutes her wealth.

But apart from the great distance which divides us, and the fact of how little she needs our manufactures, look at her population, and then see how far apart even these are scattered, and it will be apparent how unlikely it is for a paying trade, or indeed a large trade, to spring up between both countries.

I find her population to be as follows:—

New South Wales.....	957,985
New Zealand.....	578,482
Queensland.....	213,525
South Australia.....	313,423
Tasmania.....	133,791
Victoria.....	1,009,753
Western Australia.....	35,186
In all.....	3,254,145

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—How recent are these figures?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—These figures are taken from the Statesman's Year Book of 1887. I am not aware of any later statistics. It is quite true that our trade with her has grown from \$41,822, in 1873, to \$446,019, in 1888, or an increase in fifteen years of \$404,197, or of \$26,946 per annum; an increase so insignificant as but to confirm the statement made as to the natural difficulties which surround the carrying on of trade with those distant colonies.

Coarse and cheap goods sent by steamer would be entirely out of the question; they could not by any possibility stand the heavy freight rates by sea and land. Fine goods of their own manufacture they can supply us with, and as for British goods the Australian merchants stand deservedly high in the markets of the world as men of great wealth, great ability, great uprightness, every house of note having its English house in London, in the Australian quarter of that great city.

With British Columbia something might possibly be done to a limited extent in fish and lumber, but for either Ontario, Quebec or the Maritime Provinces I see but little prospect of a trade which would be at all likely to grow at any time into large proportions.

I had reached these conclusions entirely from what I knew of the products of the Australias—from having seen them, and from the common sense aspect of the case, in taking into consideration the great distance which separates the two countries, as well as the scantiness of the population; and before coming in contact with any one who had attempted to open up trade between both countries, but having spoken with gentlemen who had made the attempt, their

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland).

experience has wonderfully confirmed the impressions which I had formed, in cases, too, where the class of goods in which they dealt appeared of all others the most likely of finding a market, viz., furniture and agricultural implements.

In the case of furniture, then—the large and respectable concern, the Bowmanville Manufacturing Co.—at the invitation of the Government sent out a shipment to the Melbourne Exhibition. The freight was paid by the Government, the local charges defrayed by the Commissioners. So excellent was the work that first prizes were obtained. Under these circumstances the goods were sold and the sales realized cost price. Invited to send out regular consignments of goods to their market, the company expressed their readiness to do so on being advised as to the class of goods most suitable and most likely to secure speedy sale.

On the information being furnished the goods were sent. The prices realized were ruinous, and on receiving returns at the end of two years, or thereabouts, the company withdrew from the market. Mr. McArthur, the manager, expressed much interest in the facts which were brought to light in the Toronto Board of Trade address, in relation to South America, and expressed his readiness, on account of its greater nearness, to open up a trade with that market.

The other case is that of the Massey Manufacturing Co., a company which has rare facilities for furnishing agricultural implements, of which they are such large producers.

What has been their experience? The first venture of this large firm was the consignment of a shipment to a Government agent. The Government agent put the shipment, with all the knowledge of the facts and of the parties, into the hands of local dealers, and the expenses and charges were so excessive as literally to eat the shipment up.

They then determined to send their own agent, who certainly found a market for their goods, but found also some twelve or fourteen American concerns competing for the trade, and this firm states in its application to the Government that they find themselves so handicapped in the excessive duty which many of the articles used in the manufacture of their goods

have to pay that, in view of the great distance, the cost of postage, freight and other matters, unless these duties can be removed, or a rebate equivalent to such allowance made upon their exports, they will be compelled to withdraw from the trade.

To come to the Argentine Republic, let us see what advantages it offers and of what value its trade would be as compared with Australia:

1st. As to the relative distances of both countries from us, a most important factor in the consideration of this question. I take Buenos Ayres for example, and calculating very roughly upon the map I make the distance from Halifax or St. John 4,804 miles. I find the distance to Australia, on the other hand, to be as follows:

	Miles.
From Quebec to Vancouver.....	3,047
Vancouver to Sydney.....	7,434
	10,481

or nearly 900 miles more than double the distance from Halifax to Buenos Ayers.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—You take the distance from Halifax to the Argentine Republic, and from Quebec to Australia. Why not take the distance from Vancouver to Australia?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—It would not materially affect my argument. I have selected one of the nearest ports of any importance to us in Australia, that of Sidney, the distance to Melbourne, to Tasmania and Northern and Southern Islands of New Zealand being very much greater; Dunedin, like the others, being more distant from us than Sidney. This, I claim, will always prove a serious obstacle to the carrying on of trade between Canada and the Australian Colonies; for while, as I have stated, no class of heavy goods could possibly stand the freight by steamer, the trip round the Cape by sailing vessels would occupy from 100 to 120 days, while no returns for sales could be had at a shorter period than from fifteen to eighteen months.

Then as to the population. As I have stated, the population of the Australian Colonies may be put down as 3,254,145, while that of the Argentine Republic is

estimated at 4,500,000, with large additions being made by immigration from year to year. Its population to-day, therefore, cannot be far from 50 per cent. greater than that of the Australian Colonies. Indeed the additions to its population by immigration are phenomenal, a fact which brings with it words of warning to us in that direction, of which we would do well to take heed. We know but little of a country so full of interest, a country making such rapid headway, and a country, it appears to me, likely to bring to us results far more inviting in the way of trade than anything we are likely to get from Australia.

Honorable gentlemen will learn something of its resources by reading the report of Simeon Jones, which they have among their papers, and which will very well repay a perusal.

Some idea of the importance of the country may be gathered from the remarks of one who has recently given attention to the subject, and thus writes:

“ There are about 40,000—between Irish, Scotch and English—settlers, with their families, in quiet and undisturbed possession of about 2,000,000 acres of land in the Province of Buenos Ayres alone, in the full enjoyment of all religious and social liberty. They own upwards of 35,000,000 sheep, besides horned cattle, horses and valuable buildings. The bulk of their vast property has been acquired by men who, on their arrival, did not possess a sixpence.”

Is it any wonder, with such statements, that some 22,000 immigrants, chiefly Irish, should, in the short period of some five or six weeks, have found their way thither in quest of a new home?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—Do they offer free grants of lands there?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I have not looked into the details and cannot say, but there must be some great attraction in the country to bring so many people there in so short a time.

Then as to Brazil, that great country with its 4,000 miles of seaboard, with the 30,000 miles of navigation afforded within Brazilian territory by its great river the Amazon, with its 13,000,000 of people and its trade of £40,000,000 per annum, a country larger than China, larger than British India, nearly as large as the whole

of Europe, larger than the United States, and smaller only than Russia and the Dominion of Canada, and having, as compared with Australia, the great advantage of being comparatively contiguous to us, the port nearest us being not more than 2,760 miles distant.

Uruguay, with its rapidly increasing population, possesses attractions also for us as offering a field for at least some of our manufactures and many of our natural products.

Venezuela, also, is a country whose trade we would do well to cultivate. Its population, which cannot fall short of 3,000,000 should invite our efforts. No better proof could be given of the great energy of the people than the fact that the foreign trade of the country has quadrupled within the last few years—this through the development of the country's vast agricultural and mineral resources. There is this great advantage, that its most northerly port is not more than 2,100 miles from either Halifax or St. John, or nearly six times nearer to us than the most remote of our Australian Colonies.

These, then, are the countries (apart from the West Indies, which I will notice subsequently) with which the Government propose opening up extended commercial relations.

But here the question will arise, while looking for new markets and for new customers: What has been the condition of our trade with our old customers: Has that been healthy? Is it healthy to-day? To look at this question intelligently we will have to compare our position to-day with the past, to look at our obligations, and at our facilities. Perhaps we cannot, as to periods, do better than select those which extend from 1874 to 1888, a period covering fifteen years, a period long enough to produce great development in the history of a country. Look, first, at our obligations then and now; Second, at our facilities at both periods; and then as to the relation which these bear to the amount of trade done in each year:

First, then as to our obligations: I find that our net debt in the year 1874 was \$108,324,965; in 1875, \$116,008,378; that the interest on the debt of 1875 at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ was \$5,710,965; that our debt in 1887 was \$227,314,775; that our debt in 1888 is \$234,532,358, and that the annual interest

on the present debt at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, is \$8,891,300; or, in other words, I find the debt of 1888 to be \$118,522,980 larger than the net debt of 1875, and I find the annual payment on interest account even, with a reduction in the rate of 1 $\frac{3}{8}$, to be \$3,180,335 greater than it was then.

I do not think it fair to assume that because the obligations of a country are larger at one period than they were at another, and the amount of interest correspondingly great, that it is an indication that the country must necessarily be going to destruction. In the very nature of things the debt of every new country, up to a certain point, must increase, and without healthful expenditure development would be impossible.

It is only fair, then, to assume that for this great increase in our debt we have something to show—that something has been accomplished to further the material interests of the country, and results can be produced which would justify the expenditure, and looking, therefore, to see how this debt has been created, I find that it has been made up of the following items:—

Debts allowed to Provinces....	\$10,291,052
Expended on Dominion lands	2,858,777
" eastern extensions on railways.....	1,286,551
Expended on Intercolonial Railway proper.....	12,208,924
On what is called miscellaneous expenditure, and which I find embraces canals, Esquimaux Graving Dock, Levis Graving Dock, Public Buildings, Ottawa, Port Arthur Harbor, Kaministiquia River.....	32,835,843
Rebellion losses paid out in the years 1886-7 and 1887-8 and charged to Capital with authority of Parliament.....	833,846
Canadian Pacific Railway.....	57,875,016
Total.....	\$118,190,009

In addition we have expenditure for

Prince Edward Island Railway...	\$218,088
Cape Breton Railway.....	765,952
Short Line Railway.....	209,356
Total.....	\$1,193,396

I find, then, that as compared with 1874 our obligations are to-day \$17,881,528—more than double what they then were. Now, of this enormous expenditure,

assuming that every dollar has been well and wisely laid out, without, in fact, taking exception to any item, let us enquire in what relation do these works, as well as our obligations, stand to the trade of the country then and now? What does the merchant expect who enlarges his premises and doubles every existing agency in connection with his business? Why, this simply, that his trade would, in consequence, be immensely increased.

What is the expectation of the manufacturer who make great additions to his plant and perfects his building and machinery?

Why, that he will have a correspondingly increased production with a correspondingly increased income!

Is it unreasonable, therefore, that with the enormously increased facilities which these weighty figures imply that we should look for a correspondingly increased volume in the trade of the Dominion; that with the enormous expenditure on railroads, on canals, on graving docks, on harbors, on rivers, all important factors in the development of the trade of any country, that we should enquire, from a trade stand-point, what has been the result of all this outlay? Has it been to make the manufacturing power of the country felt at home? Has it been to make Canada a power in the markets of the world? Observe, I do not include the amounts allowed to Provinces or of the expenditure upon Dominion lands. My remarks apply only to the large outlay on rail and water courses for the purpose of perfecting our modes of communication, and in reference to this large expenditure I ask, what have we to show, so far as our trade is concerned, in the form of productive results? I grant we have the works, but to what extent and in what manner have they contributed to swell the business of the country?

If, for example, we take the total imports for the year 1874, we find those to have been \$128,213,582, while these for 1888 are \$110,894,630, or some \$18,000,000 less. I purpose leaving to others the task of proving that the expenditure in wages in excess of the expenditure paid by manufacturers for the same purpose in the years 1874 and 1875, or either of them, will be equal to this deficiency. I will simply endeavor to find a cause for the

falling off. It is to the exports chiefly that I wish to draw attention, not so much as to what we consume as to what we furnish, not so much as to what we buy as to what we sell, not so much as to what we put upon our backs or that with which we adorn our houses as to what we produce from our looms, what we send from our mines, our forests, our fisheries and our farms—what the result to the country is of the fostering policy of the Government to its manufactures. Surely we are entitled to look, after such an expenditure, for great results. What are they?

Our exports for the year 1888 were.....\$ 90,203,000
And for 1874 they were..... 89,351,928

Or a difference of.....\$ 851,072

I do not think that objection can be taken to my statement when I say that such results, under such circumstances, to use the very mildest phrase, are disappointing, such as should lead to searching enquiry, with a view of reaching the needed remedy. I find that we are doing with Britain to-day \$40,004,984, against \$45,003,882 in 1874. We are doing with:

Portugal in 1888	\$155,821	against	\$193,463	in 1874
Italy	55,090	"	190,211	"
Holland	378	"	14,905	"
Belgium	17,057	"	240,494	"
Newfoundland	1,523,829	"	1,569,079	"
West Indies	2,601,486	"	3,778,796	"

having actually done with these countries \$6,452,187 more in 1874 than in 1888; with the United States, France, Germany, Spain, South America, China and Japan, Australia, and what is tabulated under the head of other countries, we are doing more, the difference being \$7,403,059, or in other words, the increased trade with these countries has done little more than counter-balance the loss sustained in the others, the excess over the loss being under \$1,000,000 in fifteen years!

Indeed, had it not been for the gain with the United States, with which country we did, in 1888, a trade of \$6,327,754 more than we did in 1874 (but strangely enough not more than a few thousand dollars in excess of our trade with the same country in 1873)—had it not, I say, been for this circumstance our export trade for 1888 would have been between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000 less than it was in 1874, a state of things, I am persuaded, that every member of this House must regard as unsatisfactory. But to analyze

still further: in table No. 2 of the Trade and Navigation Reports we find, under the head of "Aggregate trade of the Dominion, by countries, on the basis of goods entered for consumption and exported," the following figures, namely:

Amount so entered for 1874...\$216,756,097
 For 1888..... 193,050,100,
 or an excess for 1874 over 1888 of \$23,705,997; but inasmuch as the amount of imports proper for 1888 is put down as \$110,894,630 there must remain the sum of \$82,155,470 exported from the country to make up the sum of \$193,050,100.

Here, then, we may suppose we may reasonably look for satisfactory figures, figures which will demonstrate how our manufacturers have furnished evidence of the advancement they have made under the policy they have enjoyed in the character and extent of their exports.

Let us see, then, of what items those exports are composed. We find them to be as follows:—

Produce of the Mine.....	\$ 4,339,488
Fisheries.....	7,871,105
Forest.....	22,880,291
Animals and their produce.....	25,620,369
Agricultural products.....	20,875,435
Manufactures.....	4,616,923
Miscellaneous articles.....	897,503
Coin and bullion.....	17,534
Estimated amount spent at inland ports.....	3,084,322
	<u>\$90,203,000</u>

We have, then, as the result of our expenditure on railways, canals, rivers, harbors, the exhibit of a year's export trade of what is classed under the head of manufactures of \$4,616,953.

This, be it remembered, includes every imaginable kind of manufacturing enterprise in which we are engaged throughout the Dominion. In those are included: agricultural implements, books, candles, carriages, clothing and wearing apparel, cordage and twine, cotton, furs, glass and glassware, grindstone, plaster (ground), hats, caps, India rubber, manufactures of steel and iron machinery, sewing machines, scrap iron, oakum, laths, boots and shoes, harness and saddlery, lime and cement, liquors, molasses, musical instruments, oil cake, oil, rags, ships sold to other countries, soap, starch, stone and marble, sugar, tobacco, wood barrels, household furniture, woollens—in all, \$4,616,953.

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Our Trade and Navigation Report for 1888 gives us no comparative table of the exports under their respective headings for previous years; but I have been able to find that the exports for the year 1874, under the head of manufactures, were.....\$2,921,802
 Add to this ships built at Quebec..... 782,900

In all.....\$3,704,702

I add this item, that of ships, because although entered as under a distinct head it is included, in 1888, under the head of manufactures.

I find under the same heading the exports for 1876 to be \$5,972,913—or, taking both years, an average of \$4,838,807—or, in other words, an average of \$221,854 greater per annum than our exports show under this head for 1888.

These tables unfold some curious results.

They disclose, for example, the almost total extinction of the ship-building interest, ships being built at Quebec in 1874 to the value of \$782,900. Ships were sold to other countries in the year 1876 to the amount of \$2,189,270, as against the sum of \$289,969, being the entire amount represented under the head of this most important industry for the year 1888. Again, the exports under the head of leather and manufactures of leather for 1876 are put down as amounting to \$1,105,981, while for 1888 the amount under the same head is put down at \$461,239, not one-half the amount of that exported in 1876.

I was not able to lay my hand upon the report for 1875 when compiling these figures, and cannot tell, therefore, whether it would make the comparison more favorable or not. The report for 1876, I take it, is near enough for my purpose.

I don't think, then, that with our wonderfully increased facilities and our enormously increased obligations this view of our exports can be regarded as a satisfactory showing. But here I might be told that the policy of the Government is to foster and protect our home manufactures, and not to build up an export trade. If the policy of the Government is not to build up an export trade I think it ought to be, and it ought to be in the interest of the manufacturers that it should be so.

Indeed, there is no one class which would benefit more by an extended export trade than our manufacturers, and the most signal service the Government could render to them would be to make, as fast as a Government can make, the opening up of new markets to them available.

Indeed, if the argument of protecting home industries means anything on the part of those who advocate the policy, it means the investing of the manufacturer with greater powers, of shielding him from competition, and thus enabling him to push his manufactures into markets beyond those of our own Dominion.

I have referred only to the gross amount of our imports, comparing both periods. It may be profitable for a moment or two to look at these more closely, as there may be lessons to be drawn from such a review which might otherwise be overlooked.

I have stated that the total imports for 1874 were \$128,213,582 and for 1888 \$110,894,630, a difference of about \$18,000,000. I have said, I would see whether we can ascertain where the loss has occurred, and if possible determine the cause. We find the most serious falling off has been with Great Britain, where the difference in trade in the one period as compared with the other amounts to \$28,699,937.

We are also doing less with Newfoundland and with the West Indies than we did fourteen years ago. Our trade with the United States, with France, with Spain, with Portugal, with Italy, with Belgium, has remained much the same as it was then, while it has increased with Germany, Holland, South America, China and Japan, Switzerland, and what is tabulated as other countries.

Let us now see if we can account for this falling off. We find that the amount of duty paid upon imports in 1874, amounting to 128,213,582, including free and dutiable goods, was \$14,421,882, and that the amount of duty paid in 1888 upon 110,894,630 was \$22,209,641, or, in other words, that upon goods representing in value about \$18,000,000 less we paid duty to the extent \$7,787,759 more; but this is not all, for we find of this \$110,894,630 there were free goods to the extent of \$33,201,276, and that the dutiable goods upon which \$22,187,869 has been collected amount only to the sum of \$69,645,824,

and that upon this sum an average duty of 31½ per cent., as near as I can make it, has been paid. This, it appears to me, ought to be a sufficient answer to the question, and ought, I think, to be convincing proof that whatever benefit the existing policy may have been to individuals it cannot be said to have been helpful to the export trade of the country.

It must be observed that with every country with which it is proposed to open up extended communication we have had a trade for years—with the West Indies, with South America, and more recently with Australia.

I have endeavored to show that our trade with Australia is not likely, by reason of its great distance and other causes, ever to develop into large proportions. In this I may be mistaken. I trust I am.

The West Indian Islands, contiguous to us, needing the very commodities which we have to offer, having many of the articles which we require for our own consumption, and containing a population equal to or rather larger than the Dominion of Canada, are markets in a very special manner worthy all the efforts which we can put forward to secure and retain their trade. What the possibilities are which are open to us there I endeavored to put before the Toronto Board of Trade, as the result of my own personal observation during a recent visit to several of the most important of those islands as well to British Guiana.

Much that I there stated I am not now going to repeat, nor indeed is it necessary, as the Toronto Board of Trade sent copies of the address to the various Boards of Trade in the Dominion, as well as to the members of the Senate and the House of Commons; and whatever the information may be worth it is now in the hands of hon. gentlemen. Yet there are facts in connection with this trade to which I must refer, and first that the United States do in these Islands a vastly greater trade than we do—that that trade is done by them in the very class of commodities for which we are admirably equipped, in many articles, indeed, which they, in order to sell to those Islands, buy from us; that they do, as compared with us, in several of the colonies a trade of from \$3.72 to \$7 to our \$1. For this great discrepancy there is no need, and by a wise and vigorous

policy all this might be reversed. In British Guiana, for example, they do \$3.35 to our \$1.

In Barbadoes they do \$4 to our \$1, while in Trinidad their trade is seven times greater than ours, their trade in that colony being \$1,802,695, ours being but \$272,660. I must not weary the House by any extended reference to figures, although they are, to my own mind, as interesting as, upon their discovery, they were startling. I must, however, refer to figures relating to one of our own colonies—I mean Newfoundland—where the market, like that of the West Indian market, is served by the United States and ourselves, and where, in so many of the articles in which they beat us in the West Indies, we beat them in Newfoundland, the conditions in both cases being similar.

To satisfy myself on this point I went to the trouble of dissecting the entire imports to the Island from both countries, and with the following result:—

To Newfoundland	Canada sends:	
	Sheep.....	5,485
	United States sends.....	None
Apples—		
	Canada.....	3,984 bbls.
	United States.....	1,634 "
Apples, Dried—		
	Canada sends.....	895 lbs.
	United States sends.....	11,460 "
Beef—		
	Canada sends.....	1,146 bbls.
	United States sends.....	4,693 "
Biscuit—		
	Canada sends.....	1,186 cwt.
	United States sends.....	43 "
Books—		
	Canada sends (value).....	\$3,277
	United States sends (value).....	1,634
Butter—		
	Canada sends.....	1,142 cwt.
	United States sends.....	878 cwt.
Canvas—		
	Canada sends (value).....	\$16,924
	United States sends.....	16
Cheese—		
	Canada sends.....	903 cwt.
	United States sends.....	23 cwt.
Coffee—		
	Canada sends.....	8,333 lbs.
	United States sends.....	10,577 lbs.
Cabbages—		
	Canada sends.....	63,728
	United States sends.....	14,942
Fancy Biscuits—		
	Canada sends (value).....	\$2,341
	United States sends.....	629

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	Canada.	U. S.
Feathers (lbs.).....	46	16,237
Fishing tackle (value) ...\$	887	18,876
Flour (brls.).....	190,485	182,899
Fruit, dried (val.).....\$	5,518	29,765
Glassware (val.).....	245	6,144
Hardware (val.).....	12,324	21,203
Lard (val.).....	1,238	350
Leather (val.).....	39,689	73,843
Leather ware (val.).....	36,314	8,291
Lumber (ft.).....	3,772,435	90,903
Dressed lumber (ft.).....	1,713,227	200
Medicine (val.).....\$	7,502	17
Meat and poultry (val.)...	32,857	1,272
Molasses (galls.).....	21,335	17,387
Miscellaneous (val.).....\$	27,358	36,596
Oats (val.).....	34,167	686
Oatmeal (val.).....	7,200	115
Kerosene oil (gal.).....	5,397	463,433
Paint (val.).....\$	180	5,042
Printing paper (val.)....	4,569	350
Peas (brls.).....	2,766	32
Pork (brls.).....	7,428	17,285
Potatoes (bus.).....	128,555	62
Ready-made clothing, vl.\$	1,175	9,813
Soap (val.).....	4,479	11,393
Tallow (val.).....	268	7,610
Vegetables (bus.).....	5,893
Onions (val.).....\$	1,184	571
Woodware (val.).....	7,125	12,088
Woollens, cotton (val.)..	22,154	27,097

Newfoundland imports from the	
United Kingdom.....\$	1,911,001
From British Colonies.....	2,231,866
From foreign countries.....	1,877,168
Total.....\$	6,020,035

of which latter amount she receives from the United States \$1,672,810. She exports to the amount of \$4,862,951, of which she sends to British colonies, \$536,390; to the United States, \$288,453; her chief customers being Portugal, \$1,221,782; Brazil, \$1,029,935.

Now, while the United States beat us in the West India Islands in bread, butter, cheese, biscuits, flour, lard, medicine, meat, poultry and oatmeal, in every one of these commodities we beat them in Newfoundland, and while I have shown that their trade is larger in each of the West Indian colonies than our is, in some of them as much as seven times greater than ours, our trade in Newfoundland is greater in volume than is the trade of the United States.

To my mind no argument other than this is needed to prove that if we can beat the United States in so many articles in Newfoundland there is no reason why they should beat us, as they now do, in the same articles in the West Indies, no reason that we should not beat them in the West Indies and South America.

But to capture this trade there must be something more than fast steamers and improved postal and cable communication; there must be a manifest friendly feeling on the part of the Government to invite the trade of these islands, by the removal of every barrier which may exist in the way of the largest and freest commercial intercourse, and this to the largest extent, and by the purchase of what they have to offer to the extent of our ability and of our wants. I may say the possibilities of these islands for the growth and production of numberless commodities are vastly greater than we, without personal examination, are prepared to realize.

For example: They can grow as good cotton as is now grown in any part of the world, and only want the encouragement which we can afford them (to a limited extent it is true) to enter upon this new field of enterprise as one of the articles of interchange between both countries, and to that extent at least furnishing new material for return cargoes. It may be interesting to notice the character of the cargoes similar to those which we can supply which are consigned to those markets. I am able to give, from among a number which I possess, the contents of a cargo consigned to Georgetown, Demarara, from New York, as late as 7th January of the present year.

The cargo is that of the three-masted schooner "Wm. Hayes," 24 day from New York, 382 tons. Here are the contents: 2,117 brls. of flour; 210 brls. of pork; 100 brls. of pork heads; 50 brls. oatmeal; 50 brls. oil meal; 50 brls. lard; 500 bags corn; 100 brls. bran; 159 cases lard; 200 crates oleomargarine; 150 boxes cheese; 1,950 cases kerosene oil; 75 brls. of tar; 75 brls. pitch; 20 cases tallow candles; 11 trs. and 5 crates ham; 200 half-brls. beef; 100 cases cornmeal; 125 brls. split peas; 105 bundles brooms; 5 brls. beef cuttings; 10 cases corn beef; 2 hogsheds tobacco; 5 bags of peas; 98,196 W. P. lumber and sundries.

It will thus be seen that almost every article in this cargo, which I may say is a fair sample of the cargoes sent from the United States to that market, could be supplied by us on terms equally advantageous to the buyer.

It will give us a somewhat better idea of the openings which the Islands present,

including British Guiana, if we look at the American imports to this one port, Georgetown, simply for the period of one month, and also at what we find at this one port to be the average monthly consumption. We find, then, the American imports for one month in the following articles to be: Flour, 6,147 brls.; cornmeal, 210 brls.; oats, 200 bags; corn, 1,050 bags; split peas, 495 brls.; pork, 1,060 brls.; beef, 114½ brls.; hams, 26 crates; cheese, 150 boxes; oleomargarine, 250 cases; lard, 429 cases; lard oil, 80 cases; kerosene, 3,900 cases; tobacco, 7 hhd.; pitch and tar, 181 brls.; mules, 14.

The average monthly consumption at this one port is: Flour, 11,000 brls.; bread, 500 brls.; crackers, 400 brls.; cornmeal, 650 brls.; hay, 500 bales; oats, 1,600 bags; corn, 1,200 bags; split peas, 450 brls.; pork, 1,300 brls.; beef, 1,000 half brls.; cheese, 500 boxes; hams, 50 crates; oleomargarine, 300 cases; lard, 400 cases; lard oil, 50 cases; kerosene, 4,000 cases; tobacco, 25 hhd.; sulphuric acid, 100 cases; pitch and tar, 150 brls.; horses, 4; mules, 25; sheep, 200.

Surely here is evidence of a market open to us, inviting us, and the question may well be asked if this is the average monthly consumption at this one port what must the needs be of the entire West Indian Islands? Still more suggestive is it to look at the imports at this one port for the year just closed, 1888: Beef, 4,898 brls.; bread, 420,229 brls.; bricks, 2,508,792; butter, 494,232 lbs.; tallow candles, 39,020 lbs.; cheese, 202,379 lbs.; com. cheese, 73,844 lbs.; coals, 52,599 tons; confectionery, 71,533 lbs.; corn and oatmeal, 1,366,474 lbs.; fish, dried, 72,141 cwt.; flour, 138,744 brls.; hams and bacon, 260,811 lbs.; hay, 959,469 lbs.; hoops (wood), 1,052,082 lbs.; lard, 402,045 lbs.; lumber, 8,924,362 feet; matches, 26,684 gross; oats, 85,943 bush.; oils, 315,643 gals.; oleomargarine, 173,482 lbs.; onions, 1,638,782 lbs.; peas and beans, 106,427 bush.; soaps, 1,401,935 lbs.; staves (W. O.), 890,902; leaf tobacco, 709,607 lbs.; staves (R. O.), 904,859; manufactured tobacco, 39,791 lbs.

These articles do not by any means represent the total imports for the year. I have only noted the articles in which we have a direct interest, nearly every one of which we can supply.

What a market do these figures prove is open to Canada in these colonies! It will doubtless have occurred to hon. gentlemen that no reference has been made to the manufactures of our country, for which, in my judgment, there is also a most favorable opening. Two manufacturers' agents, at least, are now anxious to test the opening.

I have heard it used as an objection that the employment of steamers in this trade would mean ruin to the fishermen of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and I can only express my surprise that anyone should venture such a statement. Suppose for one moment that we set our face against the using of steamers, because our Halifax and Newfoundland merchants own sailing vessels, which they employ in this trade, will that settle the matter? Can we assume that if we do not use steamers the United States will not use them? Nothing of the kind; they are using them to day, and are using them to the disadvantage of the merchants from Halifax and Newfoundland, from the simple fact that they can, by steamer, send three cargoes for every one which can be sent by sailing vessels, and are so sending them.

Again, if fish is a perishable article, is it more likely to open in fresh and in in prime condition after a passage of eight days than it would be after a passage of twenty-four in the tropics? No class of persons would be so likely, in my opinion, to benefit by such a change as the very class of persons who, it is claimed, would be injured.

I am glad that I am able also to disprove a statement which I had to meet in the West Indies, and which I was unable to contradict—that is, as to the character and price of our flour, as to the flour itself being unsuited for a tropical climate, and the price being too high. Both of these objections are dealt with by practical men, and the information comes to me through a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Board of Trade, which I think hon. gentlemen will not object to my reading.

“TORONTO, 20th February, 1869.

“DEAR SIR,—The chief obstacle to the establishing and maintaining of a flour business with the West Indies and British Guiana, provided there were proper freight facilities, is this: the growing of

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wheat in Canada has not yet reached such dimensions as to insure a surplus for export from every crop. Without such a surplus that can be relied on as permanent, business cannot be established and retained against the competitors who are in the field permanently.

“This objection will be overcome in time by the development of the wheat country of Manitoba and the North-West.

“The Hon. Mr. Macdonald, in his paper, makes the statement that Canada flour is of too high a grade—too expensive—and will not keep in southern latitudes.

“That it is of a high grade must in itself be a strong recommendation, not an objection. That it is too high in price is not because it is too high at our seaboard at such years as we have an exportable surplus, for in such years we can and do compete in price with the whole world.

“The third objection—its non-keeping quality—refers rather to the flour made in Canada years ago than to what is made in the best Canadian mills now. I am confident that Canadian millers now make flour entirely free from this objection.

“With a permanent exportable surplus—which we will eventually have—and with shipping facilities as good as our competitors have, Canadian millers can successfully compete in quality and price with the world for the trade of the countries mentioned.

“I am, yours truly,

“M. McLAUGHLIN.

“E. A. WELLS, Esq.”

In this connection, also, I am persuaded that an extract from a letter of Mr. George A. Chapman, a leading grain merchant will also prove interesting. He says:

“I feel assured that if a steam service was established for two or three years, by a subsidy from the Government, to even extend beyond the West Indies to Brazil and the Argentine Republic, if thought advisable, that full cargoes could be obtained out and home for this service, and thus enable us to import all our sugars, molasses, etc., direct, instead of through the United States, as most of them are now brought in, and would, moreover, put us in a position (at all events so far as this trade is concerned) to be independent, in case the bonding system is done away with by the United States.

“I feel assured also that there is sufficient enterprise in our commercial men to carry on the trade when once fairly established.

“GEORGE CHAPMAN.”

I have also letters from a number of substantial firms engaged in the West Indian trade, from various parts of the Dominion, which I will not detain the House to read; but while talking about extending our trade with South America and the West Indian Islands let us not lose sight of the need of the extension of our trade with our neighbors across our borders.

Look at it as we please, of all the countries on this side of the ocean none to us is so important in reference to our trade relations as is the United States. Nay, is it too much to say that they are well nigh

as important to us as all the other countries whose trade we have been considering, and to maintain pleasant relations with them, to encourage and to foster the development of our trade with them, ought always to be the aim of the Government of Canada. No nation bearing the slightest regard for its own self-respect can at any time agree to trade conditions which would bring with them a sense of humiliation. No nation, especially such a nation as Canada, can either beg or cringe for trade with any other nation.

But between waiting to be approached on the one hand and a continuous persistency on the other, to arrive at an understanding, clear, dignified and advantageous, there is the greatest possible difference.

The failure of our commercial treaty does not by any means imply that another one is not to be attempted, and this to be followed up by successive efforts, so long as such efforts can be followed up with the maintenance of honor.

The market of the United States is one which ought to be utilized by us to the largest possible extent, and no sentimental ideas ought to prevent us from prosecuting with the utmost energy such a policy as would lead to the most amicable understanding, and enable each to enjoy in the largest possible extent the markets of each other.

I am not charging the Government with indifference on this most important subject. I am not charging them with inactivity. They may, for aught I know, be at this very moment carrying on negotiations towards the securement of this end; but what I wish to put most clearly before the House is this: that the persistent effort of our own Government to secure trade conditions on equitable terms implies no loss of dignity, and could in the end be fraught with nothing but good.

The rabid utterances which reach us through the American press are not the utterances (save only in exceptional instances) of native Americans. They come rather from the disaffected portion of our own countrymen, who have sought a home in the United States. Rather would I believe that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Phelps at the Mansion House in his farewell to England are the sentiments of the best portion of the American people

towards Great Britain and Canada. Referring to his first appearance in England in the same building and the reception accorded him at that time he says:

"It struck what has proved the keynote of all my relations here, it indicated to me at the outset how warm and how hearty was the feeling of Englishmen towards America, and it gave me to understand what I was not slow to accept and believe, that I was accredited not merely from one Government to the other but from the people of America to the people of England; that the American Minister was not expected to be merely a diplomatic functionary, shrouded in reticence and retirement, jealously watching over doubtful relations and carefully guarding against and anticipating dangers; but that he was to be the guest of his kinsmen, one of themselves, the messenger of the sympathy and good will, the mutual and warm regard and esteem that bind together two great nations of the same race and make them one in all the fair humanities of life."

And again:

"It is (he says) in a great and constantly increasing intercourse between England and America, its friendliness and its amenities, that the security against misunderstanding must be found.

"While that continues they cannot be otherwise than friendly. Unlucky incidents may sometimes occur; interests may happen to conflict; mistakes may be made on the one side and on the other; sharp words may occasionally be spoken by unguarded or ignorant tongues, but these things are all ephemeral; they do not touch the great heart of either people; they float for a moment on the surface and in the wind, and they disappear and are gone, 'in the deep bosom of the ocean buried.'"

It is by the maintenance of such a spirit on the part of the people of both countries that those peaceful and pleasant relations so essential to the well-being of both countries are to be secured, without which trade becomes divested of its attractiveness, and no transactions take place between either other than those which are the result of actual necessity.

Here I may be asked whether or not I have seen what is called the Retaliatory Bill of Congressman C. S. Baker, of New York. I would say I have read the Bill as reported in the papers. It does not in any way affect my argument, or leave me to doubt that the political leaders of both countries could, in coming to the consideration of this subject in a spirit of broad and generous statesmanship, find a solution to this question which would result in an understanding which would be dignified, advantageous and enduring.

There is room enough on this continent for the two great English-speaking nations which now people it; room enough for them to dwell side by side, not as neigh-

bors only, but as friends; room enough for them to enlarge the borders which now cramp and embarrass them in their commercial intercourse; room enough for them to do all this, and more, without annexation on the one hand or the pooling of Customs duties on the other; room enough to do all this without losing, on the part of each, one particle of self-respect, or without either finding it necessary to change its allegiance.

But I may be asked: Are these views in accord with my sentiments to which I have given utterance upon several occasions? They are in perfect harmony. No words of mine so uttered do I desire to recall; none do I desire to modify. As I thought then, so think I now. One thing we must not forget: we are apt to conceive that if in our exports we are not going behind, that, therefore, our position cannot be an unsafe one. There cannot be any greater mistake. If we are not steadily forging our way forward we are losing ground. To stand still is to go behind; if there is not advancement there must be retrogression.

Surely an advance of 3 per cent. per annum in the export trade of our country each year during the last fifteen years would have been an exceedingly modest expectation—an expectation so modest indeed that no hon. gentleman in this Chamber will say it would be an unreasonable one. What would that have given us? Why, this simply: that with that modest addition, our export trade to-day would have been 50 per cent. greater than it is.

See what Uruguay has done? Its export trade increased 25 per cent. from 1881 to 1885. Very remarkable are the figures of the trade of the Argentine Republic for 1887:

“We learn from the interesting trade statistics in Mr. Baker's report that the total trade of the Republic was greater by \$36,530,000 in 1887 than in 1886, the figure for the former year being \$201,773,000. Of this trade England got \$52,000,000—more than a quarter. Her trade with the Republic has more than tripled itself in eight years, having been only \$17,272,000 in 1880.

The export trade of Venezuela quadrupled in the last few years.

A very considerable increase also took place in the export trade of Brazil from 1882 to 1885, and is it to be reserved for this country, in all the freshness of her

young life and vigor, to be stationary while other counties, not possessing her advantages, are so progressive?

Surely the maximum of our productiveness has not been reached! Surely we have not attained to the full power of our manufacturing ability! Surely we are not prepared to acknowledge inferiority in our artizans or a lack of progressiveness in our merchants! Let there be no uncertainty on one point: develop our home trade as we please; protect our home industries as we will; keep out, if we please, the industries of every other nation, and furnish to our own people, from our own people and by our own people, if that be possible, all that they require to eat, to drink and to wear—what then? Why, this simply, that we will never make the power of our own country fully felt abroad until, by the native merit of our own craftsmen, we force our wares, our manufactures of wood, of iron, of wool and of cotton into the open markets of the world; until the products of our mines and our forests, our fisheries and our farms, have, by the force and energy of our own people, been pushed into every opening where fair competition will meet with its reward. Not until this is done will our country occupy the prominent position which she is well fitted to fill, nor will she fulfil the high destiny which now awaits her.

How well does the United States understand the value of her export trade! How fully alive she is to this may be gathered from the fact that her exports to Great Britain alone have of recent years been extended so steadily that now they have risen to about four times the value of her imports from Britain.

Great as Great Britain is, what would she be without her export trade? With her total trade of £584,012,455 sterling, of which £213,044,500 represent her exports, who can estimate to what extent this is the secret of her power? Go where you will, you will find the handicraft of her looms; you will see the skill of her artizans; and wherever the power of her commerce is felt there will also be found the blessings of her civilization, and hence it is that to day one may find in her markets “Parthians, Medes and Elamites—in fact, men of every color, and race and language under Heaven.”

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There is much that a Government can do to foster trade, but it cannot compel men to go to markets which it opens; it cannot compel men to reap the harvest which it puts within their reach. That must be done by the men themselves; they must be brought into touch with the great business houses at all points or centres if the full measure of such new departure is to be entirely realized.

How are we to reach the condition of things which is going to bring us the foreign trade we are seeking? In connection with the development of trade with the countries we have been considering what will we need?

1st. A perfect system of steam communication, a class of vessels in every way fitted for freight and passenger service, vessels having a speed of not less than from 13 to 15 miles per hour.

2nd. An efficient cable service. It seems incredible that cable messages from and to the West Indian Islands cost to-day from 12s. to 15s. 6d. sterling per word, arising, in part, I have no doubt, from the fact that the cable system is connected, in addition to its British connection, with French, Spanish and Danish Islands, as well as with the United States.

3rd. A satisfactory postal service, the present one being as unsatisfactory as it can well be.

4th. The improvement of the light-house service, if time and safety are to be secured—for while no coast line on the continent is more dangerous, none is worse lighted. This I suppose is an Imperial matter, but none the less important.

5th. The removal of every obstacle which acts as a barrier to the carrying on of an extended trade between both countries. Unless this is done the expenditure upon ships or cables would be a waste of money, for it may be regarded as a settled principle in business that no nation will deal with any other which, by any Customs enactment, renders the introduction of their products impossible, and that in such cases transactions will be limited strictly to those which are the result of necessity only.

I am aware that the ground may be taken that the past has been a season of preparation—that it represents that chapter in the history of a young country which must be regarded as the one of

foundation-laying; that, as is the case in the foundation of great structures, much of the expenditure does not immediately appear; that its value, so far as appearances are concerned, are prospective. So in like manner it must be held that the great expenditure in railways is as well as for the business of the country, for the opening up and peopling of its homesteads, villages and cities, and that it would be unreasonable to expect at present the fruits which are certain at some subsequent period to be gathered; that the same remarks apply to canals and harbors, break-waters and graving docks. I am not going to say that this argument is without force, and although I believe that the period which lies between preparation and completion has not, only been reached, but has passed, and that for some years at least, we should have had results which we have failed to find, although I think so, yet I am not disposed to weaken, by any words of mine, the force which such a statement may be expected to carry. But now that such a plea can be no longer raised, now that roads have been built, rivers deepened, canals enlarged and the whole system of rail and river communication perfected, let us have results. This House will look for them; let us be assured the country will.

I have spoken somewhat plainly; with the facts before me I do not see how I could have done otherwise.

These facts have revealed to my own mind a state of things for which I was not prepared, a state of things which, I think, cannot continue without danger. I trust, however, that honorable gentlemen have had no difficulty in realizing that they have not been presented in a spirit of hostility, and that their tenor has been so apparent that it is not necessary that I should disclaim any such intention.

I venture to think that the subject which I have brought under the notice of this Chamber, however imperfectly it has been presented, is one of the most important which can engage the attention of Parliament. Many questions underlie its consideration. Are we to be content with our present markets, or are we to look for new ones? Are our farmers to feel that with the present outlets open to them they are to be satisfied? Are our manufacturers to feel that the bounds of their operations

are to be the limits of their own country, or are they to feel that wider fields invite their skill with fair prospects of profitable returns? Are we ourselves to be satisfied with the present export trade of our country, or are we not rather to seize the opportunities which offer of extending our trade and of making our country better known?

It may be well to consider that striking results are not to be immediately expected, at least from the West Indian trade. Too long by us has that trade been neglected; too long have our American neighbors enjoyed its advantages to be immediately supplanted; too deep are the channels which the commerce of these islands have coursed out to be immediately diverted; too intricate are the commercial relations which have sprung up between the West Indian and the American merchants, relations I have no doubt which are pleasant and satisfactory; too long have these existed to be rudely severed, but we can greatly change the character of the volume of trade which exists with these islands as between the United States and ourselves to-day, and in time, by persistency, will doubtless attain a position which will fully establish the value of these markets to us. Can this great change be brought about?

How is it to be accomplished? In the precise way in which a merchant increases the volume of his trade. What does he do? He has before him the operations of preceding years, the sales, payments profits and losses of each. He has before him the operations of each day, and week, and month and season of the previous years. He has an object to accomplish, and he intends to succeed; hence, results are expected from each day. Is he beaten in the open market? He faces the condition of things which circumstances forces upon him. He cannot afford to have any fancied excellence of his own commodities stand in the way of their sale. He must impress his customer with the fact that it is to his advantage to buy from him. If there is a serious falling off in his trade in any locality, or with any customer, it is discovered and remedied. If wrong has been done, unconsciously, it is corrected, and if circumstances call for an apology it is made, not waiting until one is demanded. If incompetent workers are

preventing results, or failing to achieve them, they are removed. If the field of operations is circumscribed it is enlarged, and the result is that the year closes with the accomplishment of the purpose which the merchant placed before him at its beginning. He has made the addition to his sales that he contemplated, and it was secured by increasing vigilance. It will require the same watchful oversight to secure the needed increase to the export trade of our country. That our export trade has not had that oversight is, I think, abundantly evident from the results, and equally clear is it that no change is to be expected unless such a plan as has been indicated is adopted.

Who is to do this? Carlyle says that "He who would act faithfully must believe firmly." One in many respects as great a man as Carlyle—I mean the late Bishop Fraser, of Manchester, has said "That if a man is wholly out of gear with his time he cannot influence." Never, in my humble judgment, has there been in the history of our country such an opportunity as the one which now exists for a Government to distinguish itself in initiating measures broad, generous and far-reaching for the development of our trade with other nations; never such an opportunity for a Minister, however wisely and however well he may have done his work in the past, to secure for his country that which it needs, and to add to his own reputation for wise statesmanship. Such opportunities come rarely, either in the history of nations or individuals. All the more important that they should be seized and turned to account. But it must be a man who, while he would act faithfully, believe firmly. It must be a man who has faith in the possibilities of his country; faith in its resources; faith in the intelligence, in the industry and skill of its people; faith to believe that whatever can be done by others can be done by Canadians, and that man for man they are equal in ability, in intelligence, in energy and in honor to any class of men in any part of the world. He must be a man who, as Bishop Fraser puts it, is not wholly out of gear with his time, but is in sympathy with it, for without this, as he rightly observes, he cannot influence.

Man's first word, says Julius Hare, is

"yes," his second "no," his third and last "yes," and while the bulk of men stop short at the first, very few attain to the third.

The cause, the chief cause of failure in every department of life, is that too many say "yes," and say it thoughtlessly, not stopping to estimate all that is implied in the word, and, as a consequence, never producing satisfactory results.

Too many with greater light say "no," but lack the determination to rise to the necessities of the occasion for which their more thoughtful consideration would have fitted them.

Too few are there who, having passed through the crucial period, and having reached the final stage, say "yes" with a full consciousness of all which that word implies to themselves and others.

But when you find such a man you find a man to whom nothing is impossible, you find a man who has not unthinkingly undertaken responsibilities, and who is not to be deterred by difficulties; who finds his reward rather in the performance of his duty than in either the favor or the applause of his fellow-men.

Under the administration of such a man we may expect to see marvellous results in the export trade of our country, and with such a man results will be seen speedily.

I hope to see new markets opened for the food supply with which Providence has so richly endowed us. I hope to see new markets, not only for the produce of our farms, but for the products of our mines, our forests and our fisheries.

I hope to see new markets opened for our manufactures, now largely shut up to the market of the Dominion, and that instead of pressing upon each other, as in some departments of trade they are now doing, working occasionally on short time and without any advantage to shareholders, that they will be able to work on full time, give full employment to their hands, and paying dividends to their shareholders. Surely this is not too much to expect. Surely this cannot be regarded as an extravagant forecast.

Sixteen years ago our trade with the West Indies was within a few dollars of \$4,000,000; to-day it is not more than \$2,601,468. I claim that instead of being less it ought to have been more; but this

fact is at least assuring, that that which has been the condition of things once may and can be reached again. Vastly more difficult is it, as any one conversant with business knows, to regain ground which has been lost than to open up new trade; but this is one of the aspects of the case which has to be faced, and it ought to be bravely done, with a fixed determination not only to reach in the markets the position we occupied before but to go beyond it.

I venture to offer a suggestion to the hon. leader of the Government in this Chamber, and it is this: whatever subsidy is given to steamers let it be to those only of first-class, to vessels of not less than 2,000 tons and of speed not less than from thirteen to fifteen knots. There are numbers of second and third-class steamers employed in that trade to-day, and if Canada is to make its influence felt and to have its position acknowledged it must be by a line which will be a credit to the country, and which will command its travel as well as its freight.

Another matter, and a most important one—one, indeed, which if neglected will go far to neutralize the effect of even improved steam communication—is a cheapened cable system. A moment's reflection will show how all business messages must be circumscribed, with rates varying from \$2.75 to \$4 per word. This may need negotiation with other powers, but unless cable messages are brought within reasonable limits, say of not more than from 40c. to 60c. a word, a most important link in the chain will be incomplete.

I have already stated that Governments may open the way to new markets, may remove obstacles, may subsidize steamers, but cannot compel its people to avail themselves of these advantages. In the case of our people there is little fear. Let the Government set about its work earnestly, let it prosecute it diligently, let it watch over it faithfully. Our people will do the rest.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—I venture to rise for the purpose of making a few observations upon the very important subject which the hon. member from Midland has submitted for our consideration. The House may congratulate itself

upon having among its members an hon. gentleman who possesses such eloquence. I shall not attempt to follow him in every detail of his able and exhaustive discourse, but I feel constrained to say that I cannot agree with him in many of his conclusions, and I must say that many parts of his address were much more eloquent than logical. Now, with reference to the export trade, in which the hon. gentleman seems to take such a very great interest, and to his credit be it said he has visited the West India Islands and made himself acquainted with the conditions of matters there, and has promptly submitted his views to the Board of Trade of Toronto and to this House, he has shown the possibility of increasing our export trade to that part of the world, and I have no doubt that the suggestions which he has made will receive due consideration from the Government.

The hon. gentleman, from his long and practical experience as a successful merchant, is an authority on the subject, and his utterances thereon command our respect and attention. He has placed before us his views as to the importance of widening our markets, by seeking new fields heretofore overlooked or neglected—the West India Islands, mostly inhabited by people owing allegiance to the same flag as ourselves—comparatively speaking, very contiguous; but there are, as a matter of course, difficulties in the way of creating new business relations with other countries or colonies; old-established connections have to be displaced. It is difficult, in fact, to get people out of an old groove or rut in which they have travelled for years; but these difficulties have to be overcome; if lions are seen in the way they must be disposed of. In the case of the countries to which my hon. friend has drawn attention there is, to use the language of the petition of the Toronto Board of Trade to this hon. House, a dissimilarity of productions. Each requires the surplus of the other, suggesting a probable trade of equal bulk each way.

I desire to point out that the tables of trade and navigation do not convey the actual increase of the trade and commerce of this country since 1878. They do not show the increase in the internal—the home business of the country, the interprovincial trade consequent upon the national policy.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington).

I will trouble the House with the figures from the Trade and Navigation Returns for a certain class of the free goods imported for manufacturing purposes.

I take the value of imports for the following years:—

	1888.	1878.	1873.	1869.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Raw cotton...	3,222,943	774,703	346,257	345,482
Gutta percha	586,954	187,239	234,954	90,536
Wool.....	1,322,783	1,106,210	1,540,473	549,694
Leaf tobacco.	1,486,685	703,580	745,370	880,109
Tin plates.....	1,045,195	153,349	132,120	24,142

Besides these there are many other articles on the free list imported, which are not imported for manufacturing purposes.

Now, if these materials had been imported in the manufactured state their value would have been increased by three times their value in their raw state. Therefore, I say that the figures in the Trade and Navigation tables do not show the increases in our trade during these years—they do not show the increase in our home trade. The returns of the trade and commerce of the country are far beyond what these tables show. In place of paying the difference in duty to the Customs we have paid the excess in money to our own people, mostly for wages, so that Canada is benefited, and not the foreigner, as was formerly the case. Our own people get all the benefits and profits arising from it; and as regards the textile fabrics, with which I am familiar, I know that the consumers have been supplied with their goods at cheaper rates than before the inauguration of the National Policy—I mean the goods manufactured in this country. And the laborer, the mechanic and the farmer can supply themselves with better goods and at lower prices than formerly. Hon. gentlemen have doubtless noticed, and I am sure with satisfaction, that Canadian manufacturers are exporting cotton goods to China. The National Policy and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway have put it in our power to open that new and enormous market, and I am glad to be able to inform the House that these shipments are made at a fair margin of profit, and that it therefore will be a continuous business.

We have also, as I have noted, our home and interprovincial trade, which is growing from year to year, although its volume does not appear in the Trade and Naviga-

tion tables, as I have already shown. But it must be borne in mind that there may be periods of depression; generally every five or so years business is not always good and not always bad; it is something like the swing of the pendulum, up and down; but we are making good progress.

Then there is our trade with our neighbors to the south of us. I am in favor of having the most friendly trade relations with them, but there are no restrictions on our part that I am aware of. If there are any restrictions it is on their side, not on ours. We admit their products and manufactures on precisely the same terms and conditions as those of the mother country—Great Britain; and, besides this, we admit their manufactures at a lower rate of duty than they do ours; the restrictions therefore are entirely on their side, not on ours. Before the adoption of our National Policy they called us "clever fellows," because we gave them our market while we were debarred from theirs by high duties, and since the adoption of the National Policy they call us "smart," and think all the more of us for looking after and taking care of our interests, as they do theirs.

I believe that articles in the Press and speeches in Parliament belittling our own resources and the progress we are making, and the cry for unrestricted reciprocity—and I think I have shown that the restrictions are on their side and not ours—I say speeches in Parliament, articles in the Press, making out that we cannot do without their market, are doing harm, and tend to retard rather than promote the settlement of whatever international disputes exist between the two countries.

I have a very high appreciation of the character of our great neighbors to the south of us.

I have had business connections with them, and have had large dealings with them in the past, and I think that I understand them; and I believe that the best way of getting reciprocal fair play from them is to show them that while we admire them we can be independent of them, that the best way to flatter them is to follow their example in creating our own home trade, to increase our interprovincial trade, as they have done their interstate commerce, to increase trade between our various Provinces, as they have between

their various States, to use every legitimate means of peopling that heritage which is ours in the great North-West, as they have done theirs.

In 1820 Canada and the Australias were only geographical names, with a population of about half a million. They now contain ten millions. The population of the United States then numbered less than ten millions; it is now sixty millions.

These are surely encouraging figures for us. They teach the lesson that our possibilities are as great as those of the United States. If we are true to ourselves we can in time become a great and powerful country, and I believe the aspiration of the people of this country to be to perpetuate British institutions in our portion of the continent.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I do not propose to go into a discussion on the National Policy at the present moment, but I rise for the purpose of expressing the gratification with which I heard the remarks of the hon. Senator from Toronto, and in saying this I am quite sure I echo the opinion of every hon. gentleman who had the good fortune to be in the Chamber to-day and hear his eloquent speech. I trust it will be scattered broadcast through this land, and have the effect of calling the attention of the people of Canada to these significant figures.

As he observed, it is remarkable that a young, growing, vigorous country, having all the advantages which Canada possesses, should have actually receded in its general trade with the world between the periods he has chosen to select; and they were very fair periods, because I find in 1873 our general trade was just about the same as it was in 1874. It calls upon all of us who feel an interest in this country to consider the cause of this; no other country under similar circumstances exhibits such a melancholy position. With all the money Canada possesses, with all the money we import into the Dominion, in the way of borrowing—the spending of that money alone, introduced into this country by the Government, by our railway companies and various other institutions which bring capital into the country, no doubt for the time being tends to enrich it—and it is remarkable that our general

trade with the outer world has been retrogressive. The only country with which we can fairly draw a parallel is the United States. While the hon. gentleman was speaking I looked at their trade reports for the years that he has selected, 1874 and 1888. I find the increase in the imports in that period was \$120,000,000, and increase in the exports \$134,000,000. Therefore, while we have gone back in those years some \$16,000,000 in our trade they have gone forward in their trade \$254,000,000. There is something remarkable, something striking, that ought to be explained, because the condition of things in the two countries is not so very different; our exports and our trade with the outside world are largely in the same articles. As the hon. gentleman observed, in that interim vast sums of money have been expended in the development of this country. I do not belittle the advantages of that expenditure, although it has not told in a remarkable degree on our prosperity, as I shall show when I point out what our export trade has really been. That expenditure has in the main been well directed, and in the future, no doubt, under a happier condition of things, under a freer trade, which this country will one day I hope enjoy, our commerce will go forward with leaps and bounds. The trade we have held, the particular items in which we have extended that trade, are not in any degree, or at all events are in but a slight degree benefited by this large expenditure of money. Looking at the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1874, I find the export trade at that time consisted of: Mines, \$6,500,000; fisheries, \$4,700,000; forest, \$28,586,000, animals, \$14,000,000; agricultural products nearly \$15,000,000; manufactures, about \$3,000,000. Now that was the main volume of our trade fifteen years ago. What are the articles that form the main volume of our export to-day? The produce of the mines, \$4,110,000. They have actually fallen off over \$2,500,000. Why is that? Is it that we do not know there are rich mines in Canada to-day? Not at all. We have far finer mines, far wealthier exhibits in our mining districts to-day than we knew or dreamed of in days before, but the policy of the country has been to stamp out the working of the mines. Mining machinery is not made in Canada, and it cannot be brought

into this country without paying a heavy duty, and so the mining industry is crushed out. I know something of the mining industries of this country; I know something of the vast amount of undeveloped wealth that lies within the limits of Canada, not merely in British Columbia and Nova Scotia, but in the mountains north of this city and in the Algoma district. In the Thunder Bay district we know, as a matter of fact, there are as rich mines as in any part of the world. They are undeveloped, simply because they are subject, among other things, to this terrible drag to which I have adverted. You cannot get British or American capitalists to invest capital in our mines, knowing the difficulties in the way of importing mining machinery. The fiscal policy of Canada has not stimulated the mining industries of the Dominion. Our fisheries have increased from \$4,779,000 to \$6,167,000, not a very large increase certainly. The produce of the forest has fallen from \$28,586,000 to \$22,248,000. They have kept up pretty well, except in those unfortunate years that prevailed between 1874 and 1878. In this House attention has been called to those particular years, when a dreadful pall hung over Canada. Some hon. gentlemen ascribe it to the existence of the Mackenzie Government. I have argued over and over again, and shown by figures, that the blight upon our country was due simply to the inability of people to buy from us. (Hear, hear). Hon. gentlemen may smile, but it is common sense; there is the fact; there is no doubt about it. In one particular item that we are now discussing, that of lumber, I was forcibly reminded of that fact by taking up "Johnson's Graphic Statistics," which are equivalent to a Government Blue Book, as they are compiled by an officer of the Government. I find that the imports of lumber from Canada into the United States from 1870 to 1874 amounted to \$202,000,000; from 1874 to 1879 they amounted to \$141,000,000; then they rose, from 1879 to 1884, to \$202,000,000. The logic of hon. gentlemen is this: Because the Mackenzie Government were in power the Americans would not purchase Canadian lumber, because it was almost entirely in lumber that this great falling off in trade occurred.

During the five years, from 1874 to 1879, the United States bought from us \$61,000,000 less than during the five years preceding or the five years following. Does any man pretend to say that the legislation of this country in any way affected that? The thing is preposterous. But this country did suffer by the loss of this \$61,000,000. We had that much less American gold coming into Canada during those five years, and that, no doubt, was one of the chief elements of the terrible depression—it was because our neighbors were suffering from a severe depression themselves, and were too poor to buy our lumber. What are the items that go to make up our export trade as compared with those of 1874? They are: Animals and their products, \$25,000,000. Does the hon. gentleman pretend to say that the expenditure of this \$117,000,000 in the last four years stimulated the production of animals and induced foreigners to buy our animals or the products of our animals? No doubt it has furnished facilities for transshipment, to some extent, but it could not have a very important effect upon our exports. Then the agricultural products amounted to \$23,719,000. Can it be pretended in any way that that expenditure stimulated agricultural products to any degree? It has been a benefit, no doubt, as any expenditure would be, but it has not been an important factor in the production of these articles of export, and these are the three items that go to make up our great wealth. Manufactures have remained nearly what they were fourteen years before; they have increased barely \$600,000, even including a cargo that was sent to China, and that we are told was sold to the heathen Chinese at a considerably less price per yard than it would have been sold for to the educated and intellectual Canadian. In other words, when there is a surplus that cannot be disposed of in Canada, manufacturers are content to use China as a slaughter market.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon; it is not a slaughter market.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The newspapers sometimes say so.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—I can tell the hon. gentleman that it is not so.

HON. MR. SCOTT—These are the items of our export trade. Does any man for a moment pretend to say that increased taxation on imports coming into Canada has stimulated any one of these three items? The thing is perfectly absurd. Those three items that I have quoted amount to \$71,000,000 out of our total export of that year, to which I have referred, of \$86,000,000. Of that amount all but \$15,000,000 was due to the natural products of the country.

HON. MR. POWER—The manufactures have fallen off since 1878.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I have no doubt of it. This trade abroad is no doubt a very desirable thing, and we should all be glad to see it increase and develop. I am quite free to admit that the suggestions which the hon. gentleman made, if taken up by the Government, would, to some degree, facilitate our trade—that is, the increased service of vessels, the cheaper cable communication, etc. But, after all, the hon. gentleman, who has a practical knowledge of those questions, and who has himself gone to those countries and seen for himself how that trade can be developed, comes back to the starting point that it depends almost entirely on the fiscal policy of the two countries whether a trade can be profitably carried on. If they have a tariff wall and we have a tariff wall trade is impossible, except under peculiar circumstances, in articles which each has, and which cannot be got anywhere else. We all know that to make a profitable trade with the West Indies we would have to change our whole sugar policy. Instead of buying our raw sugar, as we do now, at the Spanish Islands, getting the worst raw sugar in the world—the lowest grade, no doubt, because they are the cheapest—and manufacturing them here, we could buy our sugars cheaper in other markets. We know that in British Guiana they have improved machinery, by which they make raw sugars equal to any in the world. If we want to develop a trade with the West Indies all we have to do is to change our tariff. Instead of having a tariff so high as to put an excessive duty on the higher grades of sugars and comparatively low duties on inferior grades we should have a fair and reasonable adjustable duty for revenue

purposes only. We would get equally good sugar, if not better, and certain to get it a good deal cheaper than it is now; anything we would have to pay extra for its value will go into the public chest.

Of course the people who have a stock of sugar now, who are fortunate enough in having well devised factories, get the large profits that otherwise ought to go either to the consumers or to the revenue of the country. I saw it stated the other day, and I suppose hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces can state whether it is correct or not, that some fabulous dividend, 25 per cent., I think, was paid on stock, some of it watered stock, by one sugar concern in Halifax. I heard even higher figures than that quoted. My hon. friend opposite (Mr. MacInnes) shakes his head. I did not see it contradicted and I am inclined to think that those who had stock in that refinery received that dividend.

HON. MR. MACINNES—Raw sugar is an article that is liable to great fluctuations in price, and when an abnormal profit is made it is in years when the manufacturer is lucky in making large purchases at low prices.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Some refiners did not get any dividends for years.

HON. MR. SCOTT—There is the fact; I saw it stated and have seen no denial. When a gentleman from British Guiana visited Montreal last summer to see if profitable trade could not be secured between that country and Canada he found out that on the quality of sugar he would send to this market a duty of over 85 per cent. was imposed. He said it was quite impossible; that he could not do it. It is idle, therefore, to talk about trading with the West Indies unless we change the tariff. In my opinion, it is money wasted, laying foundations for trade, while we have a prohibitory tariff which would prevent the trade from developing. I have shown, so far as the United States is concerned, that under very nearly similar conditions there has been, between the years 1874 and 1888, that large increase in their trade of \$254,000,000 as against a decrease in ours of some \$17,000,000. Taking our trade per head as compared with that of the mother country, with

our advantages and resources, it should compare favorably; but I find that while their trade per head is about \$80 ours is but \$40. The trade of France is somewhere about our own, or a little less. The House has heard a great deal on this subject from myself on other occasions, and I do not think it is quite fair to inflict a speech on the House now: I merely rise to express the gratification with which I listened to the hon. gentleman from Midland, and to express the hope that his observations will go abroad to the country. I know that they will meet with general approval wherever they are read. It is important that the public mind should be educated to appreciate the loss to this country by the policy inaugurated ten years ago, under the name of the National Policy. I have a great many other figures, but I do not feel disposed at the present time to inflict them on the House. They are all in the same direction, showing that our trade has been retrogressive, and where there has been any increase it has not been so large as we ought to expect under the favorable condition in which Canada is situated.

HON. MR. MCCALLUM—I listened to the speech of my hon. friend from Midland with a great deal of pleasure. I agree with a great deal that he said. In some of his views I do not concur. It is very desirable that we should extend our trade, if we can do so at a profit. But there is no object in swapping if you cannot swap to advantage, and that is the point that guides me in this matter. The amount of trade done by a country does not always show the extent of its prosperity. To ascertain the condition of a people you must see how they enjoy life. The hon. gentleman from Midland said that we should have steam communication with the West Indies and other countries. Such communication is desirable, but it costs money, and if I understood the hon. member he found fault with the Government for the manner in which the public debt has been increased. Anyone who has read the Budget Speech delivered this week will find a full explanation of that expenditure. A great deal is said about the trade of the neighboring country. Some people admire the United State because of

HON. MR. SCOTT.

their extensive trade, and think that we should extend our own trade with that country, but it should be borne in mind that they are our competitors. The hon. member from Ottawa says that the mining industry of this country has not been developed, because of the high duty on machinery. Our neighbors have a higher tariff than ours, yet it has not destroyed mining there.

HON. MR. SCOTT—They make their own machinery.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I do not see how trade relations with the United States will help this country, because they produce the very same articles that we produce, and compete with us in all the markets of the world. I have before me some figures taken from the Trade and Navigation Returns of the United States, which show that they export the very same articles that we do. My hon. friend wants to extend trade with the West Indies. It is desirable that we should do so, but the Americans are our competitors there. The export trade of the United States last year was \$683,862,104; their imports were \$723,957,114, showing a balance of trade against them of \$40,095,010. Some people think there is nothing in this fact of the balance of trade being one way or the other, but I should be very glad if the balance of trade were in favor of Canada. Now, let us see what were their principal exports. They consist of such articles as horses, hogs, etc., breadstuffs, fertilizers, fish, fruits, furs and skins, grease scraps, hides and skins, honey, hops, oils, provisions, vegetables, boards and planks, etc., amounting to \$195,357,349. All these articles are produced in this country.

HON. MR. POWER—If we cannot deal with the United States because they produce and export some articles that we do, how is it that last year our exports to that country amounted about to \$40,000,000?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—They may have articles in the United States that they do not export, but the articles to which I have referred are produced in this country also. It is true that the imports of this country are not increasing, and I think it is a blessing that they are not,

because it shows that our people are employed in producing goods here that were formerly imported from abroad. My hon. friend from Ottawa said that the people of Canada did not buy in the years of depression from 1874 to 1878. The reason was that there were no prosperous industries in the country, there was no work to be had, and people could not earn the money and could not spend it. The United States used our market for slaughtering their goods. It is very desirable to extend our foreign trade if it can be done at a profit, but a country may be prosperous without such extended trade. Look at Canada to-day. Compare it with other countries. Is there any country on the face of the globe whose people are more happy and prosperous than our own? There is no other country where a man can enjoy more of the comforts of life than in Canada. The day is coming, I may not live to see it, when Canada will be one of the greatest countries in the world. It has been stated that the expenditure on our public works has not increased the prosperity of the country; but a few years ago we could not travel from the Maritime Provinces to the upper Provinces in the winter time without passing through a foreign country. We had the magnificent St. Lawrence in summer, but we had no Intercolonial Railway in those days, and we were at times threatened with being deprived of the bonding system. Now we have an iron backbone to the country; we can travel from Halifax to Vancouver through our own country without suffering inconvenience or discomfort in the whole journey. I had no intention of making a speech, but I could not listen in silence to my hon. friend from Ottawa, when he spoke of our people being too poor to buy when his Government were in power.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I said that the people of the United States were so poor that they could not buy our lumber.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—My hon. friend should remember that he was a member of that Government. It was all lovely with him then; he had no fault to find when the poor people were suffering for want of bread because they could find no employment. I would remind him, when he says

that this country is not prosperous, that there is no better indication of the condition of the country than the prices at which its stocks are quoted in the money markets of the world. Some people are disposed to belittle their own country, and lead foreigners to believe that we are worse off than we really are. I have lived a long time in this country, and I expect to live here a little while yet, and I have never seen Canada with fairer prospects before it than we are blest with to-day. There may be some little trouble between ourselves and our neighbors with reference to the fisheries question, and we have amongst our own people a few discontented persons who are not discreet enough to avoid discrediting our country abroad, but they are marked men, and it will be all stamped out at the next election. We are going to fight it out in this country, and make of this Dominion a prosperous, happy and contented part of the British Empire.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—It would be very deplorable if this important subject should be allowed to pass over without further discussion. I would therefore move that the Debate be adjourned until Monday next.

After some discussion the motion was agreed to.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (24), "An Act to incorporate the Dominion Life Insurance Company." (Mr. Me-ner).

Bill (20), "An Act to incorporate the Hawkesbury Lumber Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (19), "An Act to incorporate the Assiniboia, Edmonton and Unjiga Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (25), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada." (Mr. Macdonald, Midland).

Bill (30), "An Act respecting the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec." (Mr. Macdonald, Midland).

The Senate adjourned at 6:10 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 8th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills, reported without amendment from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, were read the third time, and passed:—

Bill (35), "An Act respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company." (Mr. Turner).

Bill (31), "An Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company." (Mr. Hardisty).

PROTECTION OF THE OYSTER FISHERIES.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. POIRIER rose to call attention to

The state of deterioration, bordering on total destruction, to which our valuable oyster fisheries have been brought, for want of proper protection, and ask the Government if it is their intention to enforce some new and more effective regulations for better preserving what remains of our oyster fisheries, and whether, among these regulations, there will be one prohibiting oyster fishing through the ice?

He said: Alexander Dumas, having once gone to Marseilles, wrote to some of his friends in Paris that he had just discovered the Mediterranean Sea. Now, I propose that we go in a body to the Gulf shores and discover the existence of an immense belt of oyster beds, extending from the Baie de Chaleur to the Gut of Canso, and engirdling also the whole area of Prince Edward Island, in the same manner as Dumas discovered the Mediterranean Sea; or, again, as our esteemed ex-colleague, the hon. Dr. Schultz discovered last Session, in Committee Room No. 17, the existence of the Mackenzie River Basin and its prodigious resources.

Very few people are aware of the great importance oysters are acquiring as an economical factor in the United States, in England, in France and in all the more civilized countries. I might startle many, even in the Department of Fisheries, by

stating that the output of all our salmon, of our codfish, of our halibut, of our smelts, of our mackerel, of our herring, of our lobsters and of our oysters—in fact, of all our world renowned fisheries, surpasses by less than one-third the revenue derived, in the neighboring Republic, from that one bivalve, called by scientists *ostrea Virginiana*, and known here under the name of Baltimore oysters.

The produce of all our fisheries, lake and river, as well as ocean fisheries, aggregated last year \$18,386,103.

The revenue from the American oysters alone amounted, in 1880, to the sum of \$13,402,852.

Compared with those results, do hon. gentlemen know, the quantity of oysters we got last year on our own shores?—33,125 barrels in Prince Edward Island; 28,083 barrels in New Brunswick, and 1,397 barrels in Nova Scotia, making altogether for the three Provinces 62,605 barrels, which at—say \$2 per barrel—represent, \$125,210. Why, the State of Virginia alone yielded, in 1880, 47,861,240 pounds of oysters, valued at \$2,218,376; and the direct revenue derived from the oyster fisheries in Maryland reached, for the same year, the enormous sum of \$4,730,476. Compared with these, are not our receipts ridiculous? But the cost value of the oyster is not the only revenue to be derived from well conducted oyster fisheries. A number of kindred industries are depending upon them—spring from them.

For cans alone \$794,919 were paid in 1880, in Baltimore, and \$102,622 for wooden cases, by the forty-five firms engaged in packing. These firms have a capital of \$2,338,000. They employ 6,627 men, paying them \$602,427 wages annually. During the season referred to, 9,543 vessels came to Baltimore, carrying 7,252,970 bushels of oysters.

These are figures applying to the city of Baltimore alone.

It is estimated that in the State of Maryland no less than 84,000 persons derive their support from the business, about 25,000 men being employed as dredgers, tongs, scrapers, runners, in packing houses, in can-making, boat-repairing, oyster-transplanting, etc., with wages and earnings amounting to nearly \$4,000,000 annually. The capital on which they work amounts to over \$6,000,000.

In France there are to-day 37,000 oyster cultivating establishments, owned by 41,000 persons, which provide a living for no less than 200,000 men, women and children.

Compared with these figures, we find that the total value of our oyster-fishing implements and their derivatives, the total value of the capital invested in this industry, amounted last year to \$17,230! The number of men employed is put down at 1,500!

And yet, hon. gentlemen, the quality of our oysters is unsurpassed in the whole world, and the yielding capabilities of our oyster beds are unlimited. Is it not full time that public attention should be called to a state of things so disastrous, in a country boasting of its material progress, pretending to keep abreast with the foremost nations in things that pertain to the development of natural sources of welfare and revenue?—in a country which enjoys a National Policy and which, but for a minority of twenty-eight votes, would to-day be able to frame its own treaties.

With a new Minister, young and dashing, at the head of the Department, this is the proper time, I imagine, to move this oyster question.

The former Ministers of Fisheries—one of whom is actually Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and the other Lord of the Treasury, represent constituencies—Colchester and Kings—where bivalves never could grow. The non-breeding of oysters is one of the features of the Bay of Fundy. And then it is not well demonstrated that this delicious mollusk is a teetotally temperance fish. Fishermen from all countries report that it is constantly under the influence—of tidal rivers. Moreover, it is an unclean fish. The Jews have declared it so, on account of its lacking scales—some say because it was too costly a luxury. For these reasons, and divers other reasons, the oyster question has been somewhat neglected under the two previous Ministers of Marine and Fisheries.

The constituency which the Hon. Mr. Tupper represents is bathed and traversed by bays and rivers susceptible of bearing oysters—at least, cultivated oysters.

Wherefore, I trust that he will take up this question, and not only adopt such regulations as will protect what remains

of the oyster beds, but will devise upon means of reviving them, as is done in other countries.

Now, as our leaders have just declined an invitation, in their and in our names, to a free trip to the United States, as a feeble compensation, let me be your Erastus Wiman, hon. gentlemen, and allow me to still further conduct you, free of expense, through our newly discovered oyster beds.

In their native state our oysters were once exceedingly abundant. The principal beds, the Caraquette and the St. Simon, in the county of Gloucester; the Bay du Vin and the Tabasintac in the county of Northumberland; the Buctouche and the Cocagne, in the county of Kent; the Shediac and the Shemogue, in the county of Westmoreland, to speak of New Brunswick alone, were deemed, not many years ago, inexhaustible. In most of these bays a man could take in, with the primitive hand-rake or "tongs," one, two and even three barrels a day.

Unfortunately, there were no provident laws to protect the beds, and fishing, exhaustive and reckless fishing, was carried on year after year, until the final stage is almost arrived at—the total extinction of those inestimable fisheries in New Brunswick. Raking in the Caraquet is now unprofitable; the oyster is scanty and ridiculously small. One man, putting in one bushel in the Buctouche Bay, has done a hard and successful day's work; the Shediac Bay, the parent of the Province's wide-renowned Poitiers' bed, is completely wrecked, while the Shemogue oyster is a luxury of the past. Some few good beds are still to be worked at the entrance of the Bay of Miramichi, where the oyster is inferior in quality; but already, this fall, fishermen report them impoverished, and predict their total failure in a few years. Now mark, hon. gentlemen, and I wish my voice might reach the hearing of the hon. the Minister of Fisheries, it is not as much over-raking that has depleted our oyster beds as the time and circumstances in which raking was and still is carried on.

Properly raked, especially with tongs, as our oysters are, the beds could have stood the drain and survived it, and still be of good bearing. The beds in the British Channel and at the mouth of the Thames have withstood more. But what

has ruined our oyster fisheries is the fishing of them on and through the ice.

Hon. gentlemen will readily understand what I mean. Oysters, to breed, require natural or artificial beds where they may lay their spat, where infant oysters may attach themselves, find protection against clay or sand, and grow to their natural size. If you take away, imbed in the sand or in any way destroy their necessary support, the spawn is smothered and the young generation doomed. Fishing in the open water in summer or in the fall is attended with no pernicious effect, save the removal of the adult oyster. It may even prove beneficial to the beds, as it properly stirs the spat and extends it gradually, so as to enlarge the previous bed; because, in this case, when the oysterman has picked what oysters he finds in the teeth of his rake he invariably throws back in the water the residue, the *debris*, the mussel mud, as it is called.

But such is not the result attending oyster fishing through the ice. In this case holes are cut through the ice two or three feet wide and six or seven feet long. The rake is thrust through the aperture; the substance of the bed is hauled through it and deposited on the ice, and when the oysters, if any, are picked and put by, the *debris*, the mussel mud; on which the brood rested, and which constituted by far the larger proportion of the matters brought up with the rake, are left to freeze on the ice. Very seldom has the oysterman time, or does he care to throw those *debris* back into the water. What is the result? Those *debris* remain for the rest of the winter on the ice; in the spring they are carried away with the drifting element, and when their support melts away, and they return to the bottom of the sea again, they are perhaps three, six or twelve miles away from the parent bed. The parent bed is thus considerably damaged. This quantity of mussel mud and bedding which is not returned back leaves holes and excavations, which are filled afterwards by clay or moving sand, to the immediate injury of the bed. The living shells, small and large, that remain at the bottom, are thus very often smothered; and the infant ones, which have attached to the *debris* and the cultch, are left to freeze on the ice above.

You perceive how disastrous this fishing

through the ice invariably proves. In all these cases not only is the bed disturbed and impoverished for the future, but just calculate the number of young ones that do actually perish on the ice! Why, scientists have shown that a female oyster—I am speaking here of the American oyster, for the English oyster, the *Edulis*, is probably a hermaphrodite, or perhaps of an intermittent sex—an American oyster contains an average of no less than ten millions of eggs. Some have been found to contain as many as sixty millions. If only a small fraction of these eggs have successfully gone through their larval period and become viable spat, and were attached to dead shells, and whatever constituted the bed at the time of this fishing on the ice, you find that thousands of young oysters were thus wantonly destroyed by exposure to one oyster put into the fisherman's basket. A wholesale destruction for a small, a very small, comparative benefit! The massacre of thousands of young brood for the catching of a few adult ones!

This is how most of our oyster beds, with but a moderate annual yielding, have been so impoverished; and why, in the localities where a winter market is at hand, the once prolific and abundant beds are now being irretrievably destroyed. But are there no regulations to prevent this particularly disastrous and reckless destruction? No; none whatever. And why? Because, I suppose, no such regulations exist in Chesapeake Bay. Unfortunately for us they have no ice there, and as the directing spirits of the Department of Fisheries are not very inventive, this discovery, in practice at least, has escaped them. No regulations against fishing through the ice in Virginia; no regulations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where our bays freeze as early as the beginning of December, to melt away in April. As a natural consequence, the American fisheries will stand the drain much longer, because the beds there are not destroyed.

For one or more generations past, long before the building of any railroad, the New Brunswick settler would, in the months of December and January, put in a sleigh-load of bulk oysters, and start for Sussex, St. John, Fredericton, Truro, and sometimes Halifax, to sell these, in order

to realize a few pounds and shillings. The oyster bed was the source of his making ready cash; nor did he otherwise take enough of this prolific fish to destroy it, under the circumstances. The raking was moderate enough.

But destruction followed all the same, because of this mode of fishing in winter and of allowing parts of the beds to freeze on and be carried away by the ice. There was no market for oysters in summer in those days.

True, on the Caraquet Bay this winter fishing was not carried on very extensively. But there, every fall of the year, such excessive fishing was carried on to supply the Quebec and Canadian markets, by means of schooners, that a similar state of depletion has been arrived at—with this difference, however, that the Caraquet and St. Simon oysters bed, not having been destroyed, a few years rest would revive them considerably, as the quantity of small oysters there is still very large.

The non-fishing in winter accounts for the comparative good state of productiveness of the Prince Edward Island beds. Every fall of the year the Malpeque and the Bedeque Bays are fished to exhaustion, and still the bivalve survives, and is found again the next year in comparative abundance. There being no market for island oysters in winter, the beds are disturbed only in the autumn season; the young ones are not made to freeze on the ice, and are given a year's rest to grow.

When the submarine railroad of my hon. friend from Alberton is built, and a winter market is opened to island oysters, I predict their rapid destruction, if fishing through the ice is still allowed by that time.

By all means, hon. gentlemen, fishing through the ice must be prohibited, in the very interest of oystermen themselves, or else what remains of our oyster fisheries will be utterly destroyed within a very few years.

But some hon. gentlemen will ask again, are there no regulations in force for the protection of your fisheries? Indeed there are regulations, but whether they protect anything is the question. I will show what they are, and leave you to judge of the effect. "Thou shalt not fish any oyster from the 1st June to the 15th

December." So speaketh the departmental decalogue. And as ministers of this law, a few inspectors or policemen, without canoes or boats, are appointed to see it carried out. This regulation, if not utterly useless, some say harassing and detrimental, is certainly incomplete. To protect the oyster beds during the period of three months and a-half, and then allow them to be depleted during the rest of the year, is simply a farce. A municipality might as well have a police force to protect the lives and properties of the citizens during two days in the week, and then give full sway to robbers during the other five days. Or a shepherd might, with as much logic, keep the wolf from the lamb while it is young—the lamb—and then, when it has developed and fattened allow the wolf to come into the fold and help himself to both the lamb and the shepherd.

A close season of three months and a-half will only have its *raison d'être*, if it is followed by such other protective regulations as will ensure the object in view, as will prevent the total wreck or exhaustion of the bed during the remainder of the year.

If the fishermen are to be annoyed or restricted in any way, let those restrictions be for their benefit, or else let there be no restrictions at all. To harass people for no other object but harassing is no sound policy to follow, either for Governments or for individuals.

But some may say: the object of the close season is not to put restrictions in the way of fishermen, but to protect the oyster during its spawning season. The intention is pure and undefiled; I am aware of that. But it is not with intentions I am dealing; I am dealing with results.

I might reply that this pretended necessity of protecting oysters during their alleged spawning season is all guess work; that the period for spawning differs with the species of oysters; that for the same species it, moreover, differs according to the latitude; that there are years when the spat is abundant and years when it almost completely fails; that the *modus vivendi* of our oysters has never been ascertained to any satisfactory degree.

I might also add that many specialists—English, French, American—among whom I will mention Shaw-Lefebvre, Sir James Caird, Huxley, pretend that the stirring of an oyster bed during the spawning

season is conducive to the spreading and enlarging of the bed, and that the summer close season is, therefore, more injurious than beneficial to this fishery. But those objections I will not take into consideration. I merely wish to assert again that if there is to be a close season during the summer months that close season must be followed by prohibiting fishing through the ice. The first, unless it is followed by the second, is superfluous—nay, ridiculous, in our country. But even this would not be sufficient to save our oyster fisheries from final destruction, although it would certainly postpone the fatal date. Some regulations should be framed and applied by which to prevent the oyster bed from being completely exhausted during the open season, say from the 15th of September to the ice season.

In France, where the close season exists from the 1st of May, they have local commissioners, who decide all questions pertaining to fishing in their own districts and bays, and who are empowered to have their regulations carried out; so that the Government, having framed the general laws, the districts are given power, through commissioners, to devise as to all the details. These commissioners decide whether a whole bay will be dredged or only a part of it; what part will be opened to fishermen and what part will be absolutely closed; if it is necessary that a year's rest be given to an oyster bed they have the power to enforce it. They limit the number of days during which the public is allowed to fish in one locality. They apply the rotation system. In a word, each district, having its own commissioners, acts, to a certain extent, as our incorporated cities do in regard to their municipal regulations. And thus they never allow an oyster bed to be entirely depopulated. This, added to a close season of four months, from May to September, is conducive to conservative effects.

In many of our neighboring States they are experimenting on legislation based upon that of France, with decidedly good results. Why should we not do likewise? Why don't we see endeavors made to come to the rescue of this perishing industry? But when we have regulations of some efficiency we will have moved only one step in the right direction; we will have only gone to the extent of pro-

tecting natural oyster beds, which the bountiful hand of Providence has distributed lavishly along our shores. We will still be, compared with some European nations, in the infancy of the art of oyster culture, for the protection of natural oyster fisheries, which is here proposed, is quite different from the culture of the same bivalve, as is practised in Belgium, in France, in Germany.

The English and the French oyster, the *edulis*, not being susceptible of artificial reproduction, the French Government has extended its protection to scientists, and these, Coste, Bouchon-Brandely, and other *savants*, have solved the question of oyster culture, by experimenting with the Portuguese oyster, the *Angulata*. This oyster is capable of artificial culture, and the results in France are wonderful. Whole districts, formerly uninhabitable, are becoming thrifty and prosperous through this system of oyster culture, the Bay of Cancale, among others.

The American oyster, the *Virginica*, is also susceptible of artificial impregnation and culture. John Ryder, in the United States Report of 1887, says: "The developments made within the last six years show that the solution of the most important problems in oyster culture, by means of artificial methods, operating from the eggs, is possible." Now, hon. gentlemen, I do not ask the Government to go so far; nor even to ascertain whether our *ostrea borealis*, or, more truly, *Canadensis*, is capable of artificial reproduction—that is to say, whether the egg is fecundated in the shell, as is the case with the English oyster, or comes in contact with the spermatozoa in free water, as is the case with the Portuguese and the American oyster, for the purpose of preparing oyster-culturists in this country. This would demand a great outlay of money with uncertain results. It is not the culture of the oyster that is hereby asked for, but the mere protection of natural beds. When the natural beds are restored it will be time to move for artificial culture. A commission was appointed last year to report on the lobster and oyster industries. Some of their suggestions are excellent, and should be experimented. I fail to see any experiment or any new regulation forthcoming.

There is a limited number of officials

in the Department of Marine who seem to have good, practical knowledge of this question, and to understand its urgency, but they appear to be powerless to have any new scheme or experiment tested—not such a scheme or experiment as would prove costly, but simply pregnant with good, common sense. Still, while nothing is being done the demand for oysters is increasing every year and the chances of depletion of our oyster beds are increasing in proportion, and becoming more alarming every year.

If nothing is done before long, what would now be easy and cheap will become difficult and costly. The Government or companies will have to re-stock our exhausted beds with imported oysters, as is now done in the New England oyster fisheries. Millions and millions of oysters are annually taken from Chesapeake Bay and planted in northern waters. Fortunately the Chesapeake oyster beds cover an area of nearly half a million of acres, and are, therefore, with some reasonable protection, next to exhaustless. We have no such reservoirs in the lower Provinces, but we have as strong an appetite for the succulent mollusk as our brethren to the south of the line have. As a proof of my assertion I gather from the Blue Books that we imported last year from the United States, irrespective of our own output, 248,356 gallons of bulk oysters, valued at \$273,595, on which we paid \$24,835.79 duty; 1,657 barrels in shell, worth \$7,499, for which \$1,870.75 was paid; oysters in can to the value of \$29,712, for which the Customs Department got \$7,870.56. Altogether we imported last year American oysters to the value of \$312,735, on which the share of the public revenue amounted to \$34,738.24.

We imported, hon. gentlemen, of \$312,735 worth of oysters for 1887-88, while our own production did not reach for the same year \$200,000. Where is our National Policy in all this? Now, I believe in a National Policy; therefore I wish to see it applied here.

From the above figures I have omitted, for reasons obvious, 3,433 lbs. of oysters worth \$539, imported from China into British Columbia, and which I do not wish to mention, lest some personal application might be made to some one of our colleagues from that remote Province, whose

healthy corpulence speaks volumes in favor of the consumption of the savory bivalve.

Between brackets, let me tell you that for the same year our British Columbian colleagues have imported 280 heathen Chinamen, at \$50 per head, which shows a considerable advance on the consumption of Celestials over oysters on the western slope of the Rockies.

In view of all these facts, I say that we cannot afford to allow our oyster fisheries to deteriorate and get depleted beyond redemption, without making some efforts to preserve what remains of them. The demand for the savory bivalve increases from year to year. Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Quebec, St. John, Halifax and Montreal must have their oysters, and if the supply is not to be found in our country it will be imported from abroad. Just imagine the United States of America supplying us annually to the extent of \$313,000 worth of fish of this one species.

As early as 1874 the Hon. Mr. Pope was writing:

"The rivers and estuaries of Prince Edward Island are admirably adapted for the cultivation of oysters. I see no reasons why hundreds of thousands of acres of oyster beds should not be formed in these bays, which would produce vast quantities of oysters, in quality much superior to the oysters of Virginia. The material for the formation of such beds is at hand in the ancient ones, and oysters with which to sow them could be had at little cost."

And yet not only have we done nothing whatsoever in the way of cultivating them artificially, or on any improved system, as hinted by Mr. Pope, but we have allowed and we are still allowing the natural beds to be annually deteriorated, without applying for their preservation any efficient remedial measures.

And these oysters are beyond question the finest in the world for savor and piquant delicacy. Neither the American Blues nor the French Marennes can compare for taste with the Malpeque or Bedeque oysters. The English Emsworth-natives will not stand the test against the Caraque, which they closely resemble; even the north of Ireland oysters, of European fame, will take a back stand when put in comparison with the genuine Buctouche shell; while the Shediac and the Shemogue oysters have been declared by a Canadian poet to be the very article

of food, known as Ambrosia, that Gany-mede, the pantler of the gods, served to Jupiter himself in a golden dish—which would account for their total destruction to-day.

Were those oysters known in New York, hon. gentlemen, the demand for them would be so pressing, so vehement, so universal, that our southern cousins would willingly grant us free trade, restore back the State of Maine to us, give up all their pretensions as did Esau in time of old, for an occasional raw dish of this most exquisite food.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I imagine that the history of oyster fishing is very much like the history of all other fishing in a new colony. The country being sparsely settled the poor settlers seek means of livelihood where they can, and fish being abundant they use them, and abuse the privileges which they enjoy. The history which my hon. friend has given to the House is being repeated wherever a new colony settles beside fish-producing waters. It is by no means so easy a matter to deal with as one would infer from my hon. friend's address. I think the House is indebted to him for the valuable statistics he has given, and for calling the attention of the House to the matter. The subject has already occupied the attention of the Government, as my hon. friend's address will show, by the fact that a commission of enquiry has been sent to investigate the question and has reported, but there are still matters applicable to the subject which have not been sufficiently elucidated. So far it has been impossible to devise any scheme of protection, without unduly pressing on the poor people who depend in a large degree on the oyster fisheries. All that has been done, so far, as my hon. friend says, is merely to establish a close season, from June to September. There are various projects suggested for the purpose of supplementing this close season. I think it is generally admitted that the period for the close season is properly selected, but there are still nine months of the year during which these fish are exposed to being taken. In the winter there is, doubtless, as my hon. friend says, a great and wanton destruction of oysters. They are raked up

through the ice, and those which are merchantable are picked out and the remainder are left to perish on the ice. In that way, probably, vast numbers of oysters are destroyed for a very small proportion indeed which is merchantable, especially in these places that have been largely depleted during former years, and where a great deal of dredging or raking has to be performed in order to get an appreciable quantity of merchantable fish. My hon. friend suggests, as a remedy, that fishing in the winter should be prohibited. Let us see what that implies. It implies that during the period of the year when poor people are most in need of some supplement to their ordinary livelihood and food they are to be entirely debarred from this one for a period of five months. That, with the close season, leaves a little over three months during which they may fish. Of course that is a subject which deserves a good deal of consideration. The question is, whether the purpose which my hon. friend wishes to attain by prohibiting fishing in winter might not be secured by punishing the wanton waste which is committed in winter. That is one of the subjects that is being looked into, in order to ascertain whether it is not possible in some way to prevent the wanton abuse of fishing, but to permit the moderate and proper use of it. Otherwise, as I have pointed out, the period during which fishing may be prosecuted will be reduced to a very small portion of the year. There are other subjects in connection with the matter which render it difficult, and my hon. friend will recognize one at once, with his knowledge of constitutional law—the question of jurisdiction. I do not know exactly the location of the oyster beds. I do not know exactly whether they can be invariably held to be within the jurisdiction of the Dominion or within the jurisdiction of the Provinces, but there is a grave question there which is now under examination and consideration. It is unnecessary for me to mention other points of minor importance which have cropped up in considering this question, to which the Government, I can assure my hon. friend and the House, has already given the most careful attention, and the Government has regarded with great regret the apparent

deterioration of the oyster beds. The subject is now under consideration, and I trust before next season expires, regulations will be framed which will have a tendency to reach the end which my hon. friend and the House, and everyone who desires the welfare of the country, will like to see attained.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—The hon. gentleman who has brought this subject before the House deserves the thanks of the people of this country, for although we may not all understand oyster culture most of us appreciate the bivalve when it is placed before us, and most of us would be glad to know that they are becoming more abundant. This country has decided on a protective policy. It has been carrying out that policy for a number of years, and in the protection of the fisheries for a still longer period; consequently, the protection of our oyster beds would be in accord with the general policy of the Government. Although I do not know much about the culture of oysters I may be pardoned for reading a few extracts from a report by Professor Huxley, published in the "Illustrated Magazine" for 1883-84. I have no doubt he is thoroughly conversant with the subject, because he states that twenty years before, he, with Sir James Caird and Mr. Shaw-Lefebvre, had to deal with the oyster question. In this article we have a complete history of the oyster, and the conclusion arrived at as to the best course to be pursued is summed up as follows:—

1. "10. We have made diligent enquiry into the condition of the oyster fisheries, and have devoted a large section of our report to the discussion of the evidence which we have obtained. We find:

"That the supply of oysters has very greatly fallen off during the last three or four years.

"That this decrease has not arisen from over fishing, nor from any causes over which man has direct control, but from the very general failure of the spat or young of the oyster, which appears, during the years in question, to have been destroyed soon after it was produced. A similar failure of spat has frequently happened before, and probably will often happen again.

"That the best mode of providing against these periodical failures of the spat is to facilitate the proceedings of those individuals or companies who may desire to acquire so much property in favorably situated portions of the sea-bottom as may suffice to enable them safely to invest capital in preparing and preserving these portions of the sea-bottom for oyster culture. By which term 'oyster culture' is implied, not the artificial breeding of oysters, in the manner in which salmon are bred artificially, but the collection of the brood

in years when that brood is plentiful, and its preservation by the application of due skill and care, as a source of supply during the years when the spat fails—a process in vogue among British fishermen from time immemorial.

“That no regulations or restrictions upon oyster fishing, beyond such as may be needed for the object just defined, have had or are likely to have any beneficial effect upon the supply of the oysters.”—*Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom, 1886.*

HON. MR. DEVER—Where was the failure of the fisheries in this case?

HON. MR. READ—In France and Germany.

HON. MR. DEVER—Are they reporting on the condition of the oyster fisheries of the three countries?

HON. MR. READ—Yes; in another place Professor Huxley says:—

“Man intervenes in favor of the oyster by the process which is known as ‘oyster culture.’ This consists in collecting the spat as soon as it has attached itself, and removing it to conveniently situated, natural and artificial shallows, known as ‘oyster parks,’ where it can be protected from its enemies, and at the same time nourished.

“Practised at Whitstable and elsewhere from time immemorial, this process has more recently been developed by laying down facines of twigs or tiles, in the way of oyster larvæ, during the spatting season. In good spatting years the quantity of young oysters obtained in this way is prodigious. In 1865 Mr. Nichols, the foreman of the Whitstable Company, told the Sea Fisheries’ Commissioners that in the year 1858 the spat was very abundant, and that the brood gathered in that and the three following years formed a stock from which the market had ever since been supplied. But he added, that they did not expect a good spatting season more than once in every six years; and that, within his recollection, there had been no spat upon the flats, where it is usually collected, for a period of thirteen consecutive years.”

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—That is nothing new.

HON. MR. READ—In another place the writer says:

“The opportunity of observing the natural formation of a new oyster bed is rare, but the details of the process have been carefully watched in at least one case. Up to the year 1825 the ‘Limfjord,’ in Northern Jutland, consisted of a series of brackish water lakes communicating with one another, and opening on the east into the Kattegat. In the last century unsuccessful attempts were made to plant them with oysters; but on the 3rd of February, 1825, a great storm broke through the dam which separated the western part of the Limfjord from the North Sea. In consequence of this, the water of the fjord became gradually saltier, the brackish water plants and animals disappeared, and North Sea animals took their places. Among these, in

1851, oysters were observed, and year by year they extended over a larger area. In 1860 only 150,000 were taken; at present there are 98 beds, and in 1871-72 7,000,000 of full-grown oysters were exported. There could have been very few oysters before 1851, when the first were noticed. But, supposing the first entered as early as 1840, then, in thirty years they spread themselves over an area of about sixty-four English miles, so that every year on the average they advanced more than two miles. The oyster beds are, at present, three-fifths of a mile to five miles apart, so that the larvæ must have been able to wander for at least five miles.

“During this slow process of immigration it is obvious that the enemies and competitors of the oysters had just as good a chance as the oysters themselves, and yet the latter have established themselves with great success. Why should they be unable to do the like elsewhere?”

I will not trouble the House any longer. I have merely risen to call attention to this interesting article, and to thank the hon. member from Kent for bringing the subject before the House.

HON. MR. DEVER—The subject brought up by my hon. friend from New Brunswick so ably is worthy of considerable notice. Necessarily he has drawn the attention of the Government, especially of that active young member of it, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, to this important subject, and I believe that the consideration which it merits will be bestowed upon it. For my own part, I feel that no remarks of mine would have any effect on a question of this nature; it is one in which scientific knowledge and experience are required. In fact, I find that the most able scientists of the United States, France and Britain, have given a great deal of consideration to this question, from the fact that the oyster fisheries of those countries are almost exhausted from reckless fishing in the past. In fact, I have had letters from friends of mine in Britain, drawing my attention to this subject particularly, inasmuch as they know that we have very valuable fishing grounds on this continent. They said, from their knowledge of our oyster beds, they thought it the duty of every gentleman who has an interest in this country to bring the question before the Government, and see that our oyster beds, which are yet unexhausted, are kept in a valuable and progressive condition. They are not so badly fished out as some people are led to believe and now, while they are still in this state, we

HON. MR. READ (Quinté).

should place such restrictions on the fishing as will protect the young brood of oysters and prevent the destruction of the beds. I find a very valuable article on the deterioration of the American oyster beds in the "Popular Science Monthly" for November, 1881, to April, 1882, Vol. 20, by Lieutenant Francis Winslow. He says:—

"Considering, first, the destruction of large numbers of young oysters annually, by the falling of the 'spat' upon unfavorable ground, the prevalence of heavy freshets, which would drive the brood into the bay, and probably cause its loss, the ravages of various enemies, and unusual change of the temperature and density of the water.

"But all these causes have been in operation, continually, since the first discovery of the beds, and the animals have survived and increased while contending with them. Therefore, some other power must be assigned with one and all of these causes in order to account for the diminished number of the oysters.

"Thus, reviewing the natural causes which affect the beds we can assign to none of them the destruction of either the young or the old oysters. Remaining, then, as the only other operating cause, is the agency of man. The oyster fishery, he says, is carried on in two ways, either by 'tonging' or 'dredging.' The first method being confined to small areas, and to a limited number of fishermen, and susceptible of use but in shoal water, need not be considered. The second method of taking the oysters is as follows: the implement used is called a 'dredge' or 'scrape,' and resembles a large iron claw, the nails representing the teeth of the dredge. To the back of this dredge or claw is fastened a bag of iron mesh-work, large enough to hold two or three bushels of oysters.

"When the dredge is dragged along the bottom the teeth or claws dig up the oysters and shells which pass between them and into the net-work. The action is somewhat like that of a harrow. The dredges vary greatly in size, being from two to five feet across the mouth, and of greater or less weight, according to the depth of the water in which it is intended to use them.

"All oysters unfit for market are thrown back into the water, and after 'culling,' the old shells containing young oysters, are thrown back into the water. But millions, unfit for market, are carried off on the shells of old oysters, and lost to the beds. Other millions are thrown on unfit bottoms, and are destroyed. The action of the dredge is very destructive to the oysters remaining on the beds; they are not only roughly detached from each other, and from the different other objects to which they cling, but are no doubt frequently left in such positions as will cause the opening of the valves, and letting in of the mud and sand, which prevents their complete closure, the only defence the oyster has against his numerous enemies. The dredge destroys, too, large numbers of oysters that remain after it passes over them. Hence the number of empty shells."

Hon. gentlemen who take an interest in this subject will find a very interesting article on the subject in the "Scientific American," page 29. There is another pas-

sage in our Sessional Papers, which I think bears very strongly on this question. It is a report submitted to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries on deep-sea dredging operations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with notes on the present condition of the marine fisheries and oyster beds of part of that region. The writer says:

"In the Gulf of St. Lawrence oysters are usually found in very shallow water, nearly always in depths of less than three fathoms, in sheltered bays or mouths of rivers. In New Brunswick, as has been shown before by Perley, they range from Caraquette to Baie Verte. Capt. Purdy informs me that oysters have been taken up on the flukes of anchors in seven fathoms water, between Little and Big Caraquette Banks, in the Bay of Chaleurs. On the coasts of Prince Edward Island oysters are found in suitable localities, from Pinette River to the west point on the Northumberland Straits side; and in Malpeque or Richmond Bay, from Cascumpeque to New London on the northern. In Cape Breton they appear to be confined to Bras d'Or Lake and its tributaries, where the oyster region extends from St. Ann's to Mira River and St. Peter's Bay. The few oysters to be met with off Nova Scotia occur at Jeddore Head, twenty or twenty-five miles east of Halifax Harbor, also Country Harbor, St. Mary's River and Lipscombe Harbor, Guysboro' Co., on the outside; and Pictou Harbour, River John, Wallace, Charles River and Pugwash, in Northumberland Straits. (Purdy) We did not find traces even of oysters in any part of the area between Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, nor in any part of Northumberland Straits where the bottom is deeper than five or six fathoms—that is to say, not in any of the open parts.

"In answer to a letter asking for information on several points connected with the oyster beds of the Gulf the Hon. W. H. Pope has kindly given me a most interesting and valuable account of the oyster beds of Prince Edward Island, together with many items of practical information on the subject, which no one else is so well qualified to give. The following paragraphs, to which quotation marks are affixed, are extracts from letters received from Mr. Pope, and are printed by his permission.

"Oysters have flourished in every tidal river and bay in Prince Edward Island. At the present time productive oyster beds are found in Richmond, Cascumpec and Hillsborough Bays, and in the rivers flowing into these inland waters. I might also say in these localities alone. The produce of the beds in Hillsborough Bay is very considerable. The official returns of imports and exports to and from Prince Edward Island, for 1872, show that 9,490 barrels of oysters were shipped from this Island in the previous year.

" From Summerside, 7,572 brls. }	Produce of Rich-
" Malpece, 840 "	mond Bay.
" Cascumpec, 718 "	Cascumpec Bay.
" Charlottetown, 230 "	Chiefly of Rich-
" Orwell, 130 "	mond Bay.

"The dredge has never, to my knowledge, been employed in the waters of Prince Edward Island. Oysters are fished with 'tongs,' from depths varying from three or four feet to twelve, and even fifteen feet. It is scarcely practicable to fish oys-

ters, with tongs, at a depth greater than fifteen feet.

"I am not aware of the existence of oyster beds in any part of the Straits of Northumberland, or of the sea surrounding the Island. Some years ago I observed a quantity of oyster shells on the sand at the north end of the Tryon Shoals (which are situated on the south side of the Island); they were about a quarter of a mile from the shore. Some of the shells were filled with sand, more compact than much of our sandstone rocks. When I first observed these shells my opinion was that they had been washed ashore from beds situate in the deep water of the Straits of Northumberland. It has since occurred to me that they are *in situ*, and are the remains of an ancient oyster bed which had been destroyed by the sand. The existence of a soft, muddy bottom in the vicinity of these shells supports the supposition that at some period this muddy bottom was more extensive than at present; that the oyster bed was then formed, and was destroyed by the encroachment of the sand forming the Tryon Shoal.

"During the past ten or twelve years, millions of tons of oyster shells and mud have been taken up by our farmers, from oyster beds, by means of dredging machines, worked by horses on the ice. In many instances the beds have been cut through, and in some places the deposits of shells have been found to be upwards of twenty feet in thickness. It is probable that many of the oyster beds ceased to be productive of oysters ages before the settlement of the country by Europeans. Extensive deposits of oyster shells are now found covered by several feet of silt. How were the oysters upon these beds destroyed? The natural process of reproduction and decay would cause the oyster beds formed on the bottom to rise so near to the surface of the water that the ice would rest on them. The weight of heavy masses of ice upon the beds would injure the oysters, and the moving of the ice, when forced by tide or wind across the bed, would soon destroy them. I have observed the more elevated portions of an oyster bed, over which ice had been thus forced. Several inches of the surface of the bed, including all the living oysters, had been driven before the ice, and the shells and oysters so removed had been deposited in a miniature *moraine* on the slope of the bed, where the water was sufficiently deep to allow the ice to pass over it. This crushing and grinding process would destroy many of the oysters; some would be crushed and broken; others smothered in the *moraine*. The gradual silting up of the river would prevent the running of the ice, and the oyster beds would, in time, be covered, as we now find them. Deposits of oyster shells (covered with mud) twenty feet in depth, are found in rivers, in the deepest parts of which there are not now fourteen feet of water.

"Oysters thrive on muddy bottoms, but they will not live if imbedded in mud; many oyster beds have been destroyed by mud alone. The annual fishing of oyster beds, if not carried to excess, improves them. In the process of fishing the surface of the bed is broken up, the shells and oysters lifted out of the mud, and a supply of material (culch) afforded such, as the oyster spat requires, and without which it must perish.

"Oysters upon natural beds are seldom, if ever, killed by frost. I have known oysters to thrive upon a hard, stony bottom, notwithstanding that the ice rested upon them once in every twenty-four hours throughout the winter. Some of these oysters grew adherent to a small flat rock about eight inches in thickness. The oysters on the top

of the rock were killed when they attained their second years' growth, I think, by pressure, as those on its edges were never injured by ice or cold.

"Oyster beds in rivers in which sawdust is thrown in large quantities would probably be injured by it. The sawdust would, I think, be carried by the current over the beds, and the roughness of their surfaces would detain some of it. The interstices between the shells and oysters would probably become filled with sawdust and mud. Mud and decomposing sawdust constitute a most offensive compound.

"The area of productive oyster beds in the Dominion is comparatively limited, and altogether inadequate to supply the demand for oysters, which is now enormous, and which is increasing every year. Unless the existing beds be protected and improved, and new beds formed, the day will soon come when the oyster beds of the Dominion will cease to produce. Our neighbors of the United States tell us that Virginia alone possesses more than one-and-a-half millions of acres of oyster beds, and, notwithstanding the fact that oysters increase much more rapidly in the warmer waters of Virginia than they do in this latitude, the authorities of that State have expressed their fears that the oyster beds of Virginia, if left open to the world, and dredged at all seasons of the year, will become extinct.

"The rivers and estuaries of this Island are admirably adapted for the cultivation of oysters. The oysters found in its bays are not to be excelled in flavor, and if fished late in autumn they will keep good for months. I see no reason why hundreds of thousands of acres of oyster beds should not be formed in these bays, which would produce vast quantities of oysters in quality, much superior to the oysters of Virginia. The material for the formation of such beds is at hand in the ancient ones; and oysters with which to sow them could be had at little cost during the warm, calm days of summer.

"We have a 'close season,' from June until September, but the law prohibiting fishing during this season is openly violated. Oysters are caught and exposed for sale in every month in the year, and salmon are destroyed upon their spawning beds with the utmost impunity. I shall be happy to hear that the Dominion Government have resolved to enforce the laws for the protection of oyster, salmon and trout. We now form part of the Dominion, as you know, and have a right to look for wiser legislation and a better administration of law.

"You inquire—'do you think oysters would thrive in somewhat deeper water than that in which they are now found, if sown there?' I think they would thrive in the deepest part of any inland water, if placed upon suitable ground.

"In another letter received later Mr. Pope expresses the hope that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries will think proper to appoint a commission to report upon the oysters and oyster fisheries of the Island, and intimates that in such an event he would have no objection to give his services gratuitously.

"The only oyster beds which we were able to examine at all in detail were those in Shediac Bay. On these grounds, in very shallow water, the dredge came with the bag more or less full of oysters, or rather of oyster shells (for upwards of ninety per cent. of the specimens were dead), together with some other common kinds of shells, etc., and a little blackish mud, which smelt very

offensively. As there is a lumber mill in the bay, this ground is probably an example of the 'offensive compound of mud and decomposing sawdust,' of which Mr. Pope speaks.'

This shows clearly the value of our oyster beds and the necessity of giving them due care and attention. Not that I advocate planting oysters and extreme protection; I do not think it is necessary. I think it is sufficient to have a close season, and see that regulations are carried out in such a manner that the beds will not be injured in the spawning and breeding seasons.

HON. MR. MACFARLANE—The subject that my hon. friend has brought up is, no doubt, of very considerable importance. Probably I have paid more attention to oyster culture than any other person that I know of in this country. I have devoted some little time, attention and expense to the subject. My attention was drawn to it some years ago when I was in France. I was at the Island of Rhé, where first the cultivation of the oyster was undertaken, and I was very much interested in it indeed. I spent a few days in that vicinity, where the industrious French peasant had his oyster bed as distinct as he had his vineyard on the upland, and paid as much attention to the cultivation of the one as to the tillage of the other. When I returned home I selected a place in the county where I reside, a bed which had become exhausted, and tried what could be done to reclaim it. I am happy to say that I satisfied myself that the cultivation of the oyster can be successfully carried on by proper attention, and it can be made a very profitable business. Along the north shore of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and along the coast of Prince Edward Island, we have large bays and harbors which are eligible for the cultivation of the oyster. We have abundant proof of the fact in the existence of extensive beds of shells, many of them 10 feet in depth, at the bottom of which oyster shells 6 or 8 inches in length are frequently found. These beds, accumulated through long periods of time, constitute what are known as the mussel mud, which is so extensively used as a manure in the lower Provinces. The oyster was cultivated at a very early period in the history of

civilized countries. In the time of the Romans we know that great attention was paid to it, and that wherever civilization has brought luxurious ways of living the oyster has become an important article of food. My hon. friend from Kent has shown us that large sums of money are paid annually in this country for oysters imported from abroad. You cannot go into any town or village in the country where oysters are not sold, and the bivalve forms one of the principal features at social entertainments everywhere. Now, if we could, by a proper system of cultivation, supply this article of food for our own people, it would save a large outlay for imported oysters. How is this to be accomplished? I know there is a very great prejudice amongst our people against the leasing of these oyster grounds. The fishermen on the coast, who have been accustomed to visit these oyster beds, will hardly brook the idea of being excluded from them. Where I have made the experiment I leased the bed; and at first there was a great deal of hostility excited against me in the country. I was disposed for a time to abandon the experiment, but being very desirous to ascertain if the cultivation of the oyster could be successfully carried on I persevered, and I believe now the hostile feeling is entirely broken down. The people see that oysters can be produced in considerable quantities, and there is no productive bed any where within fifty miles of mine, although in many of them, years ago, they could be got by hundreds of barrels. The conditions in our country are very different from those of England and Ireland, where the oyster is largely cultivated. The trouble here is the ice. To cultivate the oyster here beyond what is the natural production involves the necessity of taking care of the spat, which, I may explain to hon. gentlemen who are not familiar with the subject, is what might be termed the spawn of the oyster. The spat, when ejected from the parent shell, resembles very much a volatile oil. You might think there was nothing in it, but if you examine it under a powerful microscope, as I have done, you find that it contains myriads of embryo oysters. It is supposed that one oyster will produce ten millions of the spat. Very eminent pisciculturists in France have proved that an

oyster is capable of throwing out two millions from its shell.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—What is the spawning season?

HON. MR. MACFARLANE—May, June and July are the spawning months. It is considered by fishermen that oysters are only fit for food in the months of the year which contain the letter "R". The spat is naturally light and floats on the surface of the water; the trouble is to catch it. At the Isle of Rhé, in France, and in England, they put down fascines or wattles of brush, and in some places surround it with tiles, and the little oysters cling to them. It is the peculiarity of the oyster spat, when thrown from the parent fish, that it clings to the first thing it touches; it may be upon the parent fish itself that it fastens. A current may carry it away for miles, and it is preyed upon by a variety of marine animals and fish, such as the crab and the whelk. The important question with us is to devise some scheme by which our oyster beds can be reclaimed. It is utterly useless to think of establishing a close season where the beds are completely exhausted; because, unless oysters are transplanted to those beds they will continue to be barren. They can only be restored by replanting them. I suggested to the Government here a couple of years ago that they might break down the prejudices of our people against leasing these places if they would select localities along the coast and establish something corresponding with experimental farms, where they could devise means to restore the exhausted fisheries. For instance, I would take such a place, and make it like the celebrated oyster grounds of Shediac. I remember well that twenty years ago no person would think of going to a supper without expecting to get Shediac oysters.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—From the Poirier bed?

HON. MR. MACFARLANE—Yes; the oyster from the Poirier bed; it was a delicious bivalve. I have tried, as a great many others have tried, the English native and Barnstable oysters, and the finest bivalves in France, but none of them can compare with our own oysters. Ours are more succulent and toothsome than any

you can find in England or on the continent. The only means by which our beds can be reclaimed is the one I have suggested—to select some localities and re-stock them; and if the public could become convinced that these barren beds could be made productive, people would lease them, and devote themselves to the culture of the oyster. Unless these grounds are leased nothing will be done to improve them, because nobody will plant them with oysters, when their neighbors can go next day and rake them up. My experience has shown me that the oyster requires about four years to arrive at full maturity. The second or third year it is reproductive. If the oyster is taken from the sea any time before that it tends to destroy the beds. My hon. friend from Kent has stated that the beds are injured by taking the oysters through the ice. No doubt a great deal of damage has been done, and is being done, in that way; but it would be a serious injury to poor people, as the leader of the House has said, to prevent them from taking the oyster in the winter season. At that time of the year the bivalve is in its prime, and is most suitable for eating. It is not the raking of the oyster in the winter season that causes the injury to the bed; it is the neglect to restore to the water the oysters which are not fit for use. There is no dredging done in our waters; they are too shallow for that. My hon. friend from Belleville read a quotation from Prof. Huxley's report, in which a statement is made that in some seasons spat is more abundant than in others. It is well known that several of the best English and Irish oyster beds produce no spat for three or four years at a time. I am convinced that it is caused by the condition of the water. From my experience of over ten or twelve years I am satisfied that we can always depend upon having spat every year. I have never known it to fail, and I imagine it is the same in American waters. The reason, is our waters are warmer. On the English and the Irish coast the waves of the Atlantic roll in, and are colder, and sometimes prevent the propagation of the oyster. Our coasts are more favorably situated. I trust that the Government will take some steps to help this important industry. It is not merely protection that is wanted—in fact, the oyster pretty well protects itself

HON. MR. MACFARLANE.

during the summer months, because it is not edible when it is spawning. It may look all right to the eye, but it is not edible, and it is much more important to look after the oyster beds during the other months of the year. I hope the Government will take such steps as will tend to reclaim our exhausted oyster beds. I know of no better means than to establish an experimental oyster farm, which would soon show what could be done in the way of restocking these beds. There is no danger of the industry being affected by competition. Consumers will be found for all that the country can produce, even if every bed on the coast should be made productive. The subject is one of very considerable interest to the country, and I think we are very much indebted to the hon. gentleman who has brought it up, and I trust that the Government will give it the attention which it deserves.

HON. MR. WARK—The experience of the hon. gentleman who has brought up this subject is very different from mine. Probably various modes are adopted for taking the oyster in different rivers. The teeth of the oyster-rakes which are used where I come from are too wide apart to take up small oysters. In front of the place where I live oysters are raked a short distance from the shore. They rake up the shells and the oysters together, and leave the shells on the ice. I have purchased thousands of bushels of oyster shells, and have never found a live oyster among them. If the hon. gentleman's idea were carried out, and the oyster fishermen were prevented from raking up oysters in the winter, when would they be able to take oysters? The law now requires three months for the close season: the good sense of the people extended it to four months. They said the oyster was not good in any month in which there was no "R." Consequently, if you take out the months that have no "R."—that is May, June, July and August—and if you prevent fishing in the winter months, the only time they would have would be in the spring and in the fall, when they ought to be putting in or reaping their crops. I think it would be well for the Government to enquire whether the rakes that are used are not illegal. We have rules about the meshes

of the nets. Fishermen are not allowed to catch fish with nets when the meshes are too small to permit the little fish from getting through. I think, if proper rakes are used, there is no danger of taking up the young oyster. The hon. gentleman speaks of the Shediac oysters being superior to all others. I have known oystermen to come up to Richibucto, rake up the oysters there, take them to Shediac and put them in the water and sell them for Shediac oysters.

HON. MR. SMITH—The leader of the House was obliged to leave in time to catch the train for Montreal. The valuable information that has been given to the House since his departure will be brought to his notice as soon as he returns, and no doubt the Government will at an early day be called upon to take some action in the matter, in view of the recommendations which have been offered by some hon. gentlemen.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I have not had the same experience on this subject as my hon. friend from Wallace, but coming from the Maritime Provinces, which are most deeply interested in the oyster beds, and knowing that the oyster trade is an important source of revenue to our people, I cannot refrain from giving my practical knowledge on the subject. Of the oysters which come from Prince Edward Island, only about one-third in each barrel are worth anything. It seems to me they are taken up very roughly. Whether the rakes or scrapers with which they are taken up destroy the oyster or not I do not know, but we find that a great many of them are not fit to be used, and many of them are covered with clusters of little oysters, which seems a large waste and destruction. You find many of the oysters with the lips broken considerably, and consequently many, probably, remain in the same condition in the water on the beds. When the lips of the shells are broken the oyster must certainly become the prey of all its enemies, and I believe in that way large quantities of them are lost. There are many enemies of the oyster besides floods, freshets and the ice; yet I believe if proper care is taken of them their remarkable fecundity will rapidly supply

the waste which has occurred, and that our oyster beds which are now in a depleted condition, will soon be restored to their former condition, and almost able to supply the increasing demand. My hon. friend says that they come to full maturity in four years, and that they multiply about the third year. I have spoken to some gentlemen from the States, who come from near Chesapeake Bay, and there it seems they mature earlier—perhaps owing to the fact that it is so much further south. It matures within three years.

HON. MR. DICKEY—That is the case in England.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—With us it is four years. I am thankful, as a representative from the Maritime Provinces, that my hon. friend from Kent has brought this matter before the House. The information he has given, with that supplied by my hon. friend from Wallace, who has had practical experience in endeavoring to cultivate the oyster, must be of great advantage to the Government, in showing them how the oyster beds can be protected. The suggestion of my hon. friend from Wallace, that the Government should set aside certain localities for the propagation of the oyster, should be adopted. My hon. friend has been a long time experimenting in the cultivation of oysters. Whether he has been successful or not I cannot say. I remember when he was in the Local Legislature with me some twenty-five years ago; he had then great hopes of his oyster beds, and promised to send me a barrel of his oysters. As I have never received them, I have concluded that he has been unsuccessful in his efforts.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—As concerned in the Island of Prince Edward, I think it is incumbent on me to offer a few words on the subject. I concur in almost all that my hon. friend from Wallace said. I thought his remarks showed a great deal of practical knowledge as well as a good deal of study, but it seems to me that one of the reasons that the oyster beds have been so neglected is that there has been one individual wanting in the Department of Marine and Fisheries who would have set these matters right if the proper man

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had been there always. I am not casting any blame on the Department, but it seems to me, in order to carry out this very obscure question properly, we must have an expert, a man who thoroughly understands the question. It is all very well to lay out experimental oyster farms; very likely as long as they are watched by gentlemen with the experience of the hon. member from Wallace they will be successful; but what we have to do is to get over those prejudices which have been described by one or two of the hon. gentlemen who have spoken today, and I think no one is so well calculated to do that as a man who thoroughly understands the business himself, who can tell those in the employ of the Government the reason why everything is done. Otherwise, you would have a large expenditure and unsuccessful experiment. Allusion was made by the hon. member from Quinté, in reading Professor Huxley's paper, to the fact that in some years spat is scarce on the English coast. The reason of that probably is that the English oyster beds are more exposed than the American beds, particularly the beds of Prince Edward Island. What the oyster spat requires when floating on the water, before attaching to anything, is absolute calmness and a certain degree of saltness in the water. When these conditions prevail you are sure to have abundance of spat every year. That has been the experience on our coasts, but it is not the state of things which often prevails on the English coasts, where the tides are rapid in many places and the harbors where the oysters are found are generally more exposed than ours. I have seen different localities in England, Ireland and elsewhere, which are celebrated for the production of oysters, but never saw any so well calculated to produce abundance of oysters as our own waters in Prince Edward Island. I have lived within a few miles of one large bay where the quantity of oyster shells and decomposed oysters taken from the waters would surprise anyone. It would hardly be considered credible if I were to describe the depth and compactness of the decomposed oysters found in those bays and little coves running in along the coast everywhere. We find from 8 to 10 feet of decomposed oyster shells in those places. Happily, nature provides

for our wants ahead, and these beds have been turned to useful purposes, manuring the fields, and serve the farmers quite as well and even better than so many barrels of lime. Now, that is a very obscure question, how those oysters in these beds came to be destroyed. I have heard it accounted for in quite a number of ways. Everyone has his theory, and there is where I say the expert, if he understood his business, could tell us how those beds came to be destroyed and how to prevent the destruction of future beds which we may have there. That, I think, is one of the ways in which the Government may help to re-stock the old beds of Prince Edward Island, but care will have to be taken not to prevent the taking of oysters through the ice in winter, because at present that is one of the greatest industries of the Island in winter, and one of the most successful. If hon. gentlemen could see our fields in the spring, when the snow disappears, they would observe acres and acres dotted over with little heaps of oyster shells, which will form the manuring, to a great extent, for the next rotation of crops. I do not suppose any of the Provinces are so closely concerned in this question as Prince Edward Island. The idea generally prevails there that our shores might be made quite as productive in oysters and other kinds of fish as are our fields with grain; and knowing that, and that it is the general belief of the people, any attention that the Government may pay to this subject will be highly appreciated in the Maritime Provinces, and in Prince Edward Island particularly.

SECOND READING.

Bill (32), "An Act to incorporate the Victoria, Saanich and New Westminster Railway Company." (Mr. Macdonald, B. C.)

The Senate adjourned at 5:05 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 11th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE GREAT MACKENZIE BASIN.

MOTION.

HON. MR. GIRARD moved:

"That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House, all papers and answers in the possession of the Government or in reference to questions sent to officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, missionaries, Arctic explorers and others, by the committee appointed by this House, last Session, to enquire as to the value of that part of the Dominion lying north of the Saskatchewan watershed, east of the Rocky Mountains and west of Hudson's Bay, comprising the Great Mackenzie Basin, in view of completing the said report.

He said: in view of the important debate on another subject to be resumed this afternoon, I will not detain the House discussing the motion which I have just made, important though it is to the whole country. When the report of the committee on the Great Mackenzie Basin was presented last year it was understood that it was not complete—that many letters had been sent out to Hudson Bay Co.'s officers, missionaries and others in remote parts of the North-West, asking for information on various matters, and that the answers had not been received before the close of the Session. Everyone recognizes the important service to the country rendered by the committee of last year, in attracting the attention of the public in the old world to the vast resources of the Dominion. The great newspapers of England published articles summarizing and commenting upon the interesting information contained in the report. It seems to me that we owe to the gentleman who introduced the matter before the Senate, and was the means of having the committee appointed, a debt of gratitude. He is not with us to-day, but he occupies a position where he looks with much interest on all that may be done in connection with this important question. I think it would not be in the interests of the country to let

the matter drop, and I will therefore enquire whether it would not be practicable to have the answers received since last Session to the letters sent out by the committee, and which, no doubt, are in the hands of the Government, given to the public, in order that the work so well prosecuted last Session may be completed. These letters could be added as an appendix to the report of last Session.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I would inform my hon. friend that several answers to the questions sent out by the committee last Session have been received. These answers are now in the hands of the House, and being asked my idea as to what should be done with them, I suggested that they should be laid on the Table, to be dealt with as the House might think proper, and that, I understand, will be done forthwith, so that probably the Address which my hon. friend moves for will be unnecessary. I may state that I called the attention of the Department of the Interior last Session to the labors of this committee and their results, and I thought probably the best destination of these answers would be to send them to that Department, but when they are laid on the Table, so that members can see them, the best mode of disposing of those papers may be discussed.

HON. MR. GIRARD—The object, I suppose, will be thoroughly attained if the Address is adopted. We will have the papers laid on the Table, and they will be the property of the House.

HON. MR. POWER—Of course, no Address is necessary if the papers are in the possession of the House.

HON. MR. GIRARD—In that case, with the leave of the House, I shall withdraw my motion.

HON. MR. POWER—Before the motion is withdrawn, I wish to say that the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface seems to take it for granted that we ought, when we get this correspondence, to print it as an appendix to the report of the committee of last year. I think that is a conclusion we should not arrive at without some consideration. No doubt, the correspondence is voluminous. The printing of the correspondence will be an expensive proceeding, and in all probability a very

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large proportion of it will be simply a duplication of evidence which was before the committee last year, and which has been printed in the report. In addition to that, it is probable we shall have almost identical information from different officers in various parts of the North-West Territories; and without at all undertaking to dictate to my hon. friend, I think probably the wisest course to be pursued would be to have a committee appointed to go over the documents, and select those which really deserve to be printed, on account of the information which they contain. In that way the object of the hon. gentleman will be attained, and the Senate will not leave themselves open to the charge of being unnecessarily extravagant.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I would suggest to both my hon. friends that after these papers have been laid on the Table, so that all may see and take communication of them, we may decide advantageously whether in reality there is anything new or important in them to justify the printing of the papers.

HON. MR. GIRARD—My intention in asking for those papers was, first, to ascertain, by looking at them, to see whether they would be an addition to the record which has been made. When the papers are laid on the Table and an examination has been made by some members of this hon. House then it will be time, as suggested by the hon. gentleman from Halifax, to have committee appointed, if necessary, to see which of them should be printed. With the leave of the House I shall withdraw my motion, awaiting the production of the papers.

The motion was withdrawn.

The Speaker laid on the Table of the House the correspondence asked for by the motion.

THE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE DOMINION.

ENQUIRY.

The Order of the Day having been called,—

Resuming debate on motion, hon. Mr. Macdonald, (Midland), That he will call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in

connection with the proposal of the Government to open up extended commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies; and will enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure in relation to the same?

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE said: I quite concur in the encomiums which have been paid the hon. gentleman who introduced this subject to the House for his patriotism and the able way in which he dealt with the matter. When a gentleman devotes his time and attention, particularly when he is on his travels, to subjects which will not only interest the people, but tend to their advantage, I think he deserves well of the public generally. That, I think, the hon. gentleman has done. He spoke at considerable length respecting the establishment and improvement of trade with the West Indies. We have had a trade from the Maritime Provinces with Bermuda and the West Indies for many years, and on the whole it has been a self-supporting trade, one maintained by private individuals with satisfaction and profit to themselves. No doubt that trade could be facilitated in the way the hon. gentleman indicated by a better postal service, by a better telegraphic system and more rapid freight and passenger communication. Although it may be questionable whether the small schooners in which that trade is now carried on are not better suited than any other classes of vessels at present, I think Mr. Simeon Jones' report confirms that view of the case, because he tells us that the markets there are very limited, that the large cargoes would swamp the markets, and that therefore a great deal of judgment requires to be displayed by anyone who would conduct the trade successfully. From Prince Edward Island the Bermuda and West India trade has been carried on successfully for many years. We have exported almost everything that our lands and our fisheries produce. We have exported to those islands horses, cattle, grain, potatoes, fish, poultry, and in fact, I think almost everything that forms an item in our exportation, and generally with satisfactory results. No doubt that trade might be very largely increased, and it does seem to me that it is in that direction that the Maritime Provinces must look for their immediate increase of traffic with colonies under the British flag—not in

the least decrying or derogating from the importance of the traffic with the United States. At present we know that it is rather under a cloud. It is shrouded in uncertainty. Desirable and important as it is to this country, it is yet in a state which I think its best friends must admit is rather doubtful. Still, it is within the bounds of possibility that the question, as it has already been more than once, may be resuscitated, and become as important and as popular in both countries as it has been before. I think this would be a consummation devoutly to be wished, and possibly the thing may occur much sooner and in a more satisfactory way than we ourselves anticipate. I lighted, the other day, upon an article in an American publication, on the fact that Washington at one time had been lighted with gas extracted from Nova Scotia coal. This had been some years ago, in consequence of the reduction in the duties imposed upon foreign coal. The consequence was that Nova Scotia coal, being better suited for the manufacture of gas than the produce of mines in the immediate vicinity of Washington, the contractor used Nova Scotia coal for lighting the capital, and filled his vessels with American coal to make his returns. Here is a rather satisfactory instance. One particular member of Congress, seeing the objection to dear coal as well as to other things made unnecessarily dear to consumers, gave his vote in favor of the reduction of the duty on Nova Scotia coal. A Nova Scotian being concerned in it thought proper to call upon him and tender his thanks for his benevolence, and for having seen things that others had not seen. His country, and the United States as well, had profited by the reduction in coal; but the hon. Senator did not see it just in that light—I do not mean a Senator of this Dominion—and when he was aware of the uses to which the Nova Scotian coal had been placed he actually said that if he had been aware of it he would not have voted as he had done. He thought he had voted wrong. It takes time and reason to disabuse men's minds of these ideas. I do not think the hon. gentleman who introduced this question requires much of these influences to disabuse his mind of any prepossessions which may have existed

there in favor of protection. The hon. gentleman, proceeding with his remarks, spoke of the advantages he had received from a visit to the Kensington Exhibition. He very candidly, I must say, stated openly in this House that his impressions were that the woollen manufactures of the Australasian colonies were superior to those of Canada, and he went so far as to instance the goods sent there by one particular town in New Zealand. I, myself, have also had the advantage of visiting that exhibition at my leisure. I spent many days in examining it as closely as I was capable of, and it certainly struck me that both Canada and the Australasian colonies had their characteristics—that Canada had hers and the Australasian colonies had theirs also. The impression left on my mind by the exhibits of Canada was this, that they were strictly utilitarian. Amongst their more costly exhibits were indications of great taste, wealth and resources, and very advanced workmanship; but at the same time the textile fabrics, clothing and tools, such as are used in country life in Canada, indicated men whose principal business was to subdue nature, to encounter the hardships of breaking in new lands, and the tools that were used for that purpose I could see attracted a good deal of attention from English countrymen, who were accustomed to using much more clumsy implements. This is one of the advantages we derive from our educational system. A man educated in Canada does not like to put unnecessary strength into any business in which he is engaged. He must have good, light, sharp-cutting tools, and in this way his energies are not exhausted, as the energies of other nations are who are less careful in these matters than our people. That, I think, was one characteristic of Canada; but the heavier articles there were not to be surpassed by any other exhibit in the Hall. Take, for example, their pianofortes, their furniture, their wood-work and their office furniture particularly. All these things were equal to what could be found anywhere else. Turning to the exhibits from Australasia, of which the hon. gentleman spoke at considerable length, I quite concur in his views. They were evidently the productions of a country of much warmer climate and of less

varied pursuit than those of Canada, as might naturally be expected from a colony the oldest part of which is only 101 years settled at the present time. It was, therefore, quite natural that the productions of a country like that should give some indications of their origin—and this they certainly did. Gold, we may say, is pretty much the same in all parts of the world—it does not admit of much variety; but there it has been produced in the greatest amount. But the objects of industry, which are always in demand, and apart from such articles as that, were of a character that showed that the country was of a very different description to what Canada is. The hon. gentleman gave the woollen productions credit for being superior to those of Canada. When he came to draw his inferences from this fact I began to differ from him. He says that the Canadian manufactures of woollen goods are inferior to the Australasian, but I do not think he said it as many words that the reason was they had a greater variety of wool than Canada has; but that is really the matter, and a most important one it is, too, because it appears that the Australasian colonies have in the greatest abundance, as one of their chief productions, the very thing that Canada requires to bring her woollen manufactures up to the high standard of theirs. Now this is no secret; it was well known in England. Many years ago it was well known, and formed the subject of debate in Parliament. It is well known in America. Any one who will take the trouble to investigate the writings of David Wells will find the matter stated very broadly. The reason why the American woollen manufactures have been so inferior to those of Great Britain is simply this: they tax foreign wools; the English do not. Before the English derived their supplies from their own colonies they were not in the habit of levying taxes, except to a very small degree and for limited periods, on foreign wools, and the consequence was their manufactures of woollens were of a very superior character. Any one who will take the trouble to study David Wells' writings will find, before he goes far, that that is the case. The hon. gentleman who introduced this question is of the same opinion, too, and I think in this way it is of the utmost importance that

from some place or the other, either from Australasia or the Argentine Republic, or some other source, before Canada can expect to manufacture woollens of the quality even now manufactured in Australasia, she must obtain wools of equal quality to what are found in those countries. That was one of the peculiarities of the exhibits of those countries—the perfection in which their wool was placed before the public. Certainly it appears it did not fail to attract the attention of the hon. gentleman. I was saying just now that the English had gone through this same ordeal. They had many excuses for that. As is well known, it had been the policy of England to protect the agriculture of the country, not merely the corn industry, but the industries in wool, meat and every article the produce of the land. The native wool of England was found to be of a first-class description for the manufacture of coarse goods, such as coarse cloths, carpets, baizes, blankets and articles of that description, and its excellent qualities were appreciated beyond the limits of England. Occasionally high prices enabled the English farmers to sell their wools abroad to be manufactured by the looms of Holland—higher prices than they could get in their own country. In England the long, coarse combing wool was unsuited to the manufacture of those British broadcloths which have been so long celebrated. A statesman at length came to the front who understood the cause of the falling off in the English woollen trade and the dissatisfaction which prevailed everywhere—Mr. Huskisson. The agricultural interest wanted protection against foreign wool, and wanted to have free liberty to export its own. To such an extent had this gone at one period—I think I came across the statement in Greene's "History of the English People"—to such an extent had this policy gone of allowing the English wool to find its way abroad, that a law was on the Statute Book for a considerable period actually prohibiting the English farmers from shearing their sheep within a limited distance of the sea shore. Hon. gentlemen may judge from such a fact as that what difficulties the manufacture of English cloth has encountered in Great Britain. Coming to Mr. Huskisson: he saw what was necessary to resuscitate the English

woollen trade, and he had influence enough to carry his measure through Parliament. His proposition was to allow the importation of foreign wools at a very low rate of duty, and the free exportation of English wools, if English farmers saw fit to export them, or at a very low rate of duty. The consequence was that in a short time large quantities of foreign wool were imported, and very small quantities of English wool were exported, with the result that after a very short period the export of woollen cloths had greatly increased, and the manufactures were in a prosperous condition; and, strange to say, only about 100,000 pounds of English wool had been sent out of the country, whereas formerly ten times as much had been exported. What happened was just about this: In 1824, after a few years trial, under Mr. Vansittart, of an increased duty of 6d. a pound on wool, the country reverted to the former plan of admitting wool almost free, a duty of a penny a pound, and on lower grades of a half-penny. But the growers, for their part, desired that the manufacturers should have no wool but theirs; that a higher rate of duty should be imposed on imported wool, while they should be allowed to export wool freely, selling it abroad or at home, just as it happened to suit their convenience. I will, if the House will allow me, give an extract from one of Mr. Huskisson's speeches. I think it is worthy the attention of the House, because it shows the cause to which the hon. gentleman alluded in his speech, of Canadian manufactures of the finer class being inferior to those of Australasia. Mr. Huskisson gave the following in February, 1826, as the result of his experiment, as far as concerned the export and import of wool:—

"Instead of our manufactures being ruined—instead of the fulfilment of the assurance that the British wool would be exported, to the utter destruction of our manufacturers, and that from their destruction the foreign wool would no longer be wanted in this country—what has been the real effect of this measure? Why, that since the removal of the restrictions on the export we have sent abroad the amazing quantity of 100,000 pounds weight of British wool, while of foreign wool we have imported no less a quantity than 40,000,000 pounds weight. In the five years of the heavy import duty the average annual shipments amounted to 1,064,441 pieces of woollens. In the five years after the removal of the restrictions the average annual shipments were 1,228,239 pieces, and in the next five years the average rose to 1,505,993."

This shows the absolute necessity of a mixture of inferior class wools, and the advantage to be gained by the grower of the native and inferior classes. There is this to be said: from some source, whether from Australia or from the Argentine Republic, or from some other quarter, Canada requires fine wools. It is not enough to say that we can go to a certain market and buy a quantity of wool at auction; that would not have raised the character of Australasian woollens in the way the hon. gentleman observed—it is the variety and superior character of the wools that produced the superiority of the cloth.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—South Downs.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—No. The fine wools which enter into the construction of broadcloths and other light, fine classes of goods, are the fine merino wools. This is what gave that character to English wools in the early parts of the century, before the continent of Europe was desolated by foreign wars. England first derived her principal supplies of merino wool from Spain, and later on from Saxony and Germany; but later still, when her own colonies came to be productive, her principal supplies came from Australasia. From whatever quarter, then, we obtain these fine wools, they must be had—must be had in quantity and variety if we expect the manufactures of Canada to occupy the position which the hon. gentleman observed those of Australasia hold. He spoke in despair, almost, of being able to inaugurate anything like a profitable trade with Australasia, chiefly on account of the great distance and the sparsity of population. Now, I hardly think that the hon. gentleman had complete grounds for his statements. I would regret very much to see them acted on, for this reason: If we allow the postal arrangements of Australasia to fall into foreign hands, I think we may be perfectly certain that we will never secure a share of her trade. We have an instance of this in the fact that for many years, as most hon. gentlemen here are aware, the postal business of Australasia has been conducted through San Francisco, with this result—that American agents have been travelling all over Australasia, have established,

as the hon. gentleman observed, agencies, if not lucrative trade. It is quite possible that the agents may have been no more successful than the Canadians of whom he spoke, but it is something that ought to be tried. I know, myself, from frequently observing the advertisements in Australasian papers, that the Americans are very active there—they are active advertisers. I presume men do not advertise in papers unless they expect results, and I believe they have been very successful in establishing business, such as might be expected in a country not very dissimilar from their Southern States. It would be a thing very much to be regretted should the carrying of the Canadian and Australasian mails, the transit which takes place between two countries when steam postal lines are established, fall into foreign hands. I do not understand that the hon. gentleman desires at all that Canada should bear the expense, or a very large proportion of the expense, of instituting lines of mail steamers between Australasia and British Columbia; but I think, nevertheless, that unless we take steps in that direction, and allow the mail contracts, and all the trade that follows the establishment of mail routes, to fall away from Canada, if ever the time arrives when we wish to avail ourselves of business with these countries we shall find ourselves first under the necessity of ousting the Americans from an established business, a thing which the hon. gentleman knows very well is not so easy to do as, perhaps, to speak of. Now, as to the impracticability of dealing with those countries on account of distance, I will just call attention to one or two facts by way of illustration. Britain has not found it impracticable to deal with those countries on account of distance. I can mention two particular trades, one of which built up South Australia and the other relieved the great sheep-producing countries of their surplus stock. Let us take the case of South Australia first. That was a colony founded in the days of King William IV and Queen Adelaide, as may be known by the name of its chief town. It is fifty-five or fifty-six years old.

It was expected to turn out a purely agricultural country, which would produce wool and nearly all the productions

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of Southern Europe, and it does produce nearly all of them. I have seen from that country, at South Kensington, some of the finest fruit that could be produced anywhere. The unexpected happens often, and it happened in this case. What built up South Australia was, not its gold or wheat, but its copper—copper of all things in the world. I will read a passage describing the progress of the South Australian copper industry:—

“The story of the copper mines may be told in a line or two. The Kapunda copper mine was discovered in 1842, and is still being worked. The next year the Montacute mine was found, and in about eighteen years was worked out. In 1845 the famous Burra mines were discovered, and gave employment to a large population. But the new era in the colony's history was marked by the finding of the celebrated Wallaroo mines during 1860, in York's Peninsula, which yielded enormous quantities of productive ore and brought about the usual mania. A year or two later the famous Moonta mines was opened, and both this and the Wallaroo, after being largely worked for more than twenty years, show no signs of exhaustion.”

That, I think, is what anyone acquainted with the Australian colonies will say: the ore from those copper mines was transported some 11,000 miles, to be smelted in Wales, and the trade built up South Australia. The wealth derived from those copper mines has been well invested in other pursuits, and now there is a steady prosperity in those colonies which it would be very hard to obliterate. Take another case where distance has not perverted trade—take all the Australian colonies, but more especially New Zealand, because it is a better grazing country than Australia, and its sheep are more nearly allied to the English breeds, only the superiority of the climate of New Zealand has probably improved them in some respects, particularly in respect of the wool. But it has become now a most important trade with that colony, with Australia, and, I may add, the Argentine Republic also, to supply the millions of England with mutton of the very choicest quality, delivered in refrigerators and handed to the consumer in the most complete state of freshness. Now, what greater advantage than this could one country confer upon another, the one being a densely populated land, the millions there being hungry, many of them, the other producing this extra abundance of human food? There it is supplied. Anyone can see it every day in

the old country offered at a comparatively low price. Before this experiment was made and proved to be successful the common practice was to kill out the surplus sheep. The consequence was, of course, a sheep was not valued more than for its pelt and its wool; the rest went to waste. It shows that a thing that a few years ago was considered as impossible and fabulous has actually become *un fait accompli*. Has Canada had any transactions herself with these wealthy and prosperous countries? I find quite incidentally, since I have been in Ottawa, that some Ontarians are doing a very profitable business in Australia. They are providing, by their ingenuity and the machinery at their disposal, the Australians with a means of sinking artesian wells. I heard that those gentlemen are making handsome fortunes for themselves, and they are very successful in their attempts at boring for water in Australia. Anyone who, a few years ago, could have supplied Australia with water at a cheap rate would have conferred upon that country inestimable benefits, such indeed as would have saved from destruction thousands of valuable flocks and herds. This is one of the improbable things which has happened. What other improbabilities do we suppose may not happen if once a trade is opened between the two countries? If I remember rightly the hon. gentleman said the extent of that country is enormous, but that its population was thin. Well, population is thin if you go to look for it over the land, but everyone knows that pastoral occupations have this great advantage—that they make great returns with a very small outlay of money and labor. The natural increase of the flocks alone, if properly fed and watered, makes poor men rich in a very short time. But without an abundance of water of course it is impossible to support those flocks. If a trader from Canada were to start from Vancouver, B.C., for Australia, of course he would have a considerable distance to go; but suppose him to be in a modern steamer the time would not be so very extraordinary as the hon. gentleman seems to believe. I think his calculations were made for vessels under sail. We might now, I think, fairly say that the day of the supremacy of sailing vessels is gone. I find from returns by an English statis-

tician that with the steam power of England to-day one steamer will do the work of five sailing vessels, on an average. It, therefore, becomes pretty clear that the business will be done chiefly by steamer. But supposing the steam vessel from British Columbia were to take the round of the Australasian ports; the first place he will arrive at is Auckland, with a population of about 60,000; the next place will be Sydney, with a population of 360,000; the next place will be Melbourne, with a population of about 358,000, and the last on the list would be Adelaide, with a population of 150,000. Surely it can hardly be urged that there is no one to trade with you when you get there! Only let us find out what the people want and surely there are openings for us to avail ourselves of! Nor can it be said that this is a poor population. I suppose no British colony ever made wealth as fast as the Australasians have done and now do, and I would gladly, if my years enabled me to do so, see Canada attain a share of the wealth derived by those colonies from their flocks and their herds, their mines and their forests. It appears that a population of about 3,250,000—I speak in round numbers—pay a revenue to their respective Governments of £23,000,000 sterling. They spend a little more than their revenue, but perhaps they are not afraid to do that, considering that their ordinary sources of income are incremented daily by the influx of immigrants, many of them exceedingly wealthy, transferring capital that is insufficient to support a family in circumstances such as they were accustomed to in Europe, and themselves to Australia, and in this way, perhaps, a certain amount of extravagance is brought about. Still, the fact remains that this three and a-quarter millions of colonists pay annually £23,000,000 in taxes. It is true they have a very large debt, but they have very large means of paying it. It was not my object to take up this question for the purpose of ventilating the advantages of Australasia, but I can see very plainly that one important item which they produce, of the greatest abundance and excellence, is the very thing that Canada stands in need of. From whatever source it is derived it must be had, or else the

woollen manufactures of Canada cannot be improved. I took very great interest in what was said with respect to the causes of the small progress that Canada has been making. I hold that if a colony is worth living in it ought to be one where the means of living are easily obtained, and the means of accumulating are also easy. We often see a great deal of so-called prosperity. Men spend a great deal, and there is a great deal of money circulated—large deposits in the banks, large deposits in the saving banks—but it is almost impossible to discriminate between the prosperity arising from the expenditure of loans and the prosperity arising from the expenditure of profits. It is just this that makes the difference between a genuinely prosperous country and one in which the prosperity is fictitious. I am afraid, judging from the many public works which have been constructed in Canada, not only public works belonging to the Dominion, but many works belonging to the Provinces and some to municipalities, that very much of the prosperity of which we are so accustomed to boast (and if we could only convince ourselves that it is real we might rejoice in) is not genuine. So long as the expenditure is continued I think we may fairly trace a portion of the prosperity of which hon. gentlemen are so accustomed to boast, to this particular cause. We have been borrowing continually and spending continually. Then, in order to enable us to pay interest upon this large amount of debt and employ our banking capital at home we have found it necessary to bolster up our trades with a protective tariff. I do not think that the alleged prosperity of these trades can be expected to be durable or to continue. We cannot expect it to be durable, and we cannot be asked to believe that it is genuine. I have here an article, a copy of the report submitted to Congress by the Committee of Ways and Means, 31st March, 1888, nearly twelve months ago. If the House will have patience with me I shall read it:

“In the progressive growth of our manufactures we have reached the point where our capacity to produce is far in excess of the requirement of our home consumption.”

There is a fact stated pretty broadly, and without any equivocation whatsoever.

"As a consequence, many of our mills are closed, and many of those still in operation are running short time."

Have we had any instance of that in Canada, I wonder?

"This condition is hurtful to the manufacturer, to the laborer and producer of the materials consumed in manufacture. The manufacturer loses the profit of his capital—the laborer loses his wages, and the producer of the materials consumed loses the market for his products and manufactures."

I think the hon. gentleman from St. John, who has conducted banking business for so many years, can throw some light on it, if we can only induce him to rise in his place and speak of his experience.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Is that a report on the condition of things in Canada or of the United States?

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—It was a report to be submitted to Congress by the Committee of Ways and Means, 31st March, 1888. It continues:—

"In many instances, to guard against losses by low prices, caused by an over supply in the home markets, men are organizing trusts, combinations and pools to limit production and keep up prices."

I think we have heard something of this kind in Canada, have we not? Hear what what they call it in Congress:

"This vicious condition of business could not exist with low duties, but it is the legitimate outgrowth of prohibitory duties on imports.

"Prohibitory tariffs surround the country with lines of investment, and prevent all relief from without, while trusts, combinations and pools plunder the people within. In a country like ours, prolific in its trade resources, where the rewards of labor are large, the capitalist may by such methods keep his investments secure and still make profits: but what is to become of the laborers, who are thrown out of employment by stopping the wheels of machinery and limiting the amount of product to be turned out.

"And what is to become of the producer of the materials to be consumed by the manufactures?"

Have we seen anything of that kind in connection with the business of the United States about that period which my hon. friend on my left (Mr. Scott) alluded to at the time he occupied a seat in the Government of Mr. Mackenzie? Have we seen anything resembling that when American goods were sent in here to be slaughtered and sold—when bankrupt sales were held in Canada of American goods? I have seen something like that, and I have seen it, I am sorry to say, since this protective sys-

tem was inaugurated here in Canada. I remember that time well. One could drive through the streets of this city, and could see, for one store doing legitimate business, two or three selling off bankrupt stock, and yet we are told that this protective system is to build up the wealth and prosperity of Canada.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That was before the protective system?

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—Yes, it was; but the hon. gentleman has forgotten to mention that what befell in Mr. Mackenzie's time was not from over-production—it was not from the fact that Canada was selling and using less than she had been accustomed to sell and use, but it was because the value had receded. The basis of our tariff being *ad valorem*, of course, when prices fell the revenue fell also, though, at the same time, the inhabitants of Canada might use more goods than they used when the revenue was greater than the expenditure. I hold Mr. Mackenzie and his Government acted with great discretion and great patriotism in refusing to recognize the fact that that depression arose from anything within. It arose from a tax without, and not from a tax within; and that being so, the Reform Government acted in a manly, patriotic way in refusing to tax the country, although by doing so they might have extended their term of office. I wish they could have done so by any honorable means and retained that position. It might be—in that case Canada might have escaped the incubus that she labors under now—the incubus of protection.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Did we raise the barrier?

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—We all know how exceedingly difficult it was for England to shake off protection—what a hopeless case it was held to be. The first Scotchman of his age as a statistician, Adam Smith, saw the advantages of shaking off the protective system of Great Britain, but he gave his opinion, at the same time, that it was so firmly constituted in the interests of the wealthy aristocracy that it would be impossible for any Government to get rid of it. We must bear in mind that the aristocracy of England

was then the leading power. They commanded Parliament, and nothing could be done except through their instrumentality. Hon. gentlemen may possibly recollect that Justin McCarthy, in describing those times, says that famine forced Peel's hand. Peel was not disposed to go the whole length of doing away with the duty on commerce, but famine forced his hand, and famine is a hard master where the population is as great as it is in England, and where the country is no longer able to produce the food required for its people. But to continue my quotation from the report I have already alluded to, if hon. gentlemen will allow me :

"When the fires are shut off the labor and materials are shut out at the same time, and the market for both is gone. Whether they produce cotton, wool, hemp, flax, coal or ore—whether the product of their labors is cloth, iron, steel, boots or shoes, they must have constant employment to obtain for themselves and families the necessaries and comforts of life.

"When out of employment, with earnings cut short, with low prices for their products, caused by the closing of the markets, they still must pay for whatever their daily wants require the prices which the times have fixed."

I regret, I may say, one observation that fell from one hon. gentleman on the other side of the House, to the effect that it was hopeless for Canada to increase her trade with the United States. Possibly it may be under the present arrangement, but I have hopes in the future. I remember that Mr. David Wells, the great American statistician, gave it as his opinion that 4,000,000 in America would do a business between themselves of \$100,000,000 a year. He asks why should not Canada do an equal amount of business with them, provided no tariff wall intervened? Why should she not, indeed? Possibly younger men than myself may live to see the day when that will be, and will be able to confirm the truth, the unexpected once more happening. But noticing the remark which fell from the hon. gentleman from Monk, that it was in a manner hopeless to expect a trade with the United States, because they produce the same articles as we do—I admit they do; still, we manage to trade with them. For instance, in the Maritime Provinces, particularly Prince Edward Island, we feel the deepest interest in our trade with the United States. I do not mean to say—and even if I believed it to

be so I should be very reluctant to express it publicly in this House, where it could be repeated as a fact—that if we were cut off from the trade with the United States we could not find other markets. The mercantile spirit is not dead within us, though we do not build ships any longer, and though we do not carry cargoes to foreign countries in our own bottoms. Unfortunately our ships are gone, and I fear that members of that important class, the masters, mates and seamen, who used to navigate those vessels, have been obliged to seek other places to find their employment. If the Maritime Provinces had one thing to be proud of it was the state of their mercantile marine. I remember that New Brunswick used to boast that for every infant born in the Province there was a ton of shipping. I remember at that time that workmen, and even servant girls, who had a little money, would hasten to invest it in shipping; but that is gone, and as far as our business with the United States is concerned, should we be so unfortunate as to lose it from the fact that they raise all they want, and want nothing of ours, as the hon. gentleman has stated, then I say we should do as we did before, when the first Reciprocity Treaty was put an end to, seek a market elsewhere, and we will find one, perhaps, not very far from the one we have lost. At the present time, in spite of duties and in spite of every difficulty that could be cast in our way, we have carried on business in the United States, I will not say to this hour, because our ports are nearly closed, but we have exported horses, sheep and almost every description of agricultural produce. We have also exported the produce of our fisheries; therefore, I think I may venture to say it is incorrect to assert that the difficulties of trading even under existing circumstances with the United States are insuperable. I think it is quite correct to say as much as that, with all deference to the hon. gentleman whose opinions I have great respect for, knowing that he is engaged in a pursuit in which the greater part of my life was spent. I say we are not to give up, and not easily to resign ourselves to despair because at the present time our neighbors are in one of their periodical fits of ill-humor. Time will mend that. I cannot believe that

the bulk of the American people, outside of the professional politicians of the day, are hostile in feeling to the British public generally. I believe, myself, that the two peoples, apart from the politicians, are cordial and well-disposed towards each other. The great evil is that periodically they have to resign their judgment, as I heard it stated not long ago, and act on the principles of the party which they support. This is a questionable thing, but it is one we cannot help or avoid; and I would rather pin my faith upon the dicta of American gentlemen acting in the British capital as American Ministers, and others periodically journeying through the length and breadth of Britain, and expressing the kindest feelings towards the British people, than I would to those loud-mouthed politicians who seek to stir up envy, hatred and malice between two countries, between whom ought to exist only the most kindly and brotherly feelings.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I have to ask the forbearance of the House in offering a few remarks on this question. I had not the advantage of listening to the speech of the hon. gentleman who introduced this subject, but having had an opportunity of reading it I share fully the admiration which has been expressed at the extended nature of the treatment and the ability with which it was presented to this hon. House. We are both apparently striving to attain the same objects. The Government has announced its intention of devoting some aid to a system of steam communication with the West Indies and Australia, with the view of increasing our trade relations with those countries, and the hon. gentleman who moved this enquiry is of the same mind. He thinks that with Australia it is difficult, but with the West Indies and with South America it is not only possible but extremely desirable. We are consequently of the same mind on this important question, and I think I have very little to urge against the conclusions which have been arrived at by the hon. mover, though I take exceptions to some of the conclusions which he draws from statistics presented to this hon. House. I fancy that we are on the eve (I hope we are) of the inauguration of a system of steam communi-

cation with these distant countries, but what I object to is the lugubrious nature of the anticipation which the hon. gentleman has formed from the statistics of exports and imports I would simply suggest, and apologizing, as I should do, to this hon. House for the imperfect way in which I am able to do it, one or two practical considerations which might perhaps modify to some extent the conclusions which he draws from those statistics. I do not accept as absolute the conclusions which he has drawn, that in consequence of the very small advance that has been made in the gross volume of our exports and imports, represented by values that the trade of the country is either stagnant or retrograding. I would suggest the reasons which, to my mind are conclusive in forming the opinion that the *volume* of trade, and not the *value*, is the correct exponent of the real progress of the country. It is perfectly clear to every man who has studied this question that there are several reasons why this matter of *volume* of trade and not *value* is particularly necessary to take into consideration at the present time. You are all aware that we have made a very great change in our fiscal policy between the years which the hon. gentleman has selected and the present. He has selected his statistics from the year 1874, and terminates them at last year. In 1879 commenced the fiscal policy which had the effect, as I had the honor of pointing out to this House in the debate on the Address, of largely changing the nature of the imports into this country. They no longer represent manufactured articles; they represent raw materials of considerably diminished value.

While I do not admit that the gross volume of the exports being less in any one year is any indication whatever of poverty or backwardness in the country, because I will give one or two reasons for concluding that it is not so, I think it is even possible that the gross value may diminish and yet be an evidence, not of poverty or backwardness, but of prosperity. Take the question of cotton manufactures; you will find that in 1874 we imported a quantity of cotton goods valued at \$11,301,113; in 1887 that had sunk to \$5,470,504. This, on the face of it, would appear to be a decided sign of retrogres-

sion, but it is perfectly well known to every member of this hon. House that the cause of that is the importation of free raw cotton and the production and manufacture of large quantities of cotton goods which were formerly imported and paid for. Now, how much is to be allowed for the difference of value of raw materials and of manufactured goods it is next to impossible to say, but I claim that a large percentage is to be allowed for, and that this of itself will modify vastly the inferences drawn by the hon. gentleman from Midland. There is another circumstance which is well known to every business man, and it is this: that between the years 1874 and 1887—I follow as far as I can—the years which have been selected by the hon. gentleman—there has been a very large decline in the value of commodities of all kinds. Now, while we estimate the value only we neglect the quantity, and it is quite within the range of possibility that we may have largely increased our trade and at the same time show a diminished or scarcely appreciable increase in the gross value. I take, for instance, one article with which you are aware, probably, I have a pretty intimate knowledge. My statistics do not go beyond the year 1878, but it is within the reach of everybody to find out, and if I had had the advantage of being aware of the line of argument of the hon. gentleman earlier I might have been able to supply them now. I have been just able to lay my hand on two or three available statistics which I present in a crude manner for your consideration. If you take the case of sugar: in 1878 a distinct quality of raw sugar, known as Java, was of the following value in the markets of Great Britain. The highest range was 26s. 9d., the lowest 23s. 6d. Now, in 1887 precisely the same article was worth, in the same market, the highest, 17s. 9d. and the lowest, 15s. Now, had we imported in this country that particular article of sugar it is evident that for the same value we should have 50 per cent. more of the commodity, or *vice versa*; but what are the facts? In regard to sugar, a very great change may be noticed between the years 1877 and 1888. I take those years, for the obvious reason that in the year 1877 no manufacture of sugar was in existence in this country. The sugar which was imported in that time for

consumption direct was, in effect, a refined sugar. Now, in the year 1877 we imported and consumed 97,104,336 pounds of sugar, for which a value was entered of \$5,539,214—say five and a-half millions of dollars. In 1888 we imported and used 224,426,999 pounds, nearly two hundred and twenty-four and a-half million pounds of sugar.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Raw sugar?

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—Yes; raw sugar, worth \$5,784,000, just about a quarter of a million more than the value of the 97,000,000 lbs. imported in 1877. Now it is perfectly clear that allowances have to be made between the fact that in the first year it was refined sugar and in the next period it was raw material of a lower quality, but the allowance cannot account in any sufficient degree for this enormous difference in quantity. If you take from the latter 20 per cent. I think you will take ample, and you will find that you have more than double the quantity of sugar imported at practically very little excess of value. Now, that item of itself seems to me conclusively to prove that an estimate of increase based upon values is a most deceptive one, unless you read with it the fact patent to all the world that there has been an enormous decline of values generally current throughout the world. But leaving that particular item for a time, I take one case, which is well known to some members here, as proof that with a decline in the export of a particular article there has been co-existing a very large increase in its development in this country. Take the case of coal. Upon this matter, while I yield in special knowledge to some members of this Houses, still I have a fair knowledge of it, having been interested largely in the enterprise in Nova Scotia. In 1874 the total mining of coal in that Province was 749,127 tons; in 1887 the total mining was 1,519,000 tons—just about double. Now, the exports in the former year, 1874, were 195,408 tons, while in the latter year they had fallen to 80,183 tons; so that between the two periods the export had diminished in the proportion of about five to two—we had lost considerably more than half in the volume of our exports, while the pros-

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perity of the business was proved by the fact that mining was carried on to the extent of more than double in the latter period what we had done in the former. Now, I merely mention that to prove that the statistics relied upon by the hon. member in no sense and in no degree supply proof which he can rely upon for conclusions such as he has drawn from them, but, on the contrary, must be read with a knowledge of the facts to enable you to discriminate upon them. To turn to another subject: it is a very remarkable thing that, co-existing with the apparent decline of the gross volume of our exports and imports, graded by value, the English exports for pretty much the same period showed an exactly similar decline; and this is the more extraordinary as the one is well known to be a free trade country, and not one of the prophets of ruin and decay in our country is able to resist the temptation of ascribing whatever we find out of joint in our condition to the fact that we are a protective country. The table that I refer to was furnished in the Budget Speech of the hon. Finance Minister in the other House within a few days, but it was printed in the papers as being dollars and cents instead of, as it should have been pounds sterling. In 1879 the English exports were £363,000,000; in 1883, £384,000,000; in 1885, £371,000,000; in 1886, £350,000,000—or, if you will note the extremes between 1879 and 1886, the former being £363,000,000, as compared with £350,000,000 in the latter, you will see an almost parallel instance to that which existed in this country, and you can draw your own conclusions.

HON. MR. POWER—Has the hon. gentleman the figures for 1887?

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I have not got them.

HON. MR. POWER—Because there has been a revival of trade in England since 1886.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Can the hon. gentleman tell us where those figure are taken from?

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I took them from the speech of the Finance Minister. They are supplied by Mr. Giffen, a well know statistician in England, and a well

known authority on the subject. The correction I have made is to give them in pounds sterling instead of dollars and cents, as printed in the newspaper. I think that we have reason for believing that we have in this country been making substantial progress during the period to which I allude. I would ask him to examine some collateral statistics which, in themselves, appear to me to furnish evidence of prosperity. If you take fire insurance—and it is not far-fetched evidence, because if we have property to insure, and do insure it, we must certainly have acquired that property in the interval—in 1874 the total fire insurance of the Dominion was \$306,848,219; in 1887 it was increased to \$633,623,697, or more than double. We must have had a great deal more property in our possession at the latter period than in the former or we should not have gone to the expense of insuring. In life assurance, in 1874, the total policies were \$85,716,325; in 1887 they were \$191,566,168. The deposits in the savings banks, another evidence, surely, of prosperity—

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—(continuing)—in 1874 were \$15,101,195 and in 1887 \$51,944,785. Surely that is an enormous advance. I have said at the beginning that the hon. gentleman and myself are travelling the sameroad, or, more properly, we are travelling towards the same end but we take different roads. I do not share his view with reference to the decline in the prosperity of this country, nor can I quite follow some of his conclusions with reference to the particular case which he brought before this House of the comparison between the amount of business done with the West Indies and the South American islands by ourselves as compared with the United States. The hon. gentleman presented some valuable information on that point, which I accept on his authority as being beyond question.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—They are taken from the Blue Books.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I have no doubt whatever that they are correct; I do not challenge them in any degree. He said that in British Guiana the United

States did business to the extent of \$3.35 to \$1 that we did; Barbadoes, \$4 to \$1; Trinidad, \$7 to \$1. What I want to point out is, that I consider it a delusion to suppose that our protective tariff is in any degree responsible for that, because it happens that the American tariff is more onerous on all the special productions of these islands than ours, and that their enhanced volume of trade has been achieved under circumstances which are, if possible, more difficult to accomplish than our own, if a tariff exercise any influence. I will give the hon. gentleman the statistics of our own tariff as compared with that of the United States. In the United States the average of all duties on all dutiable merchandise in 1887 was 47.10 per cent; in Canada it was 28.72 per cent. In 1888 the difference was somewhat reduced, because the ratios were: United States, 45.63 per cent.; Canada, 31.85 per cent.; but if you take free and dutiable products of all kinds, though the disproportion was thereby somewhat reduced in 1887, the average duties were, in the United States, 31.02 per cent. and in Canada, 19.87 per cent. In 1888 they had resolved themselves into 30 per cent. in the United States and 21.24 per cent. in Canada. Reverting for a moment to the question which I started with, as to the allowances that ought to be made for the fact that, undoubtedly, we are importing fewer high priced goods and more raw material than we were in 1873 or 1874, I have a table, which, unfortunately, I have made for the year 1874, but it happened to be in the year 1873, and I have to give it as I got it. In 1873 we imported a total of manufactured goods of \$70,125,414 and of raw materials \$10,130,000—in round figures \$70,000,000 and \$10,000,000. This proportion had varied by the time it reached 1887 to manufactured goods reduced to \$56,935,000—call it \$57,000,000, and the raw materials had increased to \$26,750,000. I have not desired to take the position in any hostile spirit to the hon. gentleman whom has moved this resolution, because, as I have already said, we both desire to attain the same end. I sincerely desire to see a large development of our trade with the West Indies. I believe myself that it is possible so to develop it by providing facilities of ocean transport that it will repay us to

HON. MR. DRUMMOND.

endeavor to put a line of steamships on for that purpose. I do not exactly follow, and I do not go as far as the hon. gentleman in his conclusions with regard to the way in which this is to be done, but practically we do not differ much. I think that the class of steamships which ought to be put on should be very moderate in size and very economical in construction. I would certainly not desire to attain a speed of thirteen to fifteen miles an hour. It would be, commercially, a great mistake, it appears to me, to put expensive or high-speed ships on this experimental mission. The ships would have to carry sufficient coal to take them down there and bring them back, and economy of fuel would be a vital question. I think that a moderate size of ships which could go from island to island, pick up a portion of a cargo here and a portion of a cargo there, and, *vice versa*, distribute them in the same fashion, would be a vastly wiser thing for this Dominion to undertake than to put on ships which, in themselves, would compare with those in the trans-Atlantic trade. Take, for instance, the "Parisian," a ship with a speed of fourteen knots an hour, with immense accommodation for passengers. Would it not be absurd to put on a ship which would rival that in speed? I do not suppose the hon. gentleman means in size?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—
No.

HON MR. DRUMMOND—Would it not be absurd to put a ship of that class on local business like this? It appears to me it would be wrong to ask the Government to do anything by aid of subsidy which a business man would not consider proper to do, and, in fact, that this matter should be conducted as if to make it pay was a vital question. The second requirement, an efficient cable service, is a large subject, and while I share his regret as to the enormous expense of cable connection with the West Indies, still that has been minimized in a manner which we are all very well aware of, by means of codes, so that very few words suffice to convey a very long message. Still, I cordially agree with him that if an efficient cable service could be had it is a very desirable thing, but I do not think it is one with which

we can grapple at the present moment. Satisfactory postal service would follow with the institution of the steamship service. The improved lighthouse service—I do not know exactly to what the hon. gentleman refers; whether it is the lighthouse service of the extreme end or our own coast.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—All the islands; but I venture to say it would require negotiations with other powers.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—"Finally, the removal of every obstacle which acts as a barrier." We can all cordially agree with that. It seems to me that one advantage of having comparatively high duties is, that if another nation can offer you a reasonable *quid pro quo* you are able to give it, and it would be a perfectly legitimate thing if our Chancellor of the Exchequer could see his way to do it, to make a moderate concession in return for similar concessions in the Customs duties levied in these islands. But that is a business which I individually could refer to only with extreme hesitancy. Substantially, the hon. gentleman and myself are of one mind. I have endeavored to place before you reasons for doubting whether his road or mine is the better to reach the end. I leave that to you to judge. I pass now to the remarks which were made to this House by the hon. member from Ottawa, and you will excuse me, I hope, a very brief reference to one or two subjects. The first which he speaks of, still carrying out the same practice of depreciating our own country—

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—He said that our mining industries were rendered useless by the duty on mining machinery. Now, I cannot think that this statement is seriously made. I have had a good deal of experience with mining. I have been interested in mines of coal, gold, iron, silver and copper, and I never, in the whole course of my experience with reference to the administration of any of those mines, heard the suggestion made that the mine could not be developed or worked in consequence of this duty. I do not desire to

touch upon that subject further than to express the belief that it is entirely erroneous, that the mining machinery required, substantially, is made at moderate prices in our own country, and possibly some other member of this hon. House will be able to prove that fact. I now come to a question with reference to the subject to which the hon. gentleman alluded—the sugar question. Naturally, I do that with a good deal of hesitation. It is no part, it seems to me, of the duties of a member of this House to intrude specific knowledge that he may possess upon it, but when the question really comes up he puts himself in evidence; and I think he is bound, even at the risk of wearying his auditors, to develop some portion of what he knows upon that question. I find the hon. gentleman reported as saying:

"To make a profitable trade with the West Indies we would have to change our whole sugar policy. Instead of buying our raw sugar, as we do now, at the Spanish Islands, getting the worst raw sugar in the world—the lowest grades, no doubt, because they are the cheapest—and manufacturing them here, we could buy our sugars cheaper in other markets. We know that in British Guiana they have improved machinery, by which they make raw sugars equal to any in the world. If we want to develop a trade with the West Indies all we have to do is to change our tariff. Instead of having a tariff so high as to put an excessive duty on the higher grades of sugars and comparatively low duties on inferior grades we should have a fair and reasonable adjustable duty for revenue purposes only."

Now this very question of having fair and reasonable duty for revenue purposes only was the exact policy of the Mackenzie Government in 1876, 1877, 1878, when the attempt to manufacture sugar in this country came to an end. In 1877 there was no manufacture of sugar carried on in Canada—and what was the result? Was the commerce with the West Indies developed thereby? Did the trade with the island increase? Let the statistics speak for themselves. In 1876 we imported from Great Britain—I shall trouble you only with the round figures—37,000,000 lbs., from the United States 35,000,000 lbs., from the British West Indies about 10,000,000 lbs., from the foreign West Indies about the same quantity, and from the East Indies and other countries 4,250,000 lbs. In 1877 these figures had varied somewhat. Great Britain had risen to 50,000,000 lbs., the United States has gone down somewhat to

31,000,000 lbs., the British West Indies had gone down from 10,000,000 to 3,750,000 lbs.—truly that is a receipt for increasing trade with the West Indies, a policy which resulted in a reduction of 6,250,000 lbs., and the Spanish West Indies had kept nearly steady at 9,350,000 lbs., and from the East Indies and other countries 1,765,000 lbs. Now, in 1879 a new policy had come into force; an entire change of programme had been adopted. I have already told you that the effect of that had been that the gross volume of trade measured by quantity had gone up from 97,000,000 lbs. in 1877 to 224,000,000 lbs. in 1888, but the proportions had assumed a very different aspect as well. From Brazil, in 1888, which was not included at all in either the returns of 1876 or 1877, we imported 31,000,000 lbs., from the British West Indies 10,000,000 lbs., from other West India Islands 96,000,000 lbs., and from the East Indies and other countries 54,000,000 lbs. Now, in passing you will permit me to say that a reference was made to the fact that ship-building in Quebec had been entirely extinguished of late years. That was due to circumstances entirely beyond the control of this Dominion, by measures either fiscal or otherwise. The fact was that the change which took place was that nothing but iron ships were saleable any longer in Great Britain. Quebec ships were built, not to be run but to be sold. A ship was built and loaded with a cargo of deals and sent across to England to be sold. But in shipping to the East Indies I venture to say to this House that the importations from the East Indies into the Dominion are almost exclusively carried in wooden ships, built and manned by our own fellow subjects—built and owned in Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces almost exclusively. That the trade of ship-building has not been extinguished is proved by the fact that large quantities of wooden ships are built and economically and well run by sailors and seamen of the lower Provinces.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—And they are increasing?

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—Yes, increasing, and not only that, but apart altogether

HON. MR. DRUMMOND.

from the so called balance of trade, which is fallacious, I may tell hon. gentlemen that a very large amount of the earning of those ships are paid by bills on foreign countries, and they come in as an important revenue in the lower Provinces. That is a fact known to everybody. I need scarcely trouble this hon. House with arguments founded on the figures I have presented to it. The fact is, that the fiscal policy with reference to sugar, which is now in existence, is the only policy under which a trade with the West Indies can be carried on. I have no hesitation in saying that it is so, that it can be demonstrated and that the figures demonstrate it without any argument.

Under the present fiscal policy the gross importation from the West Indies has gone up from 19,000,000 lbs. in 1876, to 140,000,000 lbs. in round numbers. Now, I venture to say that if the hon. member for Ottawa—if his receipt were to be followed, and raw sugar discouraged and refined sugar encouraged by any such policy as he indicates, not one pound of sugar would come to this country from the West Indies or from Brazil. The whole trade, so far as I know it, would fall into the hands of our neighbors to the south. Sugar refining as an art is probably as well managed in the United States as in any part of the world. In Canada we endeavor to keep abreast of the times to the best of our humble ability, but the inevitable consequence of reducing the duties upon fine sugar and bearing hard upon the products of the West Indies, by putting a heavy import upon low raw sugar, would be to send the trade to the United States. There are vast numbers of reasons by which I could justify that statement, but it is unnecessary to trouble the House further than by the statement which I make, and which I make with the fullest conviction of its truth. That being so, this follows: it makes no matter what the duties were in 1877-78; the fact remained that the sugar which came into this country then was in a condition to be consumed without the intervention of anybody. It was so consumed. It was, in effect, refined sugar of various qualities, and under that arrangement trade with the West Indies not only did not develop, but went backward. Under the opposite policy it has been

enormously increased. What is the inference? Facts are much more stubborn things than opinions. I could venture, perhaps, to say more in the way of offering opinions, but I think it is my duty to provide facts. The reference which has been made to the sugar question, and the subject cannot be disposed of without its cropping up sooner or later. It is a famous stalking-horse in this Dominion, and exaggerated profits and all that class of arguments are the regular order of things from certain quarters, in season and out of season.

Now, I venture to say that taking the sugar business of this country as it stands it has been conducted with a very moderate remuneration in regard to profits. That is not so much a matter of opinion, as I propose to prove it. It would be absurd to stay my disclosures at that point, because my own estimate of what is reasonable remuneration might be different from that of other hon. gentlemen. But last year I was examined before a committee of the other House, and in the course of the investigation I made a statement. The company of which I am an official, I stated then, had during the whole term of its existence made profits which averaged not quite 9 per cent.—between 8 and 9 per cent.; and I venture to think that if any hon. gentleman here was asked to put his money into a manufacturing business, and inducements of not more than that are offered to him, he would probably not do it. If a manufacturing company promised the public no larger profits than that the chances are they could get no subscriptions of capital. And I say that unless an investor can make something in the neighborhood of double the return from a precarious business, requiring constant supervision and careful watching, what he can by investing his money in mortgages or bonds, he had better confine himself to the latter. In the course of my experience, extending over a term of years, I have seen no less than ten associations for the manufacturing of sugar in one shape or another come into existence in the Dominion. At this present moment five are in active operation. What became of the others? Three of the ten were more directly connected with beet sugar than sugar refining, but one of the three turned its operations into that of refining, pure and

simple. Of the ten, five only are in operation. It may be quite true, although I do not know anything whatever of the fact, except from what appears in the newspapers, that, as the hon. member for Ottawa has said, profits to the extent of 25 per cent. were paid by one of those institutions in the Maritime Provinces last year. Whether it be so or not I cannot tell; my knowledge is confined simply to what I saw published in the public press; but I do know this, that that institution when constructed must have cost the stockholders something between \$600,000 and \$700,000, which, in consequence of the business lacking profitable occupation, the original stockholders were worked out. The amount of capital on which that dividend was paid was something like \$150,000 only.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Watered stock.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—It was not watered stock—it was washed away stock. I contend that if a company has expended \$600,000 or \$700,000 upon fixed plant it ought to have a working capital of at least \$900,000, and that the profit, instead of being distributed on the \$150,000, should have been, if that institution had not passed out of the hands of its originators by business misadventures, should have paid a dividend on \$900,000 or \$1,000,000. I have placed very frankly before this House a statement. So far from believing that the receipt of the hon. member from Ottawa acting in the way of developing trade with the West Indies, I have proved to you, I think satisfactorily that it would produce the contrary effect. When we speak of one particular West India dependency, British Guiana, it is said that if we only give them fiscal encouragement that refined sugar could be brought from that country. It is a fact I presume known to others as well as myself, that in some of the West India Islands sugar refineries have been built, equipped and run. I cannot see, for my part, why a sugar refinery built by British capital and situated in British Guiana should be more favored by us than one built by British capital in Glasgow or Greenock, London or Liverpool. The fact is simply this: sugars are not produced in a refined state. The

legitimate business of the West Indies is to turn the juice which they can grow into a merchantable product at the earliest possible stage. The natural result of that is a raw sugar. You can introduce refining apparatus and refining processes into the West Indies, and you can manufacture that into a refined sugar and export it, if you find it profitable to do so; but it has been discouraged mainly by the fact that neither in regard to machinery, nor labor, nor appliances can the West Indies and those localities compete with the better equipped refineries in our country. You might as well request the farmers of the North-West not only to thresh their wheat into grain but to grind it, and proceed to bake it into bread and send it to the market in that shape. The parallel is exactly similar.

Before closing, I would like to give one other fact. I have known gentlemen having come from England being struck with the cheapness of sugar there as compared with the prices of sugar in this country. They ignore entirely the fact that the refined sugar which is sold in England is manufactured from a raw material, upon which no impost of any kind has been imposed by the Government; and not only that, but probably manufactured from raw material artificially cheapened by the operation of bounties on the continent of Europe. The company to which I have referred before, and of which I am an official, contributed to the revenues of this country last year some very considerable sums of money. We paid in duties on our raw material very nearly \$1,500,000. In all the discussions which have taken place on this subject this fact has been entirely ignored. Now, as a manufacturer I say that my preference is distinctly to be placed in the position of the manufacturer of cotton, and have my raw material duty free. If that were so, I honestly believe that I could supply the trade and the country with sugar as cheaply as in England; but as a manufacturer it is perhaps stepping out of my province to suggest it. The amount of revenue to be drawn from every dutiable product which comes into the Dominion is the distinct business of the Finance Minister, and not mine. I state again my preference is for a diminution of the impost on raw sugars;

but so long as the revenue of the country demands it I can say no more.

I have to apologize to this hon. House for having taken up so much of your time, and for having presented what I have to say in such a crude and undigested form. But time did not serve; it is only within a comparatively few hours that I was made acquainted with the nature of the arguments and statements which have been presented to this hon. House, and I could do nothing more that seize on the few facts and statistics which I have had the honor of putting before you.

HON. MR. READ moved the adjournment of the Debate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Debate was adjourned.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (60), "An Act respecting Steam Vessels to be used in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (51), "An Act respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (45), "An Act to revive and amend the Acts relating to the St. Gabriel Levee and Railway Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (41), "An Act to incorporate the Calgary, Alberta and Montana Railway Company." (Mr. Turner).

Bill (39), "An Act respecting the Hamilton Central Railway Company." (Mr. Sanford).

Bill (52), "An Act to incorporate the Lac Seul Railway Company." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (59), "An Act respecting the South Ontario Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (47), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Kingston, Smith's Falls and Ottawa Railway Company. (Mr. Sullivan).

Bill (64), "An Act respecting the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Junction Railway Company." (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (33), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Prescott County Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the Central Counties Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (40), "An Act respecting the Lake Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to The Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company." (Mr. Turner).

Bill (42), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company." (Mr. Merner).

Bill (55), "An Act respecting the Rules of Court in relation to Criminal Matters." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 6 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 12th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

VICTORIA, SAANICH AND NEW WESTMINSTER RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the committee of Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (32), "An Act to incorporate the Victoria, Saanich and New Westminster Railway Company," with an amendment. He said: This is simply a verbal amendment, but it is a necessary one. The Bill, as it stood, brought the railway to a point described as the "town" of Esquimalt, and the promoter of the Bill asked that the word be changed to the "harbor" of Esquimalt, inasmuch as there is, strictly speaking, no town there yet, and in the second place it might be very difficult, from an engineering point of view, in case there should be anything that could be construed into a town, to make the terminus at that particular point; so it was asked that the change be made to the well known and celebrated harbor of Esquimalt, which would give the railway the advantage of a terminus at navigable water.

HON. MR. POWER—There is a feature of the Bill to which I called the attention of the hon. gentleman who promotes it here, and which I think is calculated to injure the company's prospects of going into operation—that is, the provision which allows them to issue bonds to the amount of \$25,000 for each mile in length of the railway. It seems to me that the amount is excessive, and the mere fact that such power is given is calculated to defeat the object of the promoters of the Bill. I think it would be a wise step to reduce the amount to \$20,000, at the outside.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—I would not like to do that. The Bill was sent here in its present shape by the promoters, who are good judges of what they require. The bonds are only to be issued when the contract is given for the completion of certain parts of the work. By making this power less the object of the Bill might be defeated altogether. I therefore beg to move that the amendment be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time and passed.

NEW BRUNSWICK AND PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (21), "An Act respecting the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway Company," with certain amendments. He said: It is my duty, as Chairman, to explain the nature of the amendment, and I will briefly say that it occurs in the clause which gave power to validate certain stock that was issued under the New Brunswick Acts, this being an undertaking which was started upon legislation in the Province of New Brunswick. That particular portion of the Bill tended to validate certain stock that was issued, in general terms, and the amendment has the effect of confining it to stock that was

issued under the authority of an Act passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick, in the year 1882, because this has been a company incorporated eight years anterior to that period.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD moved concurrence in the amendment.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (52), "An Act to incorporate the Lac Seul Railway Company." (Mr. Perley).

Bill (F), "An Act for the relief of William Henry Middleton." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (G), "An Act for the relief of Wm. Gordrn Lowry." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (H), "An Act for the relief of Bennett Rosamond." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (I), "An Act for the relief of Arthur Wand." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (J), "An Act for the relief of George Macdonald Bagwell." (Mr. Turner).

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (K), "An Act to amend Cap. 127 of the Revised Statutes, respecting interest." (Mr. Power).

Bill (L), "An Act respecting the Collection of certain Tolls and Dues therein mentioned." (Mr. Abbott).

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (19), "An Act to incorporate the Assinaboia, Edmonton and Unjiga Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (30), "An Act respecting the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec." (Mr. Macdonald, Midland).

Bill (20), "An Act to incorporate the Hawkesbury Lumber Company." (Mr. Clemow).

CONDITIONAL RELEASE OF FIRST OFFENDERS BILL.

COMMONS AMENDMENT CONCURRED IN.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved concurrence in the amendments made by the House of Commons to Bill (E), "An Act to permit the Conditional Release of First Offenders in certain cases." He said: There are two amendments made by the House of Com-

mons to this Bill, both of them merely verbal. In the first clause the words "General Sessions of the Peace" are left out, so that the clause reads "any judge of the court within the meaning of the Speedy Trials Act, as amended." The amendment of the Speedy Trials Act provides how persons guilty of offences in this Act are to be tried, and the object of this amendment is simply to leave it in as general form as the Speedy Trials Act places it. The second amendment is leaving out the words "larceny, false pretences or any other offence," and the word "any" is substituted for that phrase. The word "any" has a general meaning, and is an improvement on the phrase.

The motion was agreed to, and the amendments were concurred in.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (48), "An Act to Consolidate the Borrowing Powers of the Toronto Loan and Debenture Company, and to authorize them to issue Debenture Stock." (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (77), "An Act further to amend the Act incorporating the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company (Limited)." (Mr. Power).

Bill (61), "An Act to incorporate the Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway Company." (Mr. Sutherland).

Bill (22), "An Act to incorporate the Assets and Debenture Company of Canada." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (43), "An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company." (Mr. Read, Quinté).

Bill (34) "An Act to incorporate the Canadian General Trusts Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (57), "An Act to incorporate the Cobourg, Northumberland and Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Flint).

IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE OF THE DOMINION.

ENQUIRY.

The Order of the Day having been called—

Resuming adjourned Debate on motion Hon. Mr. Macdonald (Midland), viz.: That he will call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in connection with the proposal of

the Government to open up extended commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies;

And will enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure in relation to the same?

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) said: I hope I will be excused in rising to say a few words on this important subject that has engaged the attention of this House, and to thank the hon. gentleman from Toronto for his industry and perseverance in bringing this important matter before the House and the country. This debate has, from its inception, assumed a very wide range, a wider range, possibly, than could be expected from the resolution. As the hon. leader of the Opposition in this House has chosen, in the course of his remarks, to attack the National Policy, I hope I may be excused if I, in my humble way, attempt, as far as I can, to defend it. The hon. gentleman who asks this question kept, I think, as far from attacking the National Policy as possible in his remarks, but whenever any matter that bore upon that question was against the policy of the country I found there was a sort of applause from the Opposition benches. Having had the honor, several years ago, of moving the first resolution in Parliament that led to the adoption of this policy, and obtaining the verdict of the people upon it, I may be permitted to refer to the question now, because some members here do not recollect the resolution. I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a seconder.

HON. MR. POWER—What year was that?

HON. MR. READ—It was in 1877. One hon. gentleman agreed to second it, and it was on the Notice Paper for two or three weeks. When the time came for a discussion on the resolution he refused to second it, and I found another seconder, who consented to lend his name to it with some reluctance.

HON. MR. MILLER—It did not need a seconder.

HON. MR. READ—No; but in my simplicity at the time I did not know that. The resolution was as follows:—

“The present and future interests of the manufacturing and agricultural industries of the Dominion call for the adoption of the National Policy,

by which either reciprocity of trade with the United States is obtained or a reciprocity of tariffs is established by Canada.”

We all know what has since taken place: that in the elections of 1878, 1882 and 1887 that policy has been endorsed by the people. It is true that the first Parliament elected in 1878 did not run out its full term. The Government thought that the manufacturers were afraid to put their money into enterprises in this country lest the National Policy should be reversed at the polls, and the Government went to the people to ascertain whether they were prepared to sustain the policy that they had inaugurated. You know the result; the majorities for the Government have been so large as to be almost unworkable. I regret that the hon. gentleman from Ottawa is not present in his place to-day, because I have to challenge the accuracy of some of the figures he quoted in his speech. He gave the figures of 1873 for 1874. I do not say that he did so intentionally, but as he drew his conclusions from those figures there is nothing left us but to correct his mistakes. You will ask what was the difference? The difference was this: In 1873 the exports of products of the mines were \$2,500,000 more than they were in 1874, and by attributing this export to the year 1874, when his own Government was in power, he makes a point against the present Government.

HON. MR. POWER—Was there any change of policy between the two periods?

HON. MR. READ—There was no change of policy, but there was a change of Government. The hon. gentleman took credit to his Government for the exports that had really taken place before his Government came into power. The exports of the products of the mine in 1873 were \$6,500,000; in 1874 they amounted to \$3,797,216. The exports of the mines in 1888 were \$4,339,488, an increase of \$362,272 over the exports of 1874, instead of a decrease, as the hon. gentleman claimed in his speech, of \$2,500,000. I hope the hon. gentleman will correct the error into which he has fallen. The hon. gentleman drew from these figures the deduction that the National Policy has interfered with our export trade owing to the heavy tax upon

mining machinery. I do not think that is a fair conclusion to arrive at, and I have shown that it is not warranted by the figures which he quoted. The discussion turns upon this question: Why have not our exports and imports increased in proportion to what we might naturally expect? The answer is ready: The National Policy aimed at furnishing employment for our own people and consumption of our products at home. Has it not had that effect? Are we now purchasing our manufactured goods abroad and exporting our products to maintain the working classes of other countries? The figures show that we manufacture more at home and consume more products of our own country in the Dominion. We send flour, meal and other articles of that character to the Maritime Provinces, and in return purchase our coal from them. The change in some instances is very remarkable. In 1874 our importations of flour and meal amounted to \$2,590,798; in 1888 they had fallen to \$486,894, a decrease of \$2,103,904. We were aiming at the cultivation of an interprovincial trade, in imitation of the policy of our neighbors, which is so greatly admired by the Opposition here. In 1874 we imported corn to the value of \$2,676,751; in 1888 we imported \$1,121,089 worth, or \$1,545,662 less. Why is that? We put a duty on corn, and the result is that we are consuming our own products at home, instead of importing corn from abroad. There are many articles produced on the farm which will not bear transportation, and the policy of the present Government is to find a home market for these articles. We have been encouraging our home trade, which, as everyone knows, is the best trade. Now we come to the article of coal, to which the hon. gentleman from Montreal referred in his speech yesterday. Between 1874 and 1887, which is the latest return I could get, our export of coal to the United State has fallen from \$706,271 to about \$100,000, a decrease of \$606,000, although the production of coal in this country has increase largely. Where has it gone to? Our own people have consumed it; we have mined more coal and we have imported less. The traffic on the Intercolonial Railway shows the development of our interprovincial trade, and there has been an equally satisfactory

increase of trade by vessels in the summer season between the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence. So the National Policy has not added so much to our export trade; it never was intended that it should. The aim was to furnish employment for our own people at home, instead of purchasing the products of foreign labor; and, so far as we can judge by the expression of public opinion at the polls on three different occasions, the policy is one which is popular with our own people. The Liberal party are asking the country to adopt a different policy. The Reciprocity Treaty was repealed in 1866, and since then attempts have been made to negotiate a new treaty between the two countries. In 1874 Mr. Brown was sent to Washington to attempt to arrive at a basis of settlement for a new treaty. Now, what did he offer? There are three schedules in his offer—the natural products of the country is one schedule, agricultural implements of every description is another schedule, and the third schedule consists of manufactures of almost everything that was supposed to be made in this country and the United States. Our fisheries were to be made free. The offer was for an interchange between the two countries of all these things free. There was a sliding scale for a year or two, but he offered for twenty-one years a free interchange of all these commodities between the two countries. I will read what he offered:

“ Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the United States of America, being desirous of improving the commerce and navigation between their respective territories and people, and more especially between Her Majesty's possessions in North America and the United States, in such manner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial, have respectively named Plenipotentiaries to confer and agree thereupon, that is to say:

“ Who, after communicating to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

“ ARTICLE I.—It is agreed by the high contracting parties that, in addition to the liberty secured to the United States' fishermen by the convention between Great Britain and the United States, signed at London on the 20th day of October, 1818, of taking, curing and drying fish on certain coasts of the British North American colonies therein defined, the inhabitants of the United States shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XV. of this treaty, to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the sea

coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors, and creeks of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the colony of Prince Edward Island, and the several islands thereunto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the said coasts, and shores and islands, and also upon the Magdalen Islands, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish: provided that in so doing they do not interfere with the rights of private property, or with British fishermen in the peaceable use of any part of the said coasts in their occupancy for the same purpose.

"It is understood that the above mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea fishery, and that the salmon and shad fisheries, and all other fisheries in rivers and the mouths of rivers are hereby reserved exclusively for British fishermen.

"ARTICLE II.—It is agreed by the high contracting parties that British subjects shall have, in common with the citizens of the United States, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XV of this treaty, to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the eastern sea coasts and shores of the United States, north of the 39th parallel of north latitude, and on the shores of the several islands thereunto adjacent, and in the bays, harbors and creeks of the said sea coast and shores of the United States, and of the said islands, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the said coasts of the United States, and of the islands aforesaid, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish: provided that in so doing they do not interfere with the rights of private property, or with the fishermen of the United States, in the peaceable use of any part of the said coasts in their occupancy for the same purpose.

"It is understood that the above-mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea fisheries, and that salmon and shad fisheries, and all other fisheries in the rivers and mouths of rivers, are hereby reserved exclusively for fishermen of the United States.

"ARTICLE III.—It is agreed that the places designated by the Commissioners appointed under the first article of the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, concluded at Washington on the 5th June, 1854, upon the coasts of Her Britannic Majesty's Dominions and the United States, as places reserved from the common right of fishing under that treaty, shall be regarded as in like manner reserved from the common right of fishing under the preceding articles. In case any question should arise between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and of the United States as to the common right of fishing in places not thus designated as reserved, it is agreed that a Commission shall be appointed to designate such places, and shall be constituted in the same manner, and have the same powers, duties and authority as a Commission appointed under the said first article of the treaty of the 5th June, 1854.

"ARTICLE IV.—It is agreed that the articles enumerated in Schedules "A," "B" and "C," hereto annexed, being the growth, produce or manufacture of the Dominion of Canada or of the United States, shall, on their importation from the one country into the other, from the 1st day of July, 1875, to the 30th day of June, 1876 (both included), pay only two-thirds of the duties payable at the date of this treaty on the importation into such country of such articles respectively; and from the

1st of July, 1876, to the 30th day of June, 1877 (both included), shall pay only one-third of such duties; and on and after the 1st day of July, 1877, for the period of years mentioned in Article XIII of this treaty, shall be admitted free of duty into each country respectively.

"For the term mentioned in Article XIII no other or higher duty shall be imposed in the United States upon other articles not enumerated in said schedule, the growth, produce or manufacture of Canada; or in Canada, upon such other articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of the United States, than are respectively imposed upon like articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain, or of any other country.

"Schedule (A), consisting of the following natural products:

"Animals of all kinds; ashes, pot, pearl and soda; bark; bark extract, for tanning purposes; bath bricks; breadstuffs of all kinds; bricks for building, and fire-bricks; broom corn; burr or grindstones, hewn, wrought or unwrought; butter; cheese; coal and coke; cotton-wool; cotton-waste; dye stuffs; earths, clays, ochres and sand, ground or unground; eggs; fish of all kinds; fish, products of, and of all other creatures living in the waters, except fish preserved in oils; firewood; flax, unmanufactured; flour and meals of all kinds; fruits, green or dried; furs, undressed; grain of all kinds; gypsum, ground, unground or calcined; hay; hemp, unmanufactured; hides; horns; lard; lime; malt; manures; marble; stone, slate or granite, wrought or unwrought; meats, fresh, smoked or salted; ores, of all kinds of metals; pelts; peas, whole or split; petroleum oil, crude, refined, or benzole; pitch; plants; poultry, and birds of all kinds; rags of all kinds; rice; salt; seeds; shrubs; skins; straw; tails; tallow; tar; timber and lumber of all kinds, round, hewed and sawed, unmanufactured in whole or in part; tobacco, unmanufactured; tow, unmanufactured; trees; turpentine; vegetables; wool.

Schedule (B), consisting of the following agricultural implements:—

"Axes; bag-holders; bee-hives; bone-crushers or parts thereof; cultivators, or parts thereof; chaff-cutters, or parts thereof; corn-huskers, or parts thereof; cheese-vats; cheese-factory heaters; cheese-presses, or parts thereof; churns, or parts thereof; cattle-feed boilers and steamers, or parts thereof; ditchers, or parts thereof; field-rollers, or parts thereof; fanning-mills or parts thereof; feed-choppers, or parts thereof; forks for hay and manure, hand or horse; grain-drills, or parts thereof; grain-broadcast sowers, or parts thereof; grain-crushers, or parts thereof; harrows; hoes, hand or horse; horse-rakes; horse-power machines, or parts thereof; hay-tedders, or parts thereof; liquid manure carts, or parts thereof; manure-sowers, or parts thereof; mowers, or parts thereof; oil and oil-cake crushers, or parts thereof; ploughs, or parts thereof; root and seed planters, or parts thereof; root-cutters, pulpsters and washers, or parts thereof; rakes; reapers, or parts thereof; reaper and mower combined, or parts thereof; spades; shovels; scythes; snaiths; threshing machines, or parts thereof.

Schedule (C), consisting of the following manufactures:—

Axles of all kinds; boots and shoes of leather; boot and shoe-making machines; buffalo robes, dressed and trimmed; cotton grain-bags; cotton

denims; cotton jeans, unbleached; cotton drillings, unbleached; cotton tickings; cotton plaids; cottonades, unbleached; cabinetware and furniture, or parts thereof; carriages, carts, waggon and other wheeled vehicles, and sleighs, or parts thereof; fire-engines, or parts thereof; felt covering for boilers; gutta-percha belting and tubing; iron—bar, hoop, pig, puddled, rod, sheet or scrap; iron nails, spikes, bolts, tacks, bracks or sprigs; iron castings; India-rubber belting and tubing; locomotives for railway, or parts thereof; lead, sheet or pig; leather, sole or upper; leather harness, or saddlery of; mill, or factory, or steamboat fixed engines and machines, or parts thereof; manufactures of marble, stone, slate or granite; manufactures of wood solely, or of wood nailed, bound, hinged or locked with metal materials; mangles, washing machines, wringing machines, and drying machines, or parts thereof; printing paper for newspapers; paper-making machines, or parts thereof; printing type, presses and folders, paper cutters, ruling machines, page-numbering machines and stereotyping and electrotyping apparatus, or parts thereof; refrigerators, or parts thereof; railroad cars, carriages and trucks, or parts thereof; satinetts of wool and cotton; steam-engines, or parts thereof; steel, wrought or cast, and steel plates and rails; tin tubes and piping; tweeds of wool solely; water-wheel machines and apparatus, or parts thereof.

“ARTICLE V.—It is agreed that the Canadian canals on the main route from Lake Erie to Montreal shall be enlarged forthwith, at the expense of the Dominion of Canada, so as to admit the passage of vessels drawing twelve feet of water; and the locks on the said canals shall be made of not less than 270 feet in length, 45 feet width and not less than 12 feet depth on the mitre sill; and that the channel of the St. Lawrence River shall be deepened in the several reaches between the canals wherever the same may be necessary, so as to allow the free passage of vessels drawing twelve feet of water. And the work engaged to be done in this article shall be completed by the 1st day of January, 1880.

“ARTICLE VI.—It is agreed that the Government of Canada shall construct, on or before the 1st day of January, 1880, a canal to connect the St. Lawrence River, at some convenient point at or near Caughnawaga, with Lake Champlain. The dimensions of said canal shall be such as to admit the passage of vessels drawing twelve feet of water, and the locks shall be of not less dimensions than those named in the preceding Article.

“And the United States engage to urge upon the Government of the State of New York to cause the existing canal from Whitehall, on Lake Champlain, to Albany, to be enlarged, and, if necessary, extended, or another canal or canals, to be constructed of equal capacity with the proposed Caughnawaga Canal, as hereinbefore specified; and the navigation of the Hudson River to be improved, so as to admit the passage from Lake Champlain to the lower waters of the Hudson River of vessels drawing twelve feet of water.

“ARTICLE VII.—Citizens of the United States may, during the term of years mentioned in Article XIII of this treaty, carry in their vessels cargo and passengers from one Canadian port to another on the great lakes or River St. Lawrence. Reciprocally, inhabitants of Canada, subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, may, during the like period, carry in their vessels cargo and passengers from

one port of the United States on the great lakes or River St. Lawrence to another on the said lakes or river. Citizens of the United States in their vessels, and inhabitants of Canada, subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, in their vessels, may, during the like term, carry cargo and passengers from any port of the United States or of Canada, on the Red River or the waters connecting therewith, to any other port on the said river or waters connecting therewith.

“ARTICLE VIII.—It is agreed that for the term of years mentioned in Article XIII of this treaty the citizens of the United States shall enjoy the use of the Welland, the St. Lawrence and other canals in the Dominion of Canada (including the proposed Caughnawaga Canal) on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada.

“And that, without interfering with the right of the Government of Canada to impose such tolls on the aforesaid Canadian canals, respectively, as it may think fit, the tolls shall be levied in relation to the number of locks on each canal, without any drawback or discrimination, whatever the destination of the vessels, or whether one or more canal or canals, or part of a canal, be passed.

“And it is also agreed that for the like term of years the inhabitants of Canada shall enjoy the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States, and that the navigation of Lake Champlain and of Lake Michigan shall be free and open for the purposes of commerce to the inhabitants of Canada, subject to any laws and regulations of the United States, or of the States bordering thereon, respectively, not inconsistent with such privilege of free navigation.

“And the United States further engage to urge upon the Government of the States of New York and of Michigan to secure to the inhabitants of Canada the use of the Erie, the Whitehall, the Sault Ste. Marie Canals, and of any enlarged or extended or new canal, or other improvement connecting Lake Champlain with the lower waters of the Hudson River, which may be made, as contemplated in Article VI, on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.

“And it is mutually agreed that full power shall be given and allowed to tranship cargo from vessels into canal boats and from canal boats into vessels at either terminus of every canal.

“And further, that if the use of the Erie and Whitehall or other canals connecting Lake Champlain with the lower waters of the Hudson River, and of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, be not granted to the inhabitant of Canada on terms of equality with the citizens of the United States, as contemplated in this article, then the use of the proposed Caughnawaga Canal by citizens of the United States, as above contemplated, shall be suspended and cease until the use of the said canals in the United States shall be secured to the inhabitants of Canada, as above contemplated.

“ARTICLE IX.—For the term of years mentioned in Article XIII of this treaty vessels of all kinds built in the United States may be purchased by inhabitants of Canada, subjects of Great Britain, and registered in Canada as Canadian vessels; and, reciprocally, vessels of all kinds built in Canada may be purchased by citizens of the United States, and registered in the United States as United States vessels.

“ARTICLE X.—A joint Commission shall be established and maintained at joint expense during the

operation of this treaty, for advising the erection and proper regulation of all lighthouses on the great lakes common to both countries, necessary to the security of the shipping thereon.

"ARTICLE XI.—A joint Commission shall also be established at joint expense, and maintained during the continuance of the treaty, to promote the propagation of fish in the inland waters common to both countries, and to enforce the laws enacted for the protection of the fish and fishing grounds.

"ARTICLE XII.—It is further agreed that the provisions and stipulations of this treaty shall extend to the colony of Newfoundland, so far as they are applicable. But if the Imperial Parliament, the Legislature of Newfoundland or the Congress of the United States shall not embrace the Colony of Newfoundland in their laws enacted for carrying the foregoing articles into effect, then this article shall be of no effect; but the omission to make provision by law to give it effect by either of the legislative bodies aforesaid shall not in any way impair any other articles of this treaty."

"ARTICLE XIII.—This treaty shall take effect as soon as the laws required to carry it into operation shall have been passed by the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and by the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, on the one hand, and by the Congress of the United States on the other. If such legislative assent shall not have been given within—months from the date hereof, then this treaty shall be null and void. But such legislative assent having been given, this treaty shall remain in force for the period of twenty-one years from the date at which it shall come into operation, and further, until the expiration of three years after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same; each of the high contracting parties being at liberty to give such notice to the other at the end of the said period of twenty-one years, or at any time afterwards.

"ARTICLE XIV.—When the ratifications of this treaty shall have been exchanged and the laws required to carry it into operation shall have been passed by the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, and by the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, on the one hand, and by the Congress of the United States on the other hand, then Articles XXII, XXIII, XXIV and XXV of the Treaty of May 8, 1871, between Great Britain and the United States, shall become null and void.

"ARTICLE XV.—This treaty shall be duly ratified by Her Britannic Majesty, and by the President of the United States, and the ratifications shall be exchanged either at Washington or at London within—months from the date hereof, or earlier, if possible."

I think it embraced everything that they were making or supposed to make. What else did he offer? He offered that Canada should build a canal from Caughnawaga to Lake Champlain at her own cost; that we were to deepen the canals from Lake Erie to Lake Champlain to 12 feet of water, with locks 270 feet long and 45 feet wide, and these were to be free between the two countries. Was it nothing

for us to build a canal from Caughnawaga to Lake Champlain to carry trade through to New York? Then he offered free coasting privileges between the two countries, as well as free fishing. This treaty was to extend for a period of twenty-one years. We were to have the use of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal free, and the canal at Detroit River was to be common to both countries. That, I think was a pretty liberal offer. We have been knocking at the door of the American Government until they are sick of our knocking, and they have at last told us in plain terms on what condition we can enter. I hold them in my hand as taken from the *Congressional Record* of 2nd March, and with the permission of the House I shall read them:—

"COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA.

"MR. ANDERSON, of Iowa (when his name was called). I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution (H Res. 129) to promote commercial union with Canada.

"The joint resolution was read, as follows:—

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, etc., That whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to establish commercial union with the United States, having a uniform revenue system, like internal taxes to be collected and like import duties to be imposed on articles brought into either country from other nations, with no duties upon trade between the United States and Canada, he shall appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be likewise designated to represent the Government of Canada, to prepare a plan for the assimilation of the import duties and internal revenue taxes of the two countries, and an equitable division of receipts, in a commercial union; and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress.

"There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution.

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. Springer). The question is on ordering this joint resolution to be engrossed and read a third time.

"MR. BLAND. This resolution is up for consideration, I believe.

"THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is

"MR. BLAND. I think we had better have the report read or some explanation made. This is a very important matter.

"THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will read the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

"The Clerk proceeded to read the report (by Mr. Hitt), which is as follows:—

"Our commercial relations with Canada have recently awakened a deeper interest and received a more thorough discussion than ever before, on both sides of the border. The tendency of public opinion is plainly towards the enlargement of trade between the two countries. In Canada the

movement has advanced from what was a few years ago an effort for partial reciprocity to a wide expression in favor of unrestricted intercourse and commercial union. The evidence of this fact is abundant.

The Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, High Commissioner from Her Majesty's Governments, is reported to have recently stated in a speech:—

"The arrangement between the colonies and Great Britain is essentially a temporary one. It cannot remain as it is. * * * Already you have in Canada, the greatest of all the colonies, an agitation for what is called commercial union with the United States. Commercial union with the United States means unrestricted trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, and a protective tariff against the mother country. If Canada desires that, Canada can have it."

"And speaking of the relation of Canada to the United States and Great Britain on a subsequent occasion, the right honorable gentleman further said that:

"Commercial union with the United States meant that Canada was to give preference to every article of manufacture from the United States over manufactures from Great Britain. If the people of Canada desired an arrangement of that kind he did not doubt that they would be able to secure it."

"Within a few weeks a conference was held at Quebec of the Prime Ministers of all the Provinces constituting the Dominion of Canada, and after a very full exchange of views these representatives of the Executive powers of all portions of the Dominion unanimously adopted the following declaration:

"This conference, comprising all political parties, is of the opinion that a fair measure, provided under proper conditions, for unrestricted trade relations between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, would be of advantage to all the Provinces of the Dominion, and would, in connection with an adjustment of the fishery dispute, tend to happily settle the grave difficulties which have from time to time arisen between Great Britain and the United States."

"The chambers of commerce and boards of trade of the leading cities of Canada, and more than fifty farmers' institutes and conventions, have adopted resolutions declaring in favor of commercial union or unrestricted trade between the two countries."

"The answer made by their opponents and those most closely attached to English trade and English rule has been that the United States has given no indication that it would receive or even consider any proposal, however friendly in spirit or however favorable to us in its terms it might be."

"The joint resolution now submitted does not contemplate any action on our part at present; but whenever the Dominion of Canada shall have declared a desire for commercial union, with a common tariff, like internal revenue taxes, like duties on articles imported into either country from abroad, and no duties on trade between the United States and Canada, then the President is authorized to appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be designated to represent Canada, in order to prepare a plan for commercial union, by assimilating the tariffs and internal revenue taxes of the two countries, now not very widely different, and an equitable method of dividing the receipts, which they shall report to the President, who shall lay it before Congress. The whole subject of our relations with Canada is kept under the control of Congress."

"It is not deemed necessary to here discuss the

HON. MR. READ.

great merits of commercial union or the details of arrangement that will be necessary. Your committee believe that the power herein conferred upon the President can do no harm, that it will be wisely used, and will lead to beneficent results, promoting the independence, prosperity and peace of two great peoples.

"The committee therefore recommend the adoption of the joint resolution.

"Mr. BLAND (before the reading of the report was concluded). Mr. Speaker, unless some other gentleman desires the further reading of the report, I do not ask that the reading be continued, as I now understand the nature of the proposition.

"The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

"Mr. ANDERSON, of Iowa, moved to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the Table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

Mr. HITT. I ask consent of the House that members have leave to print remarks on the resolution just passed, which is one I introduced last March, and which I thank the gentleman for calling up."

There is no uncertain sound about that, and if we read what the American papers say of it we must admit that they understand what it means. I will read from the *Chicago Times*:

"It is at least possible that the ardent advocacy of commercial union by the *Globe* (that is our Liberal paper) and other strong Opposition papers finds its inspiration in a longing desire to drive the Macdonald party from power—

They may desire that, but I think they will have to take some other course:

"It will not do, therefore, to infer too much from the confident tone assumed by the advocates of commercial union. Nor will it do to assume that all who have been advocating that project would continue to do so if they fully understood the political consequences of its adoption. The fact seems to be that very many Canadians who talk about this project imagine that they are talking about something like the old treaty of reciprocity (but they have had their eyes open since—Ed. *Citizen*) and it is highly probable that if the real wish of the Canadians could be ascertained it would be found to be for reciprocity, and not for a surrender by their Government of all control over their own tariff—a thing almost necessarily involved in the Custom union scheme * * * If they take that (commercial union) they must take it with their eyes open to the political consequences."

What does that mean? I think we all understand that it means annexation. Now I will quote a little further on the same subject from another article:

"It should not be forgotten that this proposition, which is the same proposition contained in Mr. Hitt's resolution, also implies a complete surrender by the Dominion Parliament to the American Congress of all control over the principal source of the

Dominion's revenue—the tariff. Whatever it may please the American Congress to do regarding the tariff that the Dominion Government must forthwith accept. Our Congress would have even more power over the Dominion tariff under this arrangement than it would in the event of a political union, because the people of the Dominion would have neither vote nor voice in Washington under the proposed commercial union, while they would have both under political union. Not only would our Congress prescribe and change at pleasure all the tariff taxes exacted from the people of Canada, but our executive officers and our courts would make all the rulings and decisions affecting rates for the Dominion as well as for the United States."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—That is an eye-opener?

HON. MR. READ—It is an eye-opener. This matter of commercial union having been drawn into this debate, we cannot help talking about it. When it first came up I looked into it a little, and as Mr. Wiman was going to speak about it near the place where I reside I thought I would go and hear what he had to say. I went, and as it was asked at the meeting what anyone had to say in reply, I made it my business to say something. I had not an appreciative audience, but I made my statement and combatted the scheme from a financial point of view. I did not take it up from a political point of view, but I took up the scheme as it was presented by Mr. Wiman and his friends in this country in the pamphlets which they gave us to read. The scheme was that we should come into a commercial union, assimilate our tariff laws and divide the receipts between the United States and Canada. He assumed that their population is 60,000,000 and ours is 5,000,000. Now, let us go into the figures and see how we would stand under this arrangement. The duties collected in the United States are on an average of 47 per cent., and amount to \$190,000,000 in round numbers. The duties collected in Canada on a 20 per cent. tariff are \$22,500,000. Assuming that we are going to assimilate our tariffs and we are paid *per capita* alike, we have \$212,500,000 as the revenue of the two countries. Dividing that *per capita* amongst a population of 65,000,000 we get back as our share out of that pool \$15,500,000, a loss in revenue of \$7,350,000. That would be the result under the scheme as propounded by Mr. Wiman and the other gentlemen who were speaking with him.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—Our duties then would be 47 per cent.

HON. MR. READ—We would pay the same duty as they do. We might increase the whole revenue a small amount. Supposing we paid 50 per cent. more duty, it would be a very small division between 65,000,000 people in the two countries. We are able to consume more imports than they do. We export more than they do *per capita*, consequently on Customs alone we would be at a loss of revenue, from Customs, if we pool our receipts on this basis, of \$7,350,000. That would have to be made up by taxation in some other way.

HON. MR. DEVER—But you would get the benefit of a free market in the United States, and the benefit of their goods without duties—tobacco, sugar, and so on.

HON. MR. READ—A comparison was drawn here the other day, rather against us, by the hon. leader of the Opposition, between our imports and exports and Great Britain's imports and exports. He stated that while we imported and exported in round number \$40 *per capita* Great Britain exports \$80 *per capita*. But let us compare our trade with that of our neighbors across the line. The imports of the United States in 1887 were \$692,319,766, or about \$11.53 *per capita*. The imports of Canada in 1887 were \$112,892,236, or about \$22.40 *per capita*. This shows that we import nearly double *per capita* more than they do.

HON. MR. POWER—Is that good or bad for us?

HON. MR. READ—I will not say anything about that. I am merely stating the facts as they are; the hon. gentleman may draw his own deductions. I have heard an hon. gentleman say that the wealth of a country is its imports and exports. I do not think so. The export trade of the United States in 1888 was \$683,862,104, or \$11.38 *per capita*. The exports of Canada the same year were \$90,203,000, or \$18 *per capita*. If there is anything in the comparison, certainly our position is far ahead of theirs. I think it is, too, and I am prepared to say that, man for a man, in this country we are more prosperous than our neighbors. If there is anything at all in figures this proves it. Why did the

hon. gentleman try to belittle his own country and draw the comparison between the trade of Canada and that of England? Why do the Liberal party all the time try to run down their own country? It may be their policy, but it is not a policy that should be defended. They can say nothing in our favor; their policy seems to be to under-rate what we are doing. If they get into power in that way I am mistaken. It must be satisfactory to everybody that our imports and exports bear such a favorable comparison with those of our neighbors. As to commercial union, it is a subject that I think could hardly be discussed or should hardly be thought of. I should be ashamed to think that we are such cravens here, that we should be continually knocking at the door of our neighbors and begging them to trade with us. I think we should keep constantly in view the folly of one nation looking for favors from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence whatever it may accept in that character. If we accept it we may place ourselves in the position of having given a substantial equivalent for nominal favors, and being reproached for not giving more. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard. I think I have said enough about commercial union and about our trade relations with our neighbors. Now, I will try and say a few words on the subject of this motion.

I think the hon. gentleman asked us if we are doing what others are doing to promote immigration. It may be as well to look and see what the Argentine Republic is doing to promote immigration. I see in this report that they give to each family 250 acres of land free, and a settler can purchase up to 1,500 acres at 75 cents per acre. Each settler can get 1,500 acres free after five years by cultivating 200 acres to grain, and planting 24 acres to timber. Free transportation is given for settlers and their families to Buenos Ayres and other places, and for ten years they have exemption from taxation.

These are some of the conditions on which immigrants are encouraged to go to Buenos Ayres. I think they are very liberal ones. Then we are asked what we are doing to encourage trade in that country. The Argentine Republic entered into a contract on the 21st November,

1887, guaranteeing interest at 5 per cent. on £1,250,000 to build ten steamers and four steam launches. The steamers are to carry 3,000 carcasses of mutton, or its equivalent, to ports in Europe. There are some other provisions in the contract that there shall be a division of profits after a certain amount of profit is made. They are, at all events, trying to encourage trade with other countries, and they go further than that: I see from an article by the editor of *Harper's Magazine*, who appears to have been travelling through that country last year, that they have made a standing offer of \$100,000 a year of a bonus for a line of steamers to the United States, upon the condition that the United States give \$100,000 also, which has not been accepted. He says nearly all the steamships which enter the mouth of that river receive subsidies from the nation under whose flag they sail—France, England, Germany, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria—all encourage their ship-owners to furnish transportation facilities to the River Platte. The trade of that country is enormous. In the year 1886, 309 steamers entered the port of Montevideo alone from England, and not one from the United States; and only 2 per cent. of the sailing vessels entered there were from the United States. Another account says that fifty-seven steamers arrived in Montevideo and Buenos Ayres each month last year. I see from this report of Mr. Simeon Jones that there were 1,200 sail of the line in Buenos Ayres when he was there. I thought it could not be so, and I looked into the Year Book and found that 8,000 foreign vessels entered that port last year. The question is, can we take anything from that Republic, for there is no use in going to sell to them if we do not buy. The question is, can we buy what they want to sell? This report says that there were about fifty vessels loaded in the St. Lawrence last year for the Republic. Now, what have they to sell? Animal oil, bones and bone-ash, cattle hides, cattle horns, furriers' waste, goat skins, greasy wool, horse hair, horse hides, kid skins, ostrich feathers, otter skins, sheep skins, tallow, various skins, barley, bran, canary seed, flour, hay, Indian corn, meat, linseed, live cattle, manure, pea nuts, stamped gold, stamped silver, wheat. Those are the things they export, as well as other articles not speci-

fied in Mr. Jones' report. Another report states that the export of wheat from that Republic has been increasing enormously in the last four or five years.

Now, what have they imported? Live stock—blood cattle—building stone and coal. Montevideo imported 250,000 tons of coal four years ago; last year the importation was over 500,000 tons, and all this coal came from England. One would suppose that we ought to export coal to that country—but can we? I do not know; it is a question for the merchants to decide. In looking over the list of their exports from the River Platte I find they are very much the same as our own. Can we establish a trade with them if we have no return cargoes? We do send them lumber. Last year we sent forty odd vessel loads from Montreal and twelve more from other ports on the river St. Lawrence.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—What quantity did those vessels carry?

HON. MR. READ—From Montreal 25,879,327, and from the other ports 7,719,000 feet, a total shipment of 33,500,000 feet. As to the West India Islands, I do not know very much about them. No doubt a large and profitable trade could and should be carried on with them, and I dare say is carried on; but the United States have more products to sell than we, and must find a market for them. We have had a good deal of talk about commercial union—that the United States must be our market. Have we not the same market to go to that they have? They sell more than two-thirds of all their exports to Great Britain and her dependencies. There are a few things, I admit, that we can sell to them. I am speaking now of the products of the farm. We can sell them barley and horses, and a few other things. Mr. Wiman's great theme to the farmers was the unprotected hen. He is a plausible speaker, and he made a good deal of fun about the export of eggs from this country to the United States, and the high prices paid for broilers at New York. I suppose he meant at Delmonico's, and he made the farmers' eyes glisten when he spoke of them. I saw the other day that a large quantity of eggs had been brought back from Boston to Toronto and put into a

commission house to be sold, because they could not be disposed of at Boston. It is the same with other things. Now, let us see what we have accomplished in this country. The claim is made by some that we are not going fast enough, but I have a distinct recollection of the changes that have occurred here for many years, and I think our progress has been wonderful. There is a gentleman in my hearing now who has assisted in rafting wheat from Ontario to Montreal for sale. Now see how we ship wheat.

HON. MR. REESOR—All through the National Policy?

HON. MR. READ—No; but that has helped our progress. I have a distinct recollection of my wedding journey from Montreal. I was married there on the 2nd July, and we had to change three stages and three steamers the first day, and we journeyed in four stages and four steamers before we could get home. Fancy the change—and I am a young man yet! I happened to be at the great Detroit convention, where 600 leading merchants of the two countries met, 400 from the United States and 200 from British North America. They were the finest body of men that I ever saw. The Canadians sat it two rows and the Americans in four rows, and I could not help thinking, as I looked at them, that the occupants of the two rows were more than a match for the occupants of the other four. It was quite evident to me then that they would not give us reciprocal trade, that what they wanted was a political union. If the people are prepared for that I hope it will not be in my time. I am not prepared, for the sake of a little profit, if you can call it profit (which I doubt) to sell my allegiance for a mess of pottage.

HON. MR. DEVER—After the complete reply of our friend from Montreal, Mr. Drummond, and others, I only rise to congratulate my honored friend beside me, and also the country, on the enthusiastic way he delivered his speech a few days ago on the various business relations bearing on the well-being of this Dominion of ours. I assure you now, gentlemen, it has been a long time since I listened with such pleasure to the evoking of so many

thoughts of the possible improvement of our business relations with other countries. But still, whilst the hon. gentleman suggests many charming visions of our future trade with other countries I fail to see convincing proofs in many of his conclusions. For instance, why should not we, as well as Britain and other countries, get a share of the Australian trade, if we are, as he says on page 13 of his speech, "to force our wares by the native merit of our craftsmen into the open markets of the world?" The distance from this country to Australia is no greater than it is from Britain, yet my hon. friend says we must give up this market, because of its distance from (page 3 of his speech)—"Ontario, Quebec or the Maritime Provinces"—though I feel convinced it is only the competition of Great Britain and her cheap goods that is the real cause—not distance, as he says. And this cause, let me tell my hon. friend, he will also find in the Argentine Republic, South America and the West India Islands, quite as difficult to grapple with as in Australia, only in so far as we may have classes of native merchandise not to be found in Britain and other countries, such as fish, lumber, flour, etc. And with reference to Newfoundland, in which my hon. friend believes we can do better than we are doing at present, I see he forgets that many of the goods which he thinks we should supply that island are goods we have to purchase ourselves in other countries, and this seems the only drawback to me. For instance:

Turpentine, Spirits, from the United States, 1888:

Ontario imports.....	162,580	galls.
Quebec imports.....	245,967	"
Nova Scotia imports.....	17,543	"
New Brunswick imports.....	16,377	"
Manitoba imports.....	5,313	"
British Columbia imports...	6,273	"
P. E. Island imports.....	1,455	"

Total..... 455,508 galls.

Kerosene alone, from the United States into Canada, 1888:

Ontario imports.....	1,718,781	galls.
Quebec imports.....	828,045	"
Nova Scotia imports.....	783,621	"
New Brunswick imports...	799,294	"
Manitoba imports.....	7,690	"
British Columbia imports..	167,272	"
P. E. Island imports.....	189,100	"

Total..... 4,493,803 galls.

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Coffee, green, 1888:

Ontario imports.....	41,838	lbs.
Quebec imports.....	340,928	"
New Brunswick imports.....	28,688	"
Manitoba imports.....	64,714	"
British Columbia imports.....	157,434	"

Total..... 633,594 lbs.

Besides 15,971 lbs. ground green coffee.

Corn meal from the United States, 1888:

Ontario imports.....	8,549	brls.
Quebec imports.....	1,668	"
Nova Scotia imports.....	104,446	"
New Brunswick imports.....	16,680	"
Manitoba imports.....	996	"
British Columbia imports.....	449	"
P. E. Island imports.....	1,405	"

Total 134,093 brls.

Oatmeal from the United States, 1888:

Ontario imports.....	74,560	brls.
Quebec imports.....	4,326	"
Nova Scotia imports.....	600	"
New Brunswick imports.....	3,927	"
British Columbia imports.....	139,838	"
P. E. Island imports.....	170	"

Total 223,421 brls.

Wheat flour from the United States, 1888:

Ontario imports.....	3,447	brls.
Quebec imports.....	25,452	"
Nova Scotia imports.....	8,300	"
New Brunswick imports.....	2,087	"
Manitoba imports.....	321	"
British Columbia imports.....	23,598	"
P. E. Island imports.....	45	"

Total..... 63,25 brls.

Glass and glassware, imported by us from various countries, amounting in value to the sum of \$1,125,166. Sugar and molasses they can get as well as we can.

HON. MR. POWER—As I understand, the hon. gentleman is quoting these statistics to show that the Argentine Republic imports the same goods that we import ourselves—that we could not send them there because we import them ourselves?

HON. MR. DEVER—Yes, that is it.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Does the hon gentleman mean to say that Prince Edward Island imports oatmeal?

HON. MR. DEVER—Yes; the quantity last year was 170 barrels.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—They are exporters of oatmeal.

HON. MR. DEVER—If you want to satisfy yourself, go to the Blue Books. I ask, then, how can we expect to compete with the United States in either Newfoundland or the West India Islands, seeing we can only hold our own in the few things that are native to our own country?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—We do it to-day.

HON. MR. DEVER—We can only hold our own in the few things that are native to our own country, such as sheep, apples, beef, biscuits, butter, cheese, cabbages, flour, lumber, dressed lumber, meat and poultry, oats, oatmeal, peas, potatoes, vegetables, etc., etc. But my hon. friend thinks that by putting on steamers on the several routes and subsidizing them we can accomplish everything. Might I not ask my hon. friend, cannot two play at that game—cannot Britain or the United States put on five steamers each for our one, and subsidize them also, sooner than give way to us? I rather think so, too. But now, Sir, we are doing well at present, and I am of the opinion that we have good value for our public debt, when we take into account our wheat fields of the North-West, with all their teeming wealth, which would still be unknown to us and to the world if not for our borrowed money and our gigantic public works, so much talked about. But, before closing, I wish to acknowledge one position taken by my honored friend, that, in my opinion, is worthy of endorsement—that is, where he lets politics alone, and says:

“But to capture this trade there must be more than fast steamers and improved postal and cable communication. We will never make the power of our own country fully felt abroad until, by the native merit of our own craftsmen, we force our wares, our manufactures of wood, of iron, of wool and cotton into the open markets of the world; until the products of our mines, and our forests, our fisheries and our farms, have, by the force and energy of our own people, been pushed into every opening where fair competition will meet with its reward. Not until this is done will our country occupy the prominent position which she is well fitted to fill, nor will she fulfil the high destiny which now awaits her.

“I have already stated,” he says, “that Governments may open the way to new markets, may remove obstacles, may subsidize steamers, but cannot compel its people to avail themselves of those advantages.”

And so say we all, I think, when we

leave party politics out of the question. But hon. gentlemen, if this be the true and only means of obtaining victory in trade for our country, what shall we do with that wonderful man our friend is looking after (at page 16 in his speech), where he says:

“That under the administration of such a man we may expect to see marvellous results in the export trade of our country.”

It would appear that we are waiting for some great man to lead the Government of this country before we can have this export trade. Well, I hope such a man will arise, but we may have a long time to wait. In fact, I would rather call on the gods of political reasoning on this point, and say:

“Let vain ambition have its flight,
Freedom is dear to all,
But he who soars the greatest height,
Will incur the greatest fall.”

HON. MR. POWER—I think the House is to be congratulated on one fact, that the discussion to which the inquiry of my hon. friend from Midland has given rise has brought out, for the first time for many years, the founder of the great National Policy. We must all have been pleased to hear the hon. gentleman from Quinté talking, perhaps not as enthusiastically as he used so do many years ago, but still talking in the same energetic, vigorous way, and laying down—not, I say, as enthusiastically as he did then—his adherence to the old policy which he had propounded himself. Perhaps it is to be regretted, although it is not unnatural, that this discussion, which was not intended perhaps for that purpose, should have become, to a large extent, a discussion upon the merits and demerits of the National Policy. I do not propose to treat it altogether in that way, and I do not think that the hon. gentleman who brought the matter before the House proposed to do so either. He called the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in connection with the proposition of the Government to open up and extend commercial relations with Australia, South America and the West Indies, and enquired if the Government proposed to introduce any measure in relation to the same. The hon. gentleman's intention apparently was, in the first place, to make some suggestions to the

Government as to the method in which our foreign trade might be increased, and then to ascertain what the Government proposed to do with a view to making that increase. That is not exactly a question of the National Policy. It is true that the hon. gentleman from the Quinté division stated in one part of his speech to-day that the object which he had at the time he introduced those resolutions was to cut down our importations, and I also understood him to say that he wished to curtail our exports; and he gave it as his opinion that if we could make this country what China used to be, so that we would be engaged in bartering with one another, and have no intercourse with the outside world, that would be the most desirable state of things. But even that hon. gentleman, before he got to the end of his speech, apparently took a different view, and seemed to think that an increase of exports was a desirable thing. And further, in the beginning of his speech he was inconsistent with the attitude he had assumed twelve years ago. At that time his resolution proposed that we should move through a reciprocity of tariffs to a reciprocity of trade, and he apparently thought that reciprocity with the United States was a very desirable thing. So I think we may take it for granted that we would all admit that a large trade is not a bad thing for a country. The hon. gentleman from Midland division gave us, in a very fair and, quite impartial manner, without, as far as I could notice, any shade of partizan spirit whatever, the opinions he had formed after a good deal of inquiry and observation on the matter he brought before the House, and after careful study of our trade and navigation returns. I think it is a fortunate thing for the House that we have amongst us a gentleman willing to give the time, attention and labor to this important subject that the hon. member has done, and I think he deserves the thanks of the House and of the country for what he has accomplished. When the hon. gentleman proceeded with the inquiry—this is about the way that I understood his speech—he took up the figures in the Trade Returns for the years 1874 and 1888; he went over those figures carefully, and the result which he arrived at and which he

pointed out to the House was that our import and our export trade had both fallen off in the interval between 1874 and 1888.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—In values.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes; that is the way you find those things in trade returns, as a rule. Here I may observe, *en passant*, with respect to the theory apparently laid down in the early part of his speech by the hon. gentleman from Quinté division, that the country which shuts itself out from the world beyond, and has trade simply amongst its own people, can never become rich. Commerce, since the beginning of the world, has been the mother of wealth; manufactures, when aided by commerce, do help to produce wealth, but the wealth of a country cannot be materially increased if there is no commerce with the outside world, as history proves. The wealthy countries have always been the commercial countries. The hon. gentleman from Midland division held, and very properly held, I think, that in a young country like Canada, in a country with great resources, with an intelligent, active and energetic population, this showing of our trade returns was a most unsatisfactory one. I think that anyone must follow him there who looks at the thing fairly; and he held, as a matter of course, that this state of things called for a remedy. He pointed out that other countries in America—countries which are not supposed to be peopled by populations with the same energy and enterprise as the people of Canada—were advancing rapidly; that their trade with the outer world was increasing steadily. He instanced the cases of the Argentine Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela. Now, surely the people of Canada have not to go to Uruguay and Venezuela to learn lessons of enterprise. I find, on going further into the statistics of other countries in America, that those countries which he instanced are only fair samples of what is going on over this continent. Then, having made the reasonable and proper point that this state of things calls for a remedy, the hon. gentleman looked around to see in what way we could remedy the present unsatisfactory condition of things; and he first considered the opportunities

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for a remedy offered by improved communication with Australasia, and he came to the conclusion, which I think any reasonable, common-sense man would come to, that there was practically nothing in it for us. The hon. gentleman from St. John came to the same conclusion, but by a different route. The hon. gentleman from Midland thought that the great distance of Australia from Canada was an almost insuperable obstacle to our doing any large business with that country, and the hon. gentleman from St. John considered that the fact that we had, as a competitor in Australia, free trade England as well as protective United States, was a reason why business cannot be done between Canada and Australia. This same matter of trade with Australia was brought before the Halifax Chamber of Commerce some two years ago by a gentleman who was appointed at that time as an agent to Australia, with a view of ascertaining whether there was any possibility of trade between the two countries; and the Chamber of Commerce, after listening very attentively to what this gentleman had to say, and after discussing the matter in a business-like way, came to the conclusion that, as far as Nova Scotia was concerned, the trade with Australia was not likely to develop very much business.

Then, the hon. gentleman from Midland division, having disposed of Australia took up the West Indies and South America, and pointed out how, in his opinion, the trade with those countries might be increased. I may say, as regards the Argentine Republic, a country which the hon. gentleman seemed to think we might have some trade with, the argument of my hon. friend from St. John quite expresses my own opinions. I think we would meet in the Argentine Republic with too much competition in almost every article that we could send there—a competition largely from England and partly from the United States, which we could not overcome. Experience has shown that to be a fact. The articles we can send there we do send. We send lumber there, and I imagine that is almost the only article we can send to that country.

HON. MR. DEVER—And fish?

HON. MR. POWER—I don't think we can send very much fish there. The Government, some three or four years ago, seemed to think there were possibilities of trade with South America, and subsidized a steamer to ply between Canada and South American ports. The attempt to build up a trade was a failure, and the steamer was taken off the line. I don't think that Nova Scotia can send fish to Buenos Ayres with advantage. Some may be sent there but business cannot be done with advantage.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Newfoundland sends fish there.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes; Newfoundland fish happen to suit that market better. In the same way the market of Brazil is supplied almost entirely from Newfoundland, and so is the Portuguese market. The fact is, the fishing business has been conducted in the Maritime Provinces for a great many years, and the merchants have found out just about the best markets that are available for their wares, and they have availed themselves of them, and I don't think we can in this House instruct those gentlemen as to the way in which they should conduct their business. The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg will hardly undertake, unless his people adopt a different mode of curing their fish, to compete with Newfoundland in certain markets in which their hold is recognized.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—They have advantages in their climate.

HON. MR. POWER—I agree with the hon. gentleman from St. John that our business with the Argentine Republic—and the same thing may be said as to Brazil—is not likely to be very profitable. The hon. gentleman who brought this matter before the notice of the House, in dealing with the trade of South America and the West Indies recognized the fact that we could not expect those people to buy from us unless we buy from them; and I was glad to notice that the hon. gentleman from Quinté division apparently took the same view, so I imagine that that is a sort of axiom which will hardly be denied. Then the hon. gentleman suggested

apparently a modification of our present tariff as being, possibly, a necessary condition of any great increase in commerce, because the figures which he produced showed that our importations from the West Indies and exports to the West Indies have fallen off, I presume under the influence of the tariff. Possibly it is not, but that appeared to be his impression, and I think that anyone who looks at the tariff figures will see that that is very likely correct. The duties on the higher grades of sugar—grocery sugars, as they are called, the article which we chiefly imported from the West Indies—are prohibitory almost, and we cannot buy it from the West Indies; and if we cannot buy it from them they will not buy very much from us. They do buy our fish, to a certain extent, because practically they have nobody else to buy from; and then, in a great many instances, instead of bringing cargoes back directly, the vessels which take fish out to the West Indies, and from Nova Scotia particularly, come back by way of New York, or some other port, with cargoes, and then bring other cargoes from New York or Boston to Nova Scotia. The hon. gentleman thought that even though we did adopt the measures which he recommended it would take considerable time to get the trade which has got out of our hands from the channels in which it now flows into the new channels which we would provide for it. The upshot—the conclusion that the hon. gentleman felt driven to—and I did not understand from his speech that that conclusion was in his mind when he set out in his inquiry into our trade relations—was that it was the duty of the Government to seek a remedy for the existing state of things in an extended trade with the United States. I gather from the hon. gentleman's language that he did not set out with that idea in his head at all, that he was driven to that conclusion by the facts which he ascertained. And there is this fact, too, if I may be allowed to refer to a matter which is personal to the hon. gentleman: he is just one of the men in Canada whose business would be most likely to suffer from a great extension of trade with the United States. But he pursued the subject in the spirit of a search for truth.

HON. MR. POWER.

That is the impression that his speech has left upon my mind, and I have no doubt that it is a correct impression, and when that search brought him face to face with an unexpected state of facts he accepted the situation, although it was not one he desired to be placed in. Towards the close of his speech, having put this state of facts before the House at much greater length and much better than I am putting it, he expressed the opinion that the period of preparation and expectation had lasted long enough in Canada, and that it was time for the people of this country to enter upon a realization of their hopes, and reap a reward for their long toil and vast expenditure; that it was time we were getting something for the immense sums of money we were expending for the improvement of our facilities for trade; and his conclusion was, as I have just said, that we should seek larger markets. The only larger market that suggested itself I have already referred to, but generally he thought that our farmers, our miners, and our manufacturers, too, should seek for larger markets, and that they should enter boldly—that is the point I admired about his speech—that they should enter boldly into competition with the world, asking only a fair field. His speech, I thought, was a thoughtful, business-like presentation of the whole case.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—He did not advocate free trade with the United States, though.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not know what the hon. gentleman thought about that.

It being 6 o'clock, with the permission of the House I shall move the adjournment of the Debate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Debate was adjourned until to-morrow.

The Senate adjourned at 6 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 13th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills, reported from the Committee on Banking and Commerce, without amendment, were read the third time, and passed :—

Bill (24), "An Act to incorporate the Dominion Life Assurance Company. (Mr. Vidal).

Bill (25), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada. (Mr. Macdonald, Midland).

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (M), "An Act to amend the Summary Trials Act." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (N), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting Interest." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (O), "An Act to amend the Summary Convictions Act, Cap. 178, in the Revised Statutes, and the Act amending the same." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (P), "An Act respecting the Expropriation of Lands." (Mr. Abbott).

PRAYERS IN THE SENATE.

MOTION.

The Order of the Day having been called—"Consideration of the Second paragraph of the second report of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts,"

HON. MR. READ said: I would ask the House, and would recommend, that the consideration of this matter be referred back to the Committee on Contingent Accounts.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Before the report is referred back to the committee, perhaps it would not be out of place to call the attention of this hon. House to something that came under my observation a year or two ago, and I think I am not the only one in the Senate who has observed the same thing: that is, that one of the principal prayers of the eight in the Book of Common Prayers on the Table before us is entirely omitted. If the House will permit me, I will read it:

"Almighty God, by whom alone kings reign and princes decree justice, and from whom alone cometh all counsel, wisdom and understanding, we, Thine unworthy servants, here gathered together in Thy name, do most humbly beseech Thee to send down Thy heavenly wisdom from above, to direct and guide us in all our consultations: And grant that we, having Thy fear always before our eyes, and laying aside all private interests, prejudices and partial affections, the result of all our counsels may be to the glory of Thy blessed name, the maintenance of true religion and justice, the safety, honor, and happiness of the Queen, the public wealth, peace and tranquility of the Realm, and the uniting and knitting together of the hearts of all persons and estates within the same in true Christian love and charity, one towards another, through Jesus Christ Our Lord and Saviour—Amen."

To my mind, this is the only one of the prayers prescribed that we as Senators ought to offer up, and I do not think that I am drawing too largely on my imagination when I say that a great deal of the uncharitableness that has unfortunately been displayed by members of this House is probably owing to the fact that this prayer is not read regularly before the beginning of our daily labors. I should like to know by whose authority or at whose suggestion this prayer has been omitted by our Chaplain for the last two or three years. I hope that the Government or some member of the House will enlighten us on that matter. In calling the attention of the House to this matter I wish it to be distinctly understood that I have nothing personally or otherwise against our genial Chaplain.

HON. MR. WARK—Has the hon. gentleman any objection to praying for the Queen? He says that this is the only prayer that should be used.

MON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—I said that of the eight prayers, to my mind this was the only one that was

peculiarly adapted for us as Senators, and I think that if the hon. gentleman will read all the prayers he will unhesitatingly come to the same conclusion. I merely ask for information why it is omitted. It would only require a minute or two longer to have it read with the others.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—The chairman has given us no reason for the reference back of the second clause of the report. We ought to be informed why it is referred back.

HON. MR. READ—I received this letter from the Rev. J. S. Lauder, and I will read it to the House, as I suppose some explanation is required why I would ask this to be referred back to the committee:

"OTTAWA, 1st March, 1889.

"The Chairman of the Contingent Accounts:

"DEAR SIR,—I wish to express to you my grateful appreciation of the kindness of your committee in recommending an increase of my salary as Chaplain of the Senate, without any application or solicitation, or even knowledge on my part that the question was to be moved. Understanding, however, that some objection is made to this recommendation, which, unless acceded to unani- mously, would be most distasteful to me, and in order to prevent any unpleasant difference of opinion on this subject, especially as the sum involved is so small, I would feel much obliged if you would ask the committee to reconsider the subject.

"I am, &c.,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) J. S. LAUDER."

The motion was agreed to.

SECOND READINGS.

The following Bills were read the second time without debate:—

Bill (51), "An Act respecting the Pontiac and Pacific Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (45), "An Act to revive and amend the Act relating to the St. Gabriel Levee and Railway Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (41), "An Act to incorporate the Calgary, Alberta and Montana Railway Company." (Mr. Turner).

Bill (39), "An Act respecting the Hamilton Central Railway Company." (Mr. Sanford).

HON. MR. McINNIS (B.C.)

Bill (59), "An Act respecting the South Ontario Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (47), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Kingston, Smith's Falls and Ottawa Railway Company." (Mr. Sullivan).

Bill (33), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Prescott County Railway Company," and to change the name of the Company to the 'Central Counties Railway Company.'" (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (40), "An Act respecting the Lake Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to 'The Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company.'" (Mr. Turner).

Bill (42), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company." (Mr. Merner).

ST. LAWRENCE AND ATLANTIC JUNCTION RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved the second reading of Bill (54), "An Act respecting the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Junction Railway Company."

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will tell us the terminal points between which this road is to run.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The Bill merely asks for an extension of time for the completion of the work within seven years.

HON. MR. POWER—Where is the road?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I think it commences at a point near Caughnawaga.

HON. MR. POWER—Where does it go to?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—From the Atlantic and North-Western Company's bridge to Sherbrooke.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Had we a similar Bill up last Session?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—This charter was granted in 1885, I believe, and the Bill merely asks for an extension of time.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

RULES OF COURT IN RELATION TO CRIMINAL MATTERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (55), "An Act respecting Rules of Court in relation to Criminal Matters." He said: This Bill has been introduced for the purpose of remedying a difficulty that has occurred in the administration of justice mainly in the Provinces under the jurisdiction of English common law. The difficulty is that it has been doubted, and I believe in one or two cases held by the courts that these courts have no jurisdiction to make rules of practice with regard to criminal matters, or even *quasi* criminal matters. This Bill has been introduced for the purpose of simply declaring that such power exists, or granting such power if it does not exist, to all courts having jurisdiction over criminal matters, not only as respects criminal trials, but with respect to such matters as come before the courts as *quasi* criminal matters. There are one or two alterations which may have to be made to the Bill when it comes before the committee. In the meantime, I ask that the Bill be allowed its second reading.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

STEAM VESSELS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. SCOTT moved the second reading of Bill (60), "An Act respecting Steam Vessels to be used in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway." He said: This Bill sets forth that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company are desirous of acquiring ocean steamships of the first-class for the purpose of establishing a steamship line across the Pacific Ocean in connection with their railway. They ask the authority of Parliament to be allowed to issue bonds on the security of the steam-

ships, not exceeding in amount the cost thereof, the proceeds of such bonds to be applied exclusively in aid of the purchase or construction of such steam vessels.

HON. MR. McINNES—I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if this is the Bill that proposes a subsidy to that company.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is no Bill proposing a subsidy.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Under their charter the company have the authority to own and run steamships, and they propose to run a line of steamships across the Pacific Ocean in connection with their railway, and they ask for this authority to issue bonds on the security of the steamships. It has nothing to do with subsidies.

HON. MR. McINNES—I was not in the room when the Bill was introduced, and I took it for granted that it was a Bill to grant a subsidy to the company.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

HON. MR. SCOTT moved that the Bill be referred to the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors.

HON. MR. POWER—I think it is only fair to the hon. member to say now that when the Bill comes before the committee I shall take objection to the fourth clause, which I think is an undue interference with the general law.

IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE OF THE DOMINION.

ENQUIRY.

The Order of the Day having been called,—

Resuming adjourned Debate on motion Hon. Mr. Macdonald (Midland), viz.:—That he will call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in connection with the proposal of the Government to open up extended commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies; and will enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure in relation to the same?

HON. MR. POWER said: I regret that I did not conclude yesterday afternoon, but I shall endeavor to get through as quickly as possible to-day. Briefly, the substance of what I said yesterday was that the hon.

gentleman from the Midland division had been impressed by the fact that both the exports and imports of this country had fallen off during the last few years, and that they were less now than they were sixteen years ago; that he considered that an unfortunate state of things, and had been induced to look around for a remedy. One which had been suggested, and which did not seem to commend itself to his judgment, was an attempt at extended trade with Australasia. Another remedy which the Government apparently propose to adopt, to some extent, was an effort to increase our trade with South America and the West Indies. The hon. gentleman apparently thought that it was possible to increase our trade with those regions; but he did not think that that increase was one which was at all sufficient to meet the case. He came to the conclusion, and stated as a fact what I think is generally admitted, that we wanted more extended markets, and that the only chance which the different classes of producers in this country had of getting a market which would in any degree satisfy their needs, was by extended trade relations with the neighboring Republic. Now, I think the hon. gentleman from Midland was perfectly right. What we need above all things is a market or markets. Some years ago our object was to produce more; and there were markets in former years for all or nearly all that we produced. The difficulty now is that we have not markets for what we produce. To-day the wheat of our farmers is met in the European markets not only by the wheat of the United States and Russia, as it was in former years, but it is met by the wheat of India and South America, and I think to some extent by the wheat of Australasia. Wheat coming from India and other warm countries is more and more supplying the English demand, and we in Canada have to make up our minds that the English market will not be to us again what it has been in the past. Our farmers, some years ago, directed their attention to raising meat for the English market, and for a while that was a business which promised fairly well. To-day, I think that business gives very little promise. South America and Australasia have, I think, rather worsted Canada in the English meat market; and it is necessary for

our farmers to look about for other markets for their produce. No doubt they will be obliged to vary the form of their productions, but if they are to prosper they must find markets. I am glad to say that a large proportion of the farmers in the Province from which I come have now a very good market for their fruit in the old country, which I hope they will be able to retain; although I see that in some of those other countries to which I have referred they are beginning to attempt to raise fruit for the English market. I read in a paper yesterday that in one Province of Australia they have tried the experiment of sending a box of apples home to the old country and back again, and they found when the box came back to Australia the fruit was perfectly sound and fit for use. I fear that experiment indicates that the farmers of Nova Scotia and of some of the other Provinces will, before long, have to meet the farmers of Australia in the English fruit market. It is perfectly clear, I think, and admitted, that at the present time the farmers of this country are in urgent need of markets for their produce.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The great distance will prevent the development of the Australian trade.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman says the great distance will prevent Australia from doing the business, but one would suppose that meat was an article which would be particularly affected by the distance. Still, I think South America, and Australia are doing a good deal towards supplying the English meat market. At any rate, our farmers are not able to do it as they have been doing it. It is recognized that Canada is one of the richest countries in the world in mineral wealth but that wealth is largely undeveloped. The development which our mineral resources have received so far is infinitesimally small, and the absence of that development is owing chiefly to the want of a market, and largely to want of capital. If we had a large and profitable market for our minerals, I have no doubt that money would flow in both from the mother country and from the United States to develop them; so that our mineral wealth needs a market. Then our

fishermen, another very large class of the population, are at the present time handicapped in their business. Certain kinds of fish—mackerel, for instance—have no other market than the United States, and in that market they are met with a very heavy duty; and, competing as they do with the American fishermen, this duty is a very heavy drawback to our fishermen. In the Spanish West Indies our codfish and other fish are met with very high duties, which place us at a very great disadvantage in trading with those islands. A very large proportion of the fish of the Maritime Provinces—of Nova Scotia, at any rate—was shipped to the Spanish West Indies in other days. Owing to the operation of our tariff our vessels, which might carry fish to the West Indies, do not get return cargoes, and consequently the trade has fallen off. Even the lumber business is susceptible of very considerable improvement. It is better now than it was twelve years ago, I suppose; but it is not what it might be. The class who have been especially favored by the present Government—the manufacturers—are in an unsatisfactory condition; they have been very much embarrassed by over-production. I think, as the hon. gentleman from the Quinté division referred to a debate which took place in 1877, I may be allowed to quote a few words from a speech which I made on 5th April of that year in the course of the debate on the resolution introduced by the hon. member. I said:

“It was clear that if we put an additional duty upon any article as, say, boots or shoes, the tendency of that duty would be to take something additional out of the pockets of 10,000 people who use the article in order to put it into the pocket of the owner of the factory where it is made. Then again, undue protection was likely to lead to over-production and consequent loss, both to the manufacturer and his workmen, who were prone to forget that a comparatively poor country, with a population of less than four millions, did not afford an unlimited or inexhaustible market for the products of their capital and labor.”

Now, I think the expectation that I gave expression to then has turned out to be well-founded. We know that in almost every department of manufactures the result which is referred to there has arrived. One thing I did not anticipate (I was not as wise as I might have been, if I had known a little more of business), was that in order to met the difficulty arising from over-production manufacturers would re-

sort to combinations with a view to limiting production and keeping up prices. I do not propose to say anything against the manufacturers because they have resorted to combinations in order to limit the production to the wants of the market and to keep up prices; but that was something that was not anticipated in 1877, or even when the National Policy was introduced in 1879, and that state of things, I take it, is bad for all parties. It is bad for the manufacturers; because they are obliged to work on short time; they are obliged to close or partially close some establishments, and they are not able to invest or utilize all their capital, as they might do if there was a market which took all their produce. It is bad for the laborers whom the manufacturers employ; because, as we find every little while, the laborers are worked on short time. They are not employed during the whole year, and owing to over-production and to the large supply of labor the employers of labor here are in a position to keep wages down to comparatively low figures. Then it is bad, particularly bad, for the consumers. The vast majority of our people are consumers. The manufacturers, even if you add the workmen whom they employ, are a very small minority of our population; and the whole of our consuming class are obliged now to pay more for those articles than they would pay if the manufacturers did not resort to combinations. There is no doubt about the position that every large class of our population needs a larger market. We are over-producing, or have the capacity for over-producing in almost every department of trade and commerce and in all industrial occupations. I do not think that the relief for that state of things can be sought in trade with the West Indies and South America. Those countries, under any circumstances, afford a comparatively limited market, which is still further limited by the operations of our tariff. In order to give hon. gentlemen some impression of the position of things in regard to that trade I shall quote a few figures from the trade returns. I take the West Indies. Our exports were:

· In 1873.....	\$ 3,988,493
In 1878.....	3,414,147

That was the time when everything

was in such a wretched condition, according to the hon. gentleman from the Kennebec division, and other hon. gentlemen who see through the same spectacles. In 1888, under the operation of the beneficent policy introduced by hon. gentlemen opposite our exports to the West Indies had fallen off to \$2,601,486. They are 50 per cent. lower than they were in 1873, and about 40 per cent lower than they were in 1878. Our imports from the West Indies have not fallen off; they have slightly increased. In 1873 our imports were \$2,174,932; in 1877, which was an exceptional year (I do not exactly know for what cause), our imports dropped to \$1,033,849. In 1888 they were \$3,268,663. Our total aggregate trade with the West Indies was as follows:—

In 1873.....	\$ 6,163,425
In 1877.....	4,397,996
In 1888 (after a lapse of 16 years.....)	5,870,149

So that one of the regions with which the hon. gentleman gave us to understand the National Policy largely increased our trade really does less business with us now than it did in 1873. It is not to be wondered at that the business has fallen off when we look at the duties which are paid on the articles imported from those countries. The total value of our imports from the British West Indies in 1888 was \$818,393, and the duty on those articles was \$249,592. The total value of the imports from the Spanish West Indies was \$2,434,835, and the duty on that was \$1,581,322. The value of the imports from Brazil was \$681,482, and the duty on that was \$458,364—the duty was two-thirds the value of the imported articles. But the hon. gentleman said something about British Guiana. The value of our imports from British Guiana in 1888 was \$182,267, and the duty was \$181,865. So the duty on our importations from British Guiana was, practically, 100 per cent. on the value of the goods imported. How can we expect to trade with a country under those circumstances? It is absurd to talk about a line of steamers creating a trade where the trade pays such duties as that.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Was that on refined sugars?

HON. MR. POWER.

HON. MR. POWER—No; the figures I have given are our total importations from the West Indies, Brazil and British Guiana. The hon. gentleman was anxious to get the figures for sugar; I will give them. The figures for melado, the material imported for sugar refining purposes, are these: In 1888 we imported of melado, direct for home consumption, to the value of \$4,092,264. We paid as duty on that \$2,713,893 something over 60 per cent. We imported, not direct from the place of production, \$576,833 worth, and the duty on that was \$378,976—somewhere in the neighborhood of 70 per cent. Now, I think it is hardly necessary to say anything more about trade with the West Indies. It is perfectly clear that the hon. gentleman who brought this matter before the House was justified in stating that if we wished to carry on any extended trade with South America and the West Indies we should be obliged to modify our fiscal system somewhat. I am not going to say myself whether we should modify it or not. The question as to whether it is better to have large sums of money made by sugar refiners in Canada, or that our people should get sugar a couple of cents a pound cheaper, although it might look simple on the face of it, is somewhat complicated, and I do not wish to go into it. I notice that the hon. gentleman from Midland and Kennebec did not agree with regard to the character of the steamers which should be put on this West India route. The hon. gentleman from Midland thought we should have a steamer of a superior character, which should make twelve or fourteen knots an hour, and of about 2,000 tons.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Yes.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman from Kennebec thought that the kind of steamer we wanted was a vessel of 1,200 tons, or thereabouts, which should make about ten knots an hour. I do not undertake to decide between two high commercial authorities like those gentlemen. I can only say that, if there is anything in the theory that business is to be increased by steam communication, then the better the steamer the more likely it is to attain that end. The kind of steamer

suggested by the hon. gentleman from Kennebec would not be much swifter than the brigantines that now run between Nova Scotia and the West Indies. They make the voyage out in about a fortnight, and sometimes make the round trip in little more than a month. I do not think that vessels of the character that the hon. gentleman suggested would make the trip in less time. There is this further objection to steamers for the West India business: as the hon. gentleman who brought the matter before the House, to some extent admitted, the markets in those islands are limited. Taken all together they afford a considerable market, but each island, taken by itself, affords only a very limited market. A steamer of the character described by the hon. gentleman from Midland, if she took a full cargo to any place, say Kingston, Jamaica, would completely swamp the market. That is a matter with which I have no personal acquaintance; but I have spoken to a gentleman who has had a great deal to do with the West India business, and is familiar with the subject. He gave me an explanation of it: A steamer runs from Halifax to Jamaica, and she brought a cargo of fish there the other day. Before that vessel arrived in Jamaica fish were worth 28s. a quintal; and after that the cargo she brought had so glutted the market that fish went down to 22s. or 23s., and the price has never gone up since. As I said yesterday, the merchants of the lower Provinces have been carrying on this business for a great number of years. They are intelligent men, and have a fair idea as to how the business should be done, and the way they do the business is with small, swift-sailing brigantines. A brigantine, calling at a place like Kingston, does not breakdown the market. She brings enough to supply the existing demand; and if the whole cargo cannot be sold there the vessel goes to another port; but Kingston is about the only port in Jamaica that a steamer could enter. I think the policy of paying a large subsidy to a steamer to compete with the sailing vessels in the West India business is a very doubtful one. I do not know enough about it to pronounce whether it is good or bad, but I think it is a doubtful policy; and I do not look with any enthusiasm on the prospect of this subsidy. I think

the probabilities are that the subsidized steamer will do nearly as much harm to the existing trade as she will do good in the way of promoting trade in articles with which we do not now supply those islands. I notice, too, another fact: the hon. gentleman wondered why we do not supply flour to the West Indies in greater quantities. I observe that in a speech which the hon. gentleman made before the Toronto Board of Trade he read a statement from Mr. Burns, the landing surveyor at Antigua, with respect to articles which that small colony could take and Canada could supply. In that statement there are remarks appended to several of the articles, and opposite the article of "wheaten flour," I find this note—"Canada flour, as a rule, is of too high a grade. It costs too much and does not keep well in the tropics." That fact, in itself, sufficiently accounts for our not sending flour to the West Indies. I know that merchants who trade with the West Indies make the same remark. They say that flour produced in southern countries suits the market better than flour produced in northern countries. I see opposite "meal," in this statement of Mr. Burns, the same remark made as is made with respect to flour; and opposite "oats" I find that Canadian black oats find no market. These are three very large items, articles which we produce largely and which one would suppose we ought to be able to supply the West Indies with; but with the explanation given by this gentleman, who, from his connection with the Customs Department at Antigua, knew what he was talking about, we see there is a very simple reason why we do not supply them. As to Brazil, there has been some increase of trade of late, but we cannot do very much business with that country, because we cannot compete in the open market with England in most things, and we cannot very well compete with our United States rivals, who are assisted by a great many steamers. We did put a steamer on that line some years ago, and it was found that no profitable business could be done. Of course, it is perfectly true that the English markets are open to us. We do not need any change in the British tariff to get in there. We do a good deal of business with England, and I do not think there

is any way in which we can increase that business. It seems to me that every one who looks at this matter fairly will be driven to the conclusion to which the hon. gentleman was driven—that any large measure of substantial relief from what I may call the present congested condition of our industrial affairs can be sought only in freer trade relations with the United States. Hon. gentlemen talk about a home market; gentlemen who are opposed to reciprocal trade tell us to look to the home market. I quite agree with them as to the value of a home market; but what would the position of affairs be if the duties were taken of the trade between this country and the United States? We would have a home market then of 70,000,000 instead of 5,000,000. If the home market is a good thing let us enlarge it. Gentlemen talk of the advantages of interprovincial trade. If it is a good thing for Ontario, for instance, to trade with 500,000 people in Nova Scotia, or 800,000 in the Maritime Provinces, would it not be a better thing to trade with all the millions of people who are nearer to Ontario in the United States? The fact is, it cannot be denied—any one who looks at the map must see—that the natural market of the greater part of this country is the United States.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—They have a surplus of the same products.

HON. MR. POWER—How does that affect the matter?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—How would that relieve our congestion?

HON. MR. POWER—If the hon. gentleman will wait I shall try to point that out. I say that the United States is our natural market. Ontario lies between Michigan and Ohio and New York States. Is not her natural market—that is, if there is anything in this talk of a home market—in those States lying alongside of her? Is it not more natural that the people of Ontario should deal with their neighbors in those States than with the people of Nova Scotia, 1,200 miles away, particularly as Nova Scotia has to be reached by rail? In Nova Scotia the United States has always been our natural market. Under the Reciprocity Treaty the United States took almost everything we raised,

and we were able to buy there to advantage what we happened to require. They took their pay in our products and they gave us back theirs. When we deal with Ontario, as a rule we have to pay in cash.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—But the United States had a civil war on their hands while the Reciprocity Treaty was in existence?

HON. MR. POWER—The United States bought, for instance, our gypsum, our coal, our cordwood, our vegetables, our poultry, and they still buy our eggs. Gentlemen laughed at Mr. Wiman's "unprotected hen," but the fact that we sell over \$2,000,000 worth of eggs to the United States shows how, in a very small article, where trade is free, there is an immense business done. Hon. gentlemen might ask why they do not produce eggs in the United States as well as we can; it ought to be as good a country for producing eggs as Canada, but it seems that it is not. Anyone would say, as I have said, looking at the map, that our natural market is in the United States. In the Province of Quebec they could find a market just across the line for much of their produce if they were allowed to go there and sell it. Perhaps I might be allowed here to digress just a little. I know it is very often said, in reply to arguments such as I am using, "Look at the farmers of the Eastern States? They have this immense market that you speak of, and see how poor they are. They are leaving their farms and going out to the west." The Liberal party have been accused of crying down their own country, a thing that they have never done. They have cried down the Government, just as our friends opposite cried down the Government in 1877-78; but we have never cried down the country. What we say is this: that a country with such natural wealth as Canada has should not be in the position she is in to-day, and would not be in that position if our affairs were properly administered. Now, look at the New England States. What sort of country is that? It is a country which has practically no natural advantages whatever—a country with a barren soil, without lumber, except in the State of Maine, without mineral resources and without any of the natural advantages that Canada has. New Hamp-

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shire, which borders on our Eastern Townships, is a State made up almost altogether of granite hills; and I heard long ago, when I saw something of Americans, that in that State the country was so poor that when they sent their sheep out to graze in the spring they had to sharpen their noses so that they might get down between the stones at the grass. I cannot understand how any Canadian who knows anything about his country can undertake to institute a comparison between the New England States and Canada as regards natural resources. One might as well ask why our people had not settled on Labrador or Anticosti. Our farmers settle in that part of the country which is fit for farming. I said that I would undertake to produce a few statistics to show that what one would naturally expect from looking at the map and from one's general knowledge of the two countries is actually the case. The authority from which I quote is one which I presume hon. gentlemen opposite will not question. It is the "Canada Statistical Abstract" for 1886, and the figures are prepared by Mr. George Johnson, an officer of the present Government. The book, from page 214 to page 224, deals with the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and its effects, and I would commend those ten pages to the serious consideration of my hon. friend from Lunenburg. What do the statistics show of the effect of the Reciprocity Treaty? Before the Reciprocity Treaty it is well known that things were pretty much in the same position in which they are now. At page 219 this book says—Mr. Johnson takes that plan of averages, which is supposed to be fairer than taking a single year:

"It will be seen that during the above-mentioned period of five years (before the Treaty) the average annual trade of each Province with the United States was as follows:—

PROVINCES.	AVERAGE.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Total Trade.
	\$	\$	\$
Canada	10,150,712	6,578,521	16,729,234
Nova Scotia.....	1,751,416	866,085	2,617,501
New Brunswick...	2,271,497	464,008	2,735,505
Prince Edward Island.....	136,923	100,881	237,805
Total	14,310,548	8,009,485	22,320,045

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—The balance of trade being greatly in favor of the United States?

HON. MR. POWER—Yes. He says :

"While the average aggregate trade of the Provinces was \$22,320,045 per annum the total excess of imports over exports, being the balance of trade in favor of the United States, amounted during the five years to \$31,505,262, an average annual excess of \$6,301,052."

As to the balance of trade theory I am not clear, but those are the facts. Now, we take the first six years under the treaty. I had better read again:

"From the above it appears that the average annual trade of each Province during the first six years that the treaty was in force was as follows:—

PROVINCES.	AVERAGE.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Total Trade.
	\$	\$	\$
Canada.....	19,042,891	15,367,307	34,410,198
Nova Scotia.....	3,272,130	2,187,469	5,459,599
New Brunswick	3,377,786	919,502	4,297,288
P. E. Island.....	246,604	277,229	523,833
Total.....	25,939,411	18,751,507	44,690,918

During the first six years after the treaty was in force the average yearly imports, in round figures, amounted to \$26,000,000. They had risen from \$14,310,000 to \$26,000,000. Our average yearly exports rose during the same period from \$8,000,000 to \$18,750,000. The annual average total trade of the five years previous to the treaty was \$22,320,000, and the annual average of the six years after the treaty was \$44,690,000; so that during the first six years of the treaty our average annual business with the United States was double what it was during the years previous to the treaty. This writer says, at page 221:

"Thus it will be seen that as compared with the preceding five years the total average imports of the Provinces from the United States increased 81 per cent., the exports increased 134 per cent. and the average total trade increased 100 per cent.

"During the remainder of the period, 1861 to 1866, say six years, the total imports averaged \$27,275,809 per annum, the exports \$23,291,501 per annum and the total trade \$50,567,310, being a decided increase over the preceding years, the increase in the amount of exports being larger than in that of imports."

I do not propose to read any more of this. There is more of the same general character in this work, but these are the kind of statistics that encourage people. If we had such figures as those now, showing such an increase, there would be little dissatisfaction; there would be few people talking of leaving this country and going to other countries; and immigrants coming to this country would not simply make Canada a stopping place and pass on to another country where they thought they could do better. The figures given by the Government's own officer establish the accuracy of the impressions that one would naturally get without reference to figures. Hon. gentlemen must remember that there is nothing like experience; and you find from one end of this country to the other that almost all classes of our population, except a very limited class of capitalists and manufacturers, and even some of those, are anxious for wider fields. You find all classes of our population who remember the old Reciprocity Treaty look back to it with a feeling of regret and with a desire that we should again have a similar treaty or a more extensive treaty.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. POWER—My hon. friend thinks he has scored a point, but I do not think he has. There is just a portion of one class of our population who are not anxious for unrestricted reciprocity; but I think it is true to say that every class, speaking generally and widely, of our population—the vast majority of every class, excepting the manufacturers—are anxious for unrestricted reciprocity with our neighbors.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—No, no.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman says "no, no." I do not think the hon. gentleman's leader in the House of Commons will say "no, no," and my hon. friend had better not commit himself too far, for fear that in the near future he may have to perform one of those gymnastic feats to which his leader is so well accustomed. Why the manufacturers should be opposed to unrestricted reciprocity with the United States I cannot understand. Our manufacturers are not infants any longer—at least, after ten years they should not be

infants; and if they have not got to be pretty robust after ten years' experience I think that they are not suited to this climate, and that they had better die, if they cannot now stand honest, healthful competition. Those hon. gentlemen who tell us that we run down the country and that we are always postponing Canada to the United States are themselves the greatest offenders in that respect. Why cannot Canadian manufacturers compete with American manufacturers? Has not the Canadian manufacturer as good brains as the American? Have not his men as good sinews and muscles? Can they not do as much work in a day as American workmen?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Why cannot a child compete with a man?

HON. MR. POWER—I think that our men are about as big as the men on the other side. Look at the facts! You go to the mills in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and what do you find? You find to-day the majority of the workmen in those mills are Canadians. Why cannot Canadian operatives work as well in Montreal or Cornwall as they do in Manchester, Lawrence or Lowell or Fall River? I cannot understand it. Why is a Canadian capitalist, whose mill happens to be located in Montreal or Cornwall, not able to do business as well as the American manufacturer who is located in one of the cities I have named, or any other city of the Eastern States. I believe that if our manufacturers were a little less timid they would find, when the swaddling clothes were taken off them and they were given a chance to have free competition with their neighbors, that instead of suffering most of them would be really better off. It is possible that some manufactures not suited to this country would go to the wall, but a great many have gone to the wall under the local competition. The hon. gentleman from Quinté division took the ground that there was no use in talking about reciprocity; it might be a very good thing, but we could not get it, and he referred to a resolution introduced into the United States Congress by Mr. Hitt, of Illinois, and said they do not want reciprocity with us—they want commercial union, with a view to political

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union. If the hon. gentleman has read the speeches made in connection with that matter, he will find that there was no desire expressed for political union. The United States are not anxious for political union with Canada.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—All their leading statesmen are saying it is the means to the end.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon gentleman cannot point out any two leading statesmen who made such a statement within the last year.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; a dozen of them.

HON. MR. POWER—We have their speeches, as reported in the *Congressional Record*, in the Library here, and if the hon. gentleman can point out that two prominent American statesmen have, during the last year, advocated the annexation of Canada, then I shall admit that I am wrong. It is true that Mr. Hitt's resolution was one in favor of commercial union; but that was the matter which had been brought under Mr. Hitt's notice, I presume, by a gentleman who sometimes acts as the agent of the Government in the United States, Mr. Wiman; and Mr. Hitt and the majority of the members of both Houses were under the impression that the people of Canada were in favor of closer trade relations with the United States by means of commercial union, and they almost unanimously agreed that they should have those closer relations. It makes very little difference to the United States whether they abolish their Custom houses on the border or not. I presume that, like our own Government, the United States Government would find it rather awkward to have to dismiss several hundred Custom house officers immediately; and the fact is, that any hon. gentleman who reads Mr. Hitt's speech will see that it is in favor of freer trade relations with this country, and, *pro tanto*, it is a speech in favor of unrestricted reciprocity.

HON. MR. HOWLAN—And trade with the West Indies.

HON. MR. POWER—I thought of saying something in reply to one or two hon.

gentlemen who preceded me. If I left the House under the impression that this book from which I quoted was, as a whole, the production of Mr. Johnson, I said what I did not mean to say. The book is published by the Department of Agriculture, and, as a whole, was prepared by Mr. Roper, one of the officers of the Department; though the statistics to which I refer are evidently the work of Mr. Johnson, because they contain references to Mr. Johnson's diagram in the end of the book.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—What is the name of the work?

HON. MR. POWER—It is the "Canada Statistical Abstract" for the year 1886. There are a great many things that I might say with regard to the speech of the hon. gentleman from the Kennebec division, but the hon. gentleman is not here, and the leader of the Government, I presume, will not object to the hon. gentleman from Midland replying to any criticism on his speech.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is a matter within the rules of the House.

HON. MR. POWER—I appeal to the House to say if it has not been uniform practice to allow the hon. gentleman who brings a matter before the House and makes an enquiry to have the reply? I am quite aware that the mover is not strictly entitled to a reply, but as a matter of courtesy it has always been granted; and in former years, when the present Sir David MacPherson brought financial quotations before the House, he always replied. I feel this way about it: that I have talked long enough for the patience of the House, and I would sooner leave the reply to the hon. gentleman from Midland division, if it is understood that he is to have a reply.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not understand that the hon. gentleman appeals to me. This is a matter within the rules of the House, to which any hon. gentleman can object and, to my mind, the whole practice of having a discussion for weeks upon a matter which can produce no result whatever is a very bad one. It appears to be permitted by the rule of the House, but I have no doubt whatever that the extent to which it is carried is contrary

to the spirit of the rules. The hon. gentleman wants to go further, and get up and make the question the same as if he had a substantive motion, to which he is allowed a reply. I cannot say what the House may think about it. I, myself, say it would be objectionable, but I do not undertake to say that if the hon. gentleman got up to speak that I would be the first to interrupt him. I have a great esteem for the hon. gentleman, and might not object to his having a reply.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I trust it will be perfectly understood that the hon. gentleman from Halifax does not rise to express my opinion, or does not rise to express any desire on my part. He is not my exponent.

HON. MR. POWER—Certainly not.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I understood the hon. gentleman to say just now that if he had supposed I was going to reply he would not take up the time of the House, and I want to put myself perfectly right.

HON. MR. POWER—The impression left upon my mind is that my hon. friend behind me will not be allowed to reply.

HON. MR. SCOTT—No; there is not that impression.

HON. MR. POWER—In the present state of doubt, the better way is to give myself the benefit of the doubt; and I shall make a few references to the speech of the hon. gentleman from Kennebec division. When opening, I referred to the broad and, if one may use the expression, unpartisan manner in which the hon. gentleman from Midland division had brought this matter before the House; but I regret to say that I do not think he was met in the same spirit. The hon. gentleman from the Kennebec division, I presume, may be looked upon as the exponent of the views of the Government on this question; and the spirit in which he spoke was altogether different from that in which the matter was brought before the House. The hon. gentleman dealt with the matter in a partisan spirit, and it struck me that he did not deal with it in a very frank spirit. In the first place, instead of taking up the question as it was

brought before the House by the hon. gentleman behind me, he took it up as being a question of the National Policy and of Liberal policy. That was not the question. It might be construed that way, possibly, or made to look that way, but that was not the question; and if our discussion is to be of much value it should be conducted in a fair spirit, and not by taking sides strongly with the Government policy or against the Government policy. Then the hon. gentleman from the Kennebec division used certain phrases which, to my mind, while they might do well enough for a partisan newspaper writer, were hardly the expressions of the kind that we should expect to hear from a gentleman occupying his position in the commercial world as well as in the political world. I thought that his expression "prophets of ruin and despair" might do very well for the columns of a party newspaper, but I did not think it was just the language in which to deal with a gentleman like my hon. friend behind me. How did the hon. gentleman begin? He give us to understand that we were the "prophets of ruin and despair," and the policy of his party was the policy of hope. They were hopeful. The fact is, we have been hoping now, ten years; it is a case of "hope on, hope ever," and I presume there is no hon. gentleman here, not even my hon. friend from Lunenburg, who has not heard the old saying, that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick,"

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Our hearts are not sick.

HON. MR. POWER—I think if the hon. gentleman goes to the fishermen of his own county or the farmers of Ontario, and tells them to keep on hoping, that they will think they have hoped long enough, and it is time that they were getting the wonderful benefits that were promised from the National Policy.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—So they have; they don't want any more.

HON. MR. POWER—I am afraid the hon. gentleman has not been around amongst the fishermen of his own county. We have been for ten years hoping, and are now worse off than we were at the beginning of that period. Trade is not

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prosperous to-day, and the value of real estate all over the old Provinces, from Ontario to Nova Scotia, is lower than it was twelve years ago.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—In the county of Lunenburg it is three times higher.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman's county is one which, I admit, can get along even in spite of the National Policy. The laboring classes are not as well off or not better off than they were, because why? The manufacturers get in their raw materials free, or at low figures of taxation, and keep out manufactured goods. The labor which competes with the workman, "the pauper labor of Europe," of which we used to hear in 1878, comes in freely, and in fact has been largely assisted by the Government to come in here and compete with the labor of our own people.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend is opposed to immigration.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the hon. gentleman had better try to draw his conclusions from what I say, and not interrupt. The hon. gentleman from Kennebec division spoke about the prostration of manufactures under the Mackenzie Administration, and particularly of the sugar business. There is one remarkable fact in connection with this manufacturing question, and that is, that the export of manufactures has fallen off very largely.

In 1876 we exported \$5,767,747 worth of manufactures. In 1888, after a lapse of thirteen years, we exported \$4,161,282. If my hon. friend wants the authority for this statement it is to be found at page 773 of the Trade and Navigation Returns. Then the hon. gentleman harped a good deal on our being impatient—wanting results too soon. I do not think that waiting for ten years, and wanting some result at the end of that time, is being unduly impatient. The hon. gentleman from the Kennebec division was impatient in 1878, when he had only waited two years, and the hon. gentleman from Quinté, and hon. gentleman on that side of the House were impatient, and did not think that this ruinous state of things should continue for another year. Now, they want us to wait for more than ten years. Manufacturers were impa-

tient then; now, nineteen-twentieths of the population are impatient. Of course it is very easy for the hon. gentleman from Kennebec, who is making very handsome profits out of his sugar refinery (it is not perhaps the proper thing to refer to the hon. gentleman's business, but he brought the matter before the House himself, and it is publicly known that he is at the head of the Canada Sugar Refining Company) to be patient, and he can afford to recommend the farmers, the lumberers, the miners, the fishermen, the mechanics, the merchants and the miscellaneous population generally to possess their souls in patience. I have no doubt that Pharaoh thought that the children of Israel were very unreasonable people because they were dissatisfied at the condition of things under which they labored under his rule, and that they should not have had any wish to leave Egypt at all. In fact, the conduct of Pharaoh would go to show that he thought the children of Israel were a very impatient and unreasonable lot.

The fact is, there was a good deal of human nature about the children of Israel, and that there is about the inhabitants of Canada, too, I think they will soon show. The hon. gentleman dealt with the question of the volume and the value of trade. The figures in the Blue Books were against him, consequently he could not deny that there had been a falling off in the value of trade; but he contended that the volume of trade was greater than it had been sixteen years ago. I quite admit that that is a fair and reasonable argument, and that there is a good deal of force in it. If there was a great and sudden fall in the value of goods generally that argument would account for a temporary diminution in the value of our trade. But a fall which has gone on gradually would not account for the fact that our trade to-day is less than it was in 1874. Hon. gentlemen will remember that during the last couple of years of Mr. Mackenzie's term of office there was a fall in the value of goods, but hon. gentleman did not make any allowance for that. They took the figures in the Blue Books, and pointed out that this country was going to the "Demnition Bow-wows," in fact. Then, why should we not do the same thing? At that time, it would be remembered, in 1877-78, there

was what there is not to-day—an almost world-wide stagnation. There is not anything of the sort now. I deny the hon. gentleman's allegation, as a whole. I say that while some goods have fallen largely in value other goods have risen. While there has been a fall in cotton, and iron, and steel goods, there has been a rise in the value of lumber and fish, and other things.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—In the last eight months.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman spoke about the free importation of raw material and about the increase in the importation of raw materials, and the hon. gentleman from Burlington also said a good deal about that matter, and gave us a table showing an increase in the importations of raw cotton, gutta percha, leaf tobacco and tin plate. I do not know exactly with what object those statistics were introduced. I cannot understand why the free importation of raw material should be limited to a certain favored class and to certain favored industries. What is the fact? Clothing, food, and the materials which enter into the construction of tools and dwellings, are really raw material to all the industrial classes. The laborer, the farmer, the mechanic, the professional man, the merchant, the fisherman—every man must dress, and must eat, and must have a place in which to lay his head before he is able to begin his work; and then, when all these classes have begun their work, they have to do without protection on the products of their labor. The means of living are the raw material of the average man. Then, why should all these classes be obliged to pay duties on the necessaries of life, their raw materials, particularly when the products of their labor are not protected to any extent, while the manufacturer gets his raw materials in free and then has the products protected? It is most unfair. Why should a very small fraction of our population be selected for such exceptional treatment? I cannot understand it. The policy of hon. gentlemen opposite is to do a good deal for a very small class, who will do a good deal in return for the Government, and to do little or nothing for the large classes, who, probably, would not

do very much for them in return. The hon. gentleman gave us a number of statistics, some of which, were taken from the trade returns and some apparently drawn from other sources. They were given to us, in the first place, without much system, and they were given to us, I venture to say, without any guarantee of their reliability.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. POWER—My hon. friend seems to think that is a strong statement. The best way is to verify one's statement by proof. As far as I have been able to test some of these statements, they are calculated to leave an incorrect impression. The hon. gentleman gave us figures from the English trade returns, and he stopped at the year 1886. I do not wish to be understood as imputing to the hon. gentleman any desire to mislead the House in any way; but, unfortunately, his statistics were not as recent as one might reasonably expect them to be. His allegation was substantially this: that, granting that our trade returns showed that our trade now was not as large as it was some years ago the same thing was true of England, and he gave us the figures for that country, beginning, I think, with 1879. Then he took those of the year 1886, and took the ground that there had not been any increase during those seven years. If the hon. gentleman had had more information at his disposal, and had given us the years 1887 and 1888, the result would have been very different. It happens that 1886 was the year in which the depression of business in England was greater than in any year for a long time; but even so, the figures did not bear out the hon. gentleman altogether. I refer the leader of the House, if he wishes to test the accuracy of my figures, to the "Statesman's Year Book" for the present year, page 271. In 1879 the value of the imports of the United Kingdom was £362,991,875 sterling. In the same year the exports of British produce were £191,531,753, and the total trade, including articles of British produce as well as foreign produce was £611,775,239.

In 1886, the year selected by the hon. gentleman from Kennebec, the imports were £349,863,472—that is about £13,000,000 less than in 1879. The exports

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of British produce were £212,433,754. Hon. gentlemen will observe that while the imports were a little smaller in 1886 than in 1879 the exports were twenty-one millions greater, and the total trade for 1886 was £618,530,489—that is £7,000,000 greater than in 1879; so that even if the hon. gentleman's figures had been the latest they did not bear out his contention. If he will refer to the work which I have just quoted he will find that in 1887 all these figures were considerably increased, and that in 1888 the imports into the country were £386,582,026. That is twenty-four millions greater than in 1879. He will find that the exports of British produce were £233,733,000—that is forty-two millions more than in 1879, and that the total trade of Great Britain in 1888 was £684,629,410—that is £66,000,000 greater than in 1879; and this notwithstanding the diminution in values. The diminution in value was particularly great in the articles which England shipped most largely—cotton, iron and steel goods. I think it will be seen that there really is not anything of much value in the argument which the hon. gentleman undertook to draw from the British statistics. If the hon. gentleman's statement had been correct to the fullest extent, and if the trade of England had not increased during the last seven or eight years, it would not be anything very remarkable. England is a very old country. She has been at the summit of the commercial wave for a great many years now, and looking at the number of competitors she has all over the world it would not be remarkable if her trade did not increase, or even if it fell off a little. She is not in the position of a country like Canada—young, fresh and vigorous, with a vast amount of virgin soil and wonderful natural resources. The fact that the trade of England fell off or remained stationary would be no sufficient reason why the trade of Canada should remain stationary.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—The value of the imports depends largely on the freights, which have been exceedingly low during the last few years.

HON. MR. POWER—I am not going to trouble the House with any more statis-

tics; but if hon. gentlemen care to do so they can refer to this same book; and they will look in vain throughout the whole continent of America for any country which occupies the same position as Canada. There is no other country—with the exception of Peru and Bolivia, which have been almost ruined by a war with Chili—in which the trade has not increased considerably during the period referred to. The hon. gentleman made some statement with respect to ship-building in the lower Provinces, and, as I understood him, he alleged that just now ship-building in the lower Provinces was rather prosperous. He said, "that the trade of ship-building has not been extinguished is proved by the fact that large quantities of wooden ships are built and economically and well run by sailors and seamen of the Lower Provinces," and the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg helped him along and said: "And they are increasing." The hon. gentleman from Kennebec said: "Yes, increasing." Now, what do the Blue Books show about this? The Trade and Navigation Returns for 1888 show that during that year there were built in the whole of Canada 231 vessels of all classes.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That refers to 1887, I suppose?

HON. MR. POWER—I speak of the last year for which we have returns. In that year we built 231 ships of all classes. That includes steamers as well as sailing vessels, and it covers all the Provinces. The total tonnage was 22,695 tons. We sold to other countries 35 vessels of 14,479 tons. I have not the figures for the other years, but I have the figures for 1877, given in the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1878; that is just ten years before. In that year we built 508 vessels of 127,297 tons. That is, we built nearly six times as much tonnage in 1877 as we did in 1887, and we sold 110 vessels of 46,329 tons; yet, 1877 was not, as we all know, a very prosperous year in that business. The hon. gentleman's ideas as to what constitutes prosperity in the ship-building business are evidently peculiar. There is not a town in Nova Scotia where ship-building was car-

ried on at all that would not, in a prosperous year, have built more shipping than the whole of Canada built in the last year for which we have returns. The hon. gentleman told us that the amount of fire insurance had increased considerably. Our population increased somewhat; our urban population, I regret to say, increased out of all proportion to the rural population; and then there are gentlemen who have made immense fortunes out of railways and manufactures, gentlemen who owe their prosperity to the policy of the Government. Those gentlemen have been building palatial residences in our large cities, and insure them for sums that the farmers of the country do not dream of. I presume that in the city of Montreal there are a sufficient number of residences of wealthy men and extensive business establishments built during the last few years to cover a large proportion of this increase; and then, of course, insurance is becoming more universal. The hon. gentleman also gave us figures for life insurance, showing a large increase. Everyone knows that with a very large proportion of our people life insurance is a comparatively new business, that it is only of late years that life insurance has become general at all. The business has been pushed in a more energetic way than it formerly was. One scarcely passes a week without being canvassed by an insurance agent for a policy. I really do not think there is a great deal of weight in the argument founded on those figures. The hon. gentleman repeated the old argument about the savings banks. I do not think it is necessary to deal with that. As a general thing, the large increase in savings banks deposits was due to the fact that those banks were used as a place for investing money in a safe way. But if the hon. gentleman looks at the late returns I think he will find that recently there has been a falling off in the amount of deposits, the Government having limited the amount that any one person can deposit, so that the savings banks will not be used in the future to as great an extent as formerly as a place of investment by trustees and others. Then the hon. gentleman dealt at considerable length with the sugar business. That is a subject with which he is competent to deal and in which

I shall not attempt to follow him. I know the Combines Committee of the other Chamber, before whom the hon. gentleman was examined as a witness (and he referred to the fact himself), said that Mr. Drummond was a remarkably able man and the committee were unable to get anything out of him—he was too smart for the committee. But there is just this thing—that the result of the combination in the sugar business is to give very large dividends to the owners of the sugar refineries and to make sugar considerably dearer than if there was no combination. I think that the evidence before the Combines Committee showed that when certain grocers in Montreal undertook to import refined sugar from Scotland they were dealt with in such a way as to prevent them from repeating the experiment. I think it would be discourteous to the hon. gentleman from Quinté division not to say a few words more than I have said as to his speech. He referred to the duties in the United States as being very much higher than ours—nearly double. The hon. gentleman, as to that point, differs altogether from his friend Mr. Hitt, whom he quoted as an authority on other points. I find in the speech of Mr. Hitt in the House of Representatives on the 1st of this month the following language:—

“The assimilation of the Canadian tariff to our own would not be a violent change. An elaborate computation made at my request by the Bureau of Statistics, issued May 31, 1888, giving the rates of duty imposed by Canada upon each article making up the \$30,000,000 of dutiable articles which were sold to the country in the last year, averaged 23·76 per cent. The duty estimated under our own tariff which would have been collected had it been applied would have amounted to 26·49 per cent., being a difference of only 2·73 per cent.”

So that the hon. gentleman is considerably out if Mr. Hitt's figures are correct. The hon. gentleman made some reference to the Intercolonial Railway traffic, and so did the hon. gentleman from the Kennebec division, and to the fact that Nova Scotia supplied the upper Provinces with a good deal of coal. It is a very fortunate thing that it is so, but hon. gentlemen must remember this, that the Intercolonial Railway is sinking about \$1,000 a day. While I think it most desirable that the people of the upper Provinces should buy coal from the lower Provinces it is a great pity that some arrangement cannot

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be made which would make the transport of coal cost the country a little less than that. In speaking of the improvement of trade, I do not think the hon. member was justified in mentioning that particular branch of it. I do not mean to say that the Government are wrong in paying some \$1,000 a day for the purpose of bringing Nova Scotia coal up to Montreal, but I do not think it can be claimed as being an indication of commercial success.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Does my hon. friend mean to say that it costs \$1,000 a day more in consequence of bringing coal up by rail?

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman can take the returns of the Railway Department; he will find that the Intercolonial Railway is costing the country more than \$360,000 a year.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that is in consequence of carrying coal on the Intercolonial Railway?

HON. MR. POWER—Largely that. The hon. gentleman from the Quinté division and I, although, like the hon. gentleman from Kennebec division and my hon. friend from Midland division, we do not reach the point by the same roads, do get to the same place at last. The hon. gentleman from the Quinté division, when he moved his resolution in 1877, proposed that we should reach reciprocity of trade through reciprocity of tariffs. We have had reciprocity of tariffs for some ten years now; and I think the general feeling of the people of this country is that it is about time we had reciprocity of trade; and I am glad to be able to agree with the hon. gentleman in thinking that the policy which he had a good deal to do with initiating twelve years ago will, ere long, produce the result which he aimed at, and that we shall soon have that reciprocity of trade with our great neighbor which is undoubtedly the most desirable thing for this country.

HON. MR. SANFORD—I have very great pleasure in joining, with others, in a tribute of praise to the hon. gentleman from Midland in introducing in this House a subject which is a source of so very general interest, and one which we have

all had occasion to consider. I trust before we conclude the debate we shall make clear many points which at present appear to be in doubt. We are indebted for the labor and time he has given to the preparation of the address which he delivered when making his enquiry. For all this we thank him very much, and although he left us perhaps a little in doubt as to the prosperity of our country and of its manufacturing interests, I am very pleased that that cloud has been dispelled, and I am sure we are more confirmed than ever in the conviction that Canada was never in a more prosperous condition, was never making greater progress—our manufacturing and agricultural interests were never more flourishing than they are to-day. I am in accord with any and every movement which has for its object an improvement of our trade relations with foreign countries. Anything that can be done to advance our foreign trade is a very important step in the progress and advancement of our country, and I do not propose, as I am in accord with the hon. gentleman's views with reference to the West India Islands and South America, to occupy your valuable time more than briefly to refer to that section where, I regret to say, he expresses the opinion that a profitable trade can not be established, *i.e.*, Australasia. I am fully of the opinion that no country offers a finer field to the manufacturers of our country than Australasia. The conclusion that I reach, as no doubt the conclusions reached by the hon. gentleman from Kennebec, are derived from a direct interest in the trade of that country. Australasia has an area in square miles little, if any, smaller than the whole of the United States, including Alaska, and a population who claim to stand first in their productive wealth, rating, if I remember right, \$2.11 per head, as against \$1.30 for Canada and \$1.70 for Great Britain—a people in nationality, dress, habits, and tastes the same as our own. Then, again, the value of labor in that country leads the manufacturing industries of Australasia to be proportionately neglected. I hoped to be able to present to you to-day, but at the last moment failed to secure it, a copy of a report prepared by Mr. Wood, who was the authorized agent of various manufacturers sent

to Sydney at the time of the exposition two or three years ago. I cannot find that copy, but I shall ask you briefly to note the remarks of Mr. Leavitt, of Sydney, formerly of Canada, as published in the *Canadian Journal of Commerce*. First, he informed us that the imports of Victoria alone for machinery were \$1,165,000 for the year; sewing machines, \$590,000; woollen goods \$3,965,000—I ask you to note the figures for woollen goods; I shall specially ask your attention to these goods, because I wish to refer to the experience of my own representative in Australasia—cottons, \$4,180,000, haberdashery, \$1,740,000; clothing, \$1,580,000; boots and shoes, \$615,000; bags, \$935,000; fish, \$810,000; spirits, \$2,045,000; paper, \$1,015,000; timber, \$3,580,000; iron and steel (not including rails), \$3,455,000; hardware (general), \$890,000. Now, we find that these imports, in part, consist of the very articles which we at present are producing and are able to produce in excess of our requirements. The British manufacturers are so fully alive to the importance of this trade that they have a weekly steamer from London, besides numerous freight lines. The French interests are represented by a semi-monthly steamer from the Mediterranean, the United States sending a line of steamers from San Francisco, with such connections as to ensure the trip being made in about twenty days, while Bismarck, realizing the importance of this trade to Germany, has put on the North Lloyd's steamers—all directing our attention to the importance of our cultivating trade relations with that country. Reference has been made to musical instruments, the importation of which, this writer tells us, is very extensive. W. Bell & Co., manufacturers of organs at Guelph, inform me by telegraph:

"We do a nice trade now, and can be further developed. Sailing vessels secure great bulk of the exports, and a similar line here is necessary to develop Canada-Australian trade."

That refers to an article which is very bulky. The next item on the list is sewing machines. The market is very largely in the hands of the Americans. You are aware, doubtless, that we have been exporting sewing machines to a large extent to England, France, Germany and other European countries, and I see no reason why we should not export

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sewing machines to the Australian colonies. R. N. Wanzer & Co., of Hamilton, informed me by telegraph:

"Equal shipping facilities with other competitors for Australian trade would largely increase our business. Prospects good."

Now we come to agricultural implements. I was surprised at the remarks made by my hon. friend from Midland with reference to the Massey Manufacturing Company, as they were not at all in accord with the impression so general that they were doing a profitable business in that country.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Does the hon. gentleman question my statement? It is over his own signature.

HON. MR. SANFORD—I was of the opinion, as I previously said, that the hon. gentleman labored under a wrong impression, not knowing the source from which he obtained the information. Hence, I telegraphed to Mr. Massey on the subject, to this effect:

"Debate in Senate favors increased shipping facilities with Australia. What success and encouragement have you had? Telegraph reply."

The following is the reply from the Massey Manufacturing Company, of Toronto, to this message:

"Yes; if we can compete with Atlantic route, and would largely assist the country generally. Our prospects there are encouraging; our machines have successfully competed with both American and English manufacturers."

I cannot see why Canadian manufactured goods should not compete with the same class of goods in any part of the world.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I rise to an explanation. The hon. gentleman has been good enough to read a telegram from the Massey Manufacturing Company in reply to one from himself which he saw fit to send them. I shall read an extract from my speech, and submit the matter to this House. These are the exact words that I used:

"They then determined to send their own agent, who certainly found a market for their goods, but found also some twelve or fourteen American concerns competing for the trade, and this firm states in its application to the Government that they find themselves so handicapped in the excessive duty which many of the articles used in the manufacture of their goods have to pay that, in view of the

great distance, the cost of postage, freight and other matters, unless these duties can be removed, or a rebate equivalent to such allowance made upon their exports, they will be compelled to withdraw from the trade."

That is their statement.

HON. MR. SANFORD—The hon. gentleman from Midland must not suppose for a moment that in reading these telegrams it was with any intention whatever of questioning his statement, but simply with a view of getting information as to the present position of the various manufacturers in reference to this market. I had been led to understand that these gentlemen were doing a prosperous business in Australia, and it is of the first importance to every manufacturing industry of this country that we should have, as clearly as possible, all the encouragement and all the pressure we can bring to bear upon the Government. I can only say, for my own part, that I feel very confident, from the encouragement which I have received through the representative I sent to Australasia, that if I had had the advantages in shipping which we are so desirous of obtaining that trade would to-day be paying a tribute of at least half a million a year to the skilled artisans in my employ. That is my conviction. I see no obstacle but one—increased facilities for transportation. Give us equal facilities for meeting our neighbors in Australasia and we will do a fair proportion of the business there. Knowing that the E. & C. Gurney Manufacturing Co., of the cities of Hamilton and Toronto, have been engaged, to some extent, in shipping to Australia, I wired them to ascertain the results. Their reply is as follows:—

"Australians willing to buy our goods, but cost and inconvenience of transportation so great as to make it impossible. Increased shipping facilities would encourage us to make increased efforts which must result in increased trade."

You can have no better illustration of the point which I want to impress upon you—that increased facilities of transportation will ensure the effort which will secure a fair proportion of the trade. When in London last summer, I had a conversation with a former representative of mine, who has been spending the last twelve months in London, mainly, I believe, for recreation. He undertook to introduce the method of heating at present being

manufactured by the Gurneys. You would be surprised to know that the Gurney Manufacturing Co. have secured through him the contract for the heating of two among the largest public buildings in the city of London, a large theatre—opera house—a very extensive opera house in the city of Vienna, Austria. Why? They had the article and they had the facilities of reaching the consumer. The Watrous Company, of Brantford, say:

"We are doing business in Australia; have no grievance, excepting dull times in Australia, arising from the drought."

That is something, I suppose, which no legislation on our part will entirely cure. A word with reference to the manufacture of furniture. It is true that the Bowmanville Furniture Company, as has been stated, sent shipments to Australia, which I have no doubt have not resulted in a pecuniary success. I presume it is very similar to an experience of our own. I sent a representative to Australia, who made a most satisfactory record, both in clothing and in tweeds, and other Canadian manufactured goods. His orders, owing to the wretched postal facilities, were not placed in our hands until six or seven months after his departure. In the meantime the Canadian manufacturers had completed the light weight goods and were manufacturing the heavy weights. They said: "We cannot change our looms; we are engaged with heavy goods; we cannot complete orders now in hand." You can understand that the people in Australia were not prepared to wait indefinitely, and we were obliged to write, regretting our inability to ship goods for which we had been to so great an expense in securing orders, and for which they had engaged to pay cash on delivery. The agent of my firm who represented our goods throughout Australia writes as follows:—

"Good demand for Canadian Halifax tweeds, and all-wool light weight tweeds in nobby, effective styles; children's clothing, boots and shoes, which should be a particularly good line; stoves, principally coal oil stoves for summer use, such as Wanzers; bleached and unbleached cotton, perfectly free from dressing of any sort; striped and checked shirtings and cottonades; buggy and waggon material, or bent stuff of all kinds, and wooden ware. Dressed lumber of all kinds in sailing vessels. J. Y. Schantz & Sons ivory buttons, and Canadian whiskey. I might say, in my opinion little or no business can be done with Australia without regular, direct communication, and freight rates that will compete with England."

Capitalists had under consideration the erection of a factory, for manufacturing on an extensive scale on the Pacific coast, furniture, with a view of supplying the necessities of these countries. If you take into consideration the proportion of timber and lumber of various kinds shipped from Washington and Oregon Territory and the fish sent from those territories, as compared with the shipments from British Columbia, you will realize that there is a mine of wealth on our coast undeveloped, and the closer we can make our trade relations with these people the more strongly will they call upon us for these articles of which we have so great an abundance. Another subject which I wish to touch upon briefly is trade with Japan. My representative returned from Japan late last fall, after a very protracted stay, in which he visited many points of interest in the interior as well as the sea-ports. He reports:

"A large demand for Canadian, Halifax and all-wool fancy tweeds, in light weights and nobby patterns; unbleached cottons, which must be without dressing; butter in $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1-lb. tins, and flour. I think that in the near future there will be a large demand for fresh Canadian beef."

The Japanese are rapidly acquiring a fondness for flour. The shipments of flour by steamers leaving Vancouver have, I understand, largely increased, until the shipment occupies a very large proportion of their carrying capacity. Here is a grand future for the wheat fields of our North-West and for our fishing interests on the Pacific coast. I may also add that the Japanese are gradually acquiring a taste for our dress, and the number of those who wear the European styles of clothes is very much larger now than it ever has been before, and is on the increase. They are very rapidly acquiring a taste for meat. At present their supplies are largely drawn from China, but that source is rapidly being exhausted; they must look to our vast prairies, and to those immense ranches on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains for this supply. We want especially the very best and most rapid line of steamers from Vancouver to Japan. I am quite in accord with the hon. gentleman from Kennebec in saying that we require a fair average line of vessels for transportation of our merchandise to Australia, and so soon as the Government see their way clear

to establishing those lines, I am convinced, from the evidence which we have on all sides, that the skilled artisans of the various manufactures of our country will be employed in producing large lines of goods for those markets, in competition with all sections of Europe and the United States, and that our shipments will continue to increase until they reach large proportions.

HON. MR. KAULBACH moved the adjournment of the Debate.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 6:05, p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 14th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

COLLECTION OF TOLLS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (L), "An Act respecting the Collection of certain Tolls and Dues therein mentioned." He said: This is a Bill for the purpose of transferring to what is considered to be the proper departments the control and management of certain tolls and dues. They are included amongst certain tolls now assigned to the Minister of Inland Revenue, are so provided by the Inland Revenue Act. The first clause of the Bill retains under the jurisdiction of that Department the administration of the laws affecting the culling, inspection and measurement of timber, masts, spars, deals, staves and other articles of a like nature. The clause which contains this provision in the original Act contains also other provisions which are repealed by this Bill, respecting other matters, and these are re-enacted to serve as a substitute to the original Act, leaving with that Department the laws respecting the culling and measurement of timber as before, but with respect to slidage and

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boomage dues they are to be under the control and management of the Minister of Public Works. He generally has officials charged with the supervising of repairs and management and working of such works as these, and it is considered much more convenient that he should also collect the dues, inasmuch as by that means an officer who at present has to be detached for that service is saved. With reference to the tolls on canals, and matters incident thereto, the collection of which is given by the present law to the Department of Inland Revenue, by this Bill, the collection of these tolls is given to the Department of Railways and Canals. At present, at every canal and lock there has to be a revenue officer as well as the person charged with the superintendence of the canal, and the idea is to endeavor to dispense with as many of those officials as possible. That is the object of the Bill.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Are we to understand the first clause of the Bill relating to the supervisors of cullers makes no change from the present law in regard to fees?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It make no change.

HON. MR. SCOTT—There is no contemplated increase in the fees of that Department.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It is simply transferring the collection of slidage and boomage dues to the Department of Public Works, and the collection of tolls on the public canals to the Department of Railways and Canals?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is all.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Is there any change made in the system by which such fees are collected jointly by the federal and local authorities?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—None whatever.

HON. MR. SCOTT—My hon. friend is aware that in connection with the revenue from slides and booms the Federal officers are united with the collecting officers of Ontario and Quebec, and I understood that a division was to be made immediately after this Session. This has no reference to that change?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No. My hon. friend will see that we make no change in that direction; it simply transfers the system of collection of tolls and dues to the different departments to which they more conveniently belong.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

MANITOBA AND SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. GIRARD moved the second reading of Bill (61), "An Act to incorporate the Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway Company." He said: The object of this Bill is to construct a railway from Winnipeg to the south-eastern frontier, a distance of about ninety miles. We have roads running to the west, to the north and to the east, but none running in this direction. There is no special legislation asked for, and I presume there will be no opposition to the Bill.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

ASSETS AND DEBENTURE COMPANY OF CANADA.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. SCOTT moved the second reading of Bill (22), "An Act to incorporate the Assets and Debenture Company of Canada." He said: This Bill is to incorporate a financial company. Its objects are two-fold, one being to purchase insolvent estates and act as collectors, assignees and liquidators; the other object is to act as intermediary between manufacturing and other incorporated companies and the loaning public. They ask for power to place debentures and bonds issued by such companies on the market. The Bill confers the usual powers granted to companies of this class, and it has been carefully scrutinized in the other Chamber. It was referred to a sub-committee, of which the Finance Minister was a member, and it will be referred to the Banking and Commerce Committee of the Senate, where every opportunity will be given to scan its clauses and see whether any more is asked by the company than is usually granted

to such corporations under similar circumstances.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

OTTAWA, MORRISBURG AND NEW YORK RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING POSPONED.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) moved the second reading of Bill (43), "An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway and Bridge Company." He said: The object of this Bill is to incorporate a company to construct a road from a point in or near this city to the St. Lawrence river, and to build bridges across the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence.

HON. MR. POWER—Unless I am mistaken, this is a Bill that was rejected on a report of the committee of this House last year. It is not printed in the form in which it passed the House of Commons, and I think we had better wait until it is distributed before the Bill is read the second time. I do not think we should get into the practice of taking up Bills in this House before they are printed.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Before taking up the Bill, I should like to have an opportunity to see what it contains. I do not think the second reading should take place until the Bill is printed.

The Bill was allowed to stand until Monday.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (46), "An Act to amend the Act respecting Queen's College, at Kingston." (Mr. Vidal).

Bill (44), "An Act to incorporate the Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society." (Mr. McClelan).

IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE OF THE DOMINION.

ENQUIRY.

The Order of the Day having been called,—

Resuming adjourned debate on motion Hon. Mr. Macdonald (Midland), viz.:—That he will call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in

view of and in connection with the proposal of the Government to open up extended commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies;

And will enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure in relation to the same?

HON. MR. KAULBACH said: Over twenty years ago the representatives of the various Provinces of British North America, possessed with high ideals and a noble ambition to lay deep and broad a great Dominion on this continent which would include all the Provinces, and animated with loyalty and a true patriotic spirit, combined for the accomplishment of this great purpose. Now, after a period of nearly a quarter of a century we can look upon the past, and with delight and satisfaction view the development and the great expansion of our country. We were then disconnected Provinces, knowing less of each other than we did of the United States. We were without communication, except through the neighboring country. Looking at our present position, contrasted with the position we then occupied, every patriotic man must experience a feeling of triumph when he realizes all that has been accomplished in less than a quarter of a century. Our country now extends from ocean to ocean; it is bound together not merely by ties of sentiment, but also by commercial ties, by a railway which unites us physically as well as we were before united politically. When we consider these facts, and listen to some of the speeches which have been delivered in this House in this debate, we must all regret the absence of one who has passed over to the great majority. I believe if he was in Parliament to-day many of the remarks of an unpatriotic character to which we have been obliged to listen would have been discountenanced at once. I refer to the late Senator Brown. He was a man who, whatever his views on political questions were, was at all times animated by a loyal feeling of attachment to the British Crown. I regret his absence from amongst us, because I am sure that his influence over the party of which he was, to the end of his life, the virtual leader, would have been sufficient to keep them on the side of loyalty and patriotism. I admire above all things in the Americans their love of country: they are first,

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last and at all times true to their own land. They never run down the Stars and Stripes, and they always speak of their country with pride and its future with hope. It is unfortunate that in this country some of our people are not animated by similar feelings, unfortunate that partisan spirit runs so high that men are ready to sacrifice every interest of the Dominion for party purposes. Some gentlemen on the opposite side manifest this spirit to a degree which, to me, is almost offensive. There are many gentlemen in this House who are not of the same political mind as myself, who yet are true patriots and who would not sacrifice the public interests or belittle their country for party ends; but there are others, and I am sorry to say we find them in Parliament as well as outside of it, whose principle is "rule or ruin." I regret it; nevertheless, despite this opposition from within and from without, Canada is developing rapidly, and becoming more prosperous every day. I regret that my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Power) is not present to-day, because his absence will detract very much from much that I would like to say. I should like to make a running commentary on his speech, and I regret that he should be conspicuous by his absence from the Chamber. At the same time, I feel that I must address myself to the hon. gentleman who introduced this question, in order to put myself straight in regard to his views, as expressed when he brought up the subject in the Senate. I believe that the deductions which my hon. friend from Halifax has drawn from the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Midland are not the deductions which the hon. gentleman himself has drawn from his observations in the West Indies, and they are certainly not the deductions which I have drawn from the remarks of that hon. gentleman. My hon. friend thinks he has a right to draw this conclusion—that having a knowledge of the different countries with which we might trade, viewing the state of this country under the National Policy, viewing the imports and exports which we have, the hon. gentleman from Midland has come to the conclusion that we have no alternative—that we cannot expand our trade in any other way except towards the United States—that that is the only place

on which our prosperity can depend. I am not misstating what my hon. friend from Halifax has said on that matter. In the first part of his speech he said:

"The upshot of the conclusion that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) felt driven to—and I do not understand from his speech that that conclusion was in his mind when he set out—his enquiry into our trade relations—was that it was the duty of the Government to seek a remedy for the existing state of things in an extended trade with the United States."

In his remarks yesterday the hon. gentleman from Halifax tried to impress upon the House that those were the views of the hon. gentleman from Midland division, which were, he said, that the exports and imports of the country justified our efforts to deal with the West Indies and South America. Now, I would call attention to what the enquiry made by my hon. friend is—"That he will call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in connection with the proposal of the Government to open up extensive commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies." Probably there is no man in this House who is more capable, from his travels, from his inquiries, from his observations in such matters, to call attention to them than the hon. gentleman from Midland, and none, under the circumstances, whose opinions should carry more weight. These are my deductions from the speech of my hon. friend: He is in favor of aiding the policy of the Government in advocating a direct trade by steamers with the West Indies and South America, thereby sending our surplus products direct to the consumers, instead of dealing with them through the United States middlemen. He wishes to see our external trade extended in every possible direction and in every possible way. The first duty he advocates is to produce all we can to supply our own home markets, and for the surplus to secure the safest and best markets. He does not favor unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. He does not propose discrimination against England in our trade policy, or to make our manufacturing industries a prey to the United States. That is the conclusion I wish to draw, and that is the conclusion that I believed my hon. friend wished to impress upon this House in the remarks he made,

and I pause for a reply from my hon. friend before I make any further remarks; because I think it would be unjust, and might change the course of my remarks to-day, if I have received a wrong impression. I would ask the hon. gentleman whether the conclusion which my hon. friend from Halifax has drawn from his remarks, or mine, is the right and proper one?

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I should think that I had been exceedingly unfortunate in my choice of language if any such question were necessary. I endeavored to put the matter plainly before the House, and I am utterly unable to conceive that the thing needs any further explanation than I have plainly put before the House.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I must then come to the conclusion that either my hon. friend from Halifax or myself is very obtuse, or that my hon. friend from Midland, in his speech, has left this matter very much in doubt.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—If there is any doubt about it the hon. gentleman can turn to the 13th page of the official report of my speech, and he will read these words:

"But I may be asked: Are these views in accord with my sentiments to which I have given utterance upon several occasions? They are in perfect harmony. No words of mine so uttered do I desire to recall; none do I desire to modify. As I thought then, so think I now."

HON. MR. KAULBACH—What my hon. friend's sentiments are I am yet at a loss to know. I will read to the House what the hon. gentleman said at a meeting of the Toronto Board of Trade less than two years ago, in order that no mistake may be made. At that time the Board of Trade met to discuss the question of reciprocity, and at the meeting the hon. gentleman took a very important part. The result of that meeting was that unrestricted reciprocity with the United States was condemned by a large vote.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—It was never brought forward—it was commercial union.

HON. MR. KAULBACH.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Then the *Mail* report of the meeting must be wrong.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—Read the report.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—What is the heading of the article?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—"Reciprocity voted down by the Board of Trade by a large majority."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Read what I said.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The article is very long, but as it is important I will read this part of it:

"The speaker proceeded to speak of what was to be got by commercial union, and asked, in the first place, what they were told must be transferred in order to get it."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—The hon. gentleman is speaking now of what I told him—commercial union.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Reciprocity was the motion before the Board.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—No.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—

"They were told that the fisheries must be given over, and yet some people told them those fisheries were inexhaustible. He did not pretend to say that it would be to our disadvantage, everything else being equal, to find a market with 60,000,000 of people. On the contrary, it would be an amazing advantage to have such a market, but where everything was dissimilar it would mean ruin, and only ruin."

There was great applause after the remarks of my hon. friend. Then he continued:

"In the year 1881 it was found that \$104,000,000 of capital was invested in manufactures in Canada. He never was a National Policy man, and he lost his election because he was bold enough to say that a Canadian with moderate resolution could fight his way against anybody, but he felt that they ought to be careful about doing anything to imperil money which men had been induced to invest in manufactures."

I presume the hon. gentleman meant then the adoption of unrestricted reciprocity would imperil the money invested in manufactures.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Just read the words. It does not say

reciprocity with the United States. Why introduce a word that is not there.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Reciprocity or commercial union with the United States.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Don't put in a word I did not use.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—There is applause again. The report continues :

"Supposing that one dollar had been added to that \$104,000,000 since 1881.

"Mr. R. W. ELLIOT—It has doubled. (Hear, hear.)

"Mr. MACDONALD said that might be, but he would take a more modest view, and supposing that even not one dollar had been added to that capital, he maintained that \$104,000,000 would not be worth 33c. on the dollar."

Then there was more applause.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—The applause was well-timed.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I suppose it was :

"He wanted to know if the bankers and business men were prepared to lose \$68,000,000? He thought every business man would say no. (Hear, hear). Some people were foolish enough to suppose that we could get our cotton goods into the United States. Not a single yard would get into the United States. (Hear, hear)."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Perfectly right.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman continues :

"The best grey and white cottons and shirtings in the world were made in the United States, and if the Canadian markets were thrown open to-morrow the Canadian factories might close up the next day."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Perfectly right; perfectly true. But if the hon. gentleman will allow me at this particular moment to say, according to the Finance Minister, that is not true. I contend that it is true, but the Finance Minister says we can fight our way in China against the world.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We are not talking about China.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—We are talking about our neighbors across the border. Those are the people that the hon. gentleman from Midland was saying were going to crush us out :

"He was not speaking disparagingly of a single Canadian manufacturer. He believed that for the short time they had been in operation they had done marvels, but what was eight years compared with one hundred.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—That is quite right.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman continues :

"Even supposing they had commercial union to-morrow, and next year every man's income were doubled, gold was not the only thing worth living for. (Hear, hear.) He very much mistook the feeling of the people of this country if they were prepared for the sake of gain to act dishonorably to the country that had fostered and cared for us, and preserved and protected us, and made us the most prosperous country on the face of the earth. (Applause)."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Hear, hear. If the hon. gentleman wishes to know, it is in reference to those sentiments that those words were uttered, that "not one word do I desire to recall or modify."

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am delighted to hear it. I thought I would put my hon. friend right before the House, although he was so guarded and so careful not to let me know whether the view which I took of his speech or that which my hon. friend from Halifax took of it is correct. I have, by reading this paper, brought him to admit that the synopsis of his speech that I have taken is a correct one.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—There is nothing in this speech differing from that; not a word, from the beginning to the end of it.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Then another gentleman rose at the meeting of the Board of Trade, Mr. Thomson, and said :

"That hundreds of thousands of dollars had been invested in this country for the purpose of manufacturing and producing for the needs of Canada, and he believed that were commercial union accepted that money would be lost, for they could not compete against the great country across the border, which, by a protective policy, had attracted the best artisans and skill in the world to her cities. The price of wheat was as high in Toronto as in New York, and the farmers would have little advantage in the event of a reciprocity treaty."

You see it was reciprocity they were talking about all the time.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—That is not my language.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The report continued :

"They would get no boon in return for opening their markets to American goods, but would open a door to a system by which small traders and middlemen would be ruined and reduced to a state which would re-act with a paralyzing effect on banks, factories and all industries. He supported the resolution also because of his strong British feeling, which impelled him to do nothing to weaken the bonds existing between Canada and Great Britain, but do all he could to strengthen it."

I am sorry to have taken up the time of the House so long, but I think it has not been unprofitably spent. Now, this expression is wholly in harmony with my appreciation of the remarks of my hon. friend, that reciprocity or commercial union, call it by whichever name you please, is, after all, the rapacious American Eagle, only with different plumage. It means simply and virtually commercial union—then annexation. I say now, as I said before, that every statesman in the United States who has given his views of the result of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union has stated that it was merely a step to annexation, and the hon. gentleman from Midland must know that the independent press of the United States have expressed the same opinion.

HON. MR. McINNIS (B.C.)—What did Senator Blair say the other day in the United States Congress—the only dissentient voice in the Senate?—that he voted against the resolution becoming unanimous because, as he said, it would prevent annexation.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; he was the *rara avis*. I am glad my hon. friend has found an exception to the rule. I say that not only every prominent statesman in the United States, but the organs of public opinion in the United States, have expressed the same view—that commercial union will lead to annexation. Now, I will read from an article published in the *Boston Herald*.

HON. MR. POWER.—I would suggest that my hon. friend dispense with that, as the articles were all in the *Citizen* this morning.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—This I clipped from the *Halifax Herald*, where it was published last week as an extract from the *Boston Herald*:

"There is hardly an industry carried on in this city that would not feel the stimulating influence in increased demand if the trade barriers which separate us from the Dominion were torn down.

The *jobbers and retail dealers* of the Canadian cities and towns would then come to our market in the same way that the dealers in the New England cities and towns now come here for the purpose of purchasing supplies for their home trade, while our Boston business houses would then include the *Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and possibly Ontario*, in the range which they would consider it necessary to cover with their travelling salesmen. This demand would not come to one class of trade alone, for the *Canadian consumption is practically the same as our own*. It would be equivalent to the addition at least of 2,000,000 purchasers to the number who are at this time tributary to the Boston market. Nor would this demand upon us for goods be the only or the most advantageous result which would follow a union between the two countries. What we should receive from Canada would be of even more value than what Canada took from us. In the first place, the fisheries question would receive a final settlement. Both inshore and offshore fishing would be thrown open to our fishermen, while they would then have all the opportunities that they could desire to purchase bait and supplies, and unrestricted freedom in the transhipment of their catch."

I do not care about reading the rest of it, for fear of wearying the House. This is not an isolated article; there are a dozen of them, but I will not weary the House by quoting them. I believe the article I have just read from the *Boston Herald* represents the opinion of the American press; the other articles are a mere echo of it, and it is plain it is the sentiment of the United States. I will just quote the following from the *Cleveland Leader*:

"We would swamp their (Canadian) markets with manufactured goods, and wipe out their manufactures in many branches at one stroke. To save these industries they have adopted a protective tariff against even the mother country, Great Britain, which is their greatest source of revenue. The idea that they will give us better than they do Great Britain would be foolish to entertain. Great Britain would not tolerate any such invidious distinction."

That organ of public opinion hardly believes that we would be such fools as to give up our fisheries, and our great trade, our only sure trade with Great Britain, in order to have reciprocity with the United States; especially, as he says, the result would be to make us bond slaves to the United States. With our infant manufactures just arriving at maturity, what would be our position if we were to throw our markets open to the United States, and say to them: "You are the only people in the world that we will trade

with on equal terms; we will put up a prohibitory wall against England and all her colonies." I believe that in less than five years every manufactory in this country would be destroyed,—and then after that? After our manufacturing industries were thoroughly crushed out we might find our American friends abandoning the reciprocity treaty and placing such prohibitory duties upon our wares that we would be totally at the mercy of their own manufacturers. That would be the only result that I can see, and I am surprised to find that any hon. gentleman in this House should desire to place us in such a dangerous position. No one but the hon. gentleman from Halifax has taken in this House such a position as that—that we cannot extend our markets, that we are perfectly paralyzed, and that if we want to move in any direction we can only move towards the United States. My hon. friend may be in harmony with certain portions of his party in taking that line, but I think that his own true inwardness is not disloyal to the Empire, and he yet has some feeling of patriotism for his country. Although he may march in line with his leaders in the other branch of the Legislature the true inwardness of my hon. friend—and I want to do him justice in that respect—is not for the destruction of the industries of Canada or of the prosperity which we have attained, or the ruin of our vast manufacturing interests, as well as of our patriotism and loyalty to the British Crown. I will pass over some of the remarks of my hon. friend from Midland, that I may make a few comments upon the speech of the hon. gentleman from Halifax of yesterday.

HON. MR. POWER—I am very glad that my hon. friend has fortified me against his criticism by the certificate of character which he has given me.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend knows that outside of his political predilections nobody in this House, probably, has a higher estimate of his other good qualities than I have; but I say that in a matter of this kind, when he rises here he blindly follows the course laid out for him. On a question of this kind I say we should follow in the footsteps of the

representative of the people; we should not be recreant to the sentiments which the people have declared for at the polls. We remember the depression of 1874 to 1878, and the sad state of things which existed during the term of the Mackenzie Government. Does my hon. friend wish to go back to those times, when manufactories were shut up, when workmen were going through the streets praying for bread to keep them from starving. Even here, in Ottawa, we found men, women and children begging in the streets for the necessaries of life. It was not only in the city of Ottawa that such a condition of things prevailed; it permeated the whole of Canada. If my hon. friend and his party had been well advised, or had taken the advice of their opponents, who suggested a remedy for that state of things, they would have endeavored to protect our own industries, to foster them and find employment for our people in our own country, so that they would not be driven over to the United States by starvation. But they would not take our advice, and what was the result of the verdict at the polls? The result was, they were hurled from office. What was their record during their term of office? They did nothing but pile up deficit after deficit, which today, we have to meet by taxation. After all, the debt of Canada to-day is nothing compared with what it would have been had the Reform party continued in office. Instead of having \$200,000,000 of a debt we would have had \$300,000,000 to carry to-day. But what did Mr. Cartwright say of our public debt, of which my hon. friends now complain, when he went to England to borrow money? He informed the capitalists there that that debt was incurred in the development and progress of the country, and represented the prosperity of Canada. But when the Mackenzie Government went out of office, what did they leave behind them as monuments to their credit, except the steel rails in British Columbia, Fort Frances Lock (which I tried to see when I was out in that country, but it was too far in the woods to go to it), the Neebing Hotel, the Georgian Bay Branch—these are what they left as monuments of the hundreds of thousands of dollars that they had squandered, and which were largely

the cause of the debt we have to carry to-day—monuments of their incapacity to administer the affairs of the country. Yet my hon. friend would to-day endeavor to persuade the people that to bring into power again the same party would be a great boon to the Dominion. So hungry are they for office that their policy is changed; they would have the people believe that if they got into power again they would not lay their ruthless hands on the industries of the country. Wearied and disappointed so long, my hon. friend is willing to take up the old cry again, a cry that has been denounced by the country as ruinous to the prosperity, the progress and the comfort of our people—he would take it up again—one of desperation and despair. It was urged that protection was merely a transient remedy—a temporary expedient; that the National Policy was adopted upon the impulse of the moment, and that as soon as the present Government were firmly seated in office it would be repealed. That cry was having deleterious effects upon our country; it was retarding the progress of our industries and the investment of money, because capitalists, uncertain as to the stability of the National Policy, were not satisfied to invest their money in manufacturing industries in Canada. Sir John Macdonald went to the country again on that policy to satisfy the capitalists that they would be safe in establishing manufacturing industries in Canada—that they would have the pledge of the people at the polls to sustain them. Then we had another election after that. Notwithstanding the fact that we had every Province against us in the Local Legislatures, and every influence brought against us at those elections—the cry of separation in some Provinces, and something else in others—we found that the people rose in their might, and declared that the policy which had been propounded, and under which the country was prospering, should be the abiding principle under which that prosperity would be continued and maintained. Having said so much on that question, I will now refer to some of the remarks of my hon. friend from Halifax. Of course, he is opposed to everything that does not commit us to the United States. He thinks that that alone preserves our

country from poverty. He talks about the West India trade with the lower Provinces, and tells us that the Government had better mind their own business; that the merchants of the Maritime Provinces can carry on their business in their own way, and that they do not want the Government to direct them as to the particular mode in which that trade should be carried on. I believe my hon. friend is opposed to subsidizing a line of steamers to ply between the lower Provinces and the West Indies and South America. I do not think I misunderstood my hon. friend. I think he did say that. Does he say that he is in favor of trade being carried on in steamers aided by the Government between the lower Provinces and the West Indies, or not? I would like him to tell us what his views are in that respect. He has left us in doubt, like my hon. friend from Midland. But if we cannot get his views upon that matter I will tell him what the Chamber of Commerce of Halifax has said on this subject. The hon. gentleman has often quoted the Chamber of Commerce as not viewing the conduct of the present Government in a favorable light; but he does not quote the Chamber of Commerce on this question, and does not say that they believe we should not have a trade between Nova Scotia and the West Indies and South America conducted by schooners only. I do not believe that the people of Nova Scotia desire that. They think we have outgrown that, and must, to some extent, follow in the same lines as the West Indies and the United States, if we wish to secure a portion of that trade. The Halifax Chamber of Commerce says:

“With the British West Indies a promising field offers for a greatly extended trade, could practical arrangements be made under which products of the sea and the soil could be imported and exported free, or at a lower rate of duty than when brought in under a foreign flag. Canada sends but one-third of such goods as bread, oatmeal, butter, cheese, lard, hay, boots and shoes, cabinet ware, etc., just such goods as we are in a position to supply, and would receive from them sugar, cocoa, coffee, etc., in return. Maine and California exchange their products free from Custom house or toll. Could not we extend our Dominion to embrace our fellow-citizens in the British West Indies, or have freer trade with them in some other way. It would be difficult to estimate the commercial advantages that would flow therefrom, but that the advantages would be very great is morally certain. The United States exports about seven times the amount of the above goods to the British

West Indies as Canada. That a feeling favorable to closer trade relations exists in those islands, we have the testimony of Mr. J. T. Wyld, and later that of Hon. Senator McDonald, to prove: also the deputation of Jamaica merchants to Canada in the summer of 1884.

"Monthly steam communication has also been established between Halifax, Bermuda, Jamaica and Cuba. An extension of this service connecting us with other centres of trade in the West Indies and South America is urgently needed. Halifax is the port of the Dominion and the only port possessing all the required conditions for successfully prosecuting this promising trade.

"The success of the Yarmouth Steamship Company is another instance quite encouraging to the promoters of like enterprises. Notice has been given that an application will be made to the Legislature this season to incorporate the 'Nova Scotia Coast and Steam Packet Company.' Another steam line from Halifax to Prince Edward Island is assured, the steamer for which is about being purchased, and other extensions of our steam carrying facilities are contemplated. Thus, our people have fairly embarked in this great modern branch of commerce, and with careful management may in due time take as good a position as owners of steamships as that accorded to them for many years past as owners of sailing ships."

There is what the Chamber of Commerce says, and it is not an association strongly allied to the Government; on the contrary, it is composed of men rather inclined to hit at the Government every time they can, and to oppose their policy; but I find my hon friend is not in harmony with them. What is our trade? He told us yesterday that our large trade with the United States was in fish. Not one-twentieth part of the fish shipped from the Maritime Provinces is consumed or finds a market in the United States. It is true that some of our fat mackerel go over there, and up into our western Provinces. The great American Eagle has got such a hold that once its talons have become fixed on any part of our country it is almost impossible to get clear of them. Not one-twentieth part of our fish goes to the United States, and what is sent there goes there to be shipped in bond to the West Indies. Would my hon. friend like to see us, instead of doing a direct trade with the West Indies, continue to do our trade through middlemen in the United States? How is it possible, if we advocate such a policy, that Canada can ever become prosperous. My hon. friend and his party must change their policy. They must be patriotic to believe that we can extend our trade in any other directions than with the United States, and that there is some other way of dealing with

the West Indies and South America, instead of through the ports of the United States. What I have said I say with a great deal of assurance, feeling that I am right, and that I am speaking for the people of the Maritime Provinces and my own county, who do a large trade with the United States, and who feel that they would rather carry some of their fish out in their own vessels and little schooners, direct to the consumer, than to deal through middlemen in American ports. When we look at the general trade of Nova Scotia I say it is an advantage to us that we should have fast and satisfactory communication with the West Indies. My hon. friend said that these steamers would glut the market. That is not so. The markets are now glutted by steamers from the United States carrying our fish. Our little vessels do not visit the large ports like Kingston or Havana. These are supplied by the large steamers, but our little vessels go to the outports. I am satisfied that we would have a larger and steadier trade if we had steamers. They would take products suited to the market. They would have their communications with the different islands and connection with houses there, and would know exactly the kind of goods required in the market, and in that way we would derive a certain benefit. In the precarious way in which trade is now done, vessels going out on chance, you cannot control the market. Two or three of them might call at the one place together and prices would at once fall. That cannot be the case with steamers, because they would supply the markets with greater regularity. I cannot see in what way the West India trade would be injured by a direct trade with steamers. I believe that vessels plying from the Maritime Province ports in winter and the St. Lawrence in summer would be of more importance to the upper Provinces than to us, unless they would prefer to continue shipping their products to middlemen in the United States. My hon. friend from St. John talked about shipments of potatoes and oats to the United States. They go there, it is true, but it is simply to supply the place of similar products shipped to the West Indies, or to be shipped direct to those islands. If you would investigate the cargoes usually shipped from the United States ports to

the West Indies you would find that they are largely composed of Canadian products. Should we continue to encourage the trade of the United States in that way? It is monstrous and absurd, and must prove ruinous to the best interests of our country. Some reference was made to the congested state of our markets. Two years ago my hon. friend from Ottawa, speaking of the manufacturing industries of this country, said that every man who had invested money in them was ruined; that they were not able to do business in this country; that it was absurd for us to attempt to build up manufacturing industries in Canada in the face of the growing competition in the United States; that our natural industries were the products of the field, the forest and the fisheries, and that the moment we attempt to go beyond that we are building up a bothouse growth of industries, which cannot last. If the policy of the hon. gentleman were adopted those industries would be wiped out. But my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Power) does not say now that those who have invested in our manufacturing industries are ruined. On the contrary, he talks about the great wealth they are building up under a protective tariff. It is obvious that one or the other must be wrong; the two arguments are inconsistent with each other. Now we are told that our manufactures are so congested that the country is not able to consume them. The policy of the Opposition has been to decry the country in every possible way, and to lead the people to suppose that we are dependent entirely on the United States, and can maintain no industries here. I ask how can we expect to have immigrants come to this country when it is spoken of in that way by some of our own people? They will avoid a country where they are told that the only possible chance they have of making a living is by getting access to the markets of the United States. They would say they would prefer to go to a country which is big enough to find employment and homes for all who are willing and able to labor for a living. If anything tends to make this country congested it is the policy and the cry of the Opposition party, who endeavor by every means in their power to paralyze our industries and prevent people from

settling in the country. They would not only drive out every one engaged in the manufacturing industries of Canada, but they would prevent others from coming in to take their places. But where is the congestion in this country compared with that which prevails in the neighboring Republic? The United States produce six times more than they can consume. There is a state of congestion; there is a country where you find the most powerful combinations! So great is the congestion that they are looking abroad for a panacea for the difficulties under which they labor, and if the policy of my hon. friend from Halifax were to prevail this country would once more become a slaughter market for the surplus productions of the neighboring country; every industry in the Dominion would be paralyzed, and every artisan who now finds employment in Canada would be obliged to look for it across the border. The people of Canada can yet remember the tribulation under which they suffered when the Mackenzie Government were in power, and they will not be induced by any device or cajolery which may be brought to bear on them to join in lauding the great Republic and singing Yankee Doodle, as my hon. friends have done. I did not think my hon. friend from Halifax would be so unpatriotic to his own county in Nova Scotia as to say, as he stated in this House, that the transportation of Nova Scotia coal over the Intercolonial Railway is costing the Government and the country \$1,000 a day. My hon. friend, and others who have spoken, referred to the paralyzed condition of the trade of this country and spoke of it having fallen off in every direction, and he pointed to the fact that the exports of coal had diminished. But what would my hon. friend do? Judging from the position that he has assumed, he would, if he could, crush out that great and important industry, the greatest of all in Nova Scotia after the fisheries. In the coal industry we have a capital of \$20,000,000 invested; it furnishes employment to 5,000 men, who are directly employed in the mines, and no less than 15,000 of our people are dependent upon this great industry for a subsistence. But if my hon. friend's policy were adopted, within a year afterwards every one of these mines would be closed. But it is

not true that the Intercolonial Railway is carrying this coal at a cost to the country of \$1,000 a day. I say, in the first place, that that railway was never built or intended as a highway for commerce merely. It was never intended, as common carriers would have it, to be run for profit on the investment, but it was designed to promote interprovincial trade and to facilitate intercourse between the Provinces. Nobody ever expected that it would be a source of revenue directly to the country. But I say this, and I defy anyone to establish to the contrary, because I have made enquiries, and am in a position to assert positively, that it does not cost the country one cent to carry that coal on the Intercolonial Railway. Careful calculations have been made of what it costs to transport coal by rail, and the Intercolonial Railway charges the cost and nothing more. I am surprised at the remarks of my hon. friend; they show that he would destroy even that important industry, which is the basis of all our other industries. He would, by unfounded assertions, lead the country to believe that the Government railway is carrying coal at a ruinous price to the Dominion. The hon. gentleman says that our mines are going down. Now, as a matter of fact, there is more coal produced to-day than there was in 1874. The production has increased, though the exports have diminished. In 1874 the export was 950,000 tons, and in 1877 it was only 80,000 tons.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Will my hon. friend tell us why all the parts of Canada west of Montreal should be made to pay \$1,000 a day for carrying this coal on the Intercolonial Railway?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—In the first place, it is not true that coal is carried on the Intercolonial Railway at a loss.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—You contradict the Public Accounts if you say it is not true.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I contradict any Public Accounts which say that it costs Canada one cent to carry coal up from Nova Scotia. I say the Public Accounts will not show anything of the kind. If you will look at the reports on the mines you will find that the coal pays the expenses of carriage.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Does not my hon. friend know—has he not enquired—has he not examined and ascertained that the freight which the lumbermen and the farmers have to pay over the Intercolonial Railway is at least four times as much as the freight on coal shipped from Springhill?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend may be right; for short distances it may be so, but on the long haul the rates are always lower. It is the policy of this country to expand our trade and to carry the products of our own country as far as possible through our own territory, and if there is any of our products that requires more aid than another, in order to bring it through the Dominion and find for it a market, it is our coal. Our policy is to stimulate and aid the industries of the country, and if the Intercolonial Railway can transport this particular product at a low rate without injury to the public, so as to place it in the markets west of Montreal, in competition with coal from the United States, it is in the public interest that it should be done. My hon. friend tries to apply the same rate to all classes of merchandise, but there is always a distinction in freight rates between bulky and lighter articles. He might as well say that dry goods should be carried at the same rate as coal or any other bulky commodity.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—How does my hon. friend show that the country loses nothing by carrying coal at such low rates on the Intercolonial Railway? If these rates pay the Government, and higher rates are imposed on other freight, how is it that the receipts from the Intercolonial Railway do not meet the expenditure?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Because coal furnishes a continuous traffic over the Intercolonial Railway, and it is entitled to a special rate. It is always furnishing employment for the line, while other freights are not so certain and continuous. If a man wants to ship a cargo of any other kind of products over the line he must expect to pay a higher rate. But considering the advantage which would accrue to the upper Provinces, the Intercolonial Railway authorities made a rate which

would suit the interests of the public generally. Does my hon. friend wish to paralyze that great industry of the Maritime Provinces? Does he wish to deprive our coal mines of a market, now that the United States have shut out our coal?

HON. MR. McCLELAN—How does it affect the mines at Cape Breton? How do these nominal freights on the Intercolonial Railway help to build up the mines of that island?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend might as well ask me how it affects the coal mines of British Columbia. We know that Cape Breton is an island; that they can only ship their coal by water; but all the coal mines on the track of the Intercolonial Railway are treated alike, no matter where they are situated.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Does it not show conclusively that the coal must be carried up here at a loss to the Intercolonial Railway, from the fact that that road runs the country in debt about half a million dollars a year—that their receipts are about half a million dollars less than the expenditure?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I may tell my hon. friend that the cost of running the road, compared with the receipts, is not so great as it was when the Mackenzie Government was in power—the difference between receipts and expenditure is not half so great. The next thing is that it does not cost the country anything to carry the coal. We do not expect to make a profit on the carrying of the coal; we merely want to collect sufficient freight to pay the expense of transportation.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Then why does not the road pay running expenses?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Because if we made the rates on coal higher the consumer must pay a higher price, or the coal from the United States would take the place of our own. It is part of our National Policy to protect our industries as far as possible; but my hon. friend, though he is a Cape Bretoner, would destroy the mining industry of Nova Scotia. He speaks of the mines of Cape Breton receiving no benefit from these low freight rates on the Intercolonial Rail-

way, but I do not see how that can be helped, since Cape Breton is an island. If we had a railway penetrating that island the coal produced there would have the same advantage as the coal mined on the line of the Intercolonial Railway. I say, although we have not exported as much coal of late as we did some years ago, we have increased the output of our mines. The output in 1887 was four times as great as it was in 1874. It has been consumed in our own markets; but if rates are imposed which will prevent the miners from shipping it to our own markets what will become of that great industry? Where will they find a market? Not in the United States. If we cannot find a market in Canada the industry will be ruined, to the great injury of our own people, and we would at once have 10,000 people thrown out of employment.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Not so many as that, since the last strike.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do not know the extent of the strike, but I know that strikes are common everywhere. There are some in the United States that have lasted for six months, yet my hon. friend speaks of strikes in this country as though they were peculiar to Nova Scotia or the Dominion. Every industry is subject to such interruptions. If the hon. gentleman can find a remedy for that let him state it, and show where the policy of the Government is wrong and how strikes can be prevented. Some day he may become a member of a Government, and then he will find it a difficult subject to handle; but if he can succeed in preventing strikes he will confer a great benefit upon his country. The increased consumption of coal in our own country shows, among other things, the consuming power of our own people, not only in that direction but in every other. The first principle of our policy is to supply our own people, and we are informed on excellent authority that he who will not provide for his own household is not a good citizen. We have provided for our own people out of the products of our own country, as far as possible, and we are now looking for other markets. My hon. friend from Halifax talked about free trade with the United States—unrestricted

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reciprocity. I am in favor of free trade in certain things, free trade in the natural products of the country. As far as Canada is concerned, I believe we are ready for that, but I am not one of those who would make a slaughter market of Canada and ruin the manufacturing industries of the Dominion, in which hundreds of millions of dollars are invested. We are plainly informed by the manufacturers of the United States that their desire is to make us hewers of wood and drawers of water, to impoverish our people and destroy our manufacturing industries. If we should get free trade or reciprocity with the United States where would we get our revenue—where would the eight millions of dollars that we derive from taxing imports of the United States come from? We would be driven to direct taxation to make up that eight million dollars which is now collected from Customs duties. With our country impoverished, and every industry paralyzed, how could we carry on the trade of the Dominion, and make any show of prosperity or progress? My hon. friend from Halifax says that the country depends for its wealth on commerce, but where would we find commerce if we had free trade with the United States? Our commerce would be gone; our ships would find no employment; everything would go to the United States—our neighbors would grasp everything. My hon. friend talked about the shipping industry being paralyzed. I say he is mistaken. I say that the coasting trade of Canada is larger to-day than it ever has been before. We should take into consideration the fact that wooden ships have been largely superseded by iron vessels when we talk about the present tonnage and shipping of the Maritime Provinces. We should multiply the tonnage by five to make a fair comparison with the tonnage of former days, and if you take that into consideration you will find that our shipping trade has largely increased. Where before you would find a number of small vessels at the wharves doing business, you will find now steamers, which are plying constantly along the coast with greater advantage to the people than the old vessels. Look at the cotton industry—look at the extent to which it has grown in this country. We now import the raw material and

make it valuable by the labor of our own people. To-day every sail on our Nova Scotia ships is made from cotton manufactured in Canada. The sails of every vessel, from the little boat to the biggest ship, are all made of Nova Scotia cotton. It is the same in Newfoundland. Before the National Policy there was not a yard of Canadian cotton used there; now you find that all the cotton used there, which formerly was obtained from the United States, is procured from Nova Scotia. Tell me that the country is going to the dogs, and that the National Policy is a failure! Look around the country; look at every industry, every branch of trade; look especially at our ships, and you will find that it is not so.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—Then why protect it with a duty of 35 per cent.?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do not care what duty is imposed. We want whatever duty is necessary to give us the market. Our policy is to keep our own markets for our own people. If you enquire you will find that the cotton duck manufactured in his country and used on our vessels costs the consumer no more than was paid for the same quality of duck before the adoption of the National Policy. In those days the Americans were making a big profit out of us; they had the whole thing in their own hands and they asked what prices they pleased. When we commenced to manufacture for ourselves they reduced their prices, but they found that we were still able to hold our markets, and furnish an equally good article without increased cost to the consumer.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—Is that the case in the Newfoundland market?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; I say that market we supply the duck for the whole of the vessels. Now, that is something. My hon. friend from Queen's said that the shipping industry has fallen off. I do not believe it has; there has been a great depression in the shipping trade all over the world. In the docks of Liverpool and Glasgow not only were the wooden vessels abandoned, but large iron vessels were obliged to lie up year after year, and if steam vessels had to be laid up for want of freight, is it a wonder

that wooden vessels failed to find employment? But freights have gone up, and even the wooden vessels are in demand. There are as many wooden vessels in course of construction in Nova Scotia to-day as there were in a period of ten years before, taking the ordinary increase of vessels built. Freights are going up, and the shipping industry is reviving. I do not credit our National Policy with that, but we in Nova Scotia are feeling the benefit of those increased freight rates as well as other parts of the world. Under unrestricted reciprocity every branch of manufacture would be ruined, hundreds of thousands of workingmen and mechanics would be thrown idle upon our country; the soup kitchens which flourished while my hon. friends, now in opposition, were in power, would again become necessary, unless the unemployed people would cross the border and seek employment in the neighboring country. The business of the country would be paralyzed, the manufacturing industries would go down, and what would become of our farmers? What would become of our flourishing towns everywhere? Go to Toronto, to Galt, to Hamilton, to London—to all those flourishing towns.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—Go to Halifax.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; or take Halifax. Compare those towns with similar centres of population in the United States, and you will find that their increase has been two to one. Compare Winnipeg with other western cities, and you will find that it is making more rapid progress than any city of equal size in the United States. Look at the increase of trade in Winnipeg! Note the fact that the value of real estate has, in a short time, risen from \$7,000,000 to \$20,000,000, and it indicates the rapid progress of the city. Does any one suppose that the farmers in the vicinity of those prosperous towns do not share in the benefits which they derive from the National Policy, as well as the mechanics and laborers? Most certainly they do: every one profits by the general prosperity. The increasing population shows the prosperity of the country. The farmer

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finds a local consumption for all his goods—he finds a home market, which is to him the most valuable of all markets. The farmer has not been neglected under our National Policy; he receives his shares of protection. We have a large surplus of some farm products, and send a considerable quantity abroad, but in some localities there is always more or less of a deficiency in some one crop. Sometimes oats are shipped to Nova Scotia from another Province, yet in Nova Scotia we have generally a surplus for export. Such inequalities will always exist, but the market for our natural products is not the United States; they have the same products that we have. We want a larger market, and should look for it across the water, to Great Britain, the West Indies and other markets where our products are in demand. Great Britain has encouraged us in our infancy, has built us up with her means and her strength, and it would be disloyal and unpatriotic to the land from which we derive our free institutions to raise a tariff wall against her and against her colonies, in order to give a preference in our trade relations to a country which plainly tells us it only desires to annex us. The object and the ultimate result of the present movement for unrestricted reciprocity is to make us dependent upon the great Republic; and then, after they destroy our industries they can treat us as they please. Notwithstanding the cry that the people are leaving this country, that there is no prosperity in the Dominion, that it is not a desirable country for immigrants, the statistics show that since Confederation the ratio of increase of population has been greater in Canada than in the United States in the proportion of five to three. Taking the test of the savings banks again, we find that in 1874, when the Mackenzie Government was in power, the deposits amounted to only \$15,000,000; in 1887 they were \$51,000,000. My hon. friend from Halifax says that this is simply the investment of capital; but it is not so in Nova Scotia. These deposits represent the savings of the artisans and the laboring classes of the country. Within the last three years the law has been modified so as to permit of only small sums being deposited. Not more than \$1,000 can be deposited to the credit of any one person,

and not more than \$300 a year, so that the savings bank cannot be regarded as a place for investing capital. It really represents the increasing wealth of the laboring classes of the country. That, of itself, is another and a conclusive test of the prosperity of our country.

Then try the test of the fire insurance companies. In 1874, during the Mackenzie reigme, the life insurance companies had \$367,000,000 invested; there is now invested in fire insurance \$364,000,000—nearly double the amount. Is not that another indication of the prosperity of the country? Test it also by life insurance companies. In 1880 there were \$90,000,000 invested in life insurance; to-day those investments amount to over \$200,000,000. Certainly that is another indication of the prosperity of the Dominion. The producing power of the United States is six times greater than the consuming power, therefore it is impossible for us to say that they have a market for our products, for their surplus products are of the same character as ours and must find a market. At Confederation we possessed about 2,000 miles of railway; we have now over 12,000 miles of railway, costing, I do not know how much—probably over \$500,000,000. Is that nothing to boast of in this country? If we were to paralyze our trade by allowing the country to become a slaughter market, what would become of those railways, and where would they find dividends for the capital invested in them? Would it not be ruinous to every man who has invested a dollar in railway stock? We have 50,000 miles of telegraph lines; our coasts some 6,000 miles in extent of inland, and sea coasts are all well lighted. From the inland lakes down to Cape Breton, round the Bay of Fundy and up to the United States boundary, we find our coasts all lighted up at the expense of this country, and even my hon. friend from Midland must see that this expenditure of money has been made for the purpose of developing our trade and ensuring safety to the lives and property of our mariners and merchants. Yet after having done all this for our country we are asked, should we not now hand it over to the United States? Such a proposition is absurd. I believe that the wealth of the country has been

estimated by statisticians at \$3,500,000,000, and out of this \$200,000,000 are invested in factories. Our annual income is estimated at over \$600,000,000. This certainly represents a large amount of wealth in this country. How was it brought about? Certainly not by the efforts of the Mackenzie Government. In addition to this, we have our Intercolonial Railway, the Pacific Railway, our great wheat belt, our inexhaustible fisheries and our rich mines, all of which our country can boast of, and the Dominion should not be looked upon by any patriot as a poor country. It is a land of freedom, a land of prosperity, a land in which there is a welcome and a comfortable home for every honest, industrious man who feels that he can better his condition by immigrating to Canada. With such a prospect before us it is no wonder that Canadians boast of their inheritance, and that we are attracting the eyes of other countries, in spite of the opposition we are receiving, and in spite of the manner in which we are belittled by a certain party in our own Dominion. The current of immigration is flowing into the country, and before many years there will be millions added to our population, and the whole country, from Cape North to Vancouver, will be teeming with a happy, industrious, prosperous and contented people; we will hear the ring of the hammer, the shriek of the steam whistle and the humming of machinery making music through the country, and with the National Policy that we have adopted we can stand face to face, and shoulder to shoulder, and look for success in every industry that our people may undertake in the land of their adoption.

Now, a few words about the Australian colonies. I do not agree with my hon. friend from Midland, that we cannot establish any trade with Australia.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I did not say so.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I understood the hon. gentleman to say that he abandoned any idea of having trade with Australia.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I said nothing of the kind.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I understood my hon. friend to say so; but I am very glad to believe that he thinks it possible to trade with that country. Other countries, far more remote than we are from those colonies, trade with them, and the hon. gentleman cannot point to any part of the habitable globe in which we have increased our trade in the same ratio as we have with Australia within the last few years. Of course, we cannot expect to have a large trade out there, but I believe, as my hon. friend from Queen's has shown, it would be a great advantage to foster the trade between the Pacific Province and that country, for I believe that our great inland fisheries and shore fisheries out there are just as good as they are in the Maritime Provinces; and that, with the large lumber interest, they are of as much importance as any trade we have on this side of the Rocky Mountains. I believe that these will constitute elements that will tend to open the way for an important trade with Australia. I do not suppose that we will be alone in promoting this enterprise; I believe that Great Britain will help us, as she has always been willing to extend a helping hand towards the development of our country; she has been a generous mother, and I believe that with the assistance of Great Britain and the assistance of Australia a large trade can be established from British Columbia ports with Australia. My hon. friend talked about the great debt of this country. He seemed to think that it was sufficient to paralyze everything.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I said nothing of the kind.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman left that impression upon my mind; he talked about the rapid increase in our public debt, and left the impression on my mind that he considered it a great incubus, for which we have no corresponding advantage. The debt is shown by the burden of the debt. Take the public debt of Canada now and the public debt at the time of Confederation, and also at the time the Mackenzie Government were in power. The debt then was \$1.34 per head; now it is \$1.78 per head. I am sure that is not a great burden upon us, and I believe that the

result of the expenditure that caused that increase has placed our country in such a position that we can go to the money markets of the world and borrow at a lower rate of interest than we could when our debt was smaller. We have got something to show for the capital we invested. We were told by the hon. gentleman from Halifax that the taxation of this country had so largely increased that every laboring man in this country was ground down by his own burden. I say that there is no country in the world where the taxation is lower than it is in Canada. There is nothing that a man requires to eat or wear on which he pays less taxes in any other country.

Canada has a taxation *per capita* of \$5.66; France, \$12.66; Great Britain, \$9.56; Australia, \$12.79; United States, (State and municipal tax the same as ours, plus liquor and tobacco tax) \$6.78, which reduces our taxation to \$3.08 for luxuries, and not the necessaries of life. I say that everything in this country that can be considered necessaries of life, in the way of food and clothing, is absolutely free from taxation. It is optional with a man whether he pays taxes on the necessaries of life or not. If he wishes to indulge in luxuries he must be taxed for them; if he is content to do with the necessaries of life, and many of the luxuries produced in our own Dominion, he is free from an impost on them. I say that the whole policy of this country has been to save the industrial classes from unnecessary taxation, to protect them and to aid them in their struggle for independence. I say that a man can feed and clothe himself and his family, and live well in this country, without adding \$1 to the revenue.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—It is only lawyers who can do that.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I repeat, that every man in Nova Scotia and every man in Canada can provide himself and his family with the necessaries of life without paying one cent to the revenues for the food he eats or for the clothes he put on his back. They are all made in his country from the raw materials produced in the country, by the labor of our own people.

HON. MR. LEWIN—What about sugar?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—We bring the raw sugar into the country and refine it. The United States policy is more restrictive than ours; they tax everything that comes into the country. We do not tax the raw sugars.

HON. MR. LEWIN—It is taxed 70 per cent.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I say that in proportion we tax them less than they are taxed in the United States, and I say that sugars in Canada to-day are sold to the consumer cheaper than they were under the Mackenzie Administration, of which my hon. friend was so consistent an adherent.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—What is the present price of sugar in the United States and England?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It is higher in the United States than it is here. The price to the consumer there is greater than it is here. When I went over there recently I had to buy some little necessities, amongst other things some sweets, and I had to pay in Buffalo about 50 per cent. more than I had to pay for the same article in Canada.

HON. MR. LEWIN—Our mechanics have to pay the duty on sugar still.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; but not so high a duty as they do in the United States. Will my hon. friend say that sugar is not cheaper here now than it was at any time from 1874 to 1878?

HON. MR. LEWIN—It is cheaper the world over.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—There is a proposition I would like to put to my hon. friend: Speaking of foreign markets, he tells us that our industries in Canada need protection, or else they will be destroyed by competition with the United States. Now I ask him, in the face of that statement, how he will meet the competition of the United States manufacturers in a foreign market? If our manufacturers need protection here to save them from destruction how will they stand in a foreign market, more distant from us than from the United States?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I don't believe their goods are much cheaper in many respects than our goods are.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—But you acknowledge they are when you say that our manufactures would be destroyed without protection from the competition of the manufacturers of the United States.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—What we have to protect ourselves against is Canada being made a slaughter market for the manufacturers of the United States. Without our protective tariff United States manufacturers combine to slaughter their goods for less than cost in our market, no matter what the loss may be, in order to kill off our industries and retain this market.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—They could do likewise in the Australian market.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—They have not done it yet, and I don't believe that they will attempt to do it in that market. Now, we will take protection as applied to Nova Scotia. At the time of Confederation and up to the inauguration of the National Policy, our people were not in the prosperous condition that they now are. You can hardly find a house in that Province now in which there is not a sewing machine, a piano or an organ. What better evidence of the increasing prosperity of a country than such a condition of affairs? I remember twenty odd years ago when a man was considered to be something above the ordinary run of society if he had a piano or an organ in his house, and such articles were looked upon as curiosities. I remember when the hon. gentleman from Ottawa prophesied that the Canadian Pacific Railway, of which we are now so proud, could not, in forty years, with all the energy and wealth of Great Britain to back it, be completed across this continent. He tells us that we have not mining machinery or plant in this country to develop our mines. I say, of my own knowledge of the mining industries of Nova Scotia, that we have never been retarded for want of improved machinery of Canadian manufacture. We get mining machinery, fire-engines, and other machinery of improved pattern from the

western Provinces. In the same way, our farmers are supplied with improved agricultural implements, horse-rakes, plows, harvesters, threshing machines and other implements made from iron and steel manufactured in Ontario, and we send back the commodities of our Province in return. And when my hon. friend says that we have no internal trade and no home market in this country, and that the prosperity of the Dominion is not increasing, he is not correct. I was struck recently with a paragraph in the Speech of Her Majesty the Queen in 1858. It seemed to me to have been prophetic when She said, in proroguing Parliament in 1858:

"I hope that the new colony on the Pacific (British Columbia) may be but one step in the career of steady progress by which my dominions in North America may be ultimately peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a loyal and industrious population."

Those wishes have been realized in a way not then contemplated, and the National Policy, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Intercolonial Railway have been the most potent factors in effecting the realization of the hopes and aspirations of our dearly beloved Queen. The difficulties that beset and the obstructions that were placed in the way of the realization of our grand ideals, a united and prosperous Canada, served only to evoke and stimulate our latent energies. I believe that we would have had no Pacific Railway to-day and no united Dominion if the Mackenzie Government had remained in power. We certainly would have had no Pacific Province, for the grasping, ravenous propensities of the great American Eagle would have made British Columbia a prey to the United States. That Province was being largely populated with miners from the United States, who had nothing in common with the people in the other Provinces of the Dominion, and it is hard to say what would have become of our Province on the Pacific coast had it not been for the National Policy. Had the Reform party remained in power would such men as Sir George Stephen, Sir Donald Smith, and other capitalists associated with them, have invested their money in the Pacific railway? Not they. The Government of the country had no faith in its future, or they thought a through

railway was unnecessary and impossible, and they undertook to build a sort of amphibious highway, half land and half water, and squandered the public money in such undertakings as the Fort Francis Lock. Before the adoption of the National Policy the trade of the Maritime Provinces, especially that of Nova Scotia, was altogether with the United States. Let any man go through the table of exports in the Trade and Navigation Returns to-day and he will find that our trade has largely increased with foreign countries. It is true that we have imported less rum from the West Indies, although we still import more than would intoxicate all Canada. No doubt my hon. friend from Trent division will be glad that the trade in that respect has fallen off with the West Indies; still I do not believe that our prospects of a general trade with that country are at all gloomy.

HON. MR. FLINT—As far as the rum is concerned, I am satisfied if my hon. friend does the drinking; I'll do the thinking.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—But should it ever become necessary, we can make our tariff and our Customs regulations more suitable for the trade of both countries, and I shall be very glad to support any measure of the kind which will not prejudice the interest of Canada. Some reference was made to the sugar refining industry of the country. I was interested in the refinery established in Nova Scotia and lost \$10,000 in that enterprise. The factory was started up again, having been purchased at 30 cents on the dollar, and it would be singular indeed if, with such a start, the purchasers failed to succeed. They hit the markets when sugars were very low, and made a successful strike in that way. But that is no criterion to show that the capitalists of a country are becoming wealthy at the expense of other classes of the people. Reference was also made to the barrier that the United States is going to raise against us. Last year they attempted to raise that barrier by a threat of non-intercourse. What was the effect? At once the trade of this country increased. I remember that some of our fish merchants rushed what fish they had on hand to the United States, in anticipation of the non-

HON. MR. KAULBACH.

intercourse measure becoming law. Goods that formerly were shipped to and from ports of the United States were ordered to our own seaports, thus increasing our own trade and giving more employment to our own shipping and to our own railways. In the trade of the five chief towns of Canada on this side of the Rocky Mountains there were 200,000 tons more goods shipped, in the imports and exports, than there had been the year previous; so we can set them at defiance if they wish to put up a wall of non-intercourse between the two countries. We are ready to meet them; we will not cringe or bow to them, great as they are. We are independent of them; we need not go on our knees to them, and beg for their market or their friendship. We feel strong and able to protect ourselves; yet, at the same time, I am one of those who feel that if we could have fair reciprocity with the United States we should secure it, so long as it does not involve any injury to our own interests. Canada should be our first and last thought; we should watch over the interests of our own country and promote the prosperity of our own people as far as we can. Trade with the United States, without injury to our own people, we should be willing to give, but we should go no further. I am willing to go as far as we did in the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, but they will not give it to us. They will not trade with us in the products of our fisheries, our farms or our forests, but they say to us: "We must have annexation." They call it by a different name, but it all leads that way. It is the same bird, only with a different plumage to deceive and beguile us. The figures of the transit trade in bond are as follows: in 1888 from the United States to Canada \$14,640,509; from Canada into the United States, \$8,315,618—total \$23,965,000. In 1887 the amount was \$33,692,600; in other words, there was a decrease in one year of \$9,766,408. I say now, as I said before, that that was all owing to the threat of non-intercourse with us. I must apologize to the House for the length of my speech? I did not feel that I would take up so much time, yet I have not gone through one-half of my notes; but my conclusion is this: that this Canada of ours is in our own hands: let us be

loyal and true to our own country, and not forget the mother country; let us look to her, as she looks to us, for reciprocal benefits. She has in us a highway to her possessions; her interests are bound up with ours. We are connected not only by social ties but by physical ties, which she must maintain in her own interest. Let us guard the trust that we have inherited; let us retain our loyalty to our Queen and patriotism to our country; let us look but for the interests of the Dominion first, last and always. We must go on in the march of progress, developing our own interests and everything that makes a country great, and we need have no fear but that our country will increase in prosperity.

At 6 o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

AFTER RECESS.

HON. MR. TURNER resumed the debate. He said: I intend to make some remarks in reply to the hon. Senator, the senior member for Ottawa, but before doing so allow me to congratulate and heartily thank the hon. Senator from Midland (Mr. Macdonald) for the able and exhaustive speech he favored us with in support of his motion of enquiry respecting our trade relations now and prospective with the West Indian Islands, South America and Australasia.

I regret that the hon. gentleman, by way, I suppose, of strengthening the claim of the West Indies and South American trade for special consideration—did so by comparing their respective populations and our reciprocal trade with them and with the Australasian colonies. I do not think, considering the differing circumstances the basis of comparison was a fair one, as our trade with the West Indies has been long established, and so far as our exports are concerned is almost exclusively confined to the products of our fields, forests and fisheries—whereas our Australasian export trade is only in its very infancy, and of necessity is confined almost exclusively to manufactured goods. While I do not think, therefore, that this line of argument has strengthened the hon. gentleman's case as regards the West Indian trade, I am inclined to think it is calculated to do injury to the prospective development of our trade relations with Australia.

sia. Be this as it may, I am sure my hon. friend agrees with me that there are important ramifications of trade and commerce, other than the barter of commodities, that deserve consideration.

The Dominion has strained its credit and resources in the building and completion of its grand national highway from ocean to ocean and is now in a position to claim, and it does claim, its share in the through traffic across the continent from Australia and the east to Europe—and I think hon. gentlemen will agree with me that it is our duty and interest to develop this traffic. Every vessel, steam or otherwise, engaged in this trade, that enters Vancouver harbor, necessitates the employing of corresponding vessel accommodation on the Atlantic coast, so that Canada will bedoubly benefited in this respect, and besides this every ton of freight and every passenger thus carried from ocean to ocean will pay tribute, not only to the railway company, but through their employes and for the maintenance of their line and rolling stock, such traffic will also pay tribute to almost every interest in Canada. Whatever, therefore, may be the prospects as regards our opening up trade relations with Australia, we have, I think, inducement enough to join Britain and Australasia financially to a reasonable extent in fostering a scheme that will bring such traffic to our shores. It appears to me that the hon. gentleman's agricultural implements manufacturing friends have proved too much, as regards their export trade with Australia, as thirteen manufacturers in the States are not likely to continue to incur the heavy expenses incident to the prosecution of such a trade, with the probability, if not the certainty, that the result of each respective venture may, and probably will, prove disastrous.

I may further state, before I go on to the business that I have really risen to talk about, that I was a good deal amused and surprised at the discussion which took place to-day. One hon. gentleman insisted that it was in the interest of the Maritime Provinces that the freight rates on the Intercolonial Railway on coal should be reasonable. On the other side, it seemed to be argued that the railway should not carry coal even at cost, and certainly not at a loss. Now, as an Ontario man (and I think I speak for

the whole of the Ontario men in this House) we are perfectly indifferent about it. We accepted the building of the Intercolonial Railway as a part of the scheme for Confederation—we accepted it and are loyal to it. We think it is in the interest of the Maritime Provinces to get their coal forwarded as cheaply as they possibly can, but if they think otherwise we have no objection at all to adding so much a ton to the freight. I have now come to the point which has brought me to my feet. While the senior member for Ottawa is no doubt justified in using all legitimate means in his endeavors to vindicate his political position, or to confirm his commercial theories, I do not think that he was justified, without proper investigation, or that it was judicious for him to make the statement in reference to the manufactures of mining plant that he did make in his speech on Thursday last. He said:

"Mining machinery is not made in Canada, and it cannot be brought into this country without paying a heavy duty, and so the mining industry is crushed out. I know something of the mining industries of this country; I know something of the vast amount of undeveloped wealth that lies within the limits of Canada, not merely in British Columbia and Nova Scotia, but in the mountains north of this city and in the Algoma district. In the Thunder Bay district we know, as a matter of fact, there are as rich mines as in any part of the world. They are undeveloped, simply because they are subject, among other things, to this terrible drag to which I have adverted. You cannot get British or American capitalists to invest capital in our mines, knowing the difficulties in the way of importing mining machinery."

From the remarks of our friend, one would suppose not only that his knowledge of mining was perfect, so far as the country was concerned, but the natural inference of what he said is that he was also acquainted with the necessities of the country as to plant, and also as to how it was to be got. His extraordinary statement astonished me. He made it so boldly and so decidedly, apparently with a full knowledge of all the facts, that I thought, possibly, he might be right, and the conclusion I came to in my own mind was that if such was the case the National Policy was a failure, so far as this industry was concerned. I immediately telegraphed to Hamilton—the Birmingham of Canada—and enquired as to whether there was any truth in the statement; because it occurred to me that if our machinists and highly educated engineers there were

unable to make this machinery at a sufficiently low figure they were not worthy the protection they were getting. Immediately I got a reply by telegraph, to say that the statement was not correct, and shortly afterwards I was put in possession of certain documents, of which I have copies made out here—not only from Hamilton, but from other places—showing that they were prepared to furnish machinery and, in one case at least, that they could and would do so at the same prices that are charged in the United States.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—To what particular kind of mining machinery has the hon. gentleman reference?

HON. MR. SMITH—All kinds; they can build anything now at Hamilton.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—And in Montreal and in Halifax.

HON. MR. TURNER—I refer to all kinds of mining plant. I have received the following from the F. G. Beckett Engine Company, of Hamilton:

"The writer some years ago went purposely to California to gain the required information for the manufacture of mining machinery, and was employed there for eight years, first by the Union Iron Works, of San Francisco (the largest works there, having over \$1,000,000 capital invested) as draughtsman and designer, and estimating, and afterwards as foreman of the next largest works there; and afterwards, to gain a thorough knowledge of the use and requirements of the machinery I spent one year as chief engineer at one of the mines, and during that time visited many of the leading mines. I then returned to Canada and induced others to join in with me in the manufacture of mining machinery, and have a large amount of money invested in the same.

"We have advertised extensively during the past four years, and have offered and are prepared to supply all kinds of mining machinery as cheap and as good as they can be had in the States."

The next letter is from the Ingersoll Mining Plant Company, the largest mining plant company in the United States. When the National Policy was adopted they thought that instead of allowing the manufacturing industries of Canada to cut them out they would transfer a branch of their establishment to Montreal, and send over skilled men from their own place, and they now profess, and I believe correctly, to sell the goods as cheaply in Canada as they do in New York. I do not want to go back to the discussion of the National

Policy, but sometimes a discussion of this kind is forced upon us. If the National Policy had not been established those forty men would have remained in New York and manufactured their machinery there; so these forty men, with their families, and all the labor connected with them, are in Montreal instead of New York; and we have all the advantages resulting from that, besides getting their manufactures at as low rates as they could be purchased for in New York. The next letter that I will read is from the Ingersoll Mining Plant Company. It is as follows:

"We have been established in Canada since the year 1882, and have made a large investment in machinery in Canada, for the purpose of manufacturing every line of mining machinery required, and employ thirty to forty skilful workmen manufacturing stock to meet the demands in the Canadian market. We have equipped all the largest mines in Canada with drills, air compressors, hoisting machinery, wire ropes, &c., and can name you the Capelton Mines, at Capelton, Sudbury Mines, Beaver Mine and Rapid Mountain Mine, at Port Arthur, also all the phosphate mines on the Lièvre River.

"We have also shipped mining machinery to British Columbia, and are increasing our trade rapidly in this direction, and are also doing considerable in Nova Scotia. We are supplying exactly the same class of machinery manufactured by the Ingersoll Rock Drill Company, in New York, and keep drills, compressors and hoists in stock ready for shipment to meet any urgent demands.

"Our company in New York do about 75 per cent. of the whole mining trade of the United States, and understand thoroughly the wants of the miners in every respect. Our branch works in Canada sell at exactly New York prices, thus giving the Canadian trade the benefit of the duty and freight from New York. With a view of furthering trade in British Columbia, we are consigning some stock to be held there to meet urgent demands. We also send our representative from Halifax to British Columbia twice a year, in order to look after this trade.

"We might also, in conclusion, say that we are appointing a permanent representative in Victoria, in order to keep our business before the public, and we are now making costly outlays with a view of supplying everything that is required in mining supplies.

"We have also done considerable business with the Canadian Anthracite Coal Co., of Anthracite, N.W.T., and the Vancouver Coal Co., of Nanaimo, B.C., and have recently opened an account with the 'Alice and Emma' Gold Mining and Quartz Co., of Victoria, B.C."

Now, that is their statement, which statement I shall have confirmed before I am done with it by a firm that certainly at one time stood very high in the estimation of the present Opposition—a firm whose endorsement at that time would have been looked upon, and I have no

doubt would be now, as quite satisfactory—I refer to Cooper, Fairman & Co., of Montreal. They say :

“ In reference to the Ingersoll Rock Drill Company, of Canada, we induced this company to establish their branch works here, and as an evidence of our good faith in the enterprise we agreed to put in this investment half the capital required. It has been the policy of this company to sell at the lowest New York figures, thus endeavoring to assist the mining industry of Canada.”

I will now read a letter from the Truro Foundry and Machine Co. :

“ We are running over time building gold mining machinery, of which we make a specialty. We have this year fitted out five mines with complete outfits, and have enquiries for several, including one of 140 stamps, which is more than four times the capacity of the celebrated Dufferin Mine at Salmon River, Halifax County. I may say the Dufferin Mine machinery is driven by water power more than a mile distant from the crusher. This transmission machinery was also built by us.

“ Having incurred a great expense getting up patterns and purchasing plant to manufacture such work, it would be a serious matter to have the duty removed.”

I think I have proved my impeachment against the hon. member from Ottawa—I am sorry that he is not in his seat this evening. Besides the benefit derived from increased industries caused in such cases as this by the operation of the National Policy, I think you will see from the first letter that I read that it is a matter of gratification that it has offered a premium to our people to improve their mechanical education. In that case one man went all the way to the mines of California to become thoroughly posted, not only in the manufacture of machinery but in its actual working, and he has come back to Hamilton with the whole benefit of this education, which is now being utilized in his own business in that city. I think I might let the matter rest there, but in winding up I should like to say a few words of thanks to my worthy friend from Midland; because, although he may think some of the speakers have been hard on his trade aspirations and expectations I admired the manner in which he introduced the subject to the House. He did not do it in a dogmatic way, insisting that because he held a certain view that therefore it must be right. He did it in an inoffensive way, and said he was open to receive explanations. When he first brought the matter before us I was staggered at some of his state-

ments. Theoretical statements are very good until they come to run up against facts, but when we get the opinion of men who are in the trade, and who know all about it, we are apt to modify our opinion somewhat. My hon. friend has stated his theory and given us the benefit of his ideas, and assured us that he is open to conviction; but perhaps he is like a great many other Scotchmen who are open to conviction—he would like to see the man who could convince him. With regard to the speech of my hon. colleague from Hamilton (Mr. Sanford), I am glad that he takes such a *couleur de rose* view with regard to the prospect of opening up trade with Australia, both on his own and on our account. I confess I have not the same strong conviction that the first start of those ventures will be a success. The markets of Australia and everywhere else require to get goods specially prepared for themselves, as a rule, and if one article is sent out wrong it takes the whole profit off the rest of the stock. So I do not look, and I think parties sending to Australia do not look, for much success at the outset, more particularly when we find the keen Americans have got the start, and not only the start but a knowledge of the market, and are determined to run us out if they can. We must go cautiously and surely, but in my opinion the day will come when we will have a magnificent trade with those colonies. If we try to do too much at a time, and go into it too heavily, the chances are that the people will become disgusted and the business will be dropped. I may say this in conclusion: that we have a magnificent country in our Dominion. If we are true to ourselves we are just at the turning point, and will make such rapid strides as will astonish the world. What were the Americans before they got their prairies—what are they now? But we cannot expect to turn the tide of immigration all in a day into our new country. It must come gradually, and not only must it come that way, but I think it is desirable that there should not be too rapid an influx of people who know nothing about the country. That would entail an amount of suffering and hardship that would result in stories going back to the old country that would retard the development of the North-West

for ten years at least. It is better that they should come as they are coming now—a steady influx, forming a nucleus for settlement, and if we are only true to our common country it will be one of the finest and most prosperous in the world.

HON. MR. FLINT—I do not rise to address the House on this occasion for the purpose of saying anything in reference to the speeches which have been made that will have a tendency to injure the feelings of any one who has already spoken. I rise to speak from a standpoint of my own; being a native Canadian and having always lived in the country, I feel that I have an interest in Canada, which perhaps some people have not to the same extent. In the first place, in reference to my hon. friend from Toronto, who made a long and elaborate speech, I am with him on several points, particularly in that of endeavoring to extend our trade to our own British colonies and also to foreign countries. I believe that it is our duty to do everything that lies in our power to increase the volume of our trade, in order that we may also increase the volume of our manufactures, as well as the exports of the products of the soil; and feeling that, I certainly should be inclined to go as far as any gentleman in this Chamber, within the bounds of reason, to secure a trade, not only with our colonies in other places, but also with France, Spain, Portugal and all other countries, including the United States. But while I feel that it would be my duty to do that, I feel also that I have a duty towards my own country, in reference to the position in which we stand towards our neighbors across the border. In order that I may say what I think is necessary for me to say, I shall be obliged to go back quite a distance in the history of this country, and I trust, as the debate has taken a very wide range, hon. gentlemen will not feel impatient if I should begin a little before the war of 1812. I have a reason for this, from the fact that we are asked, as far as possible in trade relations, to ally ourselves with the United States. I am certainly opposed to that upon the principle that it has the same defect as commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity. I am in favor of a reci-

procity similar to what we had before in reference to such articles as we can produce and they can produce, without interfering with our manufactures. Reciprocity in anything we can produce from the soil or the mine is very well, but when we come down to manufactures I feel that it is my duty to protect them in their infancy, in order that they may grow in strength, and in time be able to compete with those on the other side of the line. It is well known that in the United States they manufacture largely; they have better facilities for doing so than we have, and consequently they, at times, overstock their own market; and if we had that class of reciprocity which has been spoken of, our manufacturers here would be overrun with goods which would be sent into the country for the purpose, not only of being slaughtered to raise funds, but also to crush out our industries. It is a well known fact that the larger fish in the sea eat up the smaller ones, and the same fate would befall the smaller manufacturers of Canada under those circumstances. To go back before the war of 1812, when England was at war with nearly all the world, the Americans put on an embargo on all the world, including Canada. They expected to injure England to a certain extent. While they did injure England, in a certain measure, they benefited Canada. At that time the principle articles sold by us in the American market were lumber, oak and pine, staves, and potash. There was very little flour then sent forward to market, because there was no way of getting it there, from the fact that the largest boats on the St. Lawrence at that time, only carried four tons, and even potash and flour were sent to Montreal on rafts going on their way to Quebec. The American tariff had this effect, that it raised the price of our lumber, and of our potash, because the British Government had to have our timber, and large contracts were made at high prices. I am speaking of facts, for I may tell hon. gentlemen that my uncle and my father made a contract in the city of Quebec for 100,000 staves, at £82 10d. per 1,000. Hon. gentlemen will also be astonished to hear that at that time my father sold 273 barrels of potash, of his own make, and what he bought, at the rate of \$82.50 per barrel, gross weight.

I have heard my father and uncle speak of these things, as well as others, and I have also seen the accounts of sales sent, and so on, so that I speak from a standpoint which is correct. As a matter of course, American lumber and potash were shut out of the English market, and that was a great injury to the settlers on the south side of the St. Lawrence, from the fact that they really had little else to depend upon to keep them alive, and they had to go to the Quebec or Montreal market. Unfortunately, that policy not succeeding, the American Government declared war against Great Britain from 1812 to 1815. As I said before, England was then at war with nearly all the world, and as a matter of course our American neighbors thought they were not only going to cripple England, but they were going to make a conquest of Canada. Did they succeed? They might have injured England to a certain extent, but they certainly got a Roland for their Oliver, as far as Canada was concerned. At that time they were ten or twelve to one of our population, and we held our own, with the aid of a few British soldiers, and it was said by the British officers that our militia made first rate troops, that they were good at fighting, and that they could hold their own with the enemy.

HON. MR. WARK—New Brunswick sent you the 104th Regiment.

HON. MR. FLINT—No doubt they did. I am only speaking of what I knew at home. We had no less than fifty-eight battles with the Americans during that war: thirty-five of them we won, twenty-two of them they won, and one was a drawn game. Didn't we stand our own well, taking into consideration the numbers that were against us? We certainly did. They were glad at last to consent to a peace, and they did so, and we went on for a length of time, down to the Rebellion of 1837-38. The Americans were in sympathy, as far as I could learn, with the rebels in this country, and everything was said and done that was possible to help on the rebellion. Our brave fellows went across the lake and cut out the "Caroline," set her adrift and sent her down the rapids, and then there was great talk of war being declared because we had entered

upon American territory and committed an outrage on an American vessel. However, no war was declared; we got through the rebellion and managed to live. The next thing was the Fenian invasion. These men drilled, armed and organized a raid on us under the eyes of the Government officers in the United States, and nothing was done to prevent them; they made the attempt on us and failed again at St. Albans. They rested upon the American border for weeks, formed their plans, drilled, armed, provisioned and prepared to take Canada, and the American Government made no attempt to stop them. In speaking with some Americans on the subject, who seem to know something about it, they said it was not possible for them to do anything, under their constitution, against the Fenians, until they committed some overt act. That is, they would have to cross over into Canada and do something, and then the American authorities could do something to them when they came back across the border. Taking all these things into consideration, and the course that has been pursued towards us in reference to the settlement of the fisheries, and some other questions—their not allowing Canadian workmen to go over to the other side to work, sending them back unless they came with their families—all show that there has been a decided animus against us on account of Great Britain, and that animus continues down to the present day. I ask hon. gentlemen, what have we to expect from a nation, who from the very commencement—before the war of 1812 and down to the present time—has tried in every instance to obtain an advantage over us? I say we have nothing to look for, and we have no right to expect any favor. It is said that we might possibly get into the American Union. I trust we shall never get there. God forbid that we should ever be connected with them.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—We might connect them.

HON. MR. FLINT—We don't want to connect them. Now, as regards the question of reciprocity, we had one reciprocal agreement with them—they abrogated that. Why? Because they felt

HON. MR. FLINT.

annoyed that we had some feeling for the South at the time of the great Rebellion. Now, so far as the part of the country that I come from is concerned, and if the hon. gentleman from Quinté was here he could support me in what I say, I do not know of one single individual who went South to help the Southerners, but I know of scores who went to the North and became connected with the Federal army. Some of them were killed, some came back maimed for life, and some, promoted for their bravery and good conduct, remained in the United States. We did not show any ill-feeling against our neighbors, and the breaking up of the reciprocity treaty did not have the effect on us, at the time they abrogated it, that they expected. Being then engaged in the lumber business I happened to know that for some years after the reciprocity treaty was abrogated we got better prices and made more money than we did during the years of reciprocity; consequently, I do not think, if we had continued that arrangement, we would have been any better off, as far as the lumber trade was concerned. I speak from a Canadian standpoint, and no other. As regards our shipments of grain and our barley trade, as a matter of course we have not as yet sent much barley to any other country than the United States. I wrote articles on that and on several other subjects which, with the permission of the House, I shall be glad to place in the official report.

The following is my letter to the *Intelligencer* on the barley question:—

"It is not my intention in this article to make an attack on any of the writers on commercial union. I barely wish to give my views on the question that is now agitating the public mind.

"In the first place, can we expect that England will consent to commercial union with the United States unless we put British products and manufactures on the same footing as to their reception as those of the Americans? I think not.

"Secondly, will the American Government consent to a union with Canada if England is included? They will not. Then what are we to do? Shall we cut loose—or, in other words, rebel, to obtain commercial union? I feel sure we will not be so foolish.

"One thing is quite certain—no satisfactory arrangement can be made which shall leave England out in the cold, short of rebellion, and then annexation.

"Another thing: if we could make that union with the American Government they would at once require Canada to raise the duty on English

and foreign goods to their standard, so that Canadians would have to pay higher prices for every description of imports than at present, in order to place us on the same level as the Americans.

"Another thing: would it do away with Customs officers on both borders? They would require to prevent British and foreign goods crossing from Canada to the States, or else we might materially injure their revenue, as they might also ours; so that there would be no saving to either Government by such an agreement.

"THE FARMERS.

"The farmers' ears have been tickled with the idea that such a union was going to give them much higher prices for their horses, &c., and for their barley, but where is the proof that it will? A farmer told me that the union would give him \$20 more for his horse; that now, if he got \$100 for his horse the buyer had to pay \$20 duty when he took it to the States, but with union that \$20 would be given him. Not so. Commercial union would equalize prices on both sides, and no American buyer would be found foolish enough to pay an extra price on that account; the expectation of the farmer would turn out a fallacy—all our horses, cattle and sheep would stand in the same position.

"BARLEY.

"It is said we would save 10 cents duty on every bushel of barley we sold. Not so. All, or nearly all our barley goes, into American ports in bond, and no duty is paid on it unless withdrawn from bond for actual use. Our barley when bonded is for exportation, and when sent to New York or any other seaport for shipment, after it gets out to sea the bonds are taken up and no duties are paid. It may be taken out of bond for malting, and then be restored if shipped to a foreign country, and no duty is collected, or, if collected, will be returned after a reasonable time after the ship leaves port. I very much doubt if one-tenth of our barley pays any duty whatever. This being the case, with commercial union would we be in any better position than now? I think not.

"The true remedy for this evil is for Canada to malt its own barley, and ship the malt or barley, as case may be, direct to England or Germany, or other foreign parts where a market can be obtained, and obtain the very best prices for it. We need no American middlemen to do the business for us and pocket the profits which we should have ourselves.

"RYE, &c.

"The same may be said of our rye and wheat. We had better try and build up home shipping and do our foreign trade ourselves, take the profits, as our American neighbors do, than to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for them.

"REVENUE.

"With commercial union, how or where are we going to get our revenue? This last Session we required \$35,000,000 for all purposes. This, at 5,000,000 people, is \$7 per head of the whole population, but supposing we get from other sources 5,000,000, or even \$10,000,000, and cut down to \$25,000,000, where is that to come from, or are we to stop all imports and let the country stand still in order to lessen that amount? The interest on our debt must be met and, if possible, be reduced, and to enable us to do this we must come down to direct taxation. Can we tax *per capita*, or, say, head? No; we may safely say one-third of the

adult population are persons who own no real estate, and this being the case how are you to collect a poll tax? For instance, a farmer has a wife and six children, say in all eight souls, at \$5 per head would be \$40, but how is a laboring man, with eight in family, making from \$5 to \$7.50 a week, when he can get work? He has to pay rent and municipal tax out of that at \$5 he has 7½ cents per day, or for all purposes and to feed eight souls a trifle over 10 cents per day. But supposing he has \$7.50 per week, he has a trifle less than 13½ cents per day for all purposes—then how could he pay \$5 per head or \$40 per year direct tax to support the Dominion Government? Surely he could not do so; then, on whom must the tax fall? Why, on the real estate in cities, towns, villages and counties. How could the farmer, who has to pay \$40, like to have added to his tax one-third for the poor man, or say \$13.33 more, making his direct tax \$53.33? Of course all real estate will have to pay according to its worth—some more, some less—while those who have no real estate must escape.

“How will our farmers like to pay such taxes, taking in what they now have to pay for school, township and county taxes? They will sorely feel it, while now under our system they pay indirectly a high tax, as well as all others, both rich and poor, who use dutiable goods. And that is not all. What the merchants and manufacturers have to pay will be placed on extra profit on the goods the farmer buys, so he may safely say his farm has to pay the whole. Farmers should look thoroughly into this thing before they take a leap in the dark.

“In the fifty-eight years I have spent in the county of Hastings I have had no desire to lead the farmers or workmen astray. I have tried to do my duty to all classes, and have nothing to regret on that account; and my advice to the farmers is to be content, and not seek for commercial union, which can do them no good. You are having a hard time this year with the crops, but the union won't make them any better, and you may depend on it the present Government won't go for such a union. While they are willing for a fair reciprocity they won't go further. Sir John would not dare to do so if he could, nor would there be any such change without a change of Government. No leader would dare to place himself in a position to sever the connection of Canada from the mother country. For one, I would do all in my power to overthrow any Government that would have the folly to propose commercial union.”

The next subject on which I wrote was the advantage we had in Canada for the manufacture of cheese. My reason for doing so was this: At that time Mr. Wiman was airing his views on commercial union in our county (Hastings), and I was surprised to find, not only commercial men, but gentlemen of the legal profession and farmers were quite taken with it. After they read my articles I think that, to a certain extent, the illusion produced by the arguments of Mr. Wiman was dispelled, and it would be very difficult for him or any other person to succeed in creating the same impression again in that quarter. The article was as follows:

HON. MR. FLINT.

“It is not many years since all our Canadian cheese went into England and was rated as ‘American cheese.’ Happily for Canadian producers a change has been made, and our cheese now stands on its merits.

“I believe I had a hand in drawing attention to this matter, and which caused our cheese to become known by its proper name, ‘Canadian.’ And what has been the result of such a change? We find that our cheese stands higher in the English markets than the American cheese does.

“The American Consul at Bristol, England, the Hon. Mr. Lothrop, speaks out in reference to the difference between Canadian and American cheese and states that Canadian cheese imports are on the increase, while American cheese is falling off in quantity. This could only be maintained from the fact that the consumers of cheese prefer ours, because it is better in quality. Mr. Lothrop would not, as an American, be likely to disparage the products of his own country; hence, for the best of reasons his statements must be taken as conclusive evidence which cannot well be disputed.

“There is a reason for all this, which I think can be easily explained. I deem it to be in the strength of our northern grass over that of the American. Do you ask why? I answer, I believe the proof is easily adduced in our own country. Take Sidney, Thurlow and Tyendinga; carefully examine their pasturage, and their stock of horses, cattle and sheep; then go northward, and it will be easily discovered that both pasturage and stock improve in quality the further you travel.

“A gentleman who had been north as far as Maynooth remarked to me a short time ago the difference he saw in stock in the rear townships to that in the front, and asked me if I could account for it. I told him that I laid the difference to be in the strength of the grass and food being so much richer than at the front, that as far north as I had been I could discern a gradual change in the appearance of stock, and believed it proceeded from the more nutritious properties of the grass, which no doubt is a fact. The more nutriment in the grass the richer the milk, and therefore better for making good cheese, and that more cheese could be made from the standard weight of milk, say 3,000 pounds, than could be made in the front factories.

“Mr. Lothrop also tells us that Canadian manufacturers of ‘chedder cheese,’ sold for one penny per pound more than cheddar cheese manufactured in England, at the very place where it was made.

“Do our farmers who patronize our cheese factories require any further proof than that given by Mr. Lothrop to show them (whether they are commercial unionists, or not) that to retain the superiority of our cheese we must not sell to American buyers, to have it shipped *via* New York or Boston, or any other American seaport, as American cheese, unless we are prepared to sacrifice what we have already gained by our cheese being known in the English markets as Canadian (not American)? No doubt, it would have a tendency to raise the value of American cheese.

“As an article of export our cheese is steadily gaining ground. Shall we, therefore, lose what we have so richly gained for the sake of a mere shadow, as promised by Wiman & Co., which is but a myth, and never can be realized?

“Much more might be said on this one article which we produce, but knowing you are not disposed to give too long communications a place in

the *Intelligencer*, I will close, with a promise to give you another soon on the subject of our timber, saw-logs and sawn lumber."

The next thing I called attention to was our trade in wheat and flour. I felt it my duty to take up that subject, and to show, not only from a Canadian standpoint but from an American standpoint, the position we occupied towards our neighbors in reference to those products :

"As promised, I now give you my view of the effect such a union would have on our farmers in reference to their wheat and some other grains as produced from their lands. I take quotations from Chicago of 11th and Toronto of 12th instant. Chicago market, lowest price, 72½ cents and highest 73 cents per bushel; Toronto, 80 to 81 cents per bushel. The difference may be said to be 8 cents per bushel in favor of our farmers, as at present our duty on American wheat is 15 cents per bushel, except when brought in bond to be made into flour to be shipped out of Canada. Now, 3 cents per bushel would bring Chicago wheat to Toronto, so if there was no duty to pay the American wheat would bring our wheat down from 4 to 5 cents per bushel. How would our farmers like such an opposition to their industry?

"Well may they feel thankful that American wheat is shut out from competing with theirs in the manufacturing of flour for home consumption. One thing, the 15 cents duty is a wall of protection to them. Do they wish to do away with that protection? I think not.

"Canadian millers can bring in bond all the American wheat they choose for manufacturing purposes and grind for export only, unless they pay the duty. Already there are millers who complain of the duty and want it removed, so that American wheat ground by them into flour can be sold here for about 35 cents per barrel less than our Canadian flour. How would our farmers like this? The duty on American wheat is the Canadian farmers' protection, and without it they might have reason to complain.

"Some of our millers base their loss in profits on paying the duty (if they do not sell flour from American wheat) at 17½ cents per barrel. They claim four and a-half bushels of wheat for one barrel of flour, and hence they complain that the duty on wheat is too high, or on flour 50 cents per barrel too low. Four and a-half bushels wheat at 60 pounds per bushel is 270 pounds. Millers generally allow 1 pound per bushel waste, 2 pounds shorts and 10 pounds bran, or in all 13 pounds per bushel. Now, at four and a-half bushels this would make 58½ pounds, or say 59 pounds, which, from 270 pounds, would leave 211 pounds, or allowing the barrel to contain 196 pounds, or say 1 pound extra, would leave 14 pounds over and above the barrel; this, at 2½ cents per pound would be 28 cents; the 45 pounds of bran, at 60 cents per 100 pounds, would be 27 cents, and 9 pounds shorts, at 1 cent, 9 cents—or in all 54 cents; allowing the barrel at 25 cents, leaves 29 cents, out of which 17½ cents extra duty on four and a-half bushels wheat over one barrel of flour, it leaves 11½ cents in favor of the wheat over the 50 cents duty on flour. As a great deal of the flour is sold without the barrel, if sold at 196 or 197 pounds per barrel it would leave 36½ cents profit, or if the miller sells 100 pounds for the bag, as is usual at

some mills, he would still have 28 cents to 30 cents profit. I am basing my calculations on \$4 per barrel for flour, or \$2 per 100 pounds.

"My own experience in the milling business has taught me that from four bushels of good, sound wheat 196 to 198 lbs. of superfine flour, No. 1, can be made. I have had it done in my mill at Bridgewater by Mr. McCallum, my miller, now dead several years, and one season from 17,000 bushels of wheat, from fair, to best quality, Mr. McCallum made me a barrel of superfine, No. 1, from four bushels and 10 lbs. on the average for the whole 17,000 bushels, and two barrels and 153 lbs. over on the average.

"I now ask our farmers, do they want wheat to come in from the States duty free, a flour either to compete with the wheat and flour they now sell under a protective duty of 15 cents per bushel or 50 cents on flour? I think the answer of every farmer who gives the subject a careful consideration will be decidedly "No."

"I did intend to bring in oats, &c., but I must not now make this any longer, but ask leave to come again."

The next subject I took up was that of timber and lumber, and I endeavored to show the position in which we stood towards the United States in reference to that trade. I have been in the lumber business until lately, I may say ever since the year 1836—that is, for myself—and consequently I ought to know something about it. I believe that in 1851 or 1852, when I built my large mill in Belleville and went into business heavily, if I had gone to Great Britain and established agencies in Liverpool and London I would have made more money by sending my lumber there than by sending it to the United States. And why? Because they send a large quantity there, as well as to other countries, and we were made the hewers of wood and drawers of water for them; they took the cream and we got the skim milk. My letter was as follows :

"Several years ago an Act was passed to levy an export duty on saw-logs going to the States. It may be remembered that pine saw-logs were rafted at Belleville booms and towed over to Oswego to be sawn up in their mills. Believing this to be unfair to our lumber industry I brought the subject before members of the Government, and in my place in the Senate I showed conclusively that an export tax should be collected, or that the export should cease, and it did cease, so far as the bay trade was concerned, as well as generally throughout Ontario at last.

"My argument was that the slabs, edgings, ends of boards and sawdust would fully, if not more, than pay the expense of rafting and towage to Oswego. The slabs and edgings could be cut into fence pickets, laths, barrel headings, and what was left was put up in bundles and sold for kindling wood, while the sawdust was sold for packing purposes and for bedding for horses. The logs went in duty free.

"It is easy to discover the advantage they had over us. First, the offal paying expense of rafting and tonnage, while we had to pay on an average \$1 per 1,000 feet for schooner or barge freight, and a duty of \$2 per 1,000 feet; the lumbermen had to pay as high a price for their logs as the Americans, so that at the best we could not stand on an even footing with them. In every respect they had the advantage, and always have had.

"But, says the commercial unionist, if we had commercial union we would save the duty. Are they certain that would give us \$2 more per 1,000 for our lumber? I think not. Yet, should we be relieved of the duty, would not the transport of the lumber be the same, which would give them the same profit with the export duty taken off. So far as I am concerned, I know that I got better prices for my lumber after the reciprocity treaty was broken up than I got before it, excepting through the American war.

"It must not be forgotten that under commercial union the Americans could and would buy up our pine timber, as well as other timber, as far as possible to do so. They would get out their own logs and take them to the States to supply their own mills, as heretofore, before the export duty was levied. They could bring their own men and teams, their own provisions and grain, all but hay, to do their own work, and they would have no need of our men or of farmers' produce, except hay; and even that they might bring in in pressed bundles. If so, where would any benefit accrue to our laboring men or our farmers from this transaction?

"They would be taking away our timber, and our men would have to seek employment elsewhere. Our farmers would lose largely, for the want of purchasers for their produce, now sold to lumbermen. Our country would soon be stripped of its valuable timber and our mills go to waste.

"Our American neighbors have already secured large tracts of valuable pine and other timber in Canada, and at present there is nothing to prevent them from continuing to buy more, so that should commercial union be adopted our lumber trade would mostly fall into their hands, for the benefit of American mills and to the decided injury of our own. Are we prepared to barter away our rights to our neighbors for a mess of pottage, and then not even get that? I say no! Let the Government of the United States restore the old reciprocity treaty, or offer a new and extended one, such as we could accept, for fair interchange of certain articles and I am content. It is all we need, and if they don't see fit to do that, well—we can live without it, as we have done ever since they broke up the old one. We want no further 'union' than as above.

"We might largely improve our lumber interests by seeking for other markets than American, and why not open out in London and Liverpool markets for the sale of our sawn lumber, as we have for square and board timber, or in other countries than the United States? Can we not do so as well as they? Could we not compete with them in foreign markets? Could we not make our lumber into doors, sash, packing boxes and other articles, as well as they do, and ship them as, they do, and get the profit as well as they do, or must we continue to use Americans as middlemen, giving them the greater share of the profits—profits that ought to be ours? I am satisfied that had I gone to London and Liverpool when I got my large steam mill in operation, and opened up agencies in those places, I would have done far better, and even now have been in that business with great advantage to my-

self as well as others. I know I made a great mistake in not doing so.

"All the timber we have in Canada should be manufactured in the country, whether pine or other wood, thereby giving us the profits, as well as work for our men, letting the Americans purchase lumber from us if they wanted to, and with the prosperity of our lumber interests our farmers would prosper also. I might enlarge, but I will not now.

"In my next I will take up the flour and wheat question."

The next question which I took up was that of oats and corn, and I endeavored to show to our farmers the effects that commercial union would have upon them in reference to their rough grains, and I think that I effectually convinced them that it would be decidedly better not to have reciprocity in those two articles. The following is my letter on the subject:

"MR. EDITOR,—I again wish to call the attention of our farmers to the effect the union proposed by Wiman & Co. would have on the oat crop of Ontario, if not on all Canada. On the 11th inst. oats were quoted in Chicago at 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ c., and in Toronto on the 12th inst. at 38 to 39c. per bushel. Were it not for a duty of 10 cts. per bushel, Toronto and other points could be flooded with American oats, counting in freight, for 29c., which would cut down our farmers in price from 9 to 10c. per bush. How would they like the duty taken off? I think they would say, if commercial union is going to cut down the price of their oats that way, they don't want it, and won't have it. Yet it is quite evident that they would have to conform to American prices, adding freight.

"It is so much easier for the farmer to take up one side of a question when told he is going to be a gainer by so doing, than to take the trouble to look at both sides, by setting down the promised gains on one side and the actual loss on the other, that I think he often neglects to act cautiously before he jumps to a conclusion. It ought not to be so. Let him calmly examine both sides, to see how he will come out the best. Many farmers do so; others do not.

"Corn was quoted on the 11th inst. in Chicago at 44 cents per bushel. The duty here 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents; freight sap 3 cents to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents, or the cost laid down in Toronto, or other places, about 55 cents per bushel of 56 lbs. Corn will compete with our rye and peas for feed, to say nothing of oats. I see rye quoted at 50 cents and peas at 60 cents per bushel. For feed, one bushel of rye and one of peas would be equal to two bushels of corn and 4 lbs. over in weight. As our farmers do not raise much corn in this country it should show them that American corn comes into direct competition with their coarser grains for feed, and therefore has a tendency to keep down prices; and with the duty off of oats and corn, would make it far worse for our farmers than it is now.

"From the last day in June, 1885, to the last day in June, 1886, according to our returns, there was imported into Canada from the States 2,373,207 bushels of wheat, 66,061 bushels for use and paid duty; corn, 4,528,887 bushels, 1,825,383 bushels for use and paid duty; 219,976 bushels oats, 98,357 for use and paid duty; or in all three kinds, 1,989,801 bushels, which came into direct competition with our farmers' grains, besides the offal of

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2,307,146 bushels of wheat if ground, and the flour shipped in bond. This offal, at 10 lbs. bran and 2 lbs. shorts per bushel, would make 27,685,752 lbs. of feed. If you allow 68 lbs. as equal to 1 bushel of oats you would have an equivalent of, as oats, 407,143 bushels, which our farmers would have to compete against, as of the wheat bonded and ground only the flour is shipped out of the country, while the offal remains to be sold.

"If we take the 1,825,383 bushels of corn, 98,357 of oats, the offal from 66,061 bushels wheat, equal to 112 52-66 of oats, which, together with 407,143 bushels as above, you have just (calling corn equal to 2 bushels oats) 3,756,378 bushels of feed as oats to come in competition with what the farmers of Canada grow. How will our farmers like this side of the picture? Yet were the duty taken off, in what position would our farmers be as to prices? American wheat, 73c.; Canada, 80 to 81c.; American oats 25½c.; Canada, 38 to 39c.; American corn, 44c.; Canada rye, 50c.; peas, 60c. Farmers, draw the contrast, and then ask yourselves candidly, are you willing to change your present prospects for those held out to you by Wiman & Co., to have Canada filled with cheap grain, in direct antagonism to your own? I think I can vouchsafe you will say 'No!'

"In my next I will take up the question of horses and cattle. I think I can show clearly that our farmers, if not the gainers, lose nothing by selling their spare stock to American buyers."

The next question I took up was the trade in horses and cattle, and I think I showed conclusively that our farmers would be just as well off by having the Americans pay the duty on those animals, as they do now, as they would be under commercial union. I think we had better send our horses and cattle to Great Britain if we possibly can, or to some other places where we can get better prices for them:

"According to promise I now take up the horse and cattle question as between Canada and the States. It appears from the American returns for the fiscal year of 1885 and 1886, which, I believe, are made up similar as to time as our own, that there was imported into the States, or say exported from Canada, in all 21,142 head of horses, valued as follows: 15,854 dutiable, valued at \$1,762,858, and 5,288 free, valued at \$1,186,917, or only a difference of \$575,94, in value between the larger number of 15,854 and the smaller number of 5,288, which went in duty free, while the larger number being a poorer class, paid duty. The 15,854 horses on which duty was paid averaged \$111.11 each on the whole lot, while the smaller number averaged \$224.45 each, free of duty, while the duty on the larger number, at 20 per cent., is \$22.20 per head. It will be seen that all the most valuable horses paid no duty, so that so far as the 5,288 horses, the farmers lost nothing in price, unless they were deceived by those who purchased them.

"If we put the whole 21,148 horses together, and make an average on the amount of duties paid on the 15,854, it will bring down the average duty on the whole number from \$22.20 to \$17.12 each. Will any farmer show the cost of feeding a horse on hay, with grain to keep him in good heart

for spring's work, from the time he should be stabled in November until close of feeding time in spring, say five months, or nearly six months if well kept, that it will cost him less than \$17 or even \$22, even if he kept the horse on part straw.

"As horses are mostly sold in the spring, summer and fall, the farmer saves his hay and grain, either to hold or sell, and which must fully compensate him for any supposed loss in selling on account of the American duties, and would he get \$1 more for a horse if there was no duty to be thrown up to him by the purchaser. Horse dealers are not so foolish as to throw away their money to please our farmers, under any circumstances.

"We will now take up the question of cattle: 35,746 head were shipped to the States in the fiscal year 1885 and 1886. Of this number 33,165 head paid duty and 2,581 head went in free; the larger number averaged in value \$13.58½, which, at a duty of 20 per cent., would be about \$2.66 per head. If we add the 2,581 that went in free to the larger number it would bring down the average duty to \$2.50 per head. Will any farmer pretend that he can feed his cattle on \$2.50 or \$2.66 per head through the winter months? I think not. I think farmers who sell off their surplus stock of horses and cattle make more money out of the feed they save, and which can be sold for cash, than will more than make up for any imaginary loss they think they sustain in price by the purchasers paying the American duty. Let the farmers calculate and see if this is not so.

"There were in all, horses and cattle 56,188 head, according to the American returns for 1885-86. The average duty paid would amount to about \$7.90 per head all round. Will any farmer say that number of head of horses and cattle can be fed on the average cost of \$7.90 per head? If so, I should not wish him to feed stock for me. It is quite evident, taking the average prices of hay, straw and grain, that it can't be done.

"The farmer should recollect that there is a vast difference between his grain crop and his live stock. He can keep his grain in his barn unthreshed, or he can store away his grain in his granary, and it costs him nothing to keep it, unless he insures it, which is but a trifle, while all his surplus horses and cattle that he does not need to keep, if kept, must be fed through the winter, and by selling off he saves the price of the fodder, which he can add to the amount he received from the horses and cattle sold as well as to the amount he gets for his grain when sold; and adding them together they ought to be satisfied to work out their own destiny without the bogus help offered by Wiman & Co., and which, in my opinion, can never amount to anything but wind and confusion. More anon."

I also published the following letter on the subject of Canada, its extent and resources:

"Believing that some quotations from an article published in the 'Methodist Magazine' for December by D. E. Cameron, Esq., will be useful, I take the liberty of writing another letter.

"When we come to think of the immense area of Canada we cannot help being astonished. The writer of the article gives us an 'area of 3,500,000 square miles, equal to one sixteenth part of the land surface of the globe,' and then goes on to state: 'It is larger than the island continent of Australia, nearly as large as the whole of Europe, and exceeds

in size by 127,000 square miles the United States of America; while, contrary to general belief, it contains as much fertile territory and as little barren or waste land as that marvellous progressive country (the United States); it stretches for 3,500 miles from east to west, 1,400 miles from north to south.' I ask is this the country commercial unionists wish to barter away for free trade, and finally to find a resting place in the arms of the American Union? It seems to me that must be their object and aim, whether they believe it or not.

"The area as laid down is as follows: 'Ontario, 197,000 square miles; Quebec, 188,000; New Brunswick, 27,000; Nova Scotia, 21,000; Prince Edward Island, 2,133; British Columbia, 341,000; and Manitoba and the North-West Territories, 2,800,000 square miles.' The writer then gives comparisons as follows: 'Ontario is larger than Spain, nearly as large as France, nearly as large as the great German Empire, as large as Sweden, Denmark and Belgium, and larger than Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and Portugal.'

"Quebec is as large as Norway, Holland, Portugal and Switzerland. British Columbia is as large as France, Norway and Belgium. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are as large as Portugal and Denmark. Ontario and Quebec are nearly as large as France, Italy, Portugal, Holland and Belgium. Canada is forty times as large as England, Wales and Scotland combined. New South Wales contains an area of 309,175 square miles, and is larger than France, Italy and Sicily; and yet Canada would make eleven countries the size of New South Wales.'

"Is it not wonderful to think of the magnitude of our country.

"British India is large enough to contain a population of 250,000,000, and yet three British Indias could be carved out of Canada, and still have enough to make a Queensland and a Victoria.

"All hail to Canada, I say. Who would barter such a noble country as we have for silver and gold, or for the sake of obtaining Wiman & Co.'s promise of more money for our barley, horses, cattle, &c.? I feel sure our farmers won't when they give the subject their serious consideration. Just look at the dimensions of Canada. We could put the whole United States in our midst and have an area of 127,000 square miles left, enough to form a large population, or giving us an area of two and a-half times that of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and 1,671 miles to the good.

"Next, we have our noble lakes and rivers—first, 'Lake Superior, 420 miles long; Lake Huron, 280 miles; Lake Erie embraces a circuit of 700 miles, and descending the Niagara, the combined water of the upper lakes pours over the glorious cataract of that mighty river at the rate of 18,000,000 cubic feet, 700,000 tons a minute. Lake Ontario, the smallest of the chain, is 180 miles long, and embraces a circuit of 600 miles. These fresh water seas, together with the majestic St. Lawrence, form an unbroken water communication for 2,140 miles.'

"With your permission, Mr. Editor, I will give further statistics in another letter, as this one is long enough."

I also contributed an article on commercial union and its effects on our farmers, which I think is sufficient to convince the House that I take a right and proper view on that question:—

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"I now ask leave to address my letter to our farmers (whether in Hastings or elsewhere) a short summary of the various letters I have written, as published in the Daily and Weekly *Intelligencer*, being desirous of giving them all the information in my power in reference to Wiman & Co.; I mean *Wiman and Butterworth*, both of whom have a great desire to make the farmers believe they are speaking and working as philanthropists for their benefit (not their own.)

"First, in reference to our barley, in my letter of the 27th August last, I stated: 'It is said we would save 10 cents duty on every bushel of barley we sold: not so. All, or nearly all, our barley goes into American ports in bond, and no duty is paid on it, unless withdrawn from bond for actual use.' I believe there has been no denial of this, nor that 'our barley, when bonded, is for exportation.' I also stated: 'I very much doubt if one-tenth of our barley pays any duty whatever.'

"My next letter on cheese, dated 9th November, instant, I think I will not quote from, but give the American Consul's views, that in England 'Canadian cheese is on the increase,' while 'American cheese is falling off.' Also, that our 'cheddar cheese sold for one penny per pound more than cheddar cheese manufactured in England.' This is most encouraging, and I think will not be lost sight of by our cheese-makers. Every one of our factories should strive to improve in quality on what they turn out in the season of 1888.

"Next, I would ask them to look at the timber, lumber and saw-log questions. Here, as farmers, you are interested in furnishing the lumbermen with the products of your farms. I can say for myself while lumbering I always got my supply from the farmers if possible, and only in three instances did I go outside of my own county. My motto is home trade and home production for all the products of the farm in this country, and I have as far as possible carried it out.

"My letter of 18th November instant, on the subject of wheat and flour, should command your attention, and I trust I have made it so plain that all who read can understand and profit by it.

"On the 22nd November instant my letter called your attention to oats and corn, &c. Every farmer must be interested in the grain he can produce from his farm, as also in that which comes into competition with his crop. In that letter I have pointed out the effect that American corn and offal (namely, bran and shorts made from American wheat) has on his oat, rye and pea crop, and which should command a careful consideration.

"My next letter of 2nd November, in reference to horses and cattle, is one in which I have fairly shown that nothing is lost to the farmer who sells his surplus stock to our American neighbors, but rather a gain on the whole, and having that gain should be satisfied. I trust it will be found sufficiently plain to be understood.

"My next and last letter for the present (except this one) was for the purpose of preventing your being led away by the 'French domination and Popish cry,' raised, no doubt, to frighten some into supporting commercial union. Such bugbears should not scare Protestants. As we have the remedy in our own hands, let us use it in a prudent manner, and then all will go on well. Protestants, stand firm, shoulder to shoulder, and while there may be danger of encroachment on our liberties, with firmness and faith in the principles we advocate we need not fear, but all will come out right.

"A PARTING WORD.

"I trust all those who take the *Intelligencer*, whether daily or weekly, have read or will carefully read my letters, and if they agree with me as to the facts, read them to those who do not take the paper. An hour or two thus spent with one another in discussing the matters I have brought before you may be productive of much good. I would say Canada for the Canadians. We have a rich country and a great future before us, let us be careful not to barter away our rights as freemen, and thereby lose the hope of one day becoming one of the greatest (if not the greatest) nations on the face of the globe (not the Toronto). I believe in time we shall yet stand second to no other nation.

My next article of the series was a short letter to show what Canada was before the reciprocity treaty, as compared with the present day, in regard to the prices of produce and the necessities of life, and with your permission I will read it:

"For the benefit of all concerned, but more especially four our farmers, I desire to draw a contrast as to the prices of the farmers' products at the present time with the fall and winter and spring of 1828 and 1829, the year I came to Belleville to commence business. Those who read, and who can remember back so long ago are very few at the present time:

The Farmer's Produce now.	1887.	The Farmer's Produce then.	1829.	1888.
Wheat per bush	75c	50c	\$ 1 05	
Rye "	55c	33c	0 45	
Peas "	60c to 65c	30c		
Oats "	40c	12½c		
Flour per barrel	\$4	\$2 50	5 00	
Potatoes per bush	66c	12½c	0 33	
Pork per 100 lbs.	\$5 50 to \$6	\$2.50	7 50	
Beef per 100 lbs.	\$3 to \$4.50	\$2 to \$3		
Butter per lb.	25c to 28c	10c		
Lard per lb.	12c	7½c		
Eggs per doz.	18c to 23c	7½c		
Chickens per pair	25c to 40c	20c to 25c		
Geese.	40c to 60c	20c to 25c		
Turkeys	50c to \$1 50	35c to 60c		
Firewood	\$3 to \$4	80c to \$1		
Hay per ton	\$12 to \$15	\$5 to \$6	16 00	

"At that time, there being no market in town very few vegetables were offered for sale, and market gardening was not known here, while money was out of the question for either wheat or flour, or any other produce.

"I will now quote the prices farmers, as well as others, had to pay the merchants for what they wanted. I will state prices now and the prices then:

	1887.	1829.
Salt, per barrel	\$ 1 00	\$ 6 00
Green tea, per lb.	0 25 @ 50	1 00
Sugar (common), per lb.	0 06	0 15
Black pepper, per lb.	0 25	0 40
Allspice, per lb.	0 20	0 40
Epsom salts, per lb.	0 10	0 40
Nutmegs, each.	0 01	0 12½
Indigo, per lb.	1 20	6 00
Window glass, 100 ft., 7 x 9.	3 50	15 00
Board nails	4c @ 6c	0 15
English bar iron	0 02	0 10
Factory cotton, per yd.	7c. @ 10c.	30c. @ 40c.

and all other goods in proportion as to price.

"I might mention prices of many other articles were it not for making my letter too long. The above is sufficient to show the difference between now and then.

"Should our farmers complain when at present they can get six barrels of salt for one in 1828-29, when it took two barrels of flour and two bushels of wheat to pay for one barrel of salt, or when it took one bushel of oats or one of potatoes to get one nutmeg, now when they get all classes of goods that they require (I don't mean whiskey, as I call that *bads*, or as the school boy defined the word bad, all bad, badder and baddest), at such cheap rates as compared with 1828-29, before I commenced business in Belleville.

"When they look at our splendid roads and bridges, their elegant democrats, buggies and silver plated harness, and the great changes in the comfort of their buildings now, and then draw a contrast with their old waggons, harness, horses, and the numerous ox teams and carts with which they came to town with their products, what have they to complain of (except it may be with some) their own extravagance? Do they think Wiman and Butterworth, with their scheme of commercial union, will make it any better? If they do, and it should come (which I am sure it will not in my day) they would be no better off. The remedy is with themselves; let them use it wisely and well. With a good harvest next year, let those that are in debt work their way out and all will be well.

These were the prices that prevailed when I went to Belleville, and these were the prices that the farmers were then getting for their produce. It shows, as a matter of course, that if they could live then they certainly can live now without complaining, because they can get goods cheaper to-day than they could at the time I mentioned. So far as I am individually concerned, I am opposed to anything further than a reciprocity of articles such as we do not manufacture, but such as the land produces and such as the mines produce.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—And the sea, I suppose.

HON. MR. FLINT—Yes; and the sea, as a matter of course, but we have not any sea up our way. I am quite willing, however, that those who live down by the sea should have it, and all the advantages that come from it. I never was at sea, and cannot say anything about it. I knew one old lady who visited Cobourg, and standing on a point jutting out into the lake, she looked out across the water and said it was the first time in her life she had ever been out of sight of land. I have been further than that; I have been across the lake, but I have never been to sea. My next article was on Canada and her resources:—

"According to promise in my letter of the 30th ultimo, I now quote from D. E. Cameron, Esq., as published in the *Methodist Magazine* for December, as follows:

"Our fisheries are the richest in the world. The deep sea fisheries of Canada, including those of Newfoundland, yielded in 1881 the enormous product of \$20,000,000, or about double the average value of the fisheries of the United States, and nearly equal in value to the whole produce of the British European fisheries. In 1885 the fisheries of Canada alone yielded nearly \$18,000,000.' Are they not worth preserving against American fishermen, or shall we throw them free for Wiman and Butterworth, and their friends, to take our fish? No, certainly not.

"Our magnificent forests are of immense value, and contain no less than sixty-nine different varieties of wood. In 1885 our exports of the forest amounted to \$21,000,000.

"Then, again, let us look at our valuable coal mines: 'In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, British Columbia and the North-West Territories, our coal areas are estimated at upwards of 100,000 square miles, not including areas known but as yet quite undeveloped in the far north.'

"We now come down to the 'precious metals.' First gold: 'The gold mines of British Columbia have yielded during the past twenty-five years over \$50,000,000 worth of the precious metal, while Nova Scotia has, up to the present, produced \$8,000,000 worth.' Of 'silver, iron, lead, copper and other metals,' I need only state there is a superabundant supply. Again we have 'an abundant supply of oil to throw light upon the subject.'

"Again: 'In agriculture our possibilities are practically unlimited.' Mr. Cameron states in reference to cheese that 'we exported in 1885 over 86,000,000 pounds,' that the capital invested in Ontario alone, 'in agriculture, including farm lands, farm stock and implements, amounts to the enormous sum of \$1,000,000,000, as compared with \$80,000,000 invested in manufactures.'

"Please look at the capital expended in railroads: 'In 1844 Canada had 14 miles of railroad. At Confederation, in 1867, they had increased to 2,400 miles. To-day we have upwards of 12,000 miles in operation, representing the enormous value of over \$625,000,000.' Who dare say we are not an aggressive and a prosperous country.

"Again: 'In 1868 we had but 8,500 miles of electric telegraph. To-day we have over 50,000 miles, besides an important and growing telephone service.' These wonderful inventions have done much to help forward the progress of Canada.

"I now turn to the trade of Canada: 'In 1868, the first year of Confederation, our total trade was \$131,000,000, in 1883 it had grown to \$230,000,000, an increase of \$100,000,000, or an average of nearly \$7,000,000 a year.' Surely here is great cause for encouragement.

"Our noble school system I will not enter into.

"Our banking capital 'was, in 1870, \$30,000,000. To-day, including reserves, it amounts to \$80,000,000, an increase of over 250 per cent. The notes of chartered banks in circulation amount to about \$33,000,000. In 1868 the deposits by the people in the chartered and savings banks were \$37,000,000. To-day they amount to no less a sum than \$148,500,000, an increase of over 400 per cent.' Who will say aught against our bank capital or deposits? If the people of Canada, as a general thing, were not prosperous, the depositors could

not have so large a sum as \$148,500,000 in bank at low rates of interest, and upon which they can draw on if needed. True, everyone has not money on deposit in our banks; if not, whose fault is it? I must, however, be brief, and will now say that with our magnificent lake and river communication, our 12,000 miles of railway in operation, and our 73 miles of canals, at a cost of nearly \$30,000,000, ought we not to be thankful that 'our lot has fallen in' Canada, and that we 'have a goodly heritage.'

"Let us therefore stick to our own noble ship and the flag that has weathered the storm for 'a thousand years,' and go on and build up a nation which need not feel ashamed to own its British parentage; and while we will respect our American neighbors, and live and deal with them on friendly terms, yet show them we want neither Wiman & Co.'s commercial union or after annexation. God will bless our country if we do right, and let us give Him all the praise."

I am for keeping Canada for the Canadians, and while I believe in dealing fairly and honestly with our neighbor across the way, I don't want any commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity or annexation. I believe that commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity are mere stepping-stones to annexation. I think it would be a mistake for us to cut loose from Great Britain, which has protected us, so far, in reference to our neighbors, and join the Americans, where we would be swallowed up and lose our independence as a people. We had better stay where we are. I trust that I shall never see commercial union. I have always been a loyal subject of Her Majesty; I have lived and I hope to die where I am, and remain a British subject. I wish to thank my hon. friend from British Columbia for having given away to an old man over eight-four years of age.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—Having been unavoidably absent when the hon. gentleman from Midland made the motion that has so profitably occupied the time of the House for the last week, and also having been absent from the debates of the two following days, and not having had time to read all the speeches on the question under discussion, I trust the House will forgive me if I happen to go over any ground already occupied. If I do it will be entirely unintentioned on my part.

However, although I had not the privilege of listening to the able and instructive address of the hon. gentleman from Midland, I did the next best thing. I got

the official report on my return to Ottawa, and I think I understand the position and motives of the hon. gentleman when he gave notice of his motion. The impression made on me was, that his original purpose was to convince, not only this House but the Government and the people of Canada, that their true commercial interests lay in opening up new trade relations with the West India Islands, Central and South America, but that after a thorough investigation of the figures and returns produced by the Boards of Trade, and of the other statistics furnished by those countries, and after having himself visited these countries, and having interviewed such persons as were in a position to speak with authority on the subject, he was forced to the conclusion that a large and profitable trade could not be opened up with these distant countries. The conclusions at which he arrived are precisely those that I enunciated here last year, and that I have held for many years. As to extending any considerable amount of our trade with the Australasian colonies, I am quite in accord with the views he expressed, namely, that the distance is so great, in the first place, across this continent, over 3,000 miles by rail, and then transshipment to the Australasian colonies, as to take away any profit that would attach to the sale of any goods that we are capable of manufacturing here, and to compete with the Americans, or with English manufacturers in that distant market. I am perfectly aware of the fact that a great effort has been put forth within the last year or two to establish a trade between the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Asia and Australia, and from my observations, living, as I do, within a few miles of the western termini of the Canadian Pacific Railway, I have no hesitation at all in saying that the trade is extremely small, and I cannot conceive how it is possible to develop any very considerable trade with Asia. It will be within the recollection of a great number of the hon. gentlemen here that the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario, who led this House so ably for a great number of years, stated one time in his place here (I think his speech will be found in the *Debates* of 1884 or 1885), that, on his way to British Columbia, he

took the pains to ascertain for himself, as far as he possibly could, what that trade amounted to. He went and saw the agents and proprietors of the mail steamship company in San Francisco, who had a monopoly of all the Asiatic and the transcontinental trade over the Central and Union Pacific Railway for eighteen years. In his place, here, not only as a member of this House but as a member of the Government, he stated that the trade only amounted to two-thirds of a carload per day. A great deal has been said in general terms, through the press and elsewhere, about a large and profitable trade that could be established between this country and Asia. I have on several occasions asked gentlemen to tabulate or enumerate the articles that would form a part of this great trade they predicted. Up to the present moment I have been unable to get a satisfactory reply—neither I believe can a satisfactory one be given to my question. The only articles of any consequence that we import from Asiatic countries consists of the higher grades of tea, silks, dye stuffs, medicine and a little rice, and our exports to those countries consist principally of fish and lumber—which exports are conveyed in sailing vessels. Now, although we are asked to subsidize a line of steamers from the Pacific coast to China, Japan and Australia, I doubt very much indeed that it will be of any great practical use to the Dominion. The line of steamers that now ply between Vancouver and Yokohama, Japan, make monthly trips, and only give employment to a few men in Vancouver. The steamers are loaded and unloaded by the most approved modern appliances that can be got, and the consequence is that not more than twenty-five or thirty men are employed in that business—does not give employment to more than thirty men if continuously employed. The goods or merchandise of whatever description it may be, is placed in the cars and rolled over the Canadian Pacific Railway to Montreal, or possibly to Halifax, where the same mode of loading ships is gone through, and the benefits that we derive from the establishment of that line of steamers and transportation by rail are extremely small indeed.

HON. MR. POWER—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the loading

and unloading of those steamers, from the train to the steamer, occupies twenty-five men constantly?

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—It would only amount to an average of about 25 or 30 men constantly employed. They take two or three days in loading and unloading, and employ during that time from 50 to 100 men, and those men have to find some other employment until the steamer returns. So that I quite agree with the conclusions of my hon. friend from Midland that no large and profitable trade can be developed between Canada and those remote countries. He next refers to the Argentine Republic, and I am very much of the same opinion that he is as to the possibilities of any great trade being created between Canada and that Republic. I would call the attention of the House in that connection to the report made to the Minister of Finance a short time ago by Mr. Simeon Jones, of St. John, N.B., and although I had a pretty fair knowledge of that country and of its capabilities I must confess that I was astounded when I took up that report and read it. Mr. Jones was commissioned to go to that country in January, 1887. He went to England and got letters of introduction there from the Minister from Argentina, so that he could have a proper official position when he arrived in that distant Republic. He describes that country as extending over thirty-five degrees of latitude and twenty degrees of longitude—2,400 miles by over 1,400 miles. He describes it as a region larger than Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, France, Austria and Spain; that it is about one-third the size of Canada or the United States; that it contains more good agricultural lands than any country he had ever seen or had any knowledge of. He describes the southern portion of it, known as the Pampas, as one of the greatest stock-raising countries in the world. He describes the northern portion as comparing in fertility of soil with our own Canadian North-West and Manitoba, having no less than 2 feet of the richest kind of black loam, and the substratum of clay.

HON. MR. POWER—I should call the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that he is now doing a thing for which speakers have been so much condemned in the past,

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advertising a foreign country at the expense of Canada, and he may be charged by the next speaker with disloyalty to Canada in making known to the public the facts which appear in the Government's own report. I think that the Government would do well not to disseminate that report of Mr. Jones, and I think perhaps the hon. member would do well not to spread the information.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—I do not think that the objection raised by the hon. gentleman from Halifax is well taken. This is one of the Government reports.

HON. MR. POWER—Very few will read the report.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—It is a report published by the Government, and why is it published by them if not for the general information, not only of the people of this country, but of the whole world? I therefore think I am perfectly justified in the remarks I have made, because every statement that I have made is to be found in this little Blue Book that I hold in my hand. Mr. Jones not only describes the extraordinary fertility of the country, but he also describes the climate, which hon. gentlemen can see is not only temperate, but semi-tropical and tropical in portions of the Republic. In many parts of that country he tells us that two crops can be taken from the soil every year; that the chief city on the La Plata, Buenos Ayres, has at present a population of 450,000; that for the last four years it has added no less than 50,000 souls a year, and he adds that the limits to which that city is likely to grow are almost incalculable.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We had better join the Argentine Republic instead of the States.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—I came to the conclusion, when I read this Blue Book, that the Argentine Republic are deeply indebted to the Government of Canada for sending a Commissioner down there to try to negotiate a treaty with that country, instead of the one immediately to the south of us—that it will do more towards advertising the Argentine Republic, and be the means of attracting many thousand of the best

immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe to that country, a great number of whom, doubtless, would come to Canada. Yes; not only will the report have the effect of retarding the settlement of our own country, but many of our own people will seek homes in that distant country.

HON. MR. POWER—The Government had better suppress that report.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They had better suppress the erroneous interpretation of it.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.) — Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that I am putting a wrong interpretation upon it?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I say it is not a fair deduction.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I shall ask the permission of the House to read a part of the report, to show that I am within the mark, instead of giving it a rose color. It is very short indeed, and if there is any question about the construction I am placing on it I shall read the report, and let the House decide for itself.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The hon. gentleman takes offence at what was not intended to be offensive. I say I do not agree with the deductions he draws from that report—in other words, I do not agree with the interpretation he puts upon it. It is not necessary that he should read it over again in order to correct me.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Up to the present moment I have not read one sentence of the report to the House, but merely cited from memory; consequently, in order to remove all doubt on that point I will read that part of the report I referred to, and the House will see that I drew no deductions, but in every instance gave the precise language made use of in Mr. Jones' report. Mr. Jones says:

"Buenos Ayres contains about 450,000 inhabitants, and is one of the busiest cities I have ever seen in proportion to its population. Its internal and foreign trade are immense. Its inhabitants have increased at the rate of 50,000 per year during the last four years, and there seems no practical limits to a steady growth in that direction for a great many years to come.

"During the year 1887 permits were taken out for the erection of upwards of seven hundred buildings. I saw upwards of 1,200 ships and vessels lying at one time in the Barracas, a harbor of Buenos Ayres, and this number I learned was a fair average one of the vessels and ships that at

one on time would be loading or unloading in this port, and this was in addition to the mail steamers, which lie outside and do not go into the Barracas. Buenos Ayres has the finest and most extensive system of street railway, in proportion to its size, of any city in America. They run to all parts of the city, and in every direction.

HON. MR. POWER—A striking contrast to Ottawa.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—Or Halifax.

HON. MR. McINNES (continuing):—

"The population of the Argentine Republic is about 4,500,000, and consists of about two-thirds native persons, and one-third Italians, Spaniards, French, English, Germans, Swiss, and other nationalities difficult to enumerate.

"The Argentine Republic extends over thirty-five degrees of latitude and twenty of longitude. It is bounded on the west by Chili, on the north-west by Bolivia, on the north by Bolivia and Paraguay, on the east by Brazil, Uruguay and the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by Chili and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

"The immigration into the Republic is about 120,000 persons per year, and, beyond question, will continue in increasing proportions. The Government of Argentina is now making a strong effort to obtain immigrants from the north of Europe, the larger number of immigrants hitherto having been from Italy, and whilst these latter persons are industrious, frugal and reliable as workers, a large number of them do not identify themselves with the country, but seek to, and do, return home as soon as they make a few thousands of dollars, thereby enabling them to live comfortably in their own country.

"The Republic of Argentina covers about 1,212,600 square miles, or an area equal to that of Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Spain together. The greater part of this country is an immense plain. This plain includes, in the south, the region of the Pampas, and in the north the larger portion is a vast tract, called the *Gran Chaco*, a succession of grassy plains of the highest natural fertility. It possesses a larger quantity of good land in proportion to its size than does any other country I have ever visited and of which I have any knowledge. It is largely a prairie country, similar to the Canadian North-West, and this alluvial plain or prairie extends for upwards of 2,000 miles back into the country from Buenos Ayres. The land consists of about 2 feet of black mould on a substratum of clay, and is fertile beyond anything that has ever come under my observation. In a large part of the country they can take two crops a year from the land, and farming, stock-raising, wool-growing and meat-producing is the principal business of the Republic. The number of sheep owned in the Republic is about 100,000,000, and this number, vast as it is, will go on increasing. Upwards of 35,000,000 acres of land are occupied as sheep farms. There are more than 30,000,000 head of cattle in the country, with upwards of 5,000,000 horses.

"By the kindness of Mr. Pierson I was enabled to spend a few days on his estancia, called 'Tatay,' which gave me a chance of seeing farming life in Argentina. 'Tatay' contains 26,000 acres of land, 500 of which are under cultivation. The garden consists of 8 acres, in which fruits of all kinds grow.

The stock comprises 47,000 sheep, 12,000 lambs, 450 horses, 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 pigs. "Tatay" though a very beautiful estancia, is by no means one of the largest. Another estancia I knew of had 85,000 sheep.

"From these figures some idea may be had of the vast pastoral industry of the country. There are about 4,000 miles of railway in the Republic, and the lines are constantly being increased. The Government is very progressive, and is leading the people along a course of public improvements that have given and yet promise great results in opening up the country and giving an opportunity to carry on at the greatest advantage the agricultural business of the people.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Why not transfer the book to the official report. We have all read it.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—If they have, some of them do not appear to understand it. I am reading the report because my statement was disputed, and I now leave it to the House to say whether any deduction I have made from it was not perfectly fair. I will give in a few words what the exports and imports of that country are. The exports in round numbers are about \$75,000,000, and of that amount within a fraction of \$32,000,000 consists of wool alone. The imports amount to over \$115,000,000. That was the return given by the Government of Argentina for 1886. From a more recent report that I have obtained I find that the imports and exports were considerably larger the last two years. On pages 18 and 19 of this report he states in substance that there are no less than seven British lines of steamers plying between Buenos Ayres and Liverpool, five French lines, two German lines and three Italian lines. He states that there are nearly two steamers leaving Europe for the Argentine Republic for every working day of the year, and two leaving the Argentine Republic for England. He also, in the appendix to the report, refers to the banks in that country. There are fifteen of them, and I find that the capital of one of them, the Provincial Bank of South Buenos Ayres, has a capital of \$34,300,178; that another bank has a capital of \$20,666,708. But what surprises me more than anything else is the amount of the deposits in those banks. In the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres alone the deposits amounted to \$95,157,706; another had deposits amounting to \$34,867,060; and another \$40,380,832. In the whole fifteen the deposits amounted to

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\$219,696,494, or no less than \$48.82 *per capita* for the population of the country. I leave it to this House to say whether the deductions that I drew from what I have just read were correct or otherwise. I think that the expenditure involved in sending Mr. Jones down there was the worst spent money ever paid out by the Dominion. I do not know Mr. Jones personally, but from what I can learn of him he is a most truthful and reliable man, and is possessed of excellent judgment. Of course I take it for granted that he must have been an exceedingly good man, or the Government would never have entrusted him with such a commission.

HON. MR. POWER—The Government were anxious to convert Mr. Jones. He was a Liberal.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I have this confidence in the Government, that they will follow any will-'o-wisp, and go to any extent to promote trade with the most remote corners of the earth, rather than permit our people to find their natural market almost within gunshot, or at least within a few hours of travel.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There must be unrestricted reciprocity between the Argentine Republic and the United States, surely, to produce such prosperity.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—No; there is no reciprocity between that country and the United States, and there is comparatively no trade between the two countries.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Nor between the Argentine Republic and any other country.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—But there is the freest possible commercial interchange between that country and free trade England. Free trade England controls considerably over one-third of the entire trade of that Republic, and is likely not only to hold it, but to greatly increase it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the Argentine Republic is a free trade country?

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—No; it is not a free trade country; they have a very large export duty.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They have large export and import duties—considerably less than our tariff.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I wish here to draw the attention of the House and of the hon. gentleman who brought up this question to the real distance between this country and the Argentine Republic. He is reported as saying that it is 4,804 miles. I presume the official report is correct.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I made a rough calculation on the map. I may be wrong.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—The distances between the Argentine Republic and this country and England are given at page 19 of Mr. Jones' report. From Great Britain to Buenos Ayres, by way of Pernambuco, Rio and Monte Video, is 7,230 miles, whilst from Canada to Buenos Ayres the distance is about 6,730 miles, a difference of precisely 500 miles in favor of Canada.

HON. MR. DEVER—What part of Canada?

HON. MR. McINNES—I do not know; I suppose he takes Halifax and St. John as the starting point. If he takes Montreal or Quebec the distance would be about the same as from Liverpool to Buenos Ayres. Now, my contention is this: that if Mr. Jones, or anyone else, had been commissioned by our Government, and really meant to establish or develop a large remunerative trade for Canada, they would not have sent him to the West India Islands or South America. They would have sent him down to Washington to negotiate for reciprocal trade with the neighboring Republic. It has been said repeatedly on the floor of this House and elsewhere that the United States are not ready or willing to enter into reciprocal trade relations with Canada. Any hon. gentleman who has watched the proceedings of Congress lately must know that that statement is unfounded.

A short time ago Mr. Hitt, in the House of Representatives, United States—which, as hon. gentlemen are aware, is composed of no less than 325 members, a House that has no recognized leader, and every man is free to introduce any question he

pleases, where every man is his own leader and acts perfectly free from party restraint—brought in a resolution in favor of free trade with Canada, and it was passed without a dissenting voice. When that same resolution was brought to the Senate of the United States, which is composed of seventy-six members, there was only one dissenting voice, and the reason assigned by Senator Blair, who was the man who dissented, for opposing the resolution was that if they granted free and unrestricted trade with Canada it would defer or prevent the annexation of Canada with the United States. I sincerely hope that those who raise the unpatriotic or annexation cry will take that fact to heart and remember it in future. We cannot find any legislative body in the known world where such unanimity was displayed upon any subject as there was by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States for free and unrestricted trade with Canada. Now, what does it mean? It means that they are holding out the olive branch to us; they have asked us to open negotiations with them and to share with them the great and marvellous prosperity that they enjoy and have enjoyed for the last quarter of a century.

HON. MR. McMILLIAN—Under a high tariff.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Yes; under a high tariff. My hon. friend says: No; you cannot get unrestricted reciprocity with the United States; and he and others ask the question: What is to be gained by it, as nearly all the products of their farms and factories are identically the same as those of Canada; that they have a large surplus, and are large exporters of the same articles we produce and export? In order to enlighten these hon. gentlemen on these matters I shall read from the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1888, to show that a very large percentage of the exports to the United States are precisely what they themselves excel in, or have the most of to export to foreign countries. We sent last year:

TO THE UNITED STATES.

Coal.....	\$1,411,749
Oil.....	66,609
Iron ore.....	39,595
Stone and marble.....	64,687

Codfish, salted.....	516,277
Fresh mackerel.....	41,213
Pickled herring.....	128,264
Salmon, fresh.....	156,846
Laths, &c.....	329,971
Planks, boards, &c.....	6,831,950
Horses.....	2,002,371
Sheep.....	1,027,410
Poultry.....	122,222
Eggs.....	2,119,582
Hides.....	515,220
Mutton.....	25,642
Sheep pelts.....	20,776
Barley.....	6,488,317
Beans.....	124,315
Potatoes.....	957,570
Vegetables.....	93,102
Other agricultural products.....	118,328
Carriages and waggons.....	10,528
Clothing.....	41,500
Cordage, rope, &c.....	20,416
Lime and cement.....	101,207
Furniture.....	173,215
Other manufactured articles.....	471,044
Cattle.....	648,178
Apples.....	284,252
Peas.....	351,365
Wheat.....	633,438

So that notwithstanding the fact that the United States grow all these cereals and produce that I have enumerated, and all the stock, yet we find that we ship to the United States of these articles as much as we ship to all the rest of the world combined.

HON. MR. McMILLIAN—In transit ?

HON. MR. McINNES—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon; it was not in transit. What better evidence have we than this enormous trade. Notwithstanding the barriers now placed in the way of free intercourse by the American and Canadian Governments our trade would be doubled or quadrupled inside of a few years if these unnecessary, selfish and barbarous barriers were removed. Look at the bounds and leaps which the trade of this country made between 1854 and 1866, with unrestricted trade in natural products—from \$20,000,000 it went up to \$82,000,000 in those years. I have heard it stated during this debate by the hon. gentleman from Glengarry that that was owing to the American war. Hon. gentlemen who are old enough, and most of us here in this Chamber are old enough to remember long before that war began, know that the war did not take place between the North and the South until the spring of 1861. We had then had nearly seven years of a trial of this reciprocity in natural products before there was any impetus given to the trade of the two

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countries in consequence of that unfortunate war, and during those six or seven years the volume of trade increased at even a greater ratio than it did during the five subsequent years of that treaty, notwithstanding the war and the consequent demand for natural products. The contention of the opponents of unrestricted reciprocity, and especially commercial union—in fact, the burden of their song is that it would lead to annexation to the United States. I am quite of a different opinion. I believe it would have a totally different effect; for, I ask, what reason should we desire to be annexed or should the Americans desire to annex us if we had all that annexation or political union would confer upon both countries by having free and unrestricted trade relations? As I mentioned here last year, prior to 1849, when there was an agitation throughout the length and breadth of Canada for annexation to the United States—and by the way I have before me the manifesto circulated at that time and signed by nearly 1,200 leading citizens of this country, many of whom occupy most honorable and leading positions in the country, for annexation to the United States, they declared that that was the true solution of the financial depression that then existed.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—A dead issue.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—A chestnut.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I do not refer to it offensively; I merely refer to it to prove that the discontent and commercial depression which now prevail throughout Canada, notwithstanding the set speeches of the Finance Minister, and others in this Chamber, endeavoring to show that the country was prosperous—that that depression would be entirely removed if we had unrestricted commerce with the United States. It would disappear just as quickly as it did under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. I remember that it was not considered wrong or treasonable to speak of annexation in those days. It was spoken of on the streets and in the shops, and every place where men congregated together you would find them talking of annexation. A few years after reciprocity was entered into that state of affairs entirely disappeared, and

content and prosperity prevailed throughout the land.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—What about 1857?

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I suppose the hon. gentleman has reference to the Slidell and Mason affairs.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—It was a season of bad crops.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—There are times occasionally when Providence fails to smile upon the husbandman, and that was one of those seasons; and I ask the hon. gentleman if, in his long experience in this country, he can refer to a similar season of universal failure of crops in Eastern Canada or the Maritime Provinces.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The hon. gentleman would have us understand that under the old reciprocity treaty it was all lovely, and that reciprocity was the cause of it. That is why I spoke of 1857.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I do not think that Providence condescends to smile on the Conservative Government, as the leader of the present Government occasionally states; but I do say this, that the commercial condition of Canada from 1854 to 1866 was the most prosperous that Canada ever experienced.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Pshaw!

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—The hon. gentleman may say "pshaw," but the facts in the Blue Books are indisputable. The Trade and Navigation Returns of the country show it. If such was the case when the population of the United States was very much less than it is to-day and we have a much larger population in Canada, I contend that the benefits we would derive from unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would be very much greater now than it was even during that term that I have referred to. The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg and others contend that our manufacturers would be completely wiped out of existence, provided we got unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. History repeats itself in every age of the world. The same thing was proclaimed by the English before the

political union of Scotland and England. English manufacturers said that they could not successfully compete with the frugal and industrious Scotchman, and that consequently they had better not adopt a uniform tariff for both countries, as the Scotchman would be sure to undersell him. On the other hand, the Scotchman said that the old, rich and much larger manufacturing factories of England would crush them out of existence. But what took place after the political union? Every manufacturing enterprise in England and in Scotland went up by leaps and bounds, and a more prosperous condition of affairs existed than they ever knew before or the most sanguine supporters of the Union anticipated.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Under protection.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Yes; but one country. In the United States, prior to the war, where was the great manufacturing centre of that country. It was in the New England States. There was scarcely a factory to be found west of Chicago—in fact, Chicago was only a small town at that time—comparatively, none west of the Mississippi River, and in the southern States to-day you will find manufactures of every description dotted all over the west and north-west and southern States of the continent of America.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—And all under protection.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—You will find that they increased many times greater than the factories of the Eastern States.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Under protection.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Yes; it was under protection, but inter-State trade was free from one end of that great country to the other. There were many who predicted that the manufactures in the west could never successfully compete with the old and established institutions of the eastern States, but experience has shown the reverse—that they prospered, and prospered in a manner that the most hopeful western people never anticipated. When the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg and others say that our industries would be crushed out, and that Canada would be

made a slaughter market for the manufactures of the United States, I consider that they are offering one of the greatest insults that can be offered to Canadians. It is a statement that will not stand investigation for five minutes. Go where you will through the length and breadth of the great Republic and you will find Canadians holding leading positions in and often at the head of the great institutions and enterprises of the country, instead of being hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Americans, as stated here to-day. Although many of them went there penniless they worked themselves up by their sheer energy and perseverance, and against the natural prejudice that exists against foreigners, until they attained a position not only equal to but superior to that of the great bulk of the American people themselves. I wish to make the statement and let it go abroad that Canadians have as good muscles, they have as good brains, they have as much application and industry, as the Americans, or any other people on the face of God's footstool. To say they have not is an insult, a gross insult and calumny on our people. I believe as firmly as I stand here addressing this Chamber this evening that if we were one country, commercially, that many Americans, with their millions of capital, would come into this country, and the number and capacity of our manufactures would greatly increase. Why should it not be the case? Have we not all the raw products for manufacture of a superior quality and in greater quantity than they have even in the United States?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—In some things.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Take our mountains of iron ore; our undeveloped mines of silver and gold; our forests; our unsurpassed water privileges and our climate, which is equally as good as theirs, and I would like to know, taking all these things into consideration, if we are not in as favorable a position to enlarge and increase our manufactures here as they are on the other side? I believe we are; and not only that, but we have, as is well known, cheaper labor here than they have in the United States. With all these things in our favor, I say that the Canadian who cannot,

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with these advantages, compete successfully with the Americans, or any other people on the face of the globe, should go to the wall. My hon. namesake from Burlington made a statement here—in fact, he boasts of it—that Canadians have established a trade in cottons with China. He tells us that a Canadian company has shipped cotton out there at a fair margin of profit; and when the hon. gentleman from Ottawa stated that if cottons were shipped to China it was only to be slaughtered, the hon. gentleman from Burlington gets up and states; "No; it was not a slaughter market; the goods were sent there at a fair margin of profit." If such was the case—if they can go beyond the limits of Canada, shipping their goods over 3,000 miles of rail, and 4,000 or 5,000 miles over the Pacific Ocean, in direct competition with England and all the other manufacturing countries in the world, and sell the products of their mills at a fair margin of profit, I ask why should they have 30 per cent. or 35 per cent. protection? Why should each and every Canadian who wears the products of these factories pay 30 or 35 cents more than he ought to pay or more than the Chinamen pay? If these companies can successfully send their wares 8,000 or 10,000 miles away from their mills I say surely they ought to be able to control and keep the home market, without any such protection as is thrown around them by the tariff of the Government of Canada. I want no better evidence than this that we are making a great mistake—that we are paying hundreds of thousands of dollars every year to a few favored manufacturers in Canada; that the great masses are paying much more than they should for the necessaries of life. In another place I find that the same hon. gentleman and others stated that many lines of goods were as cheap now, in fact cheaper, than they were before the inauguration of the National Policy. That is true, but it is only half the truth when they tell that. Why do they not give us the price of those articles in other countries? Those very articles that they refer to have diminished greatly in value in the United States and in England, and other countries; so that this country, if it is prospering, is doing so in spite of the obstructions that are thrown in the way by the Government's ultra protection policy. The hon. gentle-

man from Hamilton mentioned something about mining machinery. He read letters from several firms, stating that they are manufacturing mining machinery. I am not in a position to say anything about mining machinery, such as is used for coal mines, but I do know this, that almost every month in the year there is some application made to the Minister of Customs, from British Columbia, to allow quartz-crushing and other machinery to come in duty free; and I have spoken to some of these practical men who have applied to have such machinery admitted free, and they all say they prefer United States machinery. I am very sorry, indeed, that the hon. gentleman from Cariboo is not in his place, for he is a practical miner, lives in the centre of the great gold mining section of our Province, and he would verify the statement that I am now making—that there is no Canadian machinery imported into British Columbia for gold or silver quartz-mining purposes.

HON. MR. MCKAY (C.B.)—All the Nova Scotia quartz is crushed by Canadian machines.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is plenty of gold and silver mining machinery to be had of Canadian manufacture.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—A great outcry has been raised against commercial union, and I remember that last year the hon. gentleman who leads this House said, and repeated it at the opening of this Session—that he could not see any difference between commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity. However, I think the hon. gentleman from Ottawa has given him a satisfactory definition of the difference. My contention is this: if the four hundred of the representatives of the United States in Congress are unanimous in favor of commercial union it is only one step further for them to grant unrestricted reciprocity. But I am one of the few that not only favors unrestricted reciprocity, but I am also in favor, with certain safeguards, of commercial union; and I cannot understand why some arrangement could not be entered into with the United States, the same as was entered into between the different German States over a century ago, known as the Zollverein.

The principal condition in the Zollverein was this: They agreed upon a uniform tariff; and let me say here, the difference in the tariff of the United States and that of Canada is not very great—ours is fast going up and theirs is fast coming down. The condition was, after agreeing upon a tariff, no alteration could be made in that tariff without the unanimous consent of all the contracting parties. In many respects I prefer commercial union, with that safeguard, to unrestricted reciprocity. If we can enter into commercial union with the United States for a period of fifty years, and with the stipulation that no alteration could be made in the tariff at Washington or at Ottawa here during that time, and there should be no provision in the treaty, as there has been in all other treaties we have had with that country, by which it could be terminated by giving one year's notice, I would support it. I believe that the United States Congress is in a temper at the present time to enter into such an agreement by which we could have commercial union, fixing upon a uniform tariff and making a provision that no alteration should be made in that tariff during the term of the treaty. Why I say I would prefer it with this safeguard is, it would prevent our being at the mercy of the United States Government in the making of our tariff. The Americans would be more liable to come here and invest their means and establish their manufactories when they knew that no legislation at Washington could disturb them. That is the position I take on that question. If the United States Congress entertain the same feeling there is nothing to prevent having unrestricted commerce with Canada. I believe it can be done inside of six months if an honest and faithful effort is put forth in that direction by Canada. The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg, who is not now in his place, was afraid of those grabbing Americans—those terrible Americans—that the wide-spreading eagle would swoop down at any moment and gobble us up. Any person who has read the history of the United States from the Pilgrim Fathers down to the present time, and had analyzed the census of the United States from 1820 up to the present time, will find that the people of the Republic are a truly British people. Three-fourths of the population

in the United States are either of British descent or native Britons. Now, why should we feign to despise those people? Why should we attempt to place any obstacles in the way of free commercial intercourse with our cousins to the south of us? I claim that we are doing a great wrong to ourselves and to our posterity by pursuing such a course. I look forward to the next five years as a period most pregnant in the history of British America. I believe that even within that time—even before President Harrison's term of office expires—this country and the United States will be one commercially, and when that does occur there will be no friction, no talk of war, no excuse for such blood-and-thunder-speeches as those delivered by Col. Denison and a few others. I would prescribe a little ice to their head and mustard poultices to their feet to draw away some of their surplus blood, and thereby relieve their congested brain. There is no necessity for such vamping as that; with commercial union we would be in a state of unity and progress; we would have nothing to fear, and would be a happy, contented and prosperous people.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—I would not rise to speak now at this late hour of the night but that I have a few figures which the hon. gentleman from Midland omitted to place before the House and country, and which I wish to do. First of all, I am sorry my hon. friend opposite should have taken the trouble to discuss an impossibility. It is impossible that we should be asked to cut the ties that connect us with the mother country, and we could neither have commercial union nor reciprocity without having a differential tariff against Great Britain, and to such a proposal Canadians would never listen. It is useless, however, to discuss an impossibility and I will refrain from doing so.

I congratulate the hon. gentleman from Midland on his very able speech, and the clear way in which he has shown the direction in which our trade can be extended and expanded.

The figures which have been so eloquently placed before the House and the country look exceedingly formidable, and have no doubt given the hon. gentleman

much trouble and anxiety. One might suppose the argument of the hon. gentleman to be a weak one to require such close columns and battalions of figures to give it support—but it is not so; the argument is sound, and the columns of figures are only used to place proof beyond doubt, so far as the extension of trade is concerned. For there can be no doubt that trade with the West Indies, Brazil and the Argentine Republic ought to be encouraged and fostered in every possible way, but as natural productions would form the bulk of such intercolonial trade, something would first of all have to be done in the way of a reciprocal agreement between the Dominion and those countries. If our Government could see its way to this, and subsidize a line of steamers, its duty would be done. The hon. gentleman belittled the trade with Australia. That trade is in its infancy; I think the hon. gentleman from Hamilton (Mr. Sanford) showed us very clearly that a large trade in many of the productions of Canada can be done with the Australasian colonies. British Columbia does a considerable trade with them in timber and canned salmon, and that trade is still in its infancy. What would it be if we had a proper line of steamers sailing at regular intervals to that country conveying goods cheaply and rapidly? Trade in British Columbia has increased largely within the last few years. In 1875 our exports were \$2,854,812; in 1888 it had increased to \$3,958,000. In this Province our imports and exports very nearly balance, which indicates a prosperous trade condition.

The tonnage entering British Columbia ports in 1875 was 302,199 tons, and in 1888 it had risen to 1,038,468. This does not show an unsatisfactory or melancholy condition of things, but the reverse.

I must here say that it is a most unfortunate state of things that in the discussion of an important question of this nature, a question connected with the welfare and progress of the country, that the hon. gentleman from Ottawa should, on every such occasion, take on himself the task of denying the state of the country, and drawing the most pitiful picture of its commercial prospects which his eloquence can portray. He speaks of the "melancholy condition of the country." Are

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these patriotic words, to proclaim to the world, even if they could be substantiated, which they cannot, but have been entirely refuted by commercial men, hon. members of this House.

I will here allude to the speech of the senior member for Halifax, in which he spoke of the benefits of the reciprocal treaty of 1854 with the United States. The whole country would willingly go back to that treaty, and continual efforts for its revival have been made, but without avail. The United States will not consent to such an arrangement, or to any other but just such as best suits its own interests; and we cannot go down on our knees to supplicate in this matter more than we have done. With regard to unrestricted reciprocity, advocated by the hon. gentleman, I consider it waste of time to discuss the question, as it is one impossible of accomplishment.

My intention, as I said on rising, on this occasion, is not to take from but to add to the figures of the hon. gentleman from Midland, which he may have thought unnecessary. However, I think they have some bearing on the prosperity of the country. He first of all told us that the public debt in 1888 was \$118,000,000 more than in 1875. He did not draw any very bad picture from that. He did not mourn over it, but showed us the large assets that we had for it in our public works, canals, docks and other necessary public improvements. Assuming from that, as we must assume, that the public works are requisite to the development of the country, there is no actual loss, as the value of those works covers the increased debt in that period. I will now proceed to show that the country in 1888 was in a much better position to pay the interest on its increased debt than it was in 1875 to pay the smaller interest on the lower debt. The hon. gentleman has told us that the interest in 1888 was \$3,000,000 greater than in 1875, and these figures I believe to be substantially correct; but he omitted to tell us of the difference in revenue at the two periods mentioned, and that is one of the omissions which I propose to supply. In 1875 the revenue was \$24,648,715 whilst in 1888 it was \$35,908,463, showing a difference in favor of the latter year of \$11,259,748. Now, if we deduct the interest in 1875, which was

\$5,710,965, from the revenue of that time, we find a balance left of \$18,937,000. Take again the revenue of 1888: deducting the interest of that time, \$8,891,300, we find a balance left of \$27,017,163. Hon. gentlemen will see that in 1875 we had \$18,000,000 left after paying our interest, and in 1888 we had \$27,000,000. That shows that the country was able to pay double the amount of interest in 1888 that it was able to pay in 1875, besides leaving us our enormous public works, which will not require reconstruction, and leaving us also the enormous wealth in our farming communities, in our cities and towns, besides building up manufacturing industries everywhere. The country has made that wonderful progress in a period of twelve or fourteen years. With regard to the falling off of the imports of the country, I think that will be very easily accounted for. When we consider the manufactures of the country from 1878, when the National Policy came into existence, to 1884 (beyond that date I have not in my possession the amount of goods manufactured in the country, but I have them to 1884), we find that there has been a remarkable increase. In 1878 they amounted to \$50,000,000; six years afterwards they had risen to \$102,870,000. Out of that large amount of manufactures the exports are very small indeed, so that large volume of goods, together with the imports, was consumed in the country. The hon. gentleman from Hamilton (Mr. McInnes) and Mr. Drummond, of Montreal, told us of the enormous expansion of the home trade; and the Minister of Finance, the other day, told us of the large interprovincial trade. He enumerated vast quantities of goods moving from the east to the west. When we consider all this, is it any wonder that our imports have fallen off? I think it is a healthy sign. The less we have to send abroad for our supplies the better for the country. If you add the productions of 1884 to the importations you find that an extraordinary volume of goods was consumed by our people—in round numbers, \$211,000,000, less the small amount exported. The amount of capital invested in manufacturing industries in 1878 was \$37,000,000; in 1884 it had increased to \$67,000,000. The number of hands employed in 1878 was 42,000; in 1884 it

was 72,000. Wages rose from \$13,000,000 in 1878 to \$24,000,000 in 1884, so that the people are wealthier by so many millions of dollars. They are able to buy more, to consume more, and to live in a more comfortable way than ten years before. Now, let us look at the accumulation of deposits in the savings and other banks as an indication of the wealth of the people. I may say that I obtained these figures from the Treasury Department. In 1875 the deposits in the savings banks amounted to \$7,000,000. Somebody has mentioned \$15,000,000, but as these figures are from Mr. Courtney they are more likely to be correct. In other banks in 1875 the deposits were \$58,000,000, making a total of deposits in that year of \$65,539,000. In 1887 they had risen to \$40,832,275 in the savings banks, and to \$103,583,950 in other banks, a total of \$144,416,255, showing an increase in that branch of our wealth in twelve years of \$78,871,000. When we add to those large amounts the improvements of different kinds in the country it is beyond my power to make a calculation, but it must be something marvellous. All these figures show that the country is not in a melancholy condition. What better proof can we have of this than these vast savings? Now, with regard to the exports of this country, which the hon. gentleman has very properly said bring wealth to the people and ought to be encouraged, I think it can be easily shown why they have fallen off. The hon. gentleman from Halifax has told us that Australia, India, Russia and other countries are pouring their products into the English markets. The more other countries sell to England the less she can buy from Canada. I do not think it is anything to the discredit of the exporting country that its exports fall off. The exporting country is not to blame; the fault lies with the importing country. If other countries cannot buy from us it is impossible for Canada to export profitably. Another way to account for our decreased exports is the fact that the country itself is consuming more of its products than it did in former years, and this fully makes up for the deficiency of \$6,000,000 in our exports to Europe. I am perfectly certain that if anyone could arrive at the exact figures of the home consumption of home pro-

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ducts it would be much larger than the decline of \$6,000,000 in our European exports. It stands to reason, if we consume more beef, cheese, butter—and timber in house-building—that we must export so much less.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I did not say that there was a deficiency of \$6,000,000

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—The hon. gentleman said that the exports had not fallen off to the United States, but the exports to Europe had.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Yes.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—The community with these large savings must live better and do live better than they did when they had less means. I suppose my hon. friend's speech was not directed against the National Policy, but was intended merely to show the advantages of developing trade with other countries. It would not be fair to tax him with overlooking any of the figures I have just given, but I think it is only right to show, in reply to other gentlemen, who are always ready to decry the position of the country, what a vast accumulation of wealth there has been of late years. I take it that the essence of the hon. gentleman's speech is the desirability of increasing our trade, and I hope the Government will lend its ear and aid and promote in every possible way the facilities for increased trade with the countries he has mentioned.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—I fear at this late hour of the evening I may be wearying the House should I continue the debate at any great length. I think we are indebted to the hon. gentleman who introduced the question, and who put his ideas in such a clear and forcible manner. Although I do not agree with some of the conclusions at which he arrived, still I think it is well worthy the consideration of this House, and I am glad to see that with very few exceptions the House received it in an unpartizan spirit; and if it had not been that the leader of the Opposition imported into the debate the N. P. question I think we would arrive at a conclusion respecting this matter in a more satisfactory manner

than otherwise we have been able to do. I am surprised that the hon. gentleman would not be satisfied to allow that state of affairs which existed during the time his party was in power to remain unearthed, because we all know the disastrous effects of the policy of his Government on the general interests of the country. He, above all others in this House, knowing so well the direful circumstances attending that policy while the Mackenzie Government was in power, located as he was in the city and knowing so well the depression and utter ruin that prevailed throughout this section of Canada—he should have been the last man to revive this old cry of the prosperous condition of the country under the Mackenzie Government. Of course, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of what occurred in those days. We all know that the country was in a state of great depression. In this city it was utterly impossible for men to find employment. It was not a question of wages, but really there was nothing that they could do. They could not find employment at any price. Houses were unoccupied, and there was a depression throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is extremely unfortunate that these incidents should be revived from day to day, because the country is aware of it, and I do not think it is likely to benefit the Dominion or its future interests to harp upon the subject. It is astonishing to me, at any rate, that this National Policy has been so successful, when we consider the determined efforts that have been made in various quarters by a portion of the press and some of our public men to decry it in every possible way. We know that capitalists are very sensitive as to the permanence of a fiscal policy, and that it is almost impossible for any country to prosper where there is doubt upon that subject. This continual cry that the National Policy is injurious to the general interests of the country is, in my opinion, a great libel on the majority of the people; because, on several occasions they have signified their desire for its continuance. We have had several elections, in which the question has been put fairly and squarely before the people of this country, and they have unmistakably recorded by their votes their determined

opinion that this policy is the only one that is suitable for the interests of the country under all the circumstances. It is true, and I suppose we all will agree, that we ought to legislate from time to time to suit our interest, irrespective of every other consideration. I hold that the Government of this country have done all they possibly could do to increase the volume of our trade—that they have taken every means at their disposal for the accomplishment of that great purpose. They have on various occasions appointed persons to visit countries with which it was thought possible to promote trade, and I do not think that they are open to the allegation that they have at all overlooked their duty to the people in that respect. It is true that there are some in this country who think that reciprocity with the United States is the only salvation for the Dominion. It may or may not be true, but it is futile to talk of a thing when it cannot be accomplished. Every effort has been made to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States on a fair and equitable basis, but we have been met in every instance at the threshold with a refusal plain and unmistakable. What is the use of trying when we cannot get the people on the other side to acquiesce in our view of the question? When the reciprocity treaty was abrogated in 1865 the people of this country were a unit in favor of its continuance, but we had no power to prolong it. The Americans could then, if they had so desired, have continued that treaty, but for some sinister motives they refused to prolong or renew it; they thought they would force our people into a union with the Republic—not merely a commercial union, but a political union. It was a plot on the part of certain individuals in the United States to try to seduce Canada from its allegiance to the British Empire. The subject of a renewal of the reciprocity treaty was discussed at meetings of the Dominion Board of Trade. Visitors from the neighboring country would talk very glibly about the advantages that would accrue to both countries if we could have reciprocal trade, but the very moment the meeting was at an end the subject dropped, and we were plainly given to understand that unless we could approach them on a different basis there could be no renewal of the recipro-

city treaty. No Government could be responsible for the failure to develop trade relations with our neighbors. The Mackenzie Government sent a representative to Washington to negotiate a treaty. How was Mr. Brown met on that occasion? He made liberal overtures—overtures far in excess of the requirements of the time—but they spurned his offer, and our Government were left to act as they thought was best in the interests of our own people. Now, we are told that unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would be the salvation of this country. That subject has been fully discussed, and I think the people of Canada fully understand what it means, and are prepared to reject any proposition of the kind. Canada has been very successful and is in a prosperous condition. That is admitted on all hands. I know that reciprocity with the United States is popular in this country, and I believe that the Government would be willing to-morrow to make any reasonable concession to secure it. For my own part, I think we would be far better without it. In saying so I know that I am not in accord with popular sentiment on the subject. We are told that without unrestricted reciprocity the country cannot prosper, but we have shown them that we are able to live without them. The progress of the country demonstrates our ability to live and develop our resources without having free access to their markets. I believe we are equal to any other country, so far as material progress is concerned. I have heard it said that there has been no substantial progress in this country, either in the cities or in the country. I leave it to the hon. gentleman from Toronto to say what the increase in the value of property has been in the city from which he comes. It has been marvellous. Even in this city, the progress has been great. During the Mackenzie Administration people could not sell property at any price. The people were unable to purchase at any figure. There were seven or eight hundred houses unoccupied in this city during those years. Many of them people would not occupy and pay the taxes due to the city. But a different condition of affairs prevails now, and since 1878 we can fairly claim that the country has enjoyed continuous prosperity. We are on the fair road to success, if our people are only satisfied ;

but unfortunately in these days of railroad speed men are so anxious to push ahead that they are not content to go reasonably fast. I predict that if we remain as we are for ten or fifteen years, making the same progress that we have made since 1878, we will be better off at the end of that time than if we were to adopt the policy proposed by the Opposition, or even to secure a reciprocity treaty similar to the one which was abrogated in 1865. A great deal has been said in this discussion which, in my opinion, is anything but patriotic. I have heard hon. gentlemen paint everything on the other side of the line *couleur de rose*, but I think that Canada will compare favorably with the United States in every respect. Our people are just as contented, happy and law-abiding in every way as men ought to be, under free and liberal government, and this eternal cry-out against the country is unworthy of us as patriots. I think the time has come when we should avoid discussions of that kind, and come to the conclusion that this country, as it has made such rapid strides in the past, only requires a continuation of the existing policy to promote its prosperity. In a very short time, with the increase of population in our North-West, we can accomplish all that, as a people, we should desire. I have heard it stated that if we had unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union with the neighboring country our manufactures would not suffer, but I think otherwise. We all know that there is a sufficient stock to-day in the United States to supply our 5,000,000 people, and if we had unrestricted reciprocity we might just as well close up our factories—for the time being, at any rate. It would be impossible to compete with them, not because we lack energy, but because they have superior advantages—they have the machinery and capital to an unlimited extent, and can afford to sacrifice their manufactures in this country in order to secure the control of the market. They would repeat the experience of twelve years ago, and stock our markets so as to render it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them. I have no doubt that a great many who hear me on this occasion will concur in the views I have expressed. If it had not been for the hostility displayed towards the National Policy I

believe there would be to-day a great many more factories established in this country; but capitalists were afraid that the policy would not be continued. You must satisfy those men, before they will embark their money in any enterprise, that the policy of protection will be continuous. If the Opposition had joined heartily in supporting the National Policy at its inauguration I believe that a better state of affairs would have prevailed, and I am only surprised that the beneficial effects of the National Policy have been so decided, in view of the unpatriotic attitude of its opponents and the press which supports the Opposition. It is all very well to say that the utterances of men in this Chamber have no weight; a very different state of things exists abroad. The statements of the leader of the Opposition in this House are heralded abroad everywhere, and represented as the utterances of the people of Canada; whereas, we know very well that he represents the views of a very small minority of the people. The great majority of the people of Canada are loyal to the core, and would rather do anything than ally themselves with the American people. A great deal of this talk is got up for the purpose of opposition—to oust the Government from power. I believe that actuates them to a great extent, but I hope it will be long before the people of this country will be led to annex themselves to the United States.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will tell us who is trying to seduce the people from their allegiance?

HON. MR. CLEWOW—A certain portion of the press of this country.

HON. MR. POWER—The Conservative press?

HON. MR. CLEWOW—There is a class of people in this country who are continually decrying Canada in every way, and they are doing it with a view to try to seduce the people from their allegiance to the British Empire; but I do not think they will be successful. They ought to come forward manfully and support what they know, or ought to know, is in the best interests of the country. If they did so they would be entitled to the confidence of the people of this country, and would

not be liable to be branded as men who are inimical to the best interests of the country. We are told very often that this policy is not in accord with the general sentiments of the people of Canada, but the people know what they are doing; and, as I have already said, have on several occasions declared by their votes their confidence in the policy of the Government. When they are called upon again you will find that they will give unmistakable assurances that they are satisfied with the present administration of our public affairs. I do not agree in some respects with my hon. friend from Midland. I may have misunderstood him, but he seemed to cavil at the expenditure which has led to an increase of the public debt.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I have never said so.

HON. MR. CLEWOW—Then I misunderstood my hon. friend. So far as the public debt of the country is concerned, I believe the people are satisfied that it has been incurred for useful purposes. I have never heard any cavil at the expenditure of the public money as long as the people know that it is expended for the benefit of the country. That bugbear, the public debt, is nothing at all, because we all know that money has to be spent to expand business. We know that years ago men could do business with comparatively small capital; but business has increased, the Dominion has increased, and it requires a larger amount now to keep the machinery of the Government in motion than it did years ago when the country was smaller. All our public expenditures have been on works that are beneficial to the country, and we may thank the Government for the general prosperity we enjoy in that respect. I am still a young man. I saw the first railway opened in this country from Laprairie to St. John. I have seen this country before there was a gas light in any part of it. I have seen this country before there was a wharf built either at Montreal or Toronto—and what do we see to-day? It is perfectly marvellous to see, in so short a time as within my own lifetime, for I am a very young man yet, the rapid and great improvement that has taken place in every part of Canada, and

in the future I expect that that development and improvement will be still greater. We are only commencing to understand the resources of our own country, I am sorry to say it. My hon. friend from Ottawa found fault that the gold and silver mining industries of this country are not productive and profitable, and he blames the National Policy, inasmuch as mining machinery could not be introduced, because of the tariff. I have had some little experience in mining, unfortunately, and I tell the hon. gentleman why our mining industries have not been developed as they should have been. We have not sufficient railway facilities to give access to our mines. Let the Government expend more money in developing the railway system and I tell the hon. gentleman that the results will be as great as the results of such expenditures have been in the past. Hon. gentlemen opposite object to subsidies to steamers. What would this country have been but for the subsidies granted to the Allan line? I remember the time when we had not a steamer crossing the Atlantic; but what have we to-day? Lines of fast steamers, that are a credit to any country, have built up the prosperity of Montreal and Quebec, and of Canada. Those lines would not have been started but for the impetus given to them by the Government subsidies. The people are perfectly willing and able to bear any reasonable expense for the construction of roads and the maintenance of railways that are beneficial to the trade of the country. To tell me that mining machinery cannot be had in this country is a mistake. The manufacturers of Canada will build anything or any style of machinery that is necessary to accomplish any great work. Some time ago we could not build boilers, locomotives or anything of that kind in this country; to-day we build all the locomotives that are required in the Dominion. To-day the manufacture of organs, pianos and machinery of all kinds is very extensive, and the rapid progress that has been made in every art and manufacture of this country is most gratifying, and I am proud to say that the people of Canada are willing to supply anything that may be necessary for the purpose of meeting the wants and requirements of the country. It is only to-day that parties have come over to this coun-

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try for the purpose of starting a carbon factory.

HON. MR. POWER—Let us wipe out the Customs lines and we can have anything we please.

HON. MR. CLEWOW—We must have a revenue to carry on the Government, and the people do not find fault with having to supply the revenue, because they are prosperous. What does it amount to if a man does pay a small taxation in the way of duties, provided he has employment and is prosperous? The poor man gets the necessaries of life at a reasonable cost; it is the luxuries of life that are taxed, and it is only right that the wealthy, luxurious man should pay the taxes. I think it would be very wrong if we did not tax him to carry on the Government of the country. I have to apologize for occupying so much time at this late hour of the evening.

HON. MR. PERLEY moved the adjournment of the Debate.

The Senate adjourned at 11 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 15th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (D), "An Act to amend the Railway Act," with amendments. He said: This Bill is so amended that there is scarcely a feature of the original Bill remaining intact, except the title. In short, it is practically a new Bill. These amendments are so extensive that I could hardly undertake to explain them, further than to say that they leave the principle of the Bill substantially intact; but they will require, I suppose, to be looked at, and I shall defer further explanation until a future occasion.

HON. MR. MCCALLUM moved that the amendments be taken into consideration on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills, reported without amendment from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, were read the third time, and passed :

Bill (52), "An Act to incorporate the Lac Seul Railway Company." (Mr. Perley).

Bill (51), "An Act respecting the Pontiac and Pacific Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (41), "An Act to incorporate the Calgary, Alberta and Montana Railway Company." (Mr. Turner).

Bill (39), "An Act respecting the Hamilton Central Railway Company." (Mr. Turner).

Bill (59), "An Act respecting the South Ontario Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (47), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Kingston, Smith's Falls and Ottawa Railway Company." (Mr. McKindsey).

Bill (40), "An Act respecting the Lake Nipissing and James' Bay Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the 'The Nipissing and James' Bay Railway Company.'" (Mr. Turner).

Bill (60), "An Act respecting Steam Vessels to be used in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway." (Mr. Scott).

IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE OF THE DOMINION.

ENQUIRY.

The Order of the Day having been called :

Resuming adjourned debate on motion of hon. Mr. MACDONALD (Midland), viz. :—That he will call the attention of the House to the present condition of the trade of the country, import and export, in view of and in connection with the proposal of the Government to open up extended commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies ;

And will enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure in relation to the same.

HON. MR. PERLEY said : I assure you it is not with a desire to gratify any ambition of mine that I rise to take part in this discussion. The subject has been so ably

dealt with by the several members who have thus far spoken that I would not intrude myself on the House were it not for the fact that no one representing the far north-western part of Canada has yet taken part in the debate. I felt that I could not allow this great question to be discussed without that portion of Canada being represented. I feel under a debt of gratitude to the hon. member from Midland for bringing the subject before the House. I think it was an opportune time to do so, and whilst several hon. gentlemen have complained that the debate has taken a wider range than it should have taken, and has been made, to a certain extent, a party question, I am of the opinion that the National Policy and the subject of the enquiry are as inseparable as the father is from the child. I think the National Policy is father to this enquiry. Had it not been for the National Policy and the result of it the hon. gentleman would have no occasion to bring this question before the House. Therefore, I think the range of discussion is right and proper, owing to the strong affinity between the National Policy and the enquiry. For the last thirty years I have enjoyed the rights of the franchise, and on every occasion, in casting my vote either for a municipal officer or for a member of the Dominion Parliament, I have always done so with a view to maintaining the greatness of the country in which I live. I have always made that the foremost object in my public career. I believe that every man should keep in view the interests of the country he is living in and for which he is making laws ; they should be foremost in his mind ; and then, I think, he cannot go far astray. I do not propose, at this time, to inflict on the House a long array of figures. I do not attempt to prove anything by extracts or figures from the public reports, because the longer I live the more am I convinced of the fallacy of quoting figures. I have listened to the hon. gentlemen in another place discussing public questions before Parliament, and proving by figures that the country was going to the dogs. I have listened to gentlemen on the other side proving that it was a land full of hope and prosperity. Figures are just like the newspapers—you can

prove anything you like by them. I do not propose, therefore, to prove by figures that the National Policy has been a success. It is not necessary; any intelligent man in this enlightened age has only to look at the condition of the country—he has only to get the scum off his brain, the wax from his ears, and the scales from his eyes to be able to note everywhere the prosperity of the country. You cannot walk along the streets of any city in Canada without seeing visible marks of the great prosperity and improvement of the Dominion. You can see it not only in the dresses but in the faces of the people, not only in the improved farm-houses throughout the country, but in the furniture in those houses, and not only in the furniture, but in the carriages, and harness and horses—in fact, you can see indications of prosperity in every thing. You can have the testimony of your own eyesight, and I think that is the strongest proof that is asked for in any court. I have been a farmer the most of my life. My father started me on a farm, and if there is anything that I pretend to know much about it is farming. When I commenced farming in New Brunswick I thought it was a noble calling, one worthy of any respectable man, and I engaged in that calling with the intention of spending my days in it. After I had worked for some years in improving my farm to the extent of my ability I found that the prices I was receiving for the goods I had to sell were not sufficiently remunerative to make the occupation a desirable one, and thought I had mistaken my calling, and selected a business that had become degrading. I am going to speak now from experience, and tell you how the National Policy affected myself and other farmers in the section of New Brunswick where I live. The articles I had to sell were hay, beef, pork, butter, eggs and vegetables of various kinds. My markets were the cities of St. John and Fredericton. Before the Mackenzie Government came in power, as you are well aware, the American war had created a dearth of produce in the neighboring country, and the result was that very high prices prevailed. For a time we could send our products to their markets, notwithstanding the duties, and get paying prices. The reason of

that was that they had plenty of money and spent it freely. It is the experience of individuals as well as of nations that when people have plenty of money they are willing to purchase. In the United States, during the war, wealth was created as if by magic. It was not wealth acquired by labor, but by issuing bonds and scrip to carry on the war. What was the result? Wealth was accumulated rapidly. Fabulous prices were paid for everything. The plough was idle in the field, and places of industry were silent—the men had gone to the war, and the farmers were unable to supply the demand for produce. War times make all kinds of farm produce dearer in every country. After the war was over what was the result? The men who had been engaged in fighting returned to industrial pursuits. Attracted by the large wages which prevailed in the country, laborers, artisans and skilled mechanics flocked to the United States from every country. The result was that there was over-production in every department of industry, and we ceased to find a market south of the frontier. The surplus stock created by the changed condition of affairs in the United States was brought into our country and slaughtered in our market. There was no protection in our country to warrant our manufacturers in attempting to meet the local demand. The question has been asked in this House, why, if we have a sufficient protection to enable us to compete with the Americans now, we have a tariff at all? I will answer that in this way: You are aware of the fact that the United States extend to the south of this country, and their seasons are earlier than ours. Their goods are in fashion earlier than ours. When our spring is on they are in their summer season, and when summer prevails here the fall has set in there. The result is they are ahead of us, and they know what they have to sell and what they can afford to send to our market. To illustrate this, take the case of farmers' implements. The haying season, the seeding season and the harvesting season are over in the United States about the time they commence here. What is the result. Any surplus implements they have can be brought to our market, and it pays them better to sacrifice them here than to hold them over, because they have

to manufacture a large number of articles in order to have a proper selection for their customers, and they can afford, after supplying the demand at home, to slaughter the surplus in our market. They say that the money that they can get for them is better than the goods on their shelves. I went down the street the other day and visited a store where I wanted to buy a coat. I was shown an overcoat, and was told: "Here is an overcoat which was worth last Christmas \$175. The outside of it is of the finest cloth and the inside of the finest skins; \$174 would not have purchased it last Christmas, but I will sell it to you now for \$125. I do not want to keep the goods over." On that same principle the Americans say: "We do not want our goods rusting here and going out of fashion. We are living in an age when fashions change quickly; what suits the public to-day will not be saleable next year. It is better to sell our goods now and to clear our shelves." Now, why should we open up our markets to the American manufacturers? Before the adoption of the National Policy capitalists had no confidence in the laws of the country enabling them to build up industries here. They only manufactured what they were sure of selling, and were unable to compete with the slaughtered goods from the other side of the line. That was the state of the country from 1874 to 1878. I was a farmer in New Brunswick in those years and knew the state of the makrets. During the war I got good prices, but soon after peace was restored and the demand on the other side of the line ceased we could not dispose of our products at home. Our laborers and artizans had gone to the United States to manufacture the goods that we purchased, and the question arose, Where could the people get money to buy those goods? Lumbering was the chief industry of the Province; when the depression came the mills closed down and people were thrown idle. They could find no employment. When that state of things prevailed I went to St. John market with my produce. One time I killed a beef animal and kept one quarter for myself and sold another to a neighbor. The other two quarters I took to St. John by steamer. Freights were low, only 25 cents on each quarter. I sold one quarter for \$4, which left me,

after deducting the freight, \$3.75. I had to go round the town like a huckster trying to sell the other, and finally I met a merchant who offered me \$3 for it, provided I would take half the money in trade. Although I was pursuing the noblest calling in which a man can be engaged I felt that it had become degrading. It was the same with other products; there was nobody to consume them, because there were no industries in the city and there was no manufacturing going on to employ a working population. I went on one occasion to see a man to whom I had sold something two years before, in the town of Indiantown, to sell some produce to him again. That was in 1876. He did not want to buy. He said he was using all his money to build. He was excavating a rocky hill to erect a building, and he took me round, his countenance beaming with joy, to show what he was doing there. He had ten men employed there, and I shall never forget the sight. Eight of them were handling the stones and carrying them away, and their fingers and their hands were bleeding from the rough work. These men received 50 cents a day, and the two men who were working with the drill got 60 cents a day. I asked him if they were married men, and he said they were. I asked, how they lived. He said: "I pay them in bread and molasses. I pay them every night, because they cannot go until Saturday night." I said: "That is a deplorable state of things." I can give the name of the man, and almost the day on which this conversation took place. Now, what was the result in that case? There I was, with my potatoes and other produce, trying to sell them in St. John; he was paying those men in bread and molasses; the Yankees furnished the bread and the West India people the molasses, and I was not producing a particle of food that these men could consume. I at once made up my mind that some change should take place, and when Sir John Macdonald was trying to introduce the National Policy, when he was urging it upon the Government of that day, I felt that it was a policy which I would support, no matter by whom it was put in force. I had the honor to be selected as a candidate in 1878,

and I declared then and there that if the Reform Government introduced that good measure I would give them my support, notwithstanding the fact that I was running on the Conservative ticket. I felt that it was a policy to advance the best interests of Canada, whatever party might be in power. The change of Government took place and the National Policy became the law of the land. At first great fault was found with it, and it was thought the Government would be defeated, I wrote to them, "Do not dissolve the Parliament; stand by the policy, and by the time your term of five years is over it will be so popular in the country that it will be sustained everywhere." Before the five years expired the Government went to the people and were sustained again. What was the condition of things after that policy was well established? Factories and industries arose in the country and furnished employment to the people. I went to the market and found a vastly different state of things. I had not to go huckstering around with my potatoes and produce. I sold them at the steamboat wharf. I heard farmers say that they could go down by steamer in the morning, sell \$50 worth of produce and get home the same day. That was the change that was brought about by the National Policy and therefore I say that policy shall have my undivided support.

HON. MR. POWER—I feel perhaps an unjustifiable curiosity, but inasmuch as the hon. gentleman was such a prosperous farmer in New Brunswick, I should like to know how he came to leave his native Province?

HON. MR. PERLEY—I did not say I was prosperous; I said the prices were better. It is a free country, and I may tell the hon. gentleman I did not go to the United States. The farmers are not a purely philanthropic society. We do not devote ourselves to raising the greatest amount of food from the smallest area of land for the benefit of the public, without expecting to get some benefit from it ourselves. There is no class of men who are doing more to-day for their country than the farmers, and I am proud to say that the Government of our country are sustaining us in very way they can in the develop-

ment of our vast agricultural resources. They have established model farms in all the Provinces, to make experiments which are beyond the means of individual farmers to attempt, and are endeavoring in every way they can to promote the agricultural interests of the country. I want to say to my hon. friend that it is not the policy of the farmers to encourage other farmers to settle alongside of them; it is their interest to encourage a manufacturing population, who will consume what we are producing. Our object is to maintain a sort of reciprocal trade between the farmers and the manufacturing classes, and other who are not maintaining themselves by agriculture. We have the strongest feeling of sympathy with those classes of the population, and are ever ready to lend what assistance we can to promote the interest of other industries as well as our own. The more people that are engaged in manufacturing industries the better our local markets, and I am proud to say that we are not only increasing our agricultural resources but we are able to produce more from the soil at less expense than when I was a boy. When I first settled on a farm there were nine of us engaged in cutting the hay. I swung the scythe, I raked with the old-fashioned rake and pitched with the pitchfork. The year before I left that farm I cut the hay with a mowing machine, and saved it with other labor-saving appliance, and was able to do more with one man and two boys to help me than the nine of us had been able to accomplish before, and all this labor-saving machinery was made in our own country. Every implement that I used on my farm was made in New Brunswick. The first that I used were made in the United States, and I bought them from an agent named Booth. It is the duty of the farmers to use every legitimate means in their power to encourage those who were engaged in other pursuits. In manufacturing enterprises the mechanic and the artizan have improved machinery, and are able to produce better goods and at lower rates than they could do at the start. At first, I admit, goods were high, because we did not possess those appliances and improved implements that are now in use. People had no confidence in the stability of the new policy until the Government had appealed to the country and received an emphatic endorsement of

HON. MR. PERLEY.

the protective system. Then, when the capitalists discovered that they could safely invest in new industries in this country they hesitated no longer to engage in manufacturing enterprises, and the result is that we are now in a position to accomplish more at less expense than we could do formerly, and to give employment to a vastly larger number of skilled workmen than we could do before the inauguration of the National Policy.

I went to St. John to hear Hon. Mr. Mackenzie and Hon. Mr. Cartwright in August, 1878, address a large public meeting there. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie did predict on the start that the new policy would make millionaires of the manufacturers, and in a few years more it would make bankrupts of them as well. It has not done either. On the start, it is true, implements were dearer than they are now, because, as I said, the appliances for making them were not as complete as they are now; but I believe there is more money made on a binder to-day, selling it for \$185, at which price they are sold, than there was at \$350, when they were first made, after the National Policy, because the facilities for making them were not as good then as they are now. By getting competition, and by getting these factories established on a sound basis, competing with one another, they build and complete an article in the best way and put it on the market for a reasonable price. Here is where the measure of my hon. friend comes into play. We had our difficulties at the start under the National Policy. We all admit that for a time prices were higher, and articles perhaps not quite so good, but by having protection our manufacturers were able to overcome that difficulty; and although it is argued by some hon. gentlemen that we cannot compete in foreign markets with England and the United States I want to see the Government whose policy has been progress and advancement subsidize steamships to carry the produce of our country to foreign countries, where our manufacturers may find a market for their goods. I want to see the Government of this country pursue the same policy in the future that they have in the past, and providing cheap transport for two or three years, so as to establish new markets and inspire the merchants of the country with confidence

in establishing their agencies; and I venture to say that good will result. It will enable our skilled mechanics who have devoted their time to thoroughly learning their trades, to improve in the production of their wares, and the more that is manufactured the cheaper it can be produced. It will also be the means of opening up a market for the produce that will be raised by the thousands of people who are going into that vast new country in the North-West. It will furnish an outlet for the golden harvests that will be reaped from those rich and fertile plains. If hon. gentlemen opposite want to use figures here is where they can use them to advantage, in computing the greatness of the country, and it can only be done by millions and tens of millions.

It was said by the hon. gentleman from Halifax that it was not the policy of the Liberal party to run down their country. I must join issue with him on that. I think it is plain to every one in Parliament, and to every man in this country who reads the newspapers, that the speeches of every distinguished and able man in the ranks of the Opposition have been used in a manner most detrimental to the interests of Canada. Those speeches, delivered in such eloquent language, declaring that there has been an exodus from the country, that the Dominion is going to ruin, have been spread broadcast throughout the world, and the people have been told that Canada was not a place fit to live in—that the United States was a better country for the immigrant. The result was, that when immigrants landed at Dominion ports they only did so to pass through the country. When they came to the cold climate of this part of Canada in the winter, and had to be re-shipped in the spring of the year by American railways to proceed to the west, they were decoyed by American agents there; and what had they to say to those people when they reached that warmer climate? That Canada was a country not fit to live in, and that even the Canadians themselves say Canada is not a good place in which to settle. The hon. gentleman from Halifax made allusions to a remark of my hon. friend about Pharaoh holding the people of Israel in Egypt. Let me tell him this: If Pharaoh held the people of Israel from entering a

promised land like the North-West, then he was a wicked man; but we have a Moses who has led us into the promised land by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and we have a promised land there that will soon prove that it is equal to any of the old lands in the east. But what do we find? The men who ought to be able to give a truthful and just verdict, the men of the Manitoba Farmers' Union Club, men without loyalty or patriotism, or who lost it because the Canadian Pacific Railway did not give them everything they wanted, have declared that the North-West is not a place for the immigrant to come to. That declaration did more to counteract and frustrate the statements made by Sir Charles Tupper about the richness and fertility of that great country than anyone can tell, and those agitators in Manitoba, who are the worst enemies the country has got, have done more to injure and damn the North-West in the eyes of the people of Europe than anything else.

What would have been the condition of our country to-day had it not been for the National Policy? The courage displayed by the Government of Canada in granting a charter to the Pacific Railway Company, and aiding them by every means in their power to construct that railway, and then inaugurating the National Policy, is deserving of all praise. The Canadian Pacific Railway, I consider, is the greatest work of the nineteenth century. Let any man go over the road from end to end, and consider the short period in which it was completed, and he must see at once that it was the salvation of our country. The pluck and enterprise of the men who took that scheme in hand and carried it through in so short a time, I say, command the admiration of every true Canadian. Two friends of mine to-day, who had been out to the North-West and have just returned, said that yesterday they met 140 cars loaded with all kinds of farm implements and machinery, horses and cattle going out to our North-West. How would that have gone by the water stretches? It would not have been undertaken. These immigrants would bring in a revenue to the country that would be difficult to estimate. They have bought their land, and are going out there with their horses and implements and stock to

add to the wealth of that country. Cattle are to-day, all over Assinaboia, getting their living on the plains, and have been since the 1st of March. The rich grass of that country is the source of the greatest wealth for stock-raising in any country in the world. Cattle of all kinds live on it whenever the snow is off the ground. Our horses have been out all winter. Hundreds of horses east and west of me have been grazing on the plains all winter, and everyone of them fatter than horses that have been fed on hay and housed in stables in Eastern Canada. Talk to me about the wealth of that country! Even the great prophetic speech of Sir Charles Tupper will be more than realized in the very near future, when it comes to be known what a country we have in the North-West, as it is being made known. And how? By the Canadian Pacific Railway. Every day gentlemen from Montreal, Halifax and Europe cross the great western prairies and pass through the Rocky Mountains, whose peaks tower up above one's vision. They go to British Columbia. Wealthy English tourists are brought face to face with the grandeur and greatness of the scenery of the west, which surpasses anything that they had conceived. They go back to England and tell the people of the mother country what a heritage she has on this continent in her great North-West. This has inspired a hope for and a faith in the future of the country, and I can readily understand how our bonds to-day are worth more in the English market than they have been at any previous period in the history of our country, because England has come to realize the vast extent and the great value of the Canadian North-West. I can only say that any assistance I can give to the Government of Canada in establishing lines of steamers to secure outside markets for the surplus products of our fields and our factories I shall gladly bestow. Everybody admits that the home market is the best market in the world. I want our farmers to sell all the butter and cheese that it is possible to dispose of at home. We do not want to sell the surplus to middlemen; we want to send it direct to the consumers in foreign markets if possible. We want to see the factories of this country hives of industry, and we want

to see our workingmen have full employment at home. I was invited by Mr. Taylor, M.P., of the Gananoque Carriage Works, to visit their factories the other day. After being shown round it certainly has astonished me to see the hundreds of men employed at manufacturing almost everything that iron could make. A crude piece of steel plate was manipulated in ten minutes into a complete shovel. Very little was done by manual labor—all by machinery of the most improved character. In the evening I had the pleasure of addressing a large audience, most of whom I had seen during the day in the workshops. I may say that a more intelligent assemblage of men I never faced in my life, and I never took greater pride in addressing an audience than I did while speaking to those honest workmen, divested of their working clothes and clad in the garb of gentlemen, after the labors of the day. I believe this proposition to subsidize steamers to assist in opening up a market in the West Indies and South America is a step in the right direction, and I shall have much pleasure in doing everything I can to assist the Government in carrying out that policy.

HON. MR. REESOR—The question before us is not so much whether we should have manufactories or not, for I presume that every man in Canada is desirous that we should, and that the people of Canada should have an opportunity to develop all the resources of their country; and I have no doubt that all will do what they can to accomplish that end. The question that seems to divide parties is this: the rate of duty that should be put upon articles imported into the Dominion in order that our manufacturing enterprises may be developed. This is the whole question. I have no doubt in my mind, and I think I shall prove clearly before I leave the subject, that many enterprises that Canada has been following for forty or fifty years have been injured rather than benefited by the high rate of duties imposed under the National Policy. Take, for example, that of the manufacture of carriages, buggies and waggon, and of many implements of husbandry. They had reached such a degree of perfection and were so generally manufactured throughout the Dominion previous

to the National Policy that competition had put down their price to a very low figure, and the cry about Canada being made a slaughter market for the American manufactures of agricultural implements or wheeled vehicles of various kinds was entirely misleading. I have had to do with some of these manufacturers myself, and I know just how they were situated. I know that one of the largest factories in the county of York, one that manufactured not only waggons very largely, but street cars—I think some for my hon. friend who sits opposite me—

HON. MR. SMITH—No sleighs.

HON. MR. REESOR—Sleighs, and large busses, or something of that kind, and they manufactured street cars for somebody. They did a large business; it had grown up from small beginnings over a period of forty years, until they valued their establishment at something like \$100,000 in 1877. But when the cry of the National Policy came it seemed to turn the heads of the proprietors. They were then doing well: they had large credit at the bank; they had a great deal of money standing out on notes, for which they did not press the farmers who were their principal customers, and they were really a wealthy company. When the National Policy was promised and 35 per cent. duty was put upon all wheeled vehicles that they were in the habit of manufacturing they thought they were going immediately to add so much more to their wealth. They forgot that it would give rise to and stimulate other factories, so that in a few years they would be cutting each other's throats. They went on, however, and extended their business. Other factories sprung up, and what was the result? Only a few days ago it was announced in the papers that this factory, which had been so prosperous for years, after paying no dividends for four or five years, had at last succumbed, and had gone into liquidation. There was another factory in the same district that took a different course. It was not commenced under the National Policy—I refer to that of H. R. Wales & Co., county York. They were manufacturing buggies and light vehicles. From 1870 to 1878 the manufacture of those articles had been so general throughout the country that it was

impossible for the Americans to undersell our manufacturers, and there was no such thing as slaughtering American goods in this market. Just before the National Policy came in this firm of carriage-makers thought they must look round somewhere else for a market. The country was dotted over with carriage factories from Sandwich to Montreal. As to the eastern Provinces I cannot say much about them, but judging from the speech of the hon. gentleman who addressed us a few minutes ago they must have been in a sad condition. The small wages paid to laborers and the small profits realized from the products of the farm made the position a pitiable one, and it was a good thing that they got into the Confederation at the time they did. But it was not so with us. The farmers of Ontario, west of Cobourg, at any rate, realized higher prices; they had good crops, and they got from \$1 to \$1.50 a bushel for their wheat. Since the National Policy they have only received 80 to 90 cents, though this year the price has gone up again. I do not blame the National Policy for it, and it is only nonsense to tell the farmers, as our National Policy friends have told them, that it would give them a better price for their wheat. We must make due allowances for that, for we know that at certain times there is a little political conjuring going on. I do not know whether there are any farmers to be found from one end of the Dominion to the other who are so ignorant or so foolish as to believe that the duty of 15 cents a bushel on barley was going to help them. They must know that there is from five million to ten million bushels of barley exported from Canada every year, and that the price is governed by what is paid for it in the foreign markets in which it is sold. This duty was put on because it was thought that some farmers would be foolish enough to believe it would put up the price of barley. It did no good, and it did no harm. There was also a duty put on butter and cheese. These articles we exported—we not only exported our own but a considerable quantity of the cheese made in New York State was sent to Montreal and shipped from there to England. That was a benefit to our railways and to our ships, in addition to finding a market

for our supplies. I will now follow up what became of this carriage establishment that I referred to, as an illustration of the result of paying no attention to the National Policy. That carriage-maker was a very intelligent, energetic man. He had his sons and his brothers in the business; he saw that the country was full of carriage factories already; that the Americans could not undersell them, for their iron and steel imported from England cost them more than ours did, as our duty on such articles was lower before the National Policy than the American duty on steel and iron. One of the firm went to Jamaica, to the town of Kingston. He there looked around to see if there was an opening for their manufactures of wheeled vehicles of the lighter kind. He got a good deal of encouragement, and had interviews with leading men there connected with the Government of the country, and was asked to bring out samples. He came back, selected samples from their factory and returned to Jamaica with them. The people were so pleased with them that they proposed to this carriage firm to open an establishment there. They did so, and from that day to this, some twelve years now, they have been carrying on a business at Kingston steadily, and instead of their goods being run into the ground, and instead of their trying to fight their neighbors at home, and selling at cost and below cost, they have made money, have large credits in the bank, and do not require any loans to help them to carry on their business. Did they have any protection there? Not a bit. The market was open for those articles to all the world. England, France and Portugal could send them there and the United States could send them there, yet the Canadians held the market. They showed their intelligence and business capacity in making a good article at a fair price, and they did so, and sold it and made money by it. Perhaps hon. gentlemen can tell how, if they had a steamship subsidized, running from Halifax to Montreal, it would help them? I will call my hon. friend's attention to the fact that in 1866, when the reciprocity treaty with the United States was about to be abrogated, communications were had between the Finance Minister of Canada and the Colonial Office in England,

and also with the different Governments of the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They finally arranged to go to England and ascertain upon what terms they might be allowed to establish some kind of reciprocal trade with the West India Islands. They were anxious to carry out a trade somewhat similar to what they had in the United States, to get rid of the raw products of this country—such things as they could manufacture and could sell at a reasonable price—together with the lumber and fish that they had been already selling from the eastern Provinces. The British Government took a very great interest in it, and they ordered Admiral Sir James Hope to furnish them a war vessel to go down and visit, not only the West Indies, but all the British possessions further on along the coast of South America, to visit Mexico and Brazil; and they carried out their instructions and made their report, which will be found in the Sessional Papers No. 43 of the year 1866. The result was that the trade relations they were able to make were not very satisfactory. Those islands were anxious to have the trade, but the problem was, how to make our products free, because they wanted a revenue for the maintenance of their Government, so that not much was accomplished. Some efforts were made, I think, on the part of the people of the eastern Provinces. It was followed, also, by an offer on the part of the home Government to subsidize a steamer to run between Halifax and the West Indies. Arrangements were made with the Cunard Company. They put on a monthly steamer to make a round trip from Halifax to Kingston, Jamaica. There were many of the ports in the Windward Islands where a large steamer could not go in with safety, so that the trade with those islands almost, of necessity, had to be done by sailing vessels. The trade was prosecuted for seven or eight years while this steamer remained on the route, but not brisk enough to continue; and after that time, when the subsidy was withdrawn, the steamers were taken off. That will account, to some extent, perhaps, for the falling off of the trade since that time, but if the trade that was had there while the steamer was running was done at a loss—because those

steamers were subsidized at the rate of £15,000 a year, making a trip once a month, it was paying too dearly for what otherwise might be a benefit; and whether it would be wise now for the Government of Canada to subsidize steamers to run down to those points is still a very great question. If there was any certainty that the trade would be increased to make it re-pay for the outlay all would be well, but I think it exceedingly doubtful. Perhaps it may be said that the trade of this carriage firm who sent their buggies to Jamaica had the benefit of those subsidized steamers. Such was not the case, however. They sent their buggies from New York, and they generally went from there by sailing vessels, and they shipped them cheaper in that way than they could by sending them round by Halifax and shipping them by the subsidized steamer. I have no doubt that the agricultural implement makers could work off some of their manufactures in the same way, for I believe our Canadian workmen are as intelligent and active and can work for as small pay as American workmen. They can live as cheaply, all things considered, and there is only this difference—they have a little further to send their goods; otherwise, they could send them as well to Brazil or the Argentine Republic as the Americans can. There is only a little difference in distance, but the question for the Government to consider seriously is this: whether it would be better to afford them facilities for shipping from New York or from Halifax. Now, if they afford facilities for shipping from Halifax, which would not be used except at a loss, it would be better not to ship that way, but let them take their natural course. All the merchants of the Maritime Provinces have sailing vessels, and can use them to advantage if they can get the freight; but it must be borne in mind that the products enumerated by the hon. gentleman from Midland are not as cheap in this country under the National Policy as they are in New York. For example, take the article of flour. There is a duty of 15 cents a bushel imposed on American wheat and 50 cents a barrel on American flour. I admit that to us farmers who raise wheat that is of some benefit, because it keeps up the price here about to that extent. There may be times when it is a little lower, because the specu-

lations of the Chicago markets are very extraordinary, and prices sometimes rise very high, and if we did not produce the article ourselves, and were dependent entirely on them, our market would fluctuate in spite of all we could do; but the market is kept steadier and firmer for the farmer, I admit, because of this duty on wheat. It is so far beneficial to the farmer, but there is another question to be considered—is it beneficial to the consumer? If they are satisfied, my hon. friend from Belleville and myself need not complain. There is a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents a bushel on corn, and when you take into account the trouble of looking after the imported article that passes through the Customs house you may call it as good as 10 cents a bushel for duty, so that corn also is an article in which we could not compete with the Americans in sending to the West Indies. I will turn now to a paragraph in which my hon. friend from Midland refers to the goods in which he is under the impression we can compete with the Americans, but when we come to compare prices in Canada and in the United States we find that we could not do it. He speaks of the cargoes sent down to New York in January by the schooner "William Hayes." He gives the contents, and first is 2,117 barrels of flour. Now, in regard to flour, notwithstanding my hon. friend's assurance that Mr. McLaughlin, a miller in Toronto, gave it as his opinion that his improved machinery in his mill would turn out flour of such quality that it would bear shipping to the tropics, and could be carried there to compete with the American flours, provided we could have a constant surplus, I may say that we have a surplus almost every year, but that surplus may be wiped out in a very few months, and after that the balance could be held by the millers and they would get the benefit. The farmers would not, but if they do well one year they are likely to look for better prices the next year. There is a decided objection, according to all past experience (and I have had some experience myself in shipping flour) to the use of northern flour in tropical countries. The means of cooling the flour is about all, perhaps, that can be done in any case, whether you grind with rollers or with the old fashioned burr-stone. You want to get flour cold

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before you pack it. But with the wheat used in California and the Southern States there is a degree of dryness, arising from its being cut generally in a dry season and in the months of May and June. It is so dry that it can be ground into flour, packed and sent to any part of the world. In dealings that I have had with the merchants of Boston and Portland they have invariably said: "We cannot trust your flour; no matter how good your Canadian wheat may be, or how bright it is, and how nice the flour may be, it will answer for your home consumption here and answer to send to the Eastern Provinces, but we would not venture to send it down to the south, particularly if it is to be kept there any length of time in warm weather. We want the southern-grown wheat—that from California, Kentucky, Tennessee or some other southern State, and I think that will continue to be the experience. Mr. McLaughlin does not know from actual experience that he can do otherwise than submit his flour to be sold as hitherto. He, no doubt, thinks he might, and he is willing that a steamer should be subsidized to give him a trial if he has a surplus, but unless he has a surplus that will enable him to sell it at a lower price than he does at present it would be useless for the consumer to depend upon getting a cargo at Halifax when they can get it so much cheaper at New York. The same may be said of the corn. We could not supply it as cheaply as it can be supplied from New York. The quantity of corn in this cargo was 500 bags. Then there was 210 barrels of pork. Pork is under the same restriction as flour is in Canada.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I should like the hon. gentleman to listen to an objection that has been stated in reference to this matter. I am told that the reason hitherto that flour would not keep was by reason of the greater quantity of feed—I mean bran and shorts—that remain, under the old system of bolting, in the flour. That is removed by the perfected machinery. I should like to have the hon. gentleman speak on that subject.

HON. MR. REESOR—The bran itself, if properly dried, will keep anywhere, and with more safety than the flour. Of course, if you expose it to moisture it will heat.

HON. MR. SMITH—But they can get a good price for it here.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I mean the portion of bran that remains in the flour under the old system of bolting.

HON. MR. REESOR—The old system of bolting takes the bran out close enough for good health, and produces flour that makes the best description of bread. My hon. friend from Belleville will tell you that he would not use, from his experience (and he has had a good deal of experience in the course of his life), the flour made by this roller process. However, many persons take the flour from the rollers because it is exceedingly white, and very white flour has become fashionable; but there is a great deal of dark flour sold down in the West Indies. The negroes, who comprise a considerable portion of the population of the West Indies, prefer a cheaper and a lower grade of flour, and if you get a lower grade of southern wheat you are safe in shipping it; but I am satisfied that it would not be safe to ship such flour made from Canadian wheat or wheat grown in the northern States. At all events, it would be folly to count upon it until we had absolute proof that it can be done—proof that it will stand the hot weather of the West Indies. Everyone who has had experience in shipping flour knows that it is very difficult to keep it in the summer months in safety, even though it is made from dry wheat, well ground and bolted, and put up in barrels; there is great danger of it souring.

HON. MR. SMITH—There is a great deal in the cooling of it before it goes into the barrel.

HON. MR. REESOR—It should always be cool, and I think no merchant miller would dream of sending it out otherwise. In regard to the pork, the quantity in the cargo of the "William Hayes" was 210 brls. and 100 brls. of pork, heads. There is a duty of 2 cents per lb. on hams brought into this country from the United States. Since that duty was imposed our pork has brought a higher price. We do not produce as much pork as is used in the country. We have none to export, but if it came in freely from the other side I am sure we would produce less, because the

people of Canada are not particularly attached to the idea of raising a great deal of pork. What they can raise from the offal of the farm and dairy they produce, but they are not disposed to produce more, because it does not pay. Our peas sell at from 60 to 90 cents a bushel, and our barley rarely brings less than 50 cents—it is a very second rate quality if it does. This year my son sold his barley at the nearest railway station in the county of York for an average of about 69 cents; he got 70 and 72 cents for a portion of it. That barley only weighs 48 lbs. to the bushel. One bushel of barley could almost buy two bushels of corn—at all events, it would buy a bushel and three pecks of corn at 40 cents a bushel, and that would be better than two bushels of barley; so if it could be had as cheaply as the Americans can get it we could use it for feed. I have sometimes thought it was a mistake to put a duty on corn, although there are some three counties in western Ontario which can raise corn. The distillers use it, and have to pay the price of American corn, with the addition of the duty. It saves them importing so much. It is only a question of calculation as to whether, upon the whole, it would be best for the farmers and for the country to take the duty off corn. For my own part, I have thought over the question a good deal, and I certainly would as lief see it taken off as left on.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—The distillers get a rebate.

HON. MR. READ—Only on spirits exported made from corn that is imported.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—While my hon. friend is on that point I may mention that corn comes into competition with oats in all the lower Provinces.

HON. MR. READ—And with all the coarse grains.

HON. MR. REESOR—I do not think there is anything lost at all in any competition with oats. I think we can consume all the oats that we raise, except perhaps in Prince Edward Island. They are so near the other side of the Atlantic that they sometimes send a ship load of oats out of the Province. They raise very

good oats there and get good prices. The eastern States are not far off, and they like our Canadian oats better than the western oats, and they not unfrequently get their supplies from Prince Edward Island. I do not think, as a rule, the price of oats in Canada is so low as it is on the other side. There is a duty on oats, and that, I think, may continue, unless we want to make up a complete mixed cargo to ship to the West Indies or some other market, and then we would have to admit the western oats free; but otherwise the duty might remain, and the farmers would get the benefit of it. There is not only, then, the few cents duty on pork, but there is 2 cents per pound on lard and the general products of the hog, which keeps the price up at a very nice figure in this country. I know that our people sold their pork this year at from \$7 to \$8 a hundred, and that no such price rules in Chicago. It is a very good paying price.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—How is it for the lumbermen?

HON. MR. REESOR—I do not know but there is some drawback allowed the lumbermen.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—No; the drawback is only for the distillers.

HON. MR. REESOR—I was going to say that the distillers might be charged less excise duty on the whiskey made of Canadian corn, but the difficulty is, there would be dissatisfaction in the counties where corn is raised, because lower prices would prevail. The Government would make as much from it, because they could charge a less revenue on the Canadian corn, and that would induce the distillers to buy more of it, because they would have to pay less revenue on the whiskey made from it. Among the articles in the cargo of the "William Hayes" was 100 barrels of pork heads. I suppose those were the rougher portions, intended for the negro population, because they want some cheap food.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—If we can sell flour to beat the United States in Newfoundland, why can we not do it in the West Indies? We beat them

in Newfoundland; why can we not do it elsewhere?

HON. MR. REESOR—I will tell you one reason. We have boats going down to Newfoundland.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—So have they.

HON. MR. REESOR—We have a line of steamers going there, and there is a sort of reciprocal arrangement between Newfoundland and Canada. We take their seal oil, their fish oil and their fish free of duty, just as free as from one of our own Provinces in the Confederation; but outside of that, if they want to bring in seal oil or fish they have to pay duty, and therefore they make an effort to accept our flours, and I suppose there is a certain part of our flour that is made specially to suit them. The consequence is that trade is kept up with St. John. Now, if we had a reciprocity treaty and took refined sugar from the West India Islands free of duty they might take our flour free of duty, provided we could send them the quality they want—but we cannot do that. We cannot afford to do without a revenue on sugar. Sugar has always been a source of a large amount of revenue. I will not say that the Government have done just right in making the duty upon refined sugar 100 per cent. more than that on raw sugar, but still I did not object to their making it some more, to secure the refining in this country if we can.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is not so much as that.

HON. MR. REESOR—There were in the cargo of the "William Hayes" 159 cases of lard, besides bran, and fifty barrels of lard. Now, all these are just in the position that I have mentioned: they are all dearer in this country than they are in New York. There was also 200 crates of oleomargarine. Our people are not allowed to make oleomargarine. If it is known, they are not allowed to import it, so that we could not supply that article, and I think it is, perhaps, just as well, so far as that part is concerned. Of course, oleomargarine will sell in the West Indies. It is cheaper than butter, and it is made with such a proportion of tallow that it will keep firmer and handle better for the

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retail trade of the West India Islands, and it will please a great many people, even better than badly made or rancid butter.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—It is not so much affected by the heat.

HON. MR. REESOR—Then there were 150 boxes of cheese. That is another article on which we are about on an even footing with our neighbors, with this exception, that in the United States they are in the habit of making up cheese for the southern trade—they have been in the habit of doing so with their own southern States for very many years. They make up a firmer and harder cheese, with less butter in it, which will stand the climate, and where it goes to the colored population it is satisfactory, and is sold cheaper than we can possibly sell our good cheese. Our people are not in the habit of making that kind of cheese. Of course, if we could supply all the other articles making up a mixed cargo from Halifax we might manufacture a cheese that would suit them; but unless we could make up a mixed cargo, and make it worth while, I do not think it would be well to change the grade of our cheese, since the Americans have the lead there altogether. They have been in the habit of making it for years, and when they get an order they know what to send. Then there is 1,950 cases of kerosene oil. We must admit that they have an advantage over us in that, the quality of their oil is so much superior to ours. The refiners of this country have failed, notwithstanding the duty on American oil, to remove that disagreeable smell from Canadian oil. Some of it they get pretty good, but it is, as a rule, inferior to the oil produced in the United States, and when you get American oil for 10 or 15 cents more you are sure to take it. That is clear from the large quantity of American oil imported into Canada and used in this country. It is not to be expected that our oil could compete with the oils shipped from New York. Then there were 75 brls. of tar and 75 brls. of pitch. I am not aware that tar and pitch are manufactured at all to any extent in Canada, for shipment outside the country, unless it is in the Maritime Provinces. I know we have been in the habit

of importing it from the United States. The pine timber of the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama, and even down in Florida, is exceedingly resinous, and produces pitch, I understand, in great quantities. The labor employed to gather it is very cheap. It is a sort of half idle occupation; the negroes do the work, and the article is kept in stock in New York ready for shipment. That is another article in which we could not compete with our neighbors. Then there were twenty cases of tallow candles. Inasmuch as beef is fed with American cheap corn, tallow is certainly cheaper than we can produce it here. We do not keep much in stock; still, among the different articles that we could export, possibly we could spare a few cases of candles; but since the Americans could undersell us in all the other articles I have mentioned it would not be worth while to subsidize a steamer in order to send a few tallow candles to the West Indies. The quantity is very small—only twenty cases. Then there were eleven tierces and five crates of ham, 200 half brls. of beef, and 100 cases of oatmeal. All these things are just in the same position as the beef and the pork. The Americans have the advantage of cheap production, and so long as our corn is at a higher price we cannot compete with them. We all know that our peas and barley are too high to be made into beef and tallow to compete with theirs. We have a certain amount of beef that we can turn off every year. There is a certain amount of refuse that a farmer has, and a certain number of store cattle that the distillers buy up, but they feed that beef and send it to the British market. It pays them better than to send it to the West Indies. Now, we come to 125 barrels split peas, and I suppose those same split peas were purchased in this country. My hon. friend from Monk the other day said he could not see how it was that the Americans would care to buy our products when they raised the products themselves. It is true that they raise peas, but not of as good quality or to the same extent as we do, and there is a continual demand for mixed cargoes at New York, Boston, Portland and all the Atlantic ports, to go south to some of the islands, and there is a demand for peas made by almost every ship's crew that

comes into New York. They use a great many for food on board ship, and the consequence is that all the dealers in those ports who handle breadstuffs, or anything of that kind, require a supply of split peas and raw peas in order to be able to get a good mixed cargo to suit the demand; and if you get a mixed cargo to suit the demands of the place from which the ship hails of course they work to better advantage.

They do not want to take all of one article or of two articles; if they can get a mixed cargo large enough to supply the demands of the city to which they are bound they prefer that kind of trade; they would not like to divide it in trading with Halifax and New York. Of course, there are certain things that can go from Halifax. There are lumber and fish, and other things—for instance, granite from the quarries of New Brunswick, which goes to make up cargoes. A great many of these stones are shipped to the old country and to the United States, but I see that they are unfairly put down in my hon. friend's list as manufactures. I do not say that he is unfair in connection with it, but it is in the Blue Book put down in that way. Of course, these stones are so far wrought as to be raised out of the quarry; but stones, to be called manufactured, should be either sculptured, hammer-dressed or finished in some shape. The export of manufactured goods has fallen off some since 1874-75-76, and I suppose that may account in some measure for these articles having been placed under that heading. There is in the list 105 bundles of brooms. The Americans have had long experience in raising broom-corn and making brooms. I know that an attempt was made to manufacture brooms in Canada. Whether it has succeeded, so far as to enable our manufacturers to compete with the Americans, as the carriage-maker from my part of the country did when he went down to Jamaica, I do not know.

HON. MR. ARCHIBALD—Brooms are manufactured in Halifax.

HON. MR. REESOR—Do they raise the broom-corn there also?

HON. MR. ARCHIBALD—I do not know that they do.

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HON. MR. REESOR—As to the article of split peas, of course Canada can furnish and does furnish a large quantity, and we get a good price for them. The parties who supply those articles from New York, Portland or Boston always require a stock of peas. When I was in business, shipping grain and such articles to the eastern markets, those things were always enquired for, particularly in the spring of the year, by the ships that came into harbor.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—What did he say about oats?

HON. MR. REESOR—In Canada we rarely raise a surplus, to any extent. It is generally used up before the new crop comes in. I do not know about Prince Edward Island; they may be able to ship oats. They have a surplus there, but when they have an opportunity they send it to England, where they get a good price for it. Sometimes they send oats to Boston and New York, and thence they are re-shipped to other markets. Then there are beef cuttings, tobacco, etc. (of course we cannot compete with them in tobacco); 98,000 feet white pine lumber, and sundries. They even take lumber over there, notwithstanding the fact that they are always shipping lumber more or less from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In taking a mixed cargo they do not want to go to the trouble of finishing their cargo at other points, and that would naturally account for their taking this lumber. Whether it is a better quality of lumber or not there is nothing said here. My hon. friend says that almost every article in this cargo sent from the United States to that market could be supplied by us with equal advantage to the buyer. I am afraid not.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Look at Newfoundland.

HON. MR. REESOR—Newfoundland has a reciprocal trade with us. We take their fish free of duty, and we can afford then to re-ship them to any other country we choose to carry it to. We take their oils free of duty and their seal oil, and for the sake of keeping up that, a favorite trade with us, they take our products.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—What fish do we take from Newfoundland?

HON. MR. RESSOR—I could not say what kinds we do take.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—A large quantity of herring.

HON. MR. REESOR—I would call the attention of the House to the fact, with a view that the returns may be improved on some future occasion, that I think it is not proper that under the heading of "manufactures" all the articles in this list given by my hon. friend—\$4,616,953—should be included, because they comprise ground plaster, scrap, iron laths, &c. Ground plaster is rather a metal than a manufacture; but supposing we allow them to include that—although it is no more a manufacture than flour is a manufacture, —certainly scrap iron is not properly a manufacture. When it become scrap iron it is worth no more than pig iron, and it requires no labor to make it. Then there is oil cake and oil. The oil cake that is made from flaxseed is strictly an agricultural product. It is as much an agricultural product as the bran of wheat is, and the oil is an agricultural product as much as the flour from wheat. Those articles ought to be placed amongst the agricultural products. Of course, it would swell them up and diminish, to a corresponding extent, the return of manufactured goods. The linseed is taken to the oil-mill, is put into a press, and the oil is separated from it with far less trouble and less machinery employed than is required to make flour from wheat, and we have no more right to call it a manufacture than to call flour and wheat a manufacture. Then the whole list is wound up by including rags. We can hardly call rags a manufactured product. Of course, it has been manufactured some time and worn out, but it should not be classed amongst manufactured products, and if we take out those articles that do not belong to the list we reduce the amount of manufactures by some \$300,000 or \$400,000. I do not know that I need detain the House any longer. So far as I am concerned, I have always been in favor of levying duties on imported goods, to so place them that incidentally they would encourage the development

of manufactures. I have always been in favor of that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. REESOR—I have been always in favor of that, and I think my hon. friend who says "hear, hear" was in favor of that when he was in a former Government. I remember that Sir William Howland asked me at one time if that was my view, and I told him it was; and if there is anything I have to complain of in regard to some of the duties it is that they are rather too high, and have led people astray, and have in that way done more harm than good. I think the duty is unnecessarily high on cottons. Within a few weeks a large cotton factory in the town of Dundas was sold out for \$100,000, though I am informed it cost fully \$200,000. I do not think high duties are in the interest of the manufacturer or in the interest of the consumer. I do not think they should be placed so high as to induce too great production: I think that it does wrong to the manufacturers and misleads the public. I know from practical observation that the smaller the duty is the safer it is for a manufacturer; it places him on a safer basis and he is sooner able to go out and compete with the world, and that is what we want. We want our manufacturers educated to be so sharp and so shrewd that they will secure the very best of machinery and the best material to work upon, so as to produce goods that they need not be ashamed to offer for sale in any market in the world. We cannot expect to do that in everything, but we should not aim to get a great surplus without accomplishing that particular end. I have no doubt that there are many things that are being produced which, if carefully produced, and proper steps are taken by the parties producing them to establish the right connections in the south, they will be able to do so. Nothing has pleased me more than the success of the carriage manufacturer I have referred to, because each of his sons has placed, to my knowledge, \$6,000 or \$7,000 to his credit in the banks in the county of York, and they do not require banking accommodation to carry on their business. That is a healthy state of things we should all desire to see.

AFTER RECESS.

HON. MR. POIRIER resumed the debate. He said: I assure you that at five o'clock this afternoon I had not the remotest idea of inflicting a speech upon this hon. House. However, I have the floor now, and although this question has been dealt with pretty extensively there is room left for further observations. I am perfectly in accord with the mover of this resolution in thinking that an extension of our commercial relations with the West Indies and the South American countries has become a necessity. One of the reasons which, among others, makes me adhere to that conviction is an argument brought forward by the hon. leader of the Opposition in his speech on this question. That argument, which he deemed one of the strongest in support of his views, appears to me to work completely the other way. Replying to a statement that the balance of trade had diminished considerably, and that a general depression of affairs existed in Canada during the period of the Mackenzie Administration, he attributed that state of things to the fact that our exports of lumber had diminished during the Mackenzie regime by \$61,000,000, compared with the exports of lumber for the five preceding years; and he said this was due to the fact that the Americans could not afford to buy our lumber, owing to the depression which prevailed in their own country. It is a sad state of affairs when a neighbor has come to depend so entirely on another neighbor for his own maintenance and subsistence. Now, if it is true that we suffered to such an extent because of the inability of the Americans to buy one particular article from us, the conclusion forces itself upon us that it is wise and necessary that we should open up new channels for our export trade, and thus avert a repetition of the sad experience to which I have referred. We are liable, while we are so dependent upon our neighbors, to suffer in the same way whenever they are unable or unwilling to be our customers. That argument of the leader of the Opposition justifies the position taken by the hon. member from Midland, and demonstrates the urgent necessity of seeking other markets on which we may depend in times of emergency. Not that I adopt the conclusions

of the hon. leader of the Opposition; very possibly that hon. gentleman imagined that the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was still at the head of affairs, and that the country is still suffering from the effects of his Administration—that we may still witness in the House of Commons that melancholy scene, when the country appealed for some measure of relief, and received this solemn answer from the then leader of the Government: "We cannot do anything; the Government is absolutely powerless to help you." Hon. gentlemen are aware that if that Government were powerless their successors did not despair of the country. You all know that it is a grievous offence for a citizen of any country to despair, even under the most gloomy circumstances. In the days of the Roman Empire generals were extolled even when they suffered defeat, so long as they did not despair. That was the feature of the Conservative Administration—they did not despair. They came to power, and their policy showed the falsity of the statement made by the Mackenzie Government, that an Administration is powerless to help the country. We have had ten years of the National Policy, and I am proud to say that the party which I support has managed public affairs in such a way that the country has made progress by leaps and bounds. So great has been the progress that to-day, even were the Americans in such a depressed condition that they could not buy our lumber, we would be able to maintain our trade, and would not be at their mercy, as we were in 1878. Then, according to the admission of the leader of the Opposition, I find that this debate is absolutely parallel with the debate which is now going on in the other House. In that Chamber appeals and endeavors have been made, over and over again, to throw ourselves body and soul into the hands of our American neighbors. The people have been assured that we cannot afford to develop our own resources, and that we can never become a nation unless we ally ourselves with the neighboring country. If the teachings of history are to be trusted that conclusion is not warranted. The most prosperous nations of ancient as well as of modern times have developed their greatest trade and attained their highest degree of prosperity, not so much, perhaps, on

account of the commercial relations with their immediate neighbors as by dealings with distant countries. What has made the grandeur of England? Is it her trade with France, with Belgium or with Denmark? No; if England had relied upon her trade with the neighboring nations of Europe alone, as our friends wish us to rely on the Americans, she would not occupy the proud position she holds to-day, but would be like Belgium, a third or fourth rate power in Europe. While everyone must recognize the natural spirit of enterprise and energy of the Anglo-Saxon races, we must also admit England's grandeur and prosperity are due mainly to her commerce with foreign nations. By her trade with the East Indies and the whole world she has created that fleet which has made her the mistress of the seas, and by her fleet alone, without a standing army of any consequence, she stands to-day foremost amongst the powerful nations of the world. Without entering into details, I would like to show that foreign commerce built the great cities of ancient times—Carthage, Tyre and the Italian Republics of the middle ages. All those prosperous states owed their prosperity, not so much to their dealings with their immediate neighbors as to their commerce with the world at large, and especially with distant lands. Therefore, I say that any measure brought by the Government which would tend to extend our commerce with distant nations ought to be hailed with joy and that is the proper policy for our Government to adopt. Among the clashing and conflicting statements to which we have listened I gather these, which seems to embody pretty well the policy of the Opposition in this and in the other House: that we should join with the United States, either in a commercial union or by means of unrestricted reciprocity. I myself believe that we are drifting somewhere. I am convinced that we will not eternally be in the colonial state. We were children, but we are growing to manhood; and when we are grown up adults, stalwart and strong, we will then possibly choose a state of life. We may wed, and we may remain single. The wedding, I believe, if it takes place, will possibly be with the neighboring Republic. But how do we know now

that we will ultimately join the United States? We are drifting, it is true, but my own impression is that we are drifting as rapidly towards independence as towards annexation, and with those prospects before us it is premature, I should think, for us to make any move that might be regretted in the near future. The atmosphere of the world, just now, is full of powder and cannon and alarms of war. Who knows what the result may be after that explosion has occurred? Who knows that our condition will be the same as it now is? I say that it is premature, that it is dangerous for us to fetter our hands, to handicap ourselves in the future, by adopting an inconsiderate and rash policy. We should remain in expectancy and await the development of events. We are in no hurry. Hon. friends opposite have told us over and over again that we are in a sad state of depression and poverty; that we are as badly off as a nation can be; that we are on the threshold of bankruptcy. I believe not a word of it; and I regret to say I think that many of those who utter those sentiments do not believe them themselves. I am from the lower Provinces. The very town I hail from—Moncton—has developed, within the last five or six years as much as any of the towns of the United States, with the exception, perhaps, of some of the western towns. A few of the towns in my neighborhood have grown from mere villages to cities, with populations from six to ten thousand. This speaks not of depression. And correspondingly, with that increase in the populations of the towns and villages, farms have enhanced in value also. Therefore, we are not as badly off as hon. gentlemen opposite would lead us to believe. We can afford to remain a few more years in the condition we are now in, and wait for the solution of those events which seem inevitable, and which may change the destinies of this country, since our destinies are so closely allied with those of Great Britain. We all remember that Hon. Mr. Chamberlain declared here, at the Governor General's, on a New Years Day, two years ago—at least, reports were brought to us to that effect—that England was ready to grant us our independence, or any form of government which we choose to adopt. Therefore,

I can speak on this matter without any charge of disloyalty, the annunciation having been made by a British Minister. Now, supposing we did accept what hon. gentlemen opposite advocate, either unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, what would be the result? First, if we had unrestricted reciprocity this would happen: the exchange of merchandise would be free of duty between the two countries, but none of us here, while under allegiance to the Queen of England, would conceive the idea of placing England in a worse position than the most privileged nations; therefore, all articles from England would necessarily come here free. In the United States, where the tariff averages about 42 per cent., these articles of British manufacture, which could not have access through New York, Boston, or Portland to the American market without paying a high duty, would, through our ports, deluge the markets of the United States, and give us such an advantage over them as to considerably damage their commerce. Under those conditions unlimited reciprocity, which is now advocated, would not last six months. The Americans are a proud, thrifty and enterprising people; they would not allow the surplus goods of England's market, and of the German market, also through England, to come in here free and be sent across the border to flood their market. Therefore, unlimited reciprocity, which is advocated by the hon. gentlemen opposite, is entirely utopian—a thing we will never see as long as we are a colony under the protection of Great Britain. But they have another string to their bow, and that is commercial union or a zolverein. Commercial union, or a zolverein is the unification of tariffs for all intents and purposes between different countries. When we give away our power of tariff-making, and they give up theirs, it is easy to see that they will practically control everything, and nothing will be left in our hands. Under that condition of things, as long as we are a colony we cannot maintain that situation; because that situation, if not annexation itself, is not very different from it.

I believe that no hon. gentleman here, and very few people in this country, are prepared just now to cast in their lot with the United States. We have a good

country; we are peaceful and prosperous to a satisfactory extent, and I say that our institutions are better calculated to last than are the institutions of our neighbors. It is true they have increased rapidly, but I contend that rapid, extravagant increase in a nation is no more indicative of a healthy development than obesity in a man is indicative of a sound constitution. Look at their position to-day and compare it with ours? What are the United States composed of? They are composed of perhaps eight or ten millions of Germans, of perhaps seven millions of Irishmen, of a million and a half of Frenchmen, and of a composition of all nationalities that adorn this glorious globe of ours, who have made a *rendezvous* of that country. That is all well enough now; they live together more or less harmoniously; but who can tell that, when the State is replete with citizens, when the difference between wealth and poverty has increased and the line is still more marked between labor and capital, that some huge revolution may not come and shake all those diverse elements and place the United States in about the same position as Europe was after the great conquests of Charlemagne? Who knows that, before half a century elapses, the Americans may not be shattered into three or four nationalities; and history tells us what torrents of blood must be spilled before the constitution of a country like that, or of any other country, can be so altered. We do not stand here in the same position. More than that, I believe that before many years, with that increase of population which is made up of all the elements of creation, good and bad—and, perhaps, the majority is not good—the Government of the United States may be swayed by those revolutionary doctrines brought over from Germany or elsewhere, and that our Canada, with a smaller population, but much more homogeneous, composed principally of people of two languages, people who go slowly, but who have established religious and social principles—that Canada, if still a colony under England, or an independent nation, will be far better and more stable than the United States. Therefore, in view of all those events which are shadowed before us I say that it is premature, unless we are forced by actual

necessity, to enter into any bargain with our neighbors which might precipitate a new state of affairs which we might eternally regret.

I believe in the prosperity of this country. It is founded on a good social, moral and religious basis. We have an ample territory—larger even than that described by Mr. Simeon Jones, of St. John, in his report. We can afford to locate millions and scores of millions of people in our country before we are crowded, as they are in the older countries of Europe. Moreover, we have a more healthy climate; we are better morally and physically than the people of southern countries are, and history teaches us that the nations of the north almost inevitably develop superior qualities to those in the south, who are more exposed to the *dolce far niente*. My firm desire is that the prosperity which we have enjoyed for the last ten years should not be interfered with, and that we should not by any rash act make our position very possibly and very probably worse.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have great pleasure in answering the question which the hon. gentleman from Midland put to me, and which has been the subject of this long and exhaustive debate, and to inform him that the Government regards with all the interest which he has expressed, the development of our trade with the countries to which his question relates; and that they are devoting to it this year a considerable sum, for the purpose of supporting and assisting communication by water with those countries. The amount placed in the Estimates is \$60,000, but the precise mode in which it is to be distributed is now under consideration.

While making this answer to my hon. friend, I must join with all the hon. Senators who have spoken, in complimenting him upon the pains and assiduity with which he has studied this question, and on the very complete manner in which he placed it before the House. It is not every one who passes his holidays in seeking to discover what may benefit his country, and the line of action which my hon. friend has adopted in doing so, is much to be approved of. We appreciate the importance of the task to which my hon. friend devoted himself, in proportion to the

rareness of similar action on similar occasions. In saying this I only echo what everyone else has said, and in commencing the remarks I am about to make on the subject of this debate, I am obliged to premise, that I do not know that I shall offer to this House anything original on the matter in issue. Indeed, I doubt very much if I shall be able to do so. The subject has been discussed in a most exhaustive manner; every point has been taken and followed up by men who are cognizant of the details of the subject on which they spoke, to a much greater degree than I can pretend to be; the objections which have been grafted upon my hon. friend's notice, to the policy of the country, and its position, have been fully answered, each by a person actually an expert on the subject upon which he spoke; and the statistics which have been necessary to elucidate the arguments of hon. gentlemen have been exhaustively quoted. And I confess myself in the position of being absolutely and unqualifiedly unable to say one word that is new.

It may be asked: Why, then, trouble the House with a discourse, the substance of which has already been virtually delivered? I reply that I wish to place before the House, at the risk of fatiguing it, my own view of this question. I have never had an opportunity of doing so. I do not propose to do so now at any great length; but I do wish to state, in a connected form, my idea of the true position of this country, of the nature of its policy, of the objections to it, and of the other subjects which have been drawn under discussion, involving some expansion of the purview of the notice of my hon. friend from Midland.

Now, as to my hon. friend's contention, and his reasons for it, I do not think there can be much doubt of their soundness. There is no doubt whatever, in my mind at all events, that we may largely expand our trade with the countries he refers to, and for this reason; almost everything we produce is something which they require and which they do not produce. Almost everything they produce is something which we require and which we do not produce. We do not produce sugar, coffee, rubber, the fine woods of Brazil, rice, and the numerous other productions of tropical countries. We have not the

advantage that the United States possess, in having almost an unlimited variety of climate. We know that the countries to which my hon. friend's notice relates, produce almost spontaneously many of the richest productions of the world; yet we can send to them, at all events, notwithstanding what my hon. friend from York said this afternoon, our flour, our meal, our lumber, our fish, our coal, our manufactures of iron, cotton, wool and wood; and we can receive in return their sugar, coffee, rice, fruits and other tropical products which those countries produce in abundance. If these do not form a foundation for a valuable trade I do not know what would constitute it. It is certainly much better than devoting our energies to cultivating a trade with people who produce mainly the same things as ourselves, with a larger population, larger capital, larger experience, and larger advantages in every way; at the moment, at all events; for their production. I sympathize, therefore, entirely and strongly with the hon. gentleman from Midland, in his desire that this trade should be encouraged, and in his opinion that it may be increased almost indefinitely. And I agree with my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island in thinking that there is good ground for hope that we may also largely extend our trade with our cousins in New Zealand and Australia. I noticed with some amusement that the hon. gentleman from Halifax, while purporting to support the hon. gentleman from Midland, yet, with a view to the conclusion which he afterwards arrived at, discouraged, I think, almost every idea which the hon. gentleman from Midland entertained as to the possibility of the success of his proposed effort to extend our foreign trade. He would not have steamers, because he thought sailing vessels were better. In that respect I think the hon. gentleman from Halifax had some reason—not for excluding steamers, or for abstaining from assisting them—but in his idea that sailing vessels are valuable in the cultivation of this trade, as being capable of carrying heavy goods at a less cost than the more swift and more expensive steamers. But my hon. friend discouraged the aspirations of the hon. gentleman from Midland in every other respect also, while,

apparently, rather illogically eulogizing my hon. friend's action and conclusions. The objection which my hon. friend from York took, to the illustration of the possible trade which my hon. friend from Midland adopted, was unfortunate for his theory, to a certain extent, inasmuch as the hon. gentleman from York appeared to demonstrate, with considerable effect on my mind, that most of the particular articles to which the hon. gentleman from Midland referred were not suitable articles for shipment to the West Indies in competition with the United States. But though I hope that in some respects the hon. gentleman from York was not altogether correct—that is to say, in respect of flour—I was pleased to find that his reasons for thinking them unsuitable, were mainly based on the very striking fact, that most of those articles, which are among the leading productions of this country, bring higher prices here than in the United States. I thought that demonstration extremely opposite to another branch of this discussion. I mention it now to serve its purpose there, and therefore need not refer to it on a future occasion—that my hon. friend from York incidentally brought out the important fact, that these agricultural products which we are said to be sacrificing at such low rates, and for which we are told we need a market south of us, actually find a better market at home, than they would in the Eldorado which my hon. friend from New Westminster (whom I regret not to see in his place) expects to have in this country when his ideal millenium arrives—when the territorial principle which the United States have adopted in reference to this continent shall be extended in its commercial sense over this part of it. I was very glad to learn that we do not require this Eldorado for those articles; that we do not require to have our way opened to our neighbors to the south of us to find a market for such produce; that our own market is a better market; that our own prices, according to the hon. gentleman from York, for our wheat, for our meat, for our grain and for our butter, are better than the prices which the proposal of my hon. friends opposite would provide for us south of the line. My hon. friend from York con-

tended that as these articles are worth more here than in the United States, they might not be absolutely suitable for competition with United States traders in the West Indies. But I have no doubt whatever that large quantities of our products can be exported there, can be made an article of exchange between us and the West India Islands and Brazil; and I trust that at no distant date the aspirations of my hon. friend from Midland in that respect will be realized. This branch of the matters under discussion is really, properly speaking, the object of my hon. friend's notice, and there, probably, the discussion of that notice would have terminated; but my hon. friend appeared to many members of the House to go a little beyond, not perhaps the literal language of his notice, for that I do not think he did, but a little beyond the spirit of his notice, in calling attention rather to certain deductions of his own than to the facts which he stated; but a little on both of those grounds. The hon. gentleman referred to the immense extent of our expenditure during the years of Confederation. He admitted that this expenditure had apparently been, on the whole, usefully made; that we had, as an intermediate result, a series of interprovincial communications, in the shape of canals, railways, and public works of all kinds, that justified a large expenditure; but my hon. friend went on to say that we ought to have something in return for this expenditure, to expect some fruition for all this outlay; and that, I understood my hon. friend to state, had not been obtained. He likened the country somewhat to a business establishment, and I like that simile. I like to see the business of the country, as far as possible, assimilated to the business of an individual, and carried on upon the same principles; but he applied his theory by saying that we have four million odd dollars of export of manufactured goods, and that that seemed to be the result of all this expenditure. He further quoted figures to prove that our foreign trade was diminished, and generally inclined to the views of my hon. friends opposite as to the decadence of the country—at all events, as to a depreciation of its position and resources. That line of argument was, I think, the primary cause of this long debate.

But even that—as it was expressed in so moderate a tone; as it was expressed evidently without the slightest idea of any hostility, or any party feeling on the part of the hon. gentleman—would not of itself have provoked so long a discussion, but that my hon. friend from Ottawa, with that vivacity which characterizes his expressions in any direction to which his views tend, enlarged upon my hon. friend's statements on these points, and favored us with statements of the most exaggerated character, of the depreciated condition of this country, of its wretched condition in all respects, as I understood him. He did not speak long, but I may say he encompassed a great deal of what was disparaging to our country in what he did say. But we have heard it all from him before, and in stating what he did, he did not go beyond what some of the gentlemen who feel with him in politics, are in the habit of stating in respect of the condition of this country. His chief proposition was, in plain terms, that the Dominion was going to the dogs, and in proof of that, the main assertions he made were based upon what he insisted was the falling off of our foreign trade. On that point I would like, perhaps at the risk of fatiguing the House, to state my views in some little detail. I submit to the judgment of this House, and I maintain with confidence, that the condition of our foreign trade is no test of the success of the policy which was inaugurated in 1879—no test whatever of the National Policy; and if it were a test of it, I say that it has not decreased, it has increased. It has increased largely—nearly as largely in proportion, as every other branch of the trade of this Dominion since 1879, and I shall proceed to prove it.

I propose to show from the statistics which my hon. friend himself quoted, and those to which he referred when he did not quote them—that this policy which has been on its trial for ten years—no longer, for it is not a policy which commenced in 1873 or 1874, when, under another Government and under another policy, the trade of this country reached a point nearly as high as it has ever attained since—it is not the policy of the Government between 1873 and 1879 which is on trial. It is not that policy which I propose to discuss. That policy was

finally condemned and discarded by the people of this country by an overwhelming majority in 1878. It is not that policy for which we are responsible—it is that which is popularly called the National Policy. That is the policy which the hon. gentleman finds fault with, for which hon. gentlemen opposite hold us responsible, and which they say is ruining the country. Now, let us apply the test which the hon. gentleman from Ottawa has applied, which has been reiterated as the damning fact against us throughout the whole country, and which is, in fact, the *cheval de bataille* of his party. It is true that from 1874 to 1878 inclusive the trade of the country did diminish—it did go down. In 1874 it was \$217,000,000 in round numbers. In 1878 it was \$172,000,000—that is, it diminished \$45,000,000 during the *regime* of my hon. friends opposite, and in 1879, before our policy had developed itself, before the National Policy could have any effect upon trade any way, it had fallen to \$153,000,000, or \$64,000,000 less than when the Mackenzie Government assumed power. That I merely mention by the way. That is not a part of my argument, but I mention the fact, because hon. gentlemen opposite are fond of beginning at 1874 in quoting statistics to show that trade has diminished under our policy. I refuse to assume any responsibility for their Administration. I begin with ours, at the period of 1879, which I have now arrived at, and I find that then, which was the time when the National Policy came in force, the aggregate trade of this country was \$153,455,000. That was the total trade of this country when the much-abused policy came in operation. From that moment the aggregate trade of the Dominion increased. In 1883 it reached its maximum, the greatest amount it has ever reached in the history of this country. It increased from \$153,000,000, in 1879, to \$230,000,000, in 1883, an increase of about \$77,000,000 in these four years. It diminished after that, in one year, to \$207,000,000, and it has remained within five or six millions of dollars of that sum down to the past year, when it was \$201,000,000. So that the difference between the aggregate trade of the country when the National Policy came into force, and the aggregate trade of this country at the same date ten years afterwards was \$58,000,000. There is a

statement of naked figures, which are put in such a form that they cannot possibly involve any falsehood. It is said that figures lie like nothing else, but these figures, as the test of the value of the aggregate trade of the country during those ten years, cannot lie. There is no circumlocution about them, there is nothing involved; they are as plain as the most simple sum in addition. According to the value of our imports and exports, our trade in 1888 was \$48,000,000 better than it was in 1879. There is a positive fact, against the equally positive statement that our foreign trade has fallen off under the National Policy. Is there any need for oratory to establish our case? There are the two plain assertions placed beside each other, which any one can see—which he who runs may read. On the one hand it is that the trade has decreased under the National Policy; on the other hand that it has increased under the National Policy from \$153,000,000 to \$201,000,000. These are plain propositions; the figures show which is correct; and one might be satisfied with refuting by these figures the assertion I am contending against at this moment. But there is a great deal more to be said about the statement of hon. gentlemen opposite; there is much stronger refutation of it than the one which I have used. During this period the values of goods have largely fallen. The percentage of decrease, which has been estimated by competent men, is stated at an average of about 45 per cent. on exports, and 64 per cent. on imports; that is to say, the classes of exports and imports upon which the calculation has been made—and they are very numerous and very important:—I do not assert that they comprehend all the exports and imports, but they comprehend most of the import items—have fallen in value, exports 45 per cent., imports 64 per cent. These calculations are made by a perfectly competent expert, and I can see no reason why we should think there are any mistakes about them; they may fairly be considered to be reliable. They have been studied in another place; they have been discussed, and have not been denied to my knowledge. But to make sure: suppose we take half this percentage, the aggregate imports of 1886 would exceed in volume those of 1873 by

\$18,000,000, and would exceed those of 1879 by about \$65,000,000. We have already had two or three striking citations of figures to show to what extent this decrease in value has gone on. The hon. gentleman from Kennebec gave us the figures with regard to raw sugar. The quantity of raw sugar imported in 1878 was 97,000,000 lbs. I am not certain of the date. It may be at an earlier date than that, but it is within the period to which our discussion applies. The importation of similar sugar in 1888 was 224,000,000 lbs.—that is to say, fully twice and one-half the quantity—250 per cent. in advance of the previous period; yet the 97,000,000 lbs. cost \$5,500,000, while the 224,000,000 lbs. cost \$5,750,000. That is a decrease in value in imports of sugar of 250 per cent. instead of 64 per cent.; and sugar is not a small item.

HON. MR. POWER—Between what years?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have 1878 and 1887 on my rough notes, but I am not sure of the first date at this moment; I can tell my hon. friend that the first period is within the period we have been discussing, and the last year is the last one for which we have any returns. There are other disturbing elements in the comparison of the amounts of foreign trade, but they all go to increase the contradiction which exists between the facts and the assertions which are made about it. For one thing, let me refer again to the statement I made in the few words I said on the Address—that raw material is largely taking the place of manufactured material in importations to this country; that instead of \$35,000,000 worth of raw materials which we imported last year, there were only \$5,000,000 worth imported in 1874. I have not the figures for 1879, but it is probable that they were less than in 1874. At all events, our importations, which at an earlier period were composed almost entirely of manufactured goods, were, during the last year, composed of raw material to the extent of \$35,000,000, which represents a volume of internal trade in manufactured goods within the country that I am entirely incompetent to calculate, but which everyone must conclude is of enormous magnitude. These facts, taken together, seem to me con-

clusively to dispose of the proposition that our foreign trade is falling off under the National Policy. I do not see how, in the face of these simple figures, anyone can rise again and say it is diminishing, unless he is prepared to say that our trade returns are fraudulent concoctions; unless he is prepared to say that every man who is following up the affairs of his country is ignorant of everything which indicates its actual progress. To dispute these figures I have just given and the conclusions I have drawn from them is to deny the effect of the most obvious and conclusive evidence that could be presented to any assembly or court in the world.

My hon. friend from Quinté stated what was perfectly true about the National Policy—that it was not framed to foster foreign trade; that it was not conceived and placed on the Statute Book for the purpose of increasing our imports and exports. That was not its direct object; it was an indirect object, because we look forward to the period when our manufactures shall have overflowed the wants of our people, and we shall be able to export them, as other large manufacturing countries do; but the immediate and direct object of the National Policy was to foster our own industries, to develop our own internal trade. These were its direct objects, and the increasing of our foreign trade was only indirect and incidental to those great objects. The time has not been so very long since we have been able to make the enormous quantities of manufactured goods that our industrial establishments are turning out every day. It is only ten years since we were in the state of absolute poverty and distress so well described by my hon. friend from Alberta, and my hon. friend the junior member from Ottawa—the condition the country was in in 1877-78. I remember the soup kitchens of those days, and the crowds of people in the streets seeking employment at any price, and seeking it in vain. I remember that butter was worth only 12½ cents a pound, and that people said: What is the use of its being cheap; we have not 12½ cents to pay for it. These were the days when our working people were almost without bread and without homes. I remember well when one factory in Montreal was closed, and turned out 600 hands on the

street—600 families were left unprovided for, and without a roof to cover them. So it was everywhere; so it was, as my hon. friend from Alberta has described, with the farmers; they took their products to the country stores and had to sell them for a minimum price, and take half of it in goods. That was the condition of things in 1878 that my hon. friend the junior Senator from Ottawa described last night in such vigorous language.

HON. MR. POWER—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend smiles.

HON. MR. POWER—Excuse me; I was endorsing the hon. gentleman's opinion that the hon. member from Ottawa described the condition of affairs in vigorous language.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend's language, however vigorous, could scarcely do justice to the wretched condition of the working classes. It does not require a man to be as old as I am to recollect the universal distress which pervaded this country in 1877-78, to remember the universal appeal that was sent up to the Government for some change with regard to the commercial policy of the country, that would enable poor men to get food for themselves and for their children. I remember that well, and every member of the House must remember it. This policy was then devised for the purpose of remedying those evils, which, as my hon. friend from Acadie said, the Government of that day professed themselves to be absolutely incapable of remedying. They declared that they were helpless—that they were powerless to provide any measure of relief; and this remedy which, as my hon. friend from York has stated, had been then in the minds of many men for years, was finally adopted. I think my hon. friend from Halifax did not do justice to the hon. member from Quinté, when he described his position in speaking of the object of the National Policy—

HON. MR. POWER—I quoted the resolution with the hon. member introduced in this House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend did; but I am speaking now of the state-

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

ment which the hon. member from Quinté made as to the objects with which the National Policy was devised. He was inclined to attribute to him—his language tended in that direction—the admission that we did not want any foreign trade (I think that was the expression), that we only wanted internal trade. That statement only diverged so far from the point of accuracy that the increase of our foreign trade was not the direct object we had in view. It was regarded as an incidental result of the policy we were advocating. I agree with the hon. member from Quinté that our object was to build up our own industries, to enlarge our internal trade, and, as incidental and supplemental to that, to enlarge our trade in all respects, as a matter of course. Has this succeeded? That is the question that this Government has to answer; that is what those who advocate this policy have to answer. Have the objects which the National Policy was devised to attain been realized? Has it been successful in attaining those results? Has it developed international and other internal trade? Has it really built up our own industries? In this very book to which I have had reference already, and in a compilation from it and other similar books, I find evidence equally conclusive on all those points. What, I should like to know, is a reliable test of the success of the National Policy? That the people are prosperous; that the manufactures are increasing; that every man who wants a day's work can get it, and get a good day's wages for it. These were the objects we sought to attain by the National Policy, and I say we have attained them, and in a larger measure than was anticipated by any man who, in 1879, advocated the National Policy. And the figures will prove it. I suppose my hon. friend will not ask me to prove that the manufacturers have prospered. I have not got any statistics of that; I only know that my hon. friend has a high opinion of their prosperity, because he attributed the enormous increase in the insurance business of the country to the insurances on the palaces and rows of houses built by the manufacturers. I suppose it did not occur to my hon. friend that if those manufacturers built enormous palaces and great rows of houses, at all

events those houses must be occupied—that we must have got the population to fill them and they must have the money to pay rent for them. If new houses have been erected to such an extent as to swell the amount of fire insurance by millions it was because the people were increasing and were there to occupy them. At all events, I may conclude that my hon. friend does not want me to go into statistics to prove that the manufacturers have been successful.

HON. MR. POWER—Those who survived?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I shall therefore devote myself mainly to prove that the remainder of the population has been successful—that the success has not been confined to the manufacturers, but, as those who advocated the National Policy prophesied it would do, it has extended in proportionate measure to the employés as well as to the employers—that it has built up our farmers, our mechanics, our workingmen, our laborers, just as it has assisted in building up the capitalists who employ our mechanics, our workingmen, our laborers, and who, with them, consume the products of the farm, and pay a good price for them. And the test by which I propose to prove this is to be found in the public documents from which I have already quoted. The wealth acquired by the people, as shown by their savings and investments, is at least as great as the fertile imagination of my hon. friend leads him to believe has been the aggregation of wealth among the manufacturers. I doubt very much if the figures which have entered into my hon. friend's mind as a measure of the wealth of the manufacturers approach the figures which show the savings and the investments of the lower classes, if I may be permitted to use such words in describing any portion of the people in this country, who are all free, and whom we do not recognize as capable of being graded, or properly characterized by any such description. To establish this point I shall trouble the House with statistics, many of which they have already heard read to them, but I hope they will bear with me. It is that I may give an intelligent reason for the faith that is in me. I would like to be

allowed to set out those reasons; it will be then for the House, and for the country also, if it ever hears of our speeches, which is doubtful, to judge whether there is good reason for the faith that is in me on these subjects. I think the savings banks constitute a fair test of the wealth of the middle and lower classes of the people—the farmers, the mechanics and others. It is they who invest in that particular way, and not the wealthy manufacturers, who, as my hon. friend from Halifax observed, and believes no doubt, invest their money chiefly in palatial residences and rows of houses and manufacturing establishments.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not refer to rows of houses; I referred to stores, and such establishments; the palaces were the only houses I referred to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That serves my purpose equally well. They would not erect rows of stores if they had no prospect of leasing them, and had no expectation of trade being carried on in them. So my argument is not at all impaired, but is rather strengthened by the correction of my hon. friend, which I accept gladly. This compilation of Mr. Johnson's, which he very appropriately calls "Graphic Statistics of Canada," enables us to quote with great facility all the figures which bear on this particular question—the investment of the savings of the people. The deposits in the chartered banks of Canada in 1879 were \$63,000,000; in 1874 they were \$65,000,000. They had then fallen off in two years some \$2,000,000. In 1887 they were \$107,000,000—\$44,000,000 in cash deposits in the banks more than in 1879, when the National Policy commenced. The amount of deposits in the building societies and institutions of that description in 1879 was \$9,426,000; in 1886, which is the latest date to which the compilation refers, it was \$17,712,000, or about 90 per cent. more than it was in 1879. In the savings banks proper the deposits in 1879 were \$14,702,000; in 1887 they were \$50,944,000—I think I might call it \$51,000,000 without being open to the charge of exaggeration—\$36,000,000, nearly 300 per cent. in advance of the deposits in the savings banks at the time that this destructive policy came into force. In all

the incidental matters which bear indirectly on the same question the same increase is observable. The discounts in the chartered banks of Canada were \$122,000,000 in 1879; they were \$169,000,000 in 1887, or \$47,000,000 greater than when the National Policy came into force. Although these discounts had so largely increased, the country was so much more prosperous in 1887 than it had been in 1879 that while the percentage of dishonored paper in the latter year amounted to 4·90, in 1887, with this enormously increased amount of discounts, the percentage of dishonored paper was only 1·61, a little less than one-third of the rate of losses on the discounts of 1879. In other words, we discounted 40 per cent. more paper; the general trade of the country, which is carried on largely on bank credits, had evidently increased 40 per cent. over 1879; and the amount of loss on overdue paper that resulted from this enormous increase of discount was, instead of 4·90 per cent., only 1·61 per cent. What does my hon. friend from Midland think of that?

HON. MR. MACDONALD—It has fallen off very much in 1888. The discounts amounted to only \$137,000.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Of course, the figures fluctuate. We have no gauge by which we regulate the exact amount of the business of the country; and to be candid, I do not think those statistics of foreign trade which were quoted a little while ago are in any great degree an indication of the condition of the country, because they fluctuate according to some influence which we do not understand. Why was it in 1883, when we had such an enormous foreign trade, that it was the same all over the world? Our trade in 1883 was \$230,000,000.

HON. MR. POWER—It was small all over the world in 1874 and 1875.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I see my hon. friend agrees with me, and I hope in future hon. gentlemen opposite will place less stress on arguments which are not conclusive in themselves, and which serve no useful purpose. The fluctuations in foreign trade depend largely on some power or influence that pervades the world,

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and that is not changed or altered, diminished or increased in any very material degree, by any local influence whatever.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Is it not possible that the vast outpouring of wealth for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway affected the banking deposits and bank discounts, irrespective altogether of the National Policy, during those years.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend puts a question which is, no doubt, a very fair one. But if his theory be correct, how was it that almost immediately upon its adoption, before any money had been expended on the Canadian Pacific Railway, the figures to which I have been referring reached abnormally large proportions, as compared with previous years, and continued to increase until now? How is it that though there has been no expenditure on the Canadian Pacific Railway for the last three years, those figures still keep up? It is possible that the amount of trade, which was very large about 1883, when large sums were being expended and large importations made in respect of this great railway, may have been thus affected. It is possible that it influenced to some extent the increase in deposits; but if that were the sole or main cause, how is it that there was a large increase before the expenditure was begun; and a correspondingly large increase after it terminated?

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—It increased in the series of years during which this immense expenditure was going on.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend is mistaken if he means that there was an unusual increase during that period. There was no construction in 1880, and none to speak of in 1881, yet the increase was greater in those two years than in any year since; so it is not to that expenditure that the increase is attributable. If my hon. friend could show that during the three years of 1882, 1883 and 1884, when the large expenditure on account of the Canadian Pacific Railway took place, the increase was abnormally large, we might be led to believe that it was due to that expenditure, and my hon. friend's remark would be quite natural. But the gradation of increase is like the steps of a staircase—about the same each year since

1879; so that it is not reasonable to credit that increase to the expenditure on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, since it has been going on steadily up to the present time. The railway was practically completed in 1885; the enormous expenditure had terminated at that time, and therefore that expenditure is not a sufficient reason for this gradual and steady increase from 1879 to the date of this book of statistics. There are more indications of increased business here, however; those I have quoted by no means exhaust them. I wish to show that in every imaginable branch of trade, the same increase has been going on. The aggregate of money orders are indicative of the wealth of the people, and more particularly of those classes to whom I am referring; because the great manufacturers do not send money orders from those palaces they build, according to my hon. friend. It is the working men, the farmers, and other wage-earners whose transactions are carried on in that humble way. The amount of money orders issued in 1879 was \$6,788,000. In 1887 it was \$10,328,000, \$4,000,000 in excess of the money orders in 1879; and they also proceed with that regular and steady gradation which indicates the continuous progress of the country. The correspondence increased in the same way from 50,840,000 letters and postal cards in 1879 to 90,000,000 letters and postal cards in 1887, an advance of 40,000,000 in ten years. These figures must mean something; there must be some cause for them. It is not the poverty of the country that causes the increase; it is not the distress of the country that causes the transmission of money orders; it is not the stagnation of business that leads to increased discounts in the banks; it is not the stringent condition of traders that causes the ratio of dishonored paper in the bank to fall from 4·90 per cent. to 1·60 per cent. These pretensions of hon. gentlemen opposite are all absolutely inconsistent with the actual state of things. It is impossible to contend that the depreciation of trade and the decadence of the country, so loudly asserted, can be co-existent with these returns. It cannot be that our country is depreciating in wealth, when every evidence of

wealth is accumulating in every branch of business, and every department of trade, throughout the country. It cannot be possible that our trade is diminishing when the machinery, the essential machinery, which enables it to be carried on, the discounts at the banks, are increasing in the same ratio as everything else. Everything that I have quoted appears to be in a similar ratio of increase, say 40 to 50 per cent.; when it varies, it is that it is larger. Another indication I may be permitted to quote: the results of the failures in one of these columns of Mr. Johnson's book are most extraordinary. In 1879 they represented \$29,347,000; in 1887 they represented \$16,311,000, with a trade increased by 40 to 50 per cent., as I have shown.

HON. MR. POWER—I think that the striking excess of failures in 1879 may reasonably be attributed to the fact that that was the last year in which the Insolvent Act was in operation; and immense numbers of people assigned in that year, because it was the last year in which they could take advantage of the Act.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend's argument has a plausible sound, and might be justified if the figures supported it.

HON. MR. POWER—I know it was the fact in my own city, at any rate.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It seems reasonable that this large amount of failures in that year should be attributed to the fact that the traders who had been failing for years before seized upon this remedy in the last year of its existence, and in that way the aggregate of failures would have reached abnormal figures; but unfortunately for my hon. friend's theory the figures were about the same in the preceding years. In 1875 they were \$28,800,000; in 1876, \$25,500,000; in 1877 they were \$25,523,000; in 1878, \$23,908,000; and in 1879, the year I have quoted, they were a little larger, but it was not so very much, only \$6,000,000 larger, which is not much in \$29,000,000. But from that moment they dropped. The moment the people had taken heart from the change of policy, the failures diminished. There may be another reason, my hon. friend may say: the Insolvent Act was repealed

in 1879, and possibly many of those who were in danger of failure took advantage of the Act; and this, no doubt, had some influence on the abnormally low figures for the next two years. That may be, but here is the fact that ten years afterwards, when this new policy had had ample time to develop itself, when there had been no Insolvent Act in force for nine years, when the country was going to ruin and decay from the effects of the National Policy, when the trade of it, strangely enough and inconsistently with its ruin and decay, had increased 50 per cent.; the failures were very little more than one-half of the failures of 1879—they were \$16,000,000 as against \$29,000,000. There are more statistics of the same kind, though I run the risk of fatiguing the House by quoting them. They are significant, and there is no possibility of minimizing their importance. They offer the best possible proof of the assertion that I made, that our country is improving in every branch of its trade, in every part of its business, and developing its internal resources in every quarter. Here is the production of coal in the Dominion. In 1879 the amount of coal produced was 1,152,000 tons; in 1878 it was 2,387,000 tons, or a little over 100 per cent. of an advance. Now we come to the insurance of the palaces of the manufacturers. The insurance of the humble individuals who pervaded the country in 1878 amounted to \$407,000,000; in 1887 it was \$633,000,000, or an advance of \$226,000,000 in the amount of fire insurance. In life insurance there was a larger advance. In 1879 it was \$86,000,000; in 1887 it was \$191,000,000, an advance of 250 per cent. in life insurance. Now, let us go to something else totally different—the coasting trade of the Dominion. The tonnage employed in 1879 was 12,066,633 tons; in 1887 it was 17,513,000 tons, an advance of very nearly 50 per cent.

HON. MR. KAULBACH — And the larger portion of that done by steamers, which makes it greater.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The statistics of the coasting trade of British Columbia showed the amount of tonnage arriving and departing in 1879 to be 223,707 tons; in 1887 it was 1,476,133 tons. That was a country in which the shipping industry,

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at all events, was not diminishing much, inasmuch as it was nearly seven times as great in 1887 as it was in 1879. In other words, it practically increased 100 per cent. every year of the period. I think I have pretty nearly exhausted the book, as far as it indicates the extent of business done. I think the figures are favorable. My impression of them is that they support exactly the proposition I laid down when I commenced to read them—that in every department of our business, in every imaginable industry, the workingmen of the country have prospered and become practically wealthy, under the *regime* of the National Policy.

I think my hon. friend from Midland ought to be content with those figures. I appeal to him as a commercial man, and a financial man, and as, I dare say, a better judge of those figures than many of us who do not pretend to his special knowledge, whether the fact that there had been a larger range of discounts, a larger amount of savings, a larger amount of business transacted, and fewer bad debts made, are facts which he would himself interpret as conclusive proof that his business was not prospering? And I am glad to put the question in that way to my hon. friend, because he asked us for some evidence of the fruition from the expenditure that has been incurred in developing the internal communications of this country during the last ten years; and I offer to him as such evidence this increase in every thing which the people of this country possess, and in every business which the people of this country engage in—an increase of 50 to 700 per cent. during the years I refer to; and I think it is tolerably good evidence, and that the fruition it establishes is a tolerably good crop for the seed we have sown in the improvement of our internal communications. I think our shop has succeeded pretty well during those years. If commercial men could succeed as well in increasing their assets, adopting the simile which my hon. friend used—if they could show such results in cash, in capital, in trade, and in their business, they would justly and joyfully congratulate themselves.

HON. MR. POWER—What about the debt?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The debt is represented by the public works. The hon. gentleman from Midland very properly gives us credit for the money, as being expended in advantageous public works, and one good proof that the expenditure has not been excessive, and that it has been highly beneficial, is the proof that the hon. gentleman from British Columbia gave us the other night, that we are a great deal better able to pay interest on our public debt than we were in 1878, when we began the National Policy.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—Twenty seven millions now against eighteen millions in the former year.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; better able by nine millions. I have cited these figures not only to prove substantially that the country is progressing, and progressing rapidly and safely, but also to show what an unsatisfactory guide the apparent results of the values of our foreign trade, as they appear in the statistics, are, as applied to the progress of the country and the success of the National Policy. If it were necessary to go further in this direction it would be easy to show, by the experience of other countries, that the decrease of foreign trade does not necessarily imply the decadence of the country. If it were the fact that our foreign trade had not increased, that would be no proof of the absence of prosperity in our trade and affairs generally. The country to the south of us, to which the eyes of some of my hon. friends are directed with such admiration, has been frequently in precisely the same position. In 1836 the foreign trade of the United States reached the amount of \$355,000,000. In 1843 it had fallen to \$79,000,000, a difference of about \$270,000,000. I have not verified these figures myself. The difference seems so enormous that I do not like to state it on my own authority, but I have it on excellent financial authority that the figures are accurate. Whether or no, it is certain that, for fifteen years afterwards the foreign trade of the United States never reached the amount that it did in 1836 until the year 1851. During that period we have very high authority for saying that the United States were

making enormous progress in their own country—that they were making just such progress as we ourselves have been making the last ten years. Therefore, although their foreign trade was flagging, my hon. friends cannot, in the face of history, declare, that during that period the United States was in a perilous condition—that it was poverty stricken and depressed. There are other instances which apply to the same point. New South Wales had a foreign trade of £21,000,000 sterling in 1882; it had fallen off to £15,000,000 in 1886, a difference of nearly £7,000,000 sterling; but between 1883 and 1886 New South Wales was not going downward. I think everybody is aware of the fact that New South Wales is one of the most prosperous colonies we have; that its credit stands in England as high as any other colony except our own. It has prospered to an extraordinary degree, and has been, and is, a rapidly progressing colony. The hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island can correct me if I am wrong in that, but that is the assertion which is made to me, and that is the statement I find in the books. The United States, during a recent period, has passed through a similar condition of things. In 1883 their foreign trade was \$1,547,000,000; in 1886 it was only \$1,314,000,000, a falling off of over \$200,000,000. Is it possible that this country, which attracts so much the admiration of my hon. friend, should be going to ruin between 1883 and 1886, in the latter part of which period my hon. friends were crying out for commercial union with this country? Surely it could not be possible!

HON. MR. POWER—We never wanted commercial union. We never went in for commercial union.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not know for whom my hon. friend speaks when he says that, but if I judge from what I have read of the speeches of hon. gentlemen who profess to be on the same side of politics as my hon. friend, I think that two years ago there were a good many advocates of commercial union in the Dominion, and the organs of the party were crying out for it.

HON. MR. POWER—Some of them.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Some of them that we do not often see, may have had the good sense not to recognize the movement, but the principal organs of the party were clamoring for it, and that at a time when, according to my hon. friend's argument, the United States must have been going to the dogs, in consequence of the decrease in its foreign trade.

HON. MR. READ (Québec)—My recollection of it is that at the Conference of the Premiers at Quebec, they passed a resolution in favor of commercial union.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is completely astray; the Liberal party never laid down any policy on that subject until last Session, and the policy laid down then, at a meeting in the early part of the Session, was unrestricted reciprocity.

HON. MR. READ—Be that as it may, I notice in the *Congressional Record* it was reported that the Premiers of the different Provinces, at the conference held in Quebec, had passed a resolution in favor of commercial union.

HON. MR. POWER—In favor of closer commercial relations.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am so unfortunate as not to be able to see any great distinction between unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union, and possibly that may lead me into some misconstruction; but there was a period not very remote when the organs of the Liberal party—I do not know that the leaders of the party had arrived at any particular policy—

HON. MR. POWER—Yes; they did last Session.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—At all events, before that, many of its leaders advocated commercial union, and its organs advocated commercial union, and some of its distinguished leaders yesterday advocated commercial union. In any case, one of those—what I shall I call them?—one of those ideas prevailed—either commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity; but it does not affect my argument in the slightest degree, that when the condition of the

United States must have been, according to my hon. friends, a condition of ruin and decay, in consequence of the decadence of its foreign trade; my hon. friend's were advocating a commercial relation with them which would exclude all other nations; and this mainly on the ground of their alleged commercial prosperity. The United States has been carrying on the policy which Canada has adopted, for a long period of years. By the time it reached 1886 it had developed its manufacturing capacity in the very highest degree, and if it ever hoped to attain any position as an exporting country—that is, exporting manufactures—it ought to have reached it by that time. It ought to have been enormously ahead of this poor, helpless, and failing, Dominion in the way of foreign trade; but it is a most singular fact that Canada is greatly in advance of the United States in its foreign trade. How is it possible that the United States can be prosperous when its foreign trade can be so small—so contemptible, one might say, as compared with a country like this, with comparatively no capital, and with a short period of prosperity which may be said to date from the time the Government adopted the National Policy.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—She exported to Great Britain four times as much as she imported.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That does not affect my argument at all. I see that in spite of the alleged decrease of the aggregate amount of the foreign trade of Canada, which is pointed at by the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity as a proof of the decadence of Canada, that foreign trade is greater in the proportion of 41 to 23, than the foreign trade of the United States. If the amount of foreign trade is a test of prosperity we are more prosperous than the United States. Yet the alleged small amount of our foreign trade is used by hon. gentlemen opposite to prove that we are falling into ruin, and to save ourselves they say that we ought at once to throw ourselves into the arms of a country much less prosperous, according to that test, than we are ourselves! This is, one of the inconsistencies hon. gentlemen opposite are forced into.

HON. MR. POWER—We didn't look for foreign trade, but for a larger home market.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—And without looking specially for a foreign trade we have got it. I do not understand how we should get a "home" market by reciprocity of trade with the United States. I am not yet prepared to call the markets of the United States a "home market." I think I have demonstrated—I may not be a good judge—but I have demonstrated to my own satisfaction, that our foreign trade has increased largely under the National Policy, and I think I have also established that during the same period all the internal industries of the country have increased in a still greater proportion. I repeat that the latter was the principal object of the National Policy, and in securing that object, and at the same time increasing its foreign trade, it has done all that its friends could expect of it, when it was established as the policy of this country by the present Government.

What is the position now of hon. gentlemen opposite who have taken part in this debate? They, I think, failed to prove that there is any necessity in this country for a change. I do not think that any great body of the people in this country desire a change, and if they once knew the facts as to the position of our affairs the number of people who desire a change would be much smaller than it is. But, unfortunately, there is such a torrent of depreciation of the country, its position, its trade, and its industries, continually poured upon the people from certain parties, and organs of public opinion, that we find people all through the country who know nothing at all of any portion of the discussion, except the propositions which are enforced by the gentlemen who favor them with their orations on the occasion of elections, and by the editorials of party papers. These are the only sources of information, unfortunately, to which a large section of the people seek access; and, as my hon. friends opposite, and their organs, are not in the habit of stating what may be said on the opposite side of the question—at least so far as I have read the speeches of orators at elections, and elsewhere—there are many who really imagine that we are on the verge of ruin. I am

bound to say that orators on the Opposition side are open to a very similar reproach. I consider the speech of my hon. friend from York a model for the discussion of such subjects; but it is a model very seldom followed. I think that a calm, unimpassioned statement of facts made by persons having the confidence of the people would go far to set at rest the discontent which has been fostered in some quarters, by groundless or exaggerated statements about our distress, our troubles, our excessive burdens, the depression of our trade, and the miserable condition generally of our country. Look at the representations made about the sugar trade? Can any hon. gentleman charge his mind with reading or hearing a speech on that side of politics which did not characterize the amount of protection afforded to sugar refiners as something enormous, and as being represented precisely by the duty imposed upon refined sugar?—75 to 100 per cent. is the measure of protection that is stated to have been granted to sugar refiners. It is represented that it is by means of this extravagant amount of protection, they are piling up immense wealth. Has anyone ever heard it stated that the taxation of raw sugar for refining purposes, which does not affect in any respect the manufacturers of refined sugar, except to compel them to raise the money to pay the duties; and which does not protect them in the slightest degree; is nearly as great as the duty on refined sugar? Can anyone point to me a speech made against the Government and the National Policy in which that condition of thing was squarely stated?

HON. MR. POWER—I gave to my hon. friend the figures the other day—65 per cent.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I apologize to my hon. friend; I did not hear him say so. But I still apply my remarks to speeches of other gentlemen here and in another place. It is not forty-eight hours since a gentleman stated in another place that the amount of protection afforded to sugar refiners was 3½ cents a pound; and I think I heard in this House and during this debate the statement made that the protection was 100 per cent. In point of fact, the duty imposed on raw sugar averages

65 $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. ; and on refined sugar 71 per cent. ; and the difference between those two duties is all the protection the sugar refiner has. The difference between 65 $\frac{6}{10}$ and 71 per cent. does not, however, correctly indicate the percentage of taxation, because refined sugar is of greater value than the raw material. The actual protection afforded to the sugar refiner is the difference between 65 $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. on raw sugar and 71 per cent on refined sugar, plus the disturbing element caused by the difference in value of the class of refined sugars used here beyond the raw material. I am not an advocate of sugar refiners. I have no stock in their companies, and know very little about them ; but I see what the law is, I see the figures, and I can make the calculation, and what I have stated as to that is correct. That is the kind of exaggerated statement that is put before the people. I quote that only as one, but it is the kind of exaggerated statement which has made a certain number of proselytes for the doctrine of commercial union. But I believe they are not very numerous, and that their number will diminish day by day. There is one thing which the intelligent people of this country must notice in all these arguments in favor of the new doctrine of unrestricted reciprocity, which is, the inconsistency of those arguments with each other. For instance a short time ago—but the subject is pretty nearly dead now—when free trade was the policy of my hon. friends opposite, we were urged to throw ourselves into the arms of the United States, and leave this worthless, abominable, country of protection. Surely no man is so ignorant as not to see that that country is more highly protected than we are ; that there the principles of free trade do not prevail at all ; that there they are as antagonistic to free trade principles as in any country in the world. But, my hon. friends say, they have free trade between themselves, and we will share in that free trade. The principle of free trade is to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. But the free trade they offer us is to tie ourselves down to free trade with one country only, to the exclusion of the rest of the world, and when the purchasing power of that country, from any cause

ceases, where are we to go ? We have nowhere else ; we must confine ourselves to this particular kind of limited free trade, and if that fails us we have nothing left. We have been told that our distress in 1878 was because the United States could not buy our lumber. Suppose that happens again ? They told us that we ought to abandon this country's policy because it was not a free trade policy, and we ought to join that country and come under its policy, because it was not a free trade policy. The free trade cry, however, is now practically dead. Hon. gentlemen abandoned that at the last general election. Then we had commercial union. My hon. friend from Halifax says that was not the doctrine of the party. Of course he knows the doctrine of the party better than I do ; I only know what I heard members of the party say, and what I have read in the organs of the party ; and I believe, with the people of Canada, that after free trade came commercial union as the policy of the Opposition.

Commercial union is the doctrine under which we should cease to have any control over our tariff, and in fact, I might say, over anything ; but it was found out after awhile that that bait was too large a morsel for the people of Canada to swallow, and commercial union followed the fate of free trade, and became practically a dead issue with the leaders of the party. I must except my hon. friend from New Westminster. He still thinks it the grand remedy for all our evils, a kind of Morrison's pill that cures every disease, and infuses health and vigor into the body of the commonwealth. He continues to think so, because he knows of an easy way of getting over the objection to commercial union. We have only to send some one over to make a bargain with those gentlemen at Washington, and establish a tariff which would be advantageous to us ; then to make an agreement that that tariff shall not be disturbed for ten or twenty years, and there you are ! You have got an advantageous tariff, which you have agreed to, and therefore it must be advantageous. And you have got it effectually put in such a position, that it cannot be changed for whatever period you choose to select ? I do not know how my hon. friend proposes that

those negotiations can be brought about. I do not know how he intends that we shall overcome in the diplomatic struggle, these 60,000,000 of American people, or make our influence equal to the influence of those sixty millions, unless it is on the plan of Capt. Bobadil, of whom he must have read, in his researches into ancient history about the annexation manifesto. The gallant captain proposes to destroy the enemy's army, by selecting twenty tall fellows, challenging twenty men, killing them; challenging twenty more, killing them; till the army was annihilated. Would he divide the sixty millions into sections of five millions, and overcome them diplomatically, on equal terms as to numbers, section by section? But having by that, or some other equally infallible means, made an arrangement as to the tariff advantageously for Canada, he proposes to crystalize and perpetuate it by another agreement—that is to say, by a treaty, I suppose. Of course, that would be perfectly satisfactory. We know how punctillious our friends below the line are in carrying out treaties. We know how agreeably they have behaved to us in respect of the Fisheries Treaty. We know how amiably they bore our moderate attempts to enforce it, and how they submitted at once, without a murmur, when we tried to carry out some of those conditions. Of course, if they made a treaty like that with us, they would carry it out. They would not threaten retaliation, or close their borders against us, if we asked them to do what they had agreed to; the twenty years' agreement would be a perfectly safe and reliable thing for this great country to depend upon, in making a fundamental and irretrievable change in its policy; and so we should be, as my hon. friend thinks, in a perfect condition of safety. I agree with my hon. friend from Victoria that all this is absolutely impossible. If I were not speaking in so dignified an assembly, I might use a more expressive word to characterize it.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—
Call it "bosh."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That would express it. My hon. friend drags into his discussion the annexation manifesto, and

he tells us many facts about it which he does not recollect himself, because he was not old enough to remember, but which I remember very well, and which he undertakes to remind me of. How he learned them I do not know. He tells us that the idea of annexation prevailed throughout the country; that it did not disappear until the reciprocity treaty was made in 1854; that for these seven years we were in a state of agitation in favor of annexation, and these gentlemen who signed this manifesto, a not very numerous body in Montreal, were, in fact, the representatives of the whole people in reference to annexation; and he says nobody was ever censured for it. If my hon. friend had been ten or fifteen years older he would remember that there was no foundation for those statements. The annexation manifesto was the outgrowth of an outburst of petulance in a small portion of the population of the Province of Quebec—which is amongst the most loyal of the Provinces of Canada. Most of the people who signed the annexation manifesto were more loyal than the English people themselves. There were a few gentlemen of American origin who seized a moment of passion into which these people fell, to get some hundreds of people in Montreal to sign this paper. I venture to say that with the exception of those American gentlemen, there was not a man who signed that manifesto, who had any more serious idea of seeking annexation with the United States, than a petulant child who strikes his nurse has of deliberately murdering her. They were exasperated by the fact, that when 10,000 men, who had suffered distress and disaster in the unfortunate rising before those days, petitioned the Governor of the time being to retain for the consideration of Her Majesty, a Bill which they believed to be passed for paying the men whom they blamed for the trouble; the Governor General, with an ostentatious disregard, as they believed, for their feelings, and in contempt of their services, and of their loyalty; came down out of the usual time, in order to sanction the Bill. The people were excited, and did many things that they ought not to have done; they behaved in a very rough manner to His Excellency, which they ought not to have done, and within two or three

days, while still under the influence of this excitement, a number of them signed this paper. But there was no evidence of any agitation by these people for annexation. Before the year was over it was like the showers of last season; and as for the people not being censured for their signature of this document I can speak for myself, and for some of the men who have not been without distinction in their career in this country, who signed that document more than forty years ago. I had the honor of being at that time an ensign in the Militia. I received a letter enquiring if I was the person who had signed that manifesto. I replied that I was, and my commission was immediately cancelled. I was reduced to the ranks. Sir John Rose, who subsequently became one of the most prominent men in the country, who was, when he died, one of the confidential advisers of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, had his silk gown taken from him; and I remember well his disconcerted look when he entered the court, and instead of taking his place with the Queen's Counsel, took a back seat beside Mr. (now Judge) Johnson, who was in exactly the same position. I am often reproached with that; it does not trouble me much. When I raised 300 volunteers at the time of the Trent affair, in three days, in the loyal and gallant old county of Argenteuil, I received from the representative of my Sovereign, the commission of colonel; and I thought that condoned the offence of my youth. And I have twice led that battalion to the frontier to assist in repelling invasions of brigands from within our neighbors' territory. I am wrong in detaining the House with these reminiscences. Old age is always garrulous, and I am only exemplifying the period of life which I have reached. This panacea which my hon. friend from New Westminster advocates; and which, like a Sangrado in politics, he sticks to when everybody else abandons it; is nearly identical with the resolution of Mr. Hitt, which possesses the same characteristics as what I understand to be commercial union. This resolution, which he approves of so highly, that I notice he adopts many of Mr. Hitt's sentiments, in the speech with which he favored us last night, says:

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"That whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to establish commercial union with the United States, having a uniform revenue system, like internal taxes, to be collected and like import duties to be imposed on articles brought into either country from other nations, with no duties upon trade between the United States and Canada, he shall appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be likewise designated to represent the Government of Canada, to prepare a plan for the assimilation of the import duties and internal revenue taxes of the two countries, and an equitable division of receipts, in a commercial union; and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress."

Now, Mr. Hitt says some things about that which my hon. friend last night did not repeat. They indicate very plainly what the idea of that gentleman was in moving this resolution. He says:

"The advantages which would accrue to us from commercial union can readily be seen. If in one hundred millions of imports purchased by Canada, during the year the United States were able to sell forty-five millions in that market in spite of the duties imposed upon them, competing with the English, who sold goods of nearly similar value, how much greater share of this hundred millions of trade would our people enjoy if they could send their manufactures and other goods into Canada as freely as they now send them from one State to another, while the English manufacturers and merchants, competitors with ours, would have to submit to the tariff when they landed, amounting to from 25 to 40 per cent."

From this plan of his he claims, that the greatest benefits would result to "farmers, artisans and mechanics." Not a word about manufacturers—no; he is going to sell us \$100,000,000 worth of manufactured goods. What are we going to do with our manufacturers? He does not pretend that they are to be benefited by this plan; it is only our working classes. In other words, he proposes to get from our working classes the product of their farms, of the forests, the rivers, and the seas—all that can be raised by the labor of their hands. These of every kind they will buy from us, and they will sell us what we want of manufactured goods. He does not pretend anything else. He says:

"Reciprocity was provided for natural products which the agriculturists of Canada desired to sell to us, but ours could never sell to them, as that is not a market for agricultural produce. But good care has been taken never to admit the goods produced by our manufacturers to the great market of Canada. That market, if opened to us by commercial union on terms of perfect freedom, would be to the business interests of this country of enormous value."

No doubt it would. But where would be its value to us? They will buy our natural products, but they will supply us with manufactures. It is impossible to state his scheme more plainly than he does, nor to explain more clearly its effect upon us.

As they would leave us only our Custom houses on the seaboard, it would not be difficult to see that we collected the duties properly. They propose to take care of that. "There is no practical difficulty," says Mr. Hitt, "in having officers of the United States revenue service in their ports, with functions of inspection, to prevent losses to our revenue or injury to our merchants." How delicately he puts it! Only to perform "functions of inspection."

But after having abolished our United States frontier Custom houses, and provided for United States revenue officers to preside over those that are left, the tariff rates would require to be adjusted. How is that to be done under, this scheme of benevolence to our "farmers, artisans, and mechanics." This also is perfectly simple. Mr. Hitt has it cut and dry. "Undoubtedly," he says, "they, in being subjected to the same tariff with us, would, in all fairness, be consulted, as to its provisions; but WE, SIXTY MILLIONS would, in all fairness, GENERALLY HAVE THE PREVAILING VOICE IN DETERMINING WHAT RATES SHOULD BE." I do not think anybody has any doubt of that. We should be duly grateful for being consulted; and after receiving that important attention, we could not grumble if our advice should be disregarded.

I have only read these two or three extracts to show exactly what Mr. Hitt's idea was, of which some of the hon. gentlemen opposite speak in terms of approval; but it is still further developed in the course of that speech. It is not sufficient that the United States should "determine what the rates should be," but that the United States should put revenue officers in all our ports, to see that the duties which they should determine upon, were fairly collected. In plain terms, they are to fix our duties, and then collect them for us. The revenue officer of 60,000,000 people, is not likely to trouble himself much, about the revenue

of a small outlying satellite, which contents itself with raising produce, cutting lumber, and catching fish, for the Americans, and with receiving what pitance they may choose to dole out to us, as what they call our proportion of the revenue of the country. Is there any Canadian who has such a contemptible opinion of himself and of his country, as to yield to such a proposition? I refuse to believe it.

But let us look at a few of the effects of this admirable arrangement. The manufacturers in the United States would have free access to our markets. Hon. gentlemen on the other side say: Yes; we, in return, would have free access to their markets. That would be a great benefit. The products of 5,000,000 people, with small capital, are to be placed in a position of equality to compete with the enormous manufacturing capital and establishments, already filling their country and engrossing its markets; the surplus products of whose manufactures, without impairing their means or injuring their credit, would suffice to supply our country, and crush out every manufacture in the Dominion. That is what happened in 1878. I know it, and hon. gentlemen who have been engaged in business know it better than I do. This country was made a kind of slaughter house, for the surplus products of the American manufacturers. When they have more manufactures than they can sell at home, they will not sell them at a reduced price in their own country. That might break down prices, and they might have difficulty in recovering them. But they will ship them to a country where they can slaughter them without future evil consequences to themselves. That was the policy followed by them until 1879. It was perfectly understood; everybody knew it. The first thing that a man thought of when he was about to start a small factory in Canada was: "How far am I likely to be crushed out by competition by the United States?" If these people on the other side of the line wished to get exclusive possession of our market, would it not be worth their while to send in as much of their manufactured goods as our manufacturers can produce in a year, and sell it for less than it could be produced for, and thus ruin our local

industries? I could state to the House many cases in which that was done, and no doubt every hon. gentleman here is perfectly aware of similar cases. It was a practice as common as the day, to send in surplus products here, and sell them at rates with which our manufacturers could not compete. And what was the result? How many manufacturing establishments, had we in 1878? I do not know; if we had any, the number was very small. So that without any material effort, as a mere piece of prudential policy, they could put us in exactly the position that Mr. Hitt describes, as the one he proposes we should occupy—they could convert us into farmers, laborers and fishermen, crush out our manufacturing industries, and impose their own manufactures on us at any price they liked, when they did not wish to slaughter them, and prevent for the future any effort to develop the resources of this country. That would be the result of the adoption of such a policy. This is not an opinion; it is an experience. It is what has happened, and what will happen again, if we are ever placed in the same position as that which we occupied before 1879. There is no risk in prophesying that, though I hope the truth of the prophesy will never have to be experimented on. From another point of view what would be the result? The abolition of duties between this country and the United States would reduce our revenue somewhere about \$8,000,000 as we are now; but if we get all our imports, or the larger proportion of our imports from the United States, as we should do as respects all the goods we could get in that country—when our imports from the United States reach the \$75,000,000 increase which Mr. Hitt speaks of, we may fairly assume that our imports from other countries will be small indeed. They will then only consist of those articles not produced in the United States, and on which we must, perforce, pay duty; because, as respects other countries we would be tied hand and foot by the proposed arrangement. What would be our revenue then? What would we have with which to support our Government, if our entire income from this source were destroyed? Of course, if we submitted to commercial union, we should then take the allowance

which the United States would give us, but that is a length to which I do not think any hon. gentleman is disposed to go. I do not think that those who are now advocating unrestricted reciprocity would consent for a moment to the form of commercial union which Mr. Hitt proposes. I do not think they would consent to universal reciprocity, even if they had an opportunity to carry it out, but I am certain they would not accept commercial union. But supposing we had this unrestricted reciprocity, in what would the difference consist? My hon. friend from Ottawa endeavored to enlighten me the other day about the distinction between the two projects, and I think I have a faint glimmering of it now. As to reciprocity on a reasonable basis, and to a reasonable extent, we have always been ready to adopt that with the United States. We made a reciprocity treaty with them and it worked very well indeed. It did not require the elaborate calculations of my hon. friends to show that our business increased under it. We did not terminate it. The United States did so; and Mr. Hitt says we shall never have another. We had an offer of similar reciprocity on our Statute Book for a long period of years. We sent an ambassador to the United States in the time of my hon. friends opposite, to negotiate for a modified reciprocity. Sir Charles Tupper, at the time of the negotiation of the Fisheries Treaty, made a formal offer to discuss and arrange for reciprocal trade. But these offers were all refused. When I speak of the objections to reciprocity, I speak of the objections to the unrestricted reciprocity which my hon. friends are now contending for, and not to a reasonable, sensible reciprocity treaty, which will not sacrifice our industries, and which we would be prepared to consent to if such an arrangement could be made. But this so-called unrestricted reciprocity, which I understand to be really restricted to the products of this country and the United States, both natural and manufactured, would enable whatever we produce ourselves, by whatever process, to be admitted into the United States free of duty; and their products of a similar character be admitted here free of duty. The effect on our revenue would be such as I have described, except that we would not have even

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a pittance from the United States; we would lose our revenue, and nothing would be left to us but direct taxation. The Province to which I belong is opposed to direct taxation, and I think our people generally are opposed to it; but that would be the necessary result of this unrestricted reciprocity as influencing our revenue. As a matter of trade, what would be the result? My hon. friends seem to think that if we had unrestricted reciprocity, we could manufacture anything we liked in this country, and ship it to the United States; and that we should not be interfered with as to our Customs duties on goods from other countries. What about woollen cloths? Could we import wool free, and manufacture cloth from it at the frontier, and ship it across the line free, to compete with the products of the United States made from taxed wool? Do hon. gentlemen think they would allow us to do that? Would they allow us to import iron free, manufacture steel rails, and send them to the United States, in competition with their steel rails, on which the duty was some \$28, and is now in the neighborhood of \$20? Does any hon. gentleman think they would consent to that? It would be a very profitable thing for us, probably. If we could import our iron free it would destroy the incipient production of iron, which I hope to see developed soon, but it would give us a profitable business. If we could manufacture rails alongside of the New England States, from free iron, and ship them across the line free, it would pay us well; they could not produce it than as cheaply as we could, because their raw material, in so far as they don't produce it themselves, is heavily taxed. That category could be enlarged to any extent. But what could we do if they said to us: "You must not import iron free, and manufacture steel rails, and send them in here free of duty. You must put the same duty on iron that we have, and put yourself on an exact footing with us." So with woollen goods and cloths. We have large cloth factories now. I am not familiar with these Customs questions, but I believe we import wool free, and get large quantities of it from the countries with which the hon. gentleman from Midland would encourage trade relations. But the United States

manufacturers pay a heavy duty on wool. I believe there has been an agitation among the producers to have it increased, and amongst the manufacturers to have the duty reduced or taken off altogether. You would have the wool manufactured on one side of the line by a man who pays no duty on wool, and by a man on the other side who has to pay duty on wool. How long would the United States stand that? The same reason would necessarily apply to every attempt of ours to establish any independent manufacture, except upon exactly the same tariff as that of the United States. We would be just as much constrained to adopt their tariff, if we had unrestricted reciprocity in the sense I have just described, as we should be under this scheme of Mr. Hitt's for commercial union. It would not make the slightest difference as to the result. The theory would be different at first, but the operation of it must be the same. The United States would never allow (nor would we, under similar circumstances) a neighboring nation to manufacture goods from free raw material, and bring it in competition with their manufactured goods, made from taxed raw material. It bears absurdity on its face. But how could we resist, supposing we had, by heavy duties, practically shut our ports against England and every other part of the world except the United States? We should have destroyed our revenue and manufactures; one year's experience would be sufficient to ruin us. Then they could say to us: Put duties like ours on all these raw materials or we will shut our Customs frontier on you. Where would we go? Where could we go, supposing we had such an arrangement as the hon. member from British Columbia desires? Would we go to England, and ask her to make war on the United States, because they would not maintain the differential duty we had established against the mother country? Well, I do not understand trade; I do not pretend to understand it; but this reasoning seems to be so simple, so plain, so clear, that how it can be disputed I cannot see. I have not heard anybody dispute the view I hold by any reasoning, or by any facts, or argue them out satisfactorily, and show what fallacy there is in the position I maintain, and how much more correct the opposite would be. It is

quite possible I may be wrong, but I cannot for myself see in what respect I am wrong. I can see that by adopting unrestricted reciprocity the result would be this: We would break down our manufacturers, we would break down our revenue, place our tariff under the control of the United States, and from that moment we would have to do exactly what they told us—neither more nor less. We know the consequences. We would deserve such a fate. We would deserve to be crushed out of existence, and made a contemptible satellite of the great country to the south of us. That is what we would merit, what every thinking man would believe we richly merited, if we consented to make the change which is insidiously pressed upon us by hon. gentlemen opposite. I am really ashamed of having spoken so long about this matter, and said so much which is purely a repetition of what hon. gentlemen have said before, so much better than I have.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—It is an unrestricted discussion.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—When I commenced, I stated what I intended to try to establish, and I venture to think that I have at all events shown strong arguments in favor of the correctness of my position. I think that the aspersions upon our policy are proved to be unfounded. I think its success has been demonstrated. I think I have established that the statements about our foreign trade, upon which arguments against our prosperity are urged so strongly, have no foundation in fact, or in reason; that this country has largely prospered under the National Policy, and is now in a position to prosper in a still greater ratio of progress in the time to come. Heaven knows we have had difficulties enough to contend with since this policy was inaugurated. Unfortunately, to retard our hopes of the settlement of the North-West, we have had two years of bad harvests through unusual and premature frosts, that led people almost to despair of making the North-West the productive wheat fields, we now know they are capable of becoming. We had also to contend with constant and unceasing calumnies upon the

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people, upon the country, upon the policy of the country, and upon its position and prospects, from gentlemen on the other side.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to interrupt him there?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I was afraid that my hon. friend would be dissatisfied with that statement.

HON. MR. POWER—This statement has been made very often. I brand it as a calumny, unless the hon. gentleman is able to produce some instance where a prominent member of the Liberal party has derided the country.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend has asked me to produce some instance of a member of the Reform party decrying the country. The task is an easy one. I ask my hon. friend if it has not been stated a thousand times that this country is being crushed by taxation? I appeal to the House, is it not a fact that this country is said by hon. gentlemen opposite, to be crushed under the burden of taxation? Is not that a calumny? Is not that false? Statistics have been quoted of the most conclusive character, that we are not crushed under a burden of taxation—that is to say, as compared with other countries. I do not mean to say that we have no taxation; but it has been established in this House, and out of this House, a hundred times over, that the burden of taxation in this country is less than it is in the country to the south of us.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—And it has been stated that the people are leaving the country on account of taxation.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; that is one of the calumnies. My hon. friend is correct in saying that these are faults which he finds with the Government; but what is said bears upon the country. I will describe to him another calumny. Have there not been numerous statements to the effect that no person could go to Manitoba and live there, in consequence of the grinding monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and of the injustice and partiality of the land laws, which were alleged to be so much worse than the land

laws of the adjoining States; and because they would be crushed under railway rates for the carriage of their produce, which were so much greater than the railway rates of the adjoining States? Has that not been said hundreds and thousands of times?

HON. MR. POWER—Not that no one could live there.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think the statement went pretty nearly as far as that. Probably the statement was varied by saying that a man could not make a living there; that immigrants should not go there, because when they got there they would be in a country that was crushed by excessive taxation, and would be under a grinding monopoly in respect of traffic that would crush them under excessive railway rates. These were all calumnies, unfounded calumnies. The Canadian Pacific Railway might be a monopoly if its contract had been carried out; but it is not. The monopoly has been got rid of by an arrangement with the Government. Even before that took place railway rates were not greater; on the contrary, they were lower, than in the adjoining country, as has been repeatedly demonstrated. Moreover, those rates were under the control of the Government of the Dominion, and could be diminished, and have been diminished, as traffic increased; whereas, the railway rates on the other side of the line, to which our admiration is constantly being directed by hon. gentlemen opposite, were under the control of nobody but the railway magnates themselves. My hon. friend challenged me for an instance of calumny injurious to the country. I have given him two instances, than which, if believed, none could have been invented, so destructive to the immigration every lover of his country hopes for. I could give him fifty more, but I do not wish to burden the House with them. I admit that these calumnies were uttered as fault-finding with the Government, but they strike at the Government over the head of the country! They are willing to stop immigration in order to turn out the Government! They are trying to prevent, not with that motive, perhaps, but what they do is calculated to prevent, the prosperity of the country; to prevent its settlement;

to prevent immigration to it; to cause discontent among those in it—all in order to turn out the Government. That is the motive of those calumnies; but it is an insufficient and ignoble motive for calumniating their country. I have twice or thrice this evening stated that I did not believe hon. gentlemen opposite want annexation; but I believe as firmly as that I stand on this floor that their policy, if persisted in, would lead to annexation in a short time. I do not believe they desire annexation, as a rule. Very few of them desire it. I think there are as loyal men amongst them as amongst any other body of people. I do not like to offend my hon. friend, but I cannot refrain from saying that whatever the motive may be, this constant depreciation of the country, its people and its policy, is deeply injurious to the country; and that the injury is in no degree reduced or palliated by the fact that in stabbing the country, they only desire to wound the party who for the moment hold the reins of Government.

The fact is, that this policy of universal reciprocity which has now been adopted by the party, is nothing more or less than an attempt to set one class against another in this country; and the object of it, is power. The hon. gentlemen who seek to oust the present Government, know very well, that the essentially prosperous people in this country are all on the side of this Government—practically all on the side of this Government. The more intelligent, the more industrious, and the more thrifty, of the employed are on the side of the policy of this Government, because they all remember 1878. Talk to the workmen in Montreal about abandoning the National Policy, and see what they say. They say: "No; we do not want to go back to the soup kitchen; we would rather have a house of our own, and food to cook, and to eat in it." But there is always a class of discontented men who desire a change. All discontented men do desire change. They "hope against hope," as the hon. gentleman from Halifax said. They have been hoping for ten years. But the hope my hon. friend expressed, is not identical with, though nearly akin to, the hope I attribute to them, though the result of their several hopes would be the same,

namely, to turn out the present Government. If they can succeed in persuading the working classes, the artisans, the farmers and the fishermen, that they can make more money by throwing themselves into the arms of the United States, and that they will sustain no injury by doing so; that the manufacturers and employers of labor are a class who are making themselves rich at the expense of the people, and should be destroyed; they may by that means obtain a large number of partisans, and possibly, as they hope, might succeed in carrying an election. To all these people the inducement is held out, that they would get more for their work, that the farmers would get more money for their produce, if they would go over to the United States, or make this arrangement with the United States, than they are getting now. And that the monopoly of prosperity which is attributed by the agitators to their employers, will be no longer exclusively with the employers, but will be extended to themselves; and that they then will live better than they do now. I do not believe that the hon. gentleman from Halifax, if he were in power to-morrow, would consent to abandon the National Policy altogether. He might do what the hon. gentleman from York says—he might say that some of those protective duties are excessive, and ought to be reduced. I do not know; I do not understand the subject, but I might be inclined to agree with them as to some of these, and that is a legitimate object for discussion. If they are too large let the Government know it. If they are unnecessarily large, let the people show by their votes or in some other way, that they think them so, and it is consistent with the policy of the Government to reduce them to a rate sufficient to serve as reasonable protection to the industry affected by them. But if, by this cry of reciprocity, by representations of the decadence of the country, by these representations as to the increased rate of wages and remuneration that the working classes would receive if they had universal reciprocity, hon. gentlemen can succeed in setting that class against the employers to a sufficient extent to secure a majority of votes at the next election, they will, no doubt, turn the Government out; and I would not give them this credit: that I do not believe they are actuated by dis-

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

loyal motives. I do believe, however, that those gentlemen have marked out this line of action for themselves, without considering its effect upon the country itself. It is not patriotic warfare, but they have adopted that line; it is one in which they have not yet been successful, and it is one in which I pray Heaven they will never be successful. I do not propose to detain the House much longer; I just wish to say this: It is an expression by me of individual opinion; it may be true or it may be false, but I believe it: I believe we have the grandest opportunity of building up a great and prosperous nation that any young country on the face of the globe ever possessed. I believe we have at this moment the largest unoccupied area of cultivable land in any country in the world.

HON. MR. POWER—Except the Argentine Republic.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I believe that our population is as intelligent, as well educated, as energetic and as well provided with all the essential requisites for prosperity, as any nation in the world; and I believe we have nothing to do in this country to reach the summit of the highest aspirations we could possibly entertain, but to stand by our country, to avoid depreciating it, to encourage every element of prosperity that we can direct to it; and to abandon these agitations first for one change, then for another; and especially this last one for passing over to another country our incalculable advantages—for handing over our heritage, as it is proposed to do, for a mess of pottage. Let us stand by our country, and our country will justify our faith. We can attain in this country, and I hope to see it yet, though I am old man, a still greater ratio of prosperity than we have yet reached; and I hope and believe that it will long continue to progress in, ever-increasing measure, in the march to pre-eminent national prosperity, and national dignity.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I shall not trespass on the indulgence of the House at this late hour of the evening. The only one particular object of my motion was the desire to see the foreign trade of our country extended. If hon.

gentlemen object to that statement they will find this reference in one of our papers :

"With reference to the foreign trade of the country I think this can be observed in the spirit of the people. I find it in conversation with business men of the country, and in examining into the trend of its business enterprise, viz., that a spirit is developing in this country for increasing the foreign trade of the country more than it has been for a number of years past."

Now, I contend that if objection is taken to my statement objection ought to be taken to those words that I have just repeated. Whose are they? They are the words of the Finance Minister, and they are exactly the same words that I have used and that is the burden of my address.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Everybody agrees with that.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I do not know. This address has been characterized as one about commercial union about unrestricted reciprocity and free trade, about the National Policy. I think that if ever a man was careful to present a case calmly and moderately I was.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We all say so.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I would not rise now were it not for the remark made by the hon. gentleman from Kenenbec division, whose absence I regret, and which was to this effect :

"Now, I merely mention that to prove that the statistics relied upon by the hon. gentleman in no sense and in no degree supply proof which he can rely upon—"

That is a very serious charge.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Read on.

HON. MR. MACDONALD:

"in no degree supply proof that the question relied upon for conclusions such he has drawn from them, but on the contrary must be read with a knowledge of the facts to enable you to discriminate upon them."

Now, I am met with those objections. The hon. gentleman does not attempt to touch my figures.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; he only denies your conclusions.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman does not attempt to refute a sin-

gle statement I have made. I have pointed the hon. gentleman to young countries which possess nothing like the advantages we have, which are making headway in their export trade, and the hon. gentleman has not met my statement. He has raised this point: first, that it is the volume and not the value. Well, there is force in that, and I can touch it just for a minute. He then alludes to the output of coal; he alludes to the deposits in the savings bank; he alludes to insurance—fire and life; and, strangely enough, to sugar, a matter that I had never touched, that I had no intention of touching, and that I can only account for by the feeling coming over him which came over the Ephesians of old, that "our craft is in danger." I have in my possession letters from wholesale grocers from various parts of the Dominion differing from that hon. gentleman.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I must object if the hon. gentleman is going to make an attack of that description on an hon. gentleman who is absent.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—You will allow me to touch upon those points raised by the hon. member from Kennebec?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No one will object to my hon. friend making any explanation that he deems necessary; but he has not yet stated anything in which he has been misrepresented.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not agree with the contention of the leader of the House that under our practice the hon. gentleman from Midland has not the right to reply. The fact is, that Bourinot lays down generally that the rules are not enforced here in the way they are in the Commons, and he lays down that there may be long debates on inquiries such as that made by my hon. friend. Then we have the case of 1877, where the present Sir D. MacPherson introduced a matter by just such an inquiry, and spoke at the opening and at the close of the debate; and the same Government, in the Session of 1879, did the same thing—made a speech at the opening of the debate and claimed the right to reply, and the right was not denied.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—If the hon. gentleman from Halifax will allow me, I decline to be listened to on sufferance. I shall not transgress the rules of the debate. There have been several points raised to which I should have the right to reply, and I am not accountable for the absence of the hon. gentleman from Kennebec division. I have been here every day since this House opened attending to my duties. I decline to speak on sufferance, and if I am not allowed by the rule to touch the points which have been raised I shall sit down.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not know what took place before I took my seat in the Senate. I see nothing in the rules of this House which justifies a reply, or which justifies this long debate, even on such a notice as my hon. friend placed on the Paper. I have not objected to the hon. gentleman making any explanation, and that is the reason. If there has been some misrepresentation of what the hon. gentleman has said I do not object to his reply; but if the hon. gentleman is going to enter upon an argument to prove that the hon. gentleman from Kennebec is not right in his contention then I must object that he is out of order.

HON. MR. MILLER—With regard to the point of order, I would not have risen at all if the hon. gentleman from Halifax had not attempted to prove the hon. gentleman has a right to reply at this stage of the debate, and cited Bourinot as an authority for that view. I take the liberty of saying that Bourinot's work is the first which calls attention to the irregularity which has prevailed in this House of giving notice of calling attention to questions and making an inquiry, and then adjourning the debate from time to time on it and treating it like a substantive motion. There is no parliamentary precedent anywhere, excepting such as we have made for ourselves, to justify us in carrying this debate over from one day to another. I am sure, for my own part, I should be pleased, as a matter of courtesy, to listen to anything the hon. gentleman from Midland has to say, even though he kept us until morning; but I do not wish it to be understood that there is any rule laid down here which is inconsistent

with the practice of Parliament anywhere else.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I decline to speak on sufferance.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I hope my hon. friend from Midland is not offended; I am only trying to observe the rules of the House.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I would be exceedingly sorry to trespass upon the time of the House or to violate a rule of debate, or take advantage of any hon. member's absence; but there were certain things stated that, in all fairness to myself, I ought to be allowed to contradict.

HON. MR. POWER—As my statement has been questioned I think it is my right to make it good. One volume happens to be here. Hon. Mr. MacPherson says, in the course of the debate on one of his notices:

"I am entitled, as a matter of right, to reply to speeches which have been made, and I dare say the House will permit me to make a few remarks in closing the debate. I therefore move that the debate be adjourned until to-morrow."

And he made a speech afterwards. The hon. gentleman is perfectly right in saying that it has not been the practice in other places, but it has been the uniform practice here since it was introduced in 1877.

HON. MR. MILLER—And Bourinot called attention to this irregularity.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I read an extract just now from the speech of the Minister of Finance, which, in so many words, embodies the burden of my motion—and I am at a loss to conceive how it is that what should be in his hand a trowel should be a pick-axe in mine—that what should be in his hand a constructive work should be in mine a destructive one; that what should be, when presented by him, a pleasant picture, should be described as a lugubrious one when painted by me, and that the words he uttered should be commended while the same words that I uttered should be condemned. I am at a loss to understand that. Let me trespass for a moment or two further as to the questions which the hon. gentleman from Kennebec raises. I say he does not attempt to touch my figures, because they are taken from our own Blue Book.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—He never tried to controvert them.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—He did this: he introduced several other features to show that they neutralized them. In the first place, he spoke about the money in the savings banks, but I think I will do a little better for him than he claimed himself, for the amount is really greater than he said. I make it \$53,000,000 in 1887, as against \$14,000,000 in 1877, a difference of \$25,000,000. I am sorry to make any kind of remark that might have a pessimistic character. I am not a pessimist; I have hope in this country; I have hope in its people; I have hope in its resources and faith in its future. I think every word of mine indicated that. I know nothing about commercial union further than that I believe I was instrumental in killing it. I know nothing about unrestricted reciprocity beyond this, that I have never uttered a word, and never will utter a word, that will lead me to discriminate against the mother country.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Nobody accused my hon. friend of this. The arguments were addressed to the hon. gentleman from Ottawa. My hon. friend from Midland is not the only member on that side of the House.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I never have favored and I never shall favor a policy to discriminate against the United States. I am impelled to the first from a sense of duty and the second by self-interest, and therefore I have had nothing but the one idea from beginning to end of calling the attention of the Government to the extension of trade in these countries. I want to call attention for one moment to this point. When the question was raised about these deposits in the savings banks I naturally inquired where they came from, and I looked at the amount which had been loaned by our loan and building societies, and while the increase in the savings banks is \$25,000,000, the loans in the same period had risen from \$34,000,000 to \$90,000,000, or, in other words, nearly \$56,000,000 in the same period had been loaned out, which I hold to be an excellent reason for this large amount of money in these savings

banks. On the same principle, when reference is made to insurances—and I do not want to decry insurance; I wish the amount of fire and life there was a great deal more—I look upon these, as the leader of the House does, as evidence of prosperity—but, do not let us attach undue importance to them. No one knows better than my hon. friend that every mortgage taken by every loan company expressly states that there shall be a transfer of the insurance, and there is no use, therefore, in attaching undue importance to the volume of insurance and seeking to minify the position I have taken. Another point is the volume and not the value of trade. That is the point which the hon. gentleman raised which has most force in it, and yet it is the one most fatal to his argument.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—The hon. gentleman laughs. You cannot apply that principle to Canada merely and not apply it to all the others. The same principle of the fall of values applies to all countries, and in the face of that, they have continued to do as we have done—they have carried on their home industries, but they have also done the very thing that I have called upon this Government to do—to extend their trade into other countries.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Has the United States kept up its foreign trade?

HON. MR. MACDONALD—Yes.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is less by \$200,000,000.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman said, in contradiction to what I stated, that the trade of Great Britain had fallen off; I am very sure he did not intend to mislead the House, but I want to call his attention to the fact that while the total trade of Great Britain for 1879 was £612,000,000, for 1888 it was £684,000,000, or, in other words, an excess of £72,000,000 sterling, which is \$154,000,000 more than our entire trade.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—And so it ought to be.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman spoke about a fall in values. Now, we must bear in mind that the great

fall in value in the last ten years has been in textile fabrics. We have none. There has been a fall in cereals; but I am told there has been a corresponding increase in the value of lumber. I will admit there has been a fall in values, but if you apply the rule to us it is but reasonable that you should apply it to other countries to which I have drawn attention. I hope it will not be thought that I have come before this Chamber in any kind of despairing spirit.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Everybody admits that you have not.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I congratulate the Government on taking a step in the right direction. I think they ought to be sustained in it if they enter upon it earnestly; and if they prosecute it diligently I think they will achieve results such as we will all rejoice in. The hour is very late, and I must close by expressing my thanks to every hon. gentleman who has spoken, so far as he has spoken in the kind way that he has done towards myself. There is just this about it, that it affords hon. gentleman a little encouragement to look into these matters that at least while there may be differences of opinion their efforts will be appreciated, and I devoutly trust, while this discussion has been carried on and taken a wider range than I had anticipated or desired, that in the end it will do a great deal of good, and that the purpose I had in view will be abundantly accomplished.

The Senate adjourned at 11:10 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 18th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE GREAT MACKENZIE BASIN.

MOTION.

HON. MR. GIRARD moved—

That the letters and other papers presented to this House, on Monday, 11th March, by His Honor the Speaker, in reference to the value of that part of the Dominion lying north of the Saskatchewan watershed, east of the Rocky Mountains and west of Hudson's Bay, comprising the Great Mackenzie Basin, received by the Clerk of the Select Committee on that subject, since last Session, remain

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland).

of record in the office of the Clerk of the Senate, with a view to further consideration of the whole subject-matter at an early period, during the next Session of Parliament.

He said: When I brought this subject before the House the other day I thought there would be a great many more documents in reference to the Great Mackenzie Basin than have been laid before us. I think it would be better that they should remain in the hands of the Clerk until next Session, because I am satisfied that many more answers to the circular will come in yet from points difficult of access in the far North-West. As I have another notice on the paper for to-morrow I thought it well to have these papers submitted to the House, so that hon. gentlemen who take an interest in the subject can have access to them. I have been looking over the letters, and some of them I should like to read to the House. The first is from our late colleague, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and is as follows:—

"MANITOBA AND KEEWATIN.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, WINNIPEG,

"26th January, 1889.

"SIR.—Referring to the third report of the Select Committee of the Senate, appointed at its last session to enquire into and report upon the resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin, you are aware that the committee decided to send a list of questions, hereto appended, to a number of gentlemen, some of whom resided at far distant Hudson Bay Company's posts. These enquiries, accompanied by a letter from myself, herewith also appended, then chairman of the committee, urging responses, were mailed at Ottawa, and through the kindness of Joseph Wrigley, Esq., Chief Commissioner Honorable Hudson Bay Company, were forwarded beyond the limit of ordinary postal communication.

"I send herewith such communications in reply as have reached me, and have added afterwards:

"2nd. List of the questions adopted.

"3rd. List of names and addresses of persons to whom sent.

"4th. List of those whose replies were received during the sittings of the committee.

"5th. List of those who gave before the committee oral answers to questions sent.

"I think it well to add that replies from Hudson Bay Company officers and missionaries at the more distant posts can scarcely be expected before the arrival of the winter packet of that company.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN SCHULTZ,

"Late Chairman of Committee.

"J. G. A. CREIGHTON, Esq.,

"Law Clerk of Senate,

"Clerk of Committees,

"The Senate, Ottawa.

"P. S.—It is proper for me to mention, in connection with the business of the committee, that a sum of \$45 was found, upon finally making up the indebtedness of the committee, to be due to James Dryden, Esq., for certain extra work in connection with the correction of the report, which fact was ascertained too late to enable the committee to report upon it to the House. I have, therefore, respectfully to request that should no similar committee be struck the Contingent Committee be recommended to pay the amount.—J. S."

List of Replies received since last sitting of the Committee.

- A. Communication from His Lordship Bishop Farand, dated Mission du Lac la Biche, 11th September, 1888.
- B. Communication from His Lordship Bishop Bompas, date d'Mackenzie River, 18th July, 1888.
- C. Communication from His Lordship Young, dated Fort Chippewyan, Athabaska, 20th July, 1888.
- D. Communication from Magnus Anderson, dated Edmonton, 1888.
- E. Communication from Wm. Cornwallis King, Esq., dated Fort Pelly, 1888.
- F. Communication from W. E. Traill, Esq., Hudson Bay Officer in charge Fort Vermillion, dated 1st August, 1888.
- G. Communication from Robert Campbell, Esq., formerly Chief Factor Honorable Hudson Bay Company, Elphinstone, Manitoba.

Then follows a letter from Bishop Farand, which is in French, and which is as follows :

MISSION DU LAC LA BICHE, 11 septembre 1888.

M. JOHN SCHULTZ,

Secrétaire du Comité du Sénat, Ottawa.

MONSIEUR,—Je suis en possession depuis assez longtemps de la lettre qui m'était adressée par le comité d'Ottawa, le 5 avril 1888. Cette lettre avait pour but de me demander des détails divers sur les terres arables, les landes, les richesses minérales, la position géographique et la superficie des lacs, le cours et la navigabilité des rivières, etc., qui se trouvent dans le grand bassin d'Athabasca-Mackenzie.

"Comme j'habite ces contrées depuis quarante et un ans, que je les ai visitées en grande partie, je pourrais, sans doute, dire ce que je sais et élucider plus d'un point obscur. Ce serait un travail de longue haleine auquel je me livrerais très volontiers pour éclairer le gouvernement sur les vrais intérêts du pays. Ce qui m'arrête, c'est que sur beaucoup de points je ne suis qu'imparfaitement renseigné, ce pour être exact il me faudrait revoir avec soin et ré-examiné ce que je n'ai vu que superficiellement en voyageur qui passe,

"Ce ne serait pas là atteindre le but désiré, et c'est ce qui m'arrête. Mieux vaut, à mon avis, ne pas grossir le nombre des rapports plus ou moins erronés publiés par gros volumes et dont le gouvernement est déjà en possession. Il vous est, du reste, facile de vous procurer oralement toutes les informations que je pourrais vous donner, en vous adressant à mon auxiliaire, Mgr T. Clut, qui passe l'hiver à Montréal, qui a plus voyagé et partant plus vu que moi. Il se fera un plaisir de répondre selon son pouvoir aux questions qui lui seront adressées.

Je vous prie donc, M. le Secrétaire, de faire agréer mes raisons au Comité du Sénat. Il est très probable que je passerai l'hiver de 1889 à 1890, à Winnipeg. Si là, on croit que je puis être utile, mon dévouement ne fera pas défaut. Nous sommes très intéressés à ce que notre pays d'adoption figure honorablement dans le concert des autres nations.

Sous peu, j'adresserai des sachets contenant du blé, de l'orge et de la belle avoine récoltés cet été même au lac La Biche, j'y ajouterai quelques torquettes de tabac récolté et manufacturé ici.

Agrez,

M. le Secrétaire,

Mes respectueux hommages.

Henri J. Farand, Ev. C. d'Anemour,

Vic. Apostolique d'Athabasca-McKenzie.

I think it is information which will be very interesting to everyone here, that not only various cereals can be cultivated in the Mackenzie Basin as well as in Manitoba, but also tobacco, which, as everyone knows, is a plant that is easily injured by frost. In the Mackenzie Basin tobacco is cultivated and matures. I have also another letter which is perhaps the most important of all. It is from Bishop Young, and is as follows:—

"ST. LUKE'S MISSION, VERMILION,

"ATHABASCA, N.W.T., 6th July, 1888.

"The Right Honorable the Minister of the Interior:

"SIR,—We, the undersigned, as members of the Synod of the Anglican Church in Athabasca diocese, now in session, venture to lay before you for your consideration the present condition of the Indians generally throughout this portion of the North-West Territories, including the Provincial District of Athabasca.

"There is a great decrease throughout this part of the country of both the larger and smaller game, as well as of fur-bearing animals (excepting one or two kinds, such as martins and fishers, which are not used as food). The consequence is the Indians, not only during the winter but also in summer, are in an almost constant state of semi-starvation. This condition is, of course, seriously aggravated during the winter months, and you will perceive from the facts which we beg to lay before you the very serious results which arise therefrom:

"1. The almost total disappearance of rabbits and great scarcity of partridges.

"2. A great mortality amongst the beaver during last winter.

"3. Present scarcity of lynx, which will in all probability continue at least two years longer, as they are affected by the rise and fall of rabbits.

"4. The above affects not only the food supply of the Indians but also their power of procuring clothing, ammunition, &c.

"Many of the Indians are almost destitute of clothing; and, owing to their small take of furs, are unable to provide themselves with the necessary clothing and hunting outfit for the coming winter.

"The above scarcity has greatly decreased the number of their dogs (so necessary to the Indian for travelling and hunting), which have perished, thus seriously increasing the difficulty of obtaining a livelihood.

"The Beavers, who used to have a considerable number of horses, have killed so many of them, on account of scarcity of other food, that they now possess very few.

"5. At Lake Athabasca, and at some other lakes, a great failure of the fall and winter fisheries.

"6. During the winter of 1886 and 1887, between the Peace and Athabasca Rivers, on account of starvation and consequent cannibalism a party of twenty-nine Cree Indians was reduced to three.

"In the Mackenzie River district there were several cases of death by starvation, and one or more of cannibalism.

"7. During the last winter, 1887 and 1888, amongst the Fort Chippewyan Indians between twenty and thirty starved to death, and the death of others accelerated by want of food.

"A party of about twenty Beavers had to be conveyed from Grande Prairie, near Dunvegan, Peace River, to Lesser Slave Lake, to prevent their starving to death. Some of them died after arriving here.

"Within the personal knowledge of the undersigned many other Indians—Crees, Beavers and Chippewyans—at almost points where there are missions, or trading posts, would certainly have starved to death but for the help furnished by the traders and missionaries at those places—furnished very often at great personal inconvenience.

"8. Owing to the above facts recorded and previous mortality a great number of widows and orphans are left without natural providers.

"9. Owing to strong competition in the fur trade, and other causes, the Indians cannot now look to the Hudson Bay Company for help as they used to do.

"In the face of the above facts, and with the prospect at no very distant date of this country forming a valuable and important portion of the Dominion; and as we understand that Parliament has already taken action by granting a committee of enquiry on this country and its resources, we would respectfully press on the Government the urgent necessity of rendering speedy help to preserve the survivors.

"(Signed),

"RICHARD YOUNG,
Bishop of Athabasca.

"MALCOLM SCOTT,
Incumbent of St. Luke's, Vermillion.

"G. HOLMES, C.M.S.,
Missionary Lesser Slave Lake.

"W. E. TRAILL, J.P.,
Vermillion.

"A. C. CARRIOCH, C.M.S.,
Missionary, Dunvegan, P. R.

"E. J. LAWRENCE,
Principal of Irene Training School.

"WM. J. MELROSE,
Farmer.

"A. J. KNEELAND,
Mechanic, Vermillion.

"W. D. REEVE,
Archdeacon of Chippewyan, and Secretary of Synod."

This document was written at a time when certainly there was trouble, misery and starvation in that part of the North-

HON. MR. GIRARD.

West; but information since received will lead us to believe that this state of things does not exist in that country at the present day. There may have been some cases of cannibalism; at the same time, we cannot place too great reliance in such a report. It is in the nature of the Indian to complain of poverty and to beg. This document I consider to be a very important one, for it leads one to the conclusion that it is the duty of the Government to do all in their power to educate the Indians up to a point that they will be self-sustaining; and capable of making their own living by other means than they have at present. I think it is my duty to call the attention of the Government to these important documents, as the information which they contain are from a reliable source.

The next reply is from His Lordship Bishop Bompas, date Mackenzie River, 18th July, 1888, in which His Lordship says that he is so busy travelling he has not time to answer all the questions asked of him, but would send them in as soon as he has time at his disposal. There is also the following letter from His Lordship Bishop Young, dated Fort Chippewyan, Athabasca, 20th July, 1888:

"ST. PAUL'S MISSION,

"FORT CHIPPEWYAN, ATHABASCA,

"20th July, 1888.

DEAR DR. SCHULTZ,—As I understand that you are taking a special interest in the North-West, and that the result of your efforts is the committee of enquiry on its resources which has been sitting during the early part of this year, I venture to enclose for your personal copy of a memorial sent by the synod of Athabasca to the Minister of the Interior, representing the serious condition to which the Indians of this country are reduced. I feel sure that your influence will be exerted in securing for them, if possible, the same help which is extended to the Indians in other and more southerly parts of the North-West by the Government. Without such assistance they must die off in large numbers as the scarcity of food is becoming every year more serious.

"One great need, and without it I cannot see how the Government can render any effective assistance, is the opening out of a road into the country

"I read with interest Dominion Surveyor Ogilvie's report as to the best route which was laid before the North-West Council last year. Perhaps, however, a proper survey, with this object in view, would discover a more practical route than either of those mentioned by him

"Trusting you are enjoying improved health and with kind regards to Mrs Schultz.

"I remain,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RICHARD YOUNG,

"Bishop of Athabasca."

Then I come to the last of my communication to the Great Mackenzie Basin, one from W. E. Traill, Hudson Bay officer in charge of Fort Vermillion, date 1st August, 1888. Replying to a question as to the effect upon the Indians of the opening up of the Mackenzie Basin to civilized men, he says:

"I am of opinion that they would soon disappear from the earth. However, I am not acquainted with the northern Indians. The foregoing remark was in reference to the Beaver tribe.

"The Crees and people of mixed blood could be advantageously employed by white men at many kinds of work, both as regards employer and employed.

"I think such employment calculated to civilize them. It must be borne in mind, however, that the natives are more apt to copy the vices of white men than their virtues."

Probably that gentleman is right, for I do not suppose that for farming purposes that country could be utilized at present. It will take twenty-five years yet before it will be prepared to receive agricultural settlers; but there are other resources from which a man can not only derive a living but realize money by going in there. I do not propose to make any comments on those papers to-day. All that remains for me to do, if the House thinks it advisable to take communication of them, is to postpone any discussion on them until next Session, leaving them in the hands of the Clerk.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—Perhaps it will not be out of place if I say a few words with reference to this matter. I happened to be down at the museum a few days ago, and one of the professors there showed me a sample of wheat grown at Fort Providence, north of the Great Slave Lake, in latitude 61°36'. I said to the professor, who used to reside at Belleville, "How far is that north of Belleville?" He said: "Belleville, in latitude 44, is 1,300 miles to the south of Fort Providence." Now, here is a good sample of wheat, purporting to have been grown 1,300 miles north of Belleville. I thought it well to give the House and the country this piece of information. If such wheat can be grown as far north as that, if the Indians are trained to agriculture they will soon be able to make their own living.

HON. MR. SUTHERLAND—I consider it my duty to give my support to the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface, having been

a member of the committee enquiring into the resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin last Session. I think it would be only in the interest of the country that the fullest information possible should be had respecting that territory; therefore, I think enquiry should be postponed until next Session, and should there be a favorable sentiment in the House the committee might be revived and the resources of that important portion of the country be gone into more fully. Although the Mackenzie Basin was known a great many years ago and travelled by white men, their attention was directed to it in one way only—to the fur trade; consequently, the other resources of the country were either very little known or entirely overlooked. Hitherto the public have had very little information as to the resources of that country that could be relied upon, and I hope the House will accept the motion, in order that further information can be gathered by a committee of the House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think the country is indebted to these hon. gentlemen who took part in the valuable work of the committee appointed last Session, and who are still taking an interest in the work of that committee, and are not permitting the interest of the country and of the House in the subject-matter they enquired into to flag. I am pleased to see by some of the letters which my hon. friend from Winnipeg has read that there is a prospect of further information being obtained on the subject, and I understand also many of the circulars of questions which have been sent round have not yet been answered. I think my hon. friend has taken a most judicious course in making the motion he now does, and I have much pleasure in supporting him.

The motion was agreed to.

SUMMARY TRIALS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (M), "An Act to amend the Summary Trials Act." He said: This Bill is introduced for two purposes, the first to make uniform the practice of summary trial for certain offences throughout the Dominion. At present two justices of the peace in Prince Edward Island have

larger jurisdiction than two justices of the peace elsewhere, and it is proposed to remedy that. The second object is this: Under the law, as it stands, if a person charged with theft pleads guilty he is necessarily condemned to one year's imprisonment, neither more nor less, and it is thought advisable that the punishment should be more within the discretion of the court, as it is in other cases where he is convicted upon indictment in the ordinary way.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I apprehend that the first clause only applies to the Provinces named, and that the substantial change is to leave out the Island of Prince Edward.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Then with regard to the concluding clause: it has a more extensive operation, and I think, on the whole, is a very beneficial change. As I read the clause it enables a magistrate, or other person acting under the Summary Trials Act, to inflict any punishment that a prisoner will be entitled to bear if he were found guilty on an indictment. In other words, it enables the magistrate, on an indictable offence, to give him the punishment he would be entitled to bear if he were found guilty on that indictment. That has a very much more extensive operation than the section it is intended to amend. On the whole, I think it is beneficial. It is altered, I suppose, in accordance with the English law?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

LAW OF INTEREST AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day being called—“Second reading (Bill N), to amend Revised Statutes respecting Interest,”

HON. MR. POWER suggested that, as the Bill had but recently been distributed, the second reading should be postponed for a day or two.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Order of the Day be discharged and the

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

second reading be fixed for Wednesday next.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I should like to call attention to the third section, which provides for the continuance after judgment of the rate of interest agreed upon. That will disturb the decision of the Court in Ontario. For instance, if the interest on a mortgage is 10 per cent., after the expiration of the mortgage that rate no longer runs, but recedes to the 6 per cent. legal interest rate, the courts holding that the agreement between the parties expires with the conclusion of the contract. Under this clause you quite see that you would be disturbing that decision of the courts and giving to the mortgagee the higher rate of interest. All that he would have to do would be to let his mortgage continue or reduce it to a judgment.

HON. MR. MILLER—It is subject to the option of the court.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This clause leaves it to the discretion of the court to allow the agreed rate of interest to go on, or fix another rate of interest.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I believe the rule in Nova Scotia is substantially the same as is provided by this clause.

HON. MR. GOWAN—This only relates to cases which have ripened into judgment. It does not affect the question between the mortgagor and the mortgagee. It is left to the discretion of the court to allow the judgment to bear the regular rate of interest, or such rate as may have been agreed upon between the parties in their original agreement.

The motion was agreed to, and the second reading of the Bill was fixed for Wednesday next.

RULES OF COURT IN RELATION TO CRIMINAL MATTERS BILL.

IN COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (55), “An Act respecting Rules of Court in relation to Criminal Matters.”

(In the Committee.)

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The first paragraph of the first clause is so framed that

it might perhaps interfere with the present jurisdiction of some of the courts in the Province of Quebec, and the same objection might be made with reference to sub-sections "a" and "b." I propose to insert a few words to make it plain that this is not intended. The organization of the courts in the Province of Quebec is somewhat different from that of any other Province, and the distinction between their jurisdiction in civil and in criminal matters is much more strongly marked there than elsewhere. It is not intended to interfere with the jurisdiction of these courts in matters of a civil nature—only in matters of a criminal nature. I propose, however, to insert the words "having jurisdiction in criminal matters."

HON. MR. POWER—It is not proposed to give power to the county courts of Nova Scotia?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; the necessity for this measure is caused by the fact that in some of the lower Provinces it has been doubted, if it has not been actually adjudged, that some of the lower courts there have the power to make these rules. It is quite unnecessary, as far as the Province of Quebec is concerned, because the Court of Queen's Bench, which has ordinary jurisdiction in criminal matters, has the power; but the object of this Bill is to assimilate the practice of all the courts, and to give to the courts of the lower Provinces the same jurisdiction that the courts in the upper Provinces possess. Sub-section "a" of this clause involves this difficulty again, with reference to the courts in Lower Canada. It declares that they shall have power to make rules for the sittings of the court. Now, in Lower Canada the sittings of the courts are regulated by the code.

HON. MR. POWER—I am not quite certain that the same difficulty may not arise in one of the lower Provinces.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—In sub-section "b" I would like to make an amendment, which has the same bearing as the other two.

The amendments were agreed to.

HON. MR. VIDAL, from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

COLLECTION OF TOLLS AND DUES BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (L), "An Act respecting the Collection of certain Tolls and Dues therein mentioned."

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: As I explained at the time that this Bill was read the second time, the object of it is to transfer the collection of certain revenues to the departments which can most easily and at least expense perform that duty. The first change is made with respect to the collection of slide and boomage dues. These are under the charge of the Public Works Department, and it is proposed to repeal that portion of sub-section "e" of section 5 of the Inland Revenue Act which imposes that duty on the Department of Inland Revenue.

HON. MR. SCOTT—As I understand it, this Bill proposes to tax the timber trade far beyond what they are taxed now, in proportion to the quantity of business done—that a license should be taken out by every man in the trade.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not see anything of the kind in the clause.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I understand that is the intention, because I see resolutions were introduced into another place, proposing to compel parties to take out a license in order to have the timber inspected. This Bill places the inspection under the Department of Inland Revenue. The other Bill, which is connected with it, authorizes the imposition of a tax. I do not know that it will come to this House unless it is in the shape of a Bill. If that is the object, grave doubt will be entertained as to whether this Parliament would have a right to tax the timber belonging to the Provinces.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will see that this Bill is merely changing the machinery by which any provision in the other Bill would be enforced.

HON. MR. McINNES (Burlington), from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

OTTAWA, MORRISBURG AND NEW YORK RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. READ moved the second reading of Bill (43), "An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company." He said: This Bill asks for power to construct a railway from the county of Carleton to the St. Lawrence, and to construct bridges across the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

CANADIAN GENERAL TRUSTS CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. McMILLAN, in the absence of Mr. OGILVIE, moved the second reading of Bill (34), "An Act to incorporate the Canadian General Trusts Company."

HON. MR. POWER—I have not had time to look over this Bill very carefully, but it seems to me that it is one which the Committee on Banking and Commerce should scrutinize with a good deal of care. Everyone knows how exceedingly careful the English law and English courts of justice are with respect to trust moneys, and how trustees and executors are forbidden to invest trust moneys in speculative investments. Now, this company appears to be incorporated for the purpose of discharging the functions of trustees and executors. I have not had time to see with what care the interests of the *cestui qui* trusts, for whom this company will act as trustee, are protected. I think the company are allowed to invest in certain funds in which trustees would not be allowed to invest. For instance, the 8th clause provides:

"The company may invest any moneys forming part of its capital or accumulated profit in such securities, real or personal, as the directors deem expedient, and may hold and dispose of the same; but the company shall not hold any real estate acquired by foreclosure, or in satisfaction of any debt, for a longer period than seven years."

Now, that is a very wide range to give the directors, to allow them to invest in any securities, real or personal, that they may deem expedient. It may be that the

committee in the other House have amended the Bill so that it protects the beneficiaries of these trusts, but I call the attention of the committee to the necessity of being very careful.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It seems to be a large power to give to this corporation.

The motion was agreed to and the Bill was read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (57), "An Act to incorporate the Cobourg, Northumberland and Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Flint).

Bill (48), "An Act to consolidate the borrowing powers of the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company, and to authorize them to issue Debenture Stock." (Mr. McMillan).

QUEEN'S COLLEGE BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. VIDAL moved the second reading of Bill (46), "An Act to amend the Act respecting Queen's College at Kingston." He said: This is a Bill to amend a former Act of this Parliament regulating the management of Queen's College, and they find that, under the provisions of their former Act, their actions are somewhat fettered and they ask for an amendment. Objections have been raised as to the constitutionality of our passing legislation of this kind. The question has been fully discussed and settled in the other Chamber that it was right and proper that they should get the relief required in this Bill. It was the legislation of this Parliament that gave them the authority under which they are acting, and it seems to me that it is the Parliament of Canada alone that can grant the assistance required.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I suppose it will come before the Private Bills Committee, and you will reserve the right of hon. gentlemen who take that exception to it to discuss it there.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Certainly.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

CANADA CONGREGATIONAL FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. McCLELAN moved the second reading of Bill (44), "An Act to incorporate the Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society." He said: This is a Bill founded upon a petition presented by clergymen and others of the Congregational Church of Canada, asking for corporate powers for the purpose of facilitating foreign missionary and other work of that body.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called— "Consideration of the amendments proposed by the Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors to Bill (D), 'An Act to amend the Railway Act,' "

HON. MR. McCALLUM said: Before moving concurrence in the report, I see that there is a clerical error in it that I would like to have amended. In clause "c," in the fifth line, the amount is \$800, but it reads in clause "d" as \$400. The intention was that it should be \$800. The chairman of the committee will no doubt explain how those errors were made.

HON. MR. POWER—The more regular way to proceed in connection with this report would be to read the new clauses one by one. Of course, the mode suggested by the hon. gentleman is more speedy.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If the hon. gentleman would move that the report be not now concurred in, but that it be amended by changing the words "four" to "eight," in clause "d," it would be better.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I move that the report be amended by substituting the word "eight" for the word "four" in the fifth line of clause "d."

HON. MR. DICKEY—I might explain that this was the case of a Bill which was so far reconstructed and remodelled that

it was more convenient to be put in the form of a new Bill, and numbering it by letters instead of by figures in the clauses. When it came to clause "c" the question arose whether the amount, which was limited to \$400, in order to give jurisdiction to those persons to enquire into the necessity of putting a drain through the railway, should not be extended to \$800, and it was so decided, and accordingly that had to be carried through the remaining part of the Bill, and I, as chairman, made the necessary correction; and when we went to the next clause I made the necessary correction in that—the one we are now considering, clause "d," line 5. But in preparing the Bill for being signed the proceeding is this. The Clerk takes a clean copy and makes the corrections all along as we go through the clauses, and then he presents them to me to be initialled. This particular change was not made by him—that is to say, we erased the word "four" and introduced the word "eight," but it was omitted in the copy. With regard to the other omission, the words "Dominion or," in the sixth line, they were initialled by me, and it is a misprint. In order to make it complete we ought to make the record as to what we actually have done.

The motion was agreed to, and the amendment was concurred in.

HON. MR. McCALLUM moved that the report be further amended by inserting the words "Dominion or" before the word "Provincial," in the sixth line of clause "d."

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. McCALLUM moved that the report be concurred in as amended.

The motion was agreed to, and the report was adopted.

HON. MR. McCALLUM moved the third reading of the Bill as amended.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

LONDON AND CANADIAN LOAN AND AGENCY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved the second reading of Bill (77), "An Act further to amend the Act incorporating the

London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company (Limited)." He said: This Bill simply asks that ten be substituted for five years in order to give them that much time for disposing of lands that they may acquire.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time

INTEREST BILL.

REJECTED.

HON. MR. POWER moved the second reading of Bill (K), "An Act to amend Cap. 127 of the Revised Statutes respecting Interest."

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I would ask my hon. friend if it would not be better to allow that Bill to stand over, and be taken up at the same time as the Bill introduced by the leader of the House on the same subject. I understand that Bill is to provide that the interest on judgments shall be 6 per cent., and to declare when the interest shall commence. This Bill asked for something less—that in simple contracts on promissory notes, where there is no agreement, the rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. It appears to me that these Bills should be discussed at the same time, and that there should be the same interest on judgments as on notes of hand.

HON. MR. POWER—I should be glad to oblige the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg, but I think he somewhat misapprehends the object of the Bill introduced by the leader of the House. The substantial object of the Bill introduced by the leader of the House is to provide that in Manitoba, where it has been held that a judgment does not bear interest, a judgment shall bear interest at the same rate as in other Provinces of the Dominion, where the rate is now 6 per cent. The object of my Bill is rather different from that, and I think the best explanation of it is simply to read it.

The change which this Bill proposes to make in the existing law is to substitute 5 per cent. for 6 per cent. where no agreement has been made between the parties. I think it is a Bill which should commend itself to the good sense and sense of justice of this House. That section of the Consolidated Statutes which I have

read was passed in the year 1864. Hon. gentlemen are perfectly aware that since the year 1864 the rate of interest in this country has fallen very considerably. I made enquiry of the Finance Department, and I was assured that the rate of interest has fallen in that period over 40 per cent.; so that where 6 per cent. would have been a reasonable rate at that time the proper rate now would be something less than 4 per cent. Hon. gentlemen will perceive that the Bill does not go as far as that; it simply makes a reduction from 6 per cent. to 5 per cent. Hon. gentlemen know that twenty years ago 8 per cent. was looked upon as really a lower rate of interest than 6 per cent. is looked upon to-day, and why the debtor who is not able to pay his account should be obliged to pay the highest current rate of interest is something that one cannot see.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Bill which I had the honor to introduce, and which was to be read the second time to-day, had precisely the same effect as my hon. friend's Bill, only instead of naming 5 per cent. it named 6 per cent. as the rate of interest. I think my hon. friend from Lunenburg has a good deal of reason in asking that this Bill be allowed to stand over until the second reading of the other. It declares that the interest throughout the Dominion shall be 6 per cent. on a judgment. My hon. friend's Bill declares that it shall be 5 per cent. That is a point between us: why we should discuss my hon. friend's Bill to-day and mine should be asked to stand until to-morrow.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman spoke of his Bill the other day as a measure to meet a decision in the court of Manitoba, which decided that in that Province there was no interest on a judgment; and I have been since informed by the officers of the Department of Justice that that is the primary object of the Bill. Provision is made in the other Provinces that interest shall be 6 per cent., and the Bill would not be necessary if it were not for the case of Manitoba.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is the motive of the Bill, but the terms of the Bill are that the rate shall be uniform throughout the Dominion.

HON. MR. McMILLAN.

HON. MR. POWER—The Government Bill proposes to repeal this section of the Consolidated Statutes and insert a provision which shall apply to the whole Dominion. This Bill deals with the rate of interest.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—So does mine.

HON. MR. POWER—This Bill is simply to decide what, in the judgment of Parliament, shall be the rate of interest where there has been no agreement between the parties.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—So does the other.

HON. MR. POWER—My hon. friend should not interrupt me in this manner. I am quite willing to be interrupted when there is any point in the interruption. The primary object—as I understood from the leader of the House and from the Department of Justice—of the Government Bill is to provide that there shall be a uniform rate of interest on judgments all over the country. This Bill does not deal with judgments particularly, but provides that where the rate of interest has not been fixed by the parties it shall be 5 per cent. I think that is a reasonable and proper thing. If, twenty-five years ago, the Parliament of Canada fixed as the rate in cases where there was no agreement between the parties 2 per cent. less than the current rate, surely we should not now fix a rate which is actually higher than the current rate. Six per cent. is now a high rate of interest.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—No; it is not.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps my hon. friend takes more than 6 per cent. out of his debtors in Lunenburg, but it is not usual throughout the Province. In fact, where the security is good, in the city of Halifax, and the same is true in all the older Provinces, the rate of interest on loans of \$4,000 or over is not more than 5 per cent.

HON. MR. SMITH—The rate is 6 per cent.

HON. MR. POWER—Cities are not growing as fast down in the lower Provinces as Toronto does.

HON. MR. SMITH—If you were of the same stamp down in Halifax you would grow in the same way, too.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman from Halifax shows an utter ignorance of the loaning institutions of Halifax and the rate of interest there. I have myself a little knowledge of it, because I have had several transactions there in the last six months, and I tell my hon. friend that there is no trouble on good real estate security in Halifax to get 7 per cent.

HON. MR. POWER—Oh! Oh!

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend pretends to know a great deal more than he really does about many things, and his practical knowledge is not all that he thinks it is. I tell the hon. gentleman that in Nova Scotia money is in greater demand now than it was twenty years ago. You could then get money in any part of Nova Scotia for 4 per cent., and now it can scarcely be got for less than 7 per cent. The hon. gentleman is talking of the time when there was no use for money—when people were glad to keep their cash at home, locked up in a chest; but it is quite different now. Money is in circulation, and it is bringing a large interest, commensurate with what the banks charge on short loans. That is my experience, notwithstanding the egotistical way in which my hon. friend speaks on this subject. I contend that instead of encouraging the investment of money throughout the country it will be driven into the banks, where it can be drawn out at any time if the rate is reduced to 5 per cent. Instead of benefiting the trade of the country my hon. friend's Bill would have the opposite effect.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I regret that the suggestion which came from the leader of the House has not been accepted, because it would be much more convenient to discuss this whole question together. He says this Bill is to amend a law which dates since 1864. He is entirely under a misapprehension about that, because the law which he proposes to amend is one that was passed only two years ago.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is mistaken. This law is taken from the

Consolidated Statutes of Canada, chapter 58, section 8, passed in 1864, and there was no attempt to alter it since.

HON. MR. DICKEY—But this law which we are asked to amend by my hon. friend's Bill is part of the Revised Statutes re-enacted two years ago. This Bill is a most dangerous measure, and it can only be a harvest for lawyers. The sixth clause, although it is written only different in one word from the clause in the Act which it proposes to amend, introducing the word "five" in place of "six," if it were adopted would have a most injurious effect. In speaking generally of the Dominion, and certainly of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the legal rate of interest has been from all times 6 per cent., and that is the limit, and that was the limit which was agreed to two years ago in the Revised Statutes. But if you pass this Bill, see what you do! In any case where there is no provision as to the amount of interest in an agreement, or note, or mortgage, or judgment, or anything else, the interest is reduced to 5 per cent. Supposing this were to become law, where would the poor people of this country be? Why, the securities would be called in at once, and that is the reason why I say it is a Bill for the benefit of lawyers and nobody else. Money lenders would have to call in their securities if they did not wish to have them rest at 5 per cent., for this Bill provides that you cannot collect more than 5 per cent.; although you may have been waiting on a man for ten, fifteen or twenty years at 6 per cent., from this time forth you could not collect more than 5 per cent., because there is no rate fixed. The result will be that hundreds and thousands of dollars that are at this moment lying without contract between parties, because they have not chosen to make any arrangement, both parties relying upon the legal rate of interest being 6 per cent., the position will be instantly changed, and the only recourse the man who loans money shall have hereafter is to call in the money and lend it to people who are willing to pay 6 per cent. I think it is a most dangerous Bill, and if my hon. friend had wished to have a fair discussion on it he would let it stand in the same position as the other Bill, which

bears nearly the same title as his own, and allowed the whole question to come up. At present we are not in a position to deal with it, and as my hon. friend has pressed his motion I shall move an amendment, that the Bill be not now read a second time, but that it be read a second time this day three months.

HON. MR. DEVER—I am opposed to the principle of the Bill and the Bill itself. When I came to Canada our monetary system was in a very bad state. We had laws in New Brunswick, and it was quite unsafe for a business man to transact business at all. After a great deal of discussion in the Legislature the usury laws were abolished. Money was made as free an article in the market as any other commodity, and instead of, as argued by those who held out for the old usury law, that money would leave the country, we found that it became lower when the limitation was taken off. Our law at present, as I understand it, is that where a transaction is reduced to paper you can take any reasonable amount for it, but where there is no written agreement then the legal interest is 6 per cent. That we do not consider too much in my country, and I think it would be very unpopular to change that law. I speak as a commercial man in behalf of commercial people. We are satisfied with the law as it is, and do not want this continuous tinkering, and altering, and meddling, so that we cannot tell from one year to another how our laws stand. At present you can obtain money at any price it can be had for in the market. It is plentiful, and nobody is opposed to paying 6 per cent. for it. I am opposed to altering the monetary system at present prevailing in New Brunswick. I do not know whether my hon. friend intends to confine this Bill to the Province of Nova Scotia. If that is his inclination I have no objection to it, but it would be no advantage to extend it to New Brunswick.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend from Halifax may desire to have a little more discussion on this Bill, and it is not too late yet if the hon. gentleman from Amherst would withdraw his amendment and let the Bill stand for discussion on Wednesday.

HON. MR. POWER.

HON. MR. POIRIER—I would like to vote with my hon. friend from Halifax, but I would prefer that he should leave it over until Wednesday. If I do vote for it now I do not know in what position I shall be when we find before us this same Session another Bill that will practically annul it. Within two days we shall be asked to vote on another Bill to make the rate uniform throughout the Dominion, and if I favor the Bill of my hon. friend now I would be in a sad predicament to have to vote against him then.

HON. MR. POWER—I presume from the expression of opinion I have heard from the House that the Bill will be rejected; and I think it is just as well to reject it now as to discuss it at greater length on Wednesday, and then reject it. On Wednesday the Government Bill comes up; and there is just this to be said with respect to it, that if this House had decided by the vote to-day that the rate of interest in cases where there is no contract should be 5 per cent., I presume the leader of the House, when he introduced his Bill for a uniform rate of interest on judgments all over the Dominion, would bow to the decision of this House, and make the rate 5 per cent. instead of 6, particularly as the Government Bill is not introduced to affect the rate at all. If I wait until Wednesday, and we adopt the first clause of the Government Bill, and decide that the rate shall be 6 per cent., where will this Bill be? So that although the offer of the leader of the House seems to be a very good one, when one comes to examine it it is not so good. The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg has informed us that he has no difficulty in lending money on real estate security in the city of Halifax at 7 per cent. I have had a good deal to do with that business, and I can tell my hon. friend, from the little I know about it, that he had better, when he goes home, scrutinize the security, for money can be got on good security in Halifax at 5 per cent.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend is mistaken.

HON. MR. POWER—I am not mistaken, for I have been engaged in the business in Halifax for some considerable time, and I happen to know that large sums of

money are invested at 5 per cent., for no better interest can be had where there is good security. As to the suggestion of the hon. gentleman from Amherst as to what would happen securities if my Bill were adopted, it is almost frivolous, and for this reason: In nearly all mortgages that I am aware of drawn in Nova Scotia, and I presume it is the same in other Provinces, the rate of interest is mentioned. This Bill will not affect parties where the rate of interest is named. Looking at the great fall in interest in the last twenty-five years, surely the reduction from 6 per cent. to 5 per cent. is not unreasonable.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Can my hon. friend tell me what the legal rate is in England, where there is no rate fixed?

HON. MR. POWER—It is not higher than 5 per cent., and I think the rate generally named is 4 per cent.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I would ask the hon. gentleman if that is a lower rate than the ordinary value of money.

HON. MR. POWER—I speak of our own country, of what the rate is here.

HON. MR. VIDAL—My hon. friend said that the objection raised by the hon. gentleman from Amherst is a frivolous one. To my mind it is a most important one. This House should not entertain this Bill for one moment, and for this reason that the country generally knows that the legal rate is 6 per cent., and a vast number of contracts are made without naming interest, and you would disturb millions of dollars invested in that way.

The amendment was declared carried on a division.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (17), "An Act to make further provision respecting the Speedy Trial of certain Indictable Offences." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (58), "An Act respecting the Berlin and Canadian Pacific Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Merner).

Bill (66), "An Act to ratify an Exchange of Land between the Ontario and Quebec Railway Company and the Land Security Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (69), "An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company." (Mr. Sutherland).

Bill (82), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and North Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Sutherland).

Bill (75), "An Act respecting the Bay of Quinté Bridge Company." (Mr. Flint).

Bill (26), "An Act to amend the Act respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships, Chap. 73 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 5:40 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 19th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (64), "An Act respecting the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

ST. GABRIEL RAILWAY AND LEVEE CO.'S BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported without amendment Bill (45), "An Act to revive and amend the Acts relating to the St. Gabriel Railway and Levee Company."

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved that the Bill be read the third time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is a clause in the Bill to which some of the Montreal corporation take exception. My attention has been called to it since the meeting of the committee this morning. I would ask my hon. friend to let the third reading stand until to-morrow.

The Bill was allowed to stand.

CENTRAL COUNTIES RAILWAY BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

HON. MR. DICKEY from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (33), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Prescott County Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to the Central Counties Railway Company," with an amendment, the object of which, he explained, was to strike out the power asked for to build a branch line from Rockland, on the Ottawa River, to the city of Ottawa.

HON. MR. CLEMOW moved that the amendment be concurred in.

HON. MR. CARVELL—The committee had this Bill before them for some time this morning, and heard a good deal *pro* and *con* with reference to it, and they say that, so far as this Session goes, there has been more discussion with regard to this particular Bill than we have had before. So far as I am concerned, as a member of that committee, I may say it passed under my nose without my knowing it. The hon. gentleman from Richmond moved an amendment to strike out the words in the twenty-seventh line "with a branch to the city of Ottawa." As I now understand, and as I then understood, it struck out all that followed in that section—else, I think, the section would not have passed. The section as it stood read:

"2. The company may also extend their line of railway from some point in the county of Stormont or Russell, on the line of the Canada Atlantic Railway Company, to the village of Rockland, with a branch to the city of Ottawa; and from a point in the Province of Quebec, opposite the said village, to the town of Buckingham, and up the Lièvre River and to Gilmour's Mills on the Gatineau River."

I may say that when the Bill first appeared before the committee this morning I was inclined to have it thrown out, because I thought it was unjust; there is a line partly constructed on which over \$100,000 has been spent, which, if this Bill in its present shape passes, not only parallels it but paralyzes it, and makes it valueless. Some well known citizens in Ottawa and vicinity have been connected

with this line for years, and they say if this Bill passes with this sub-section as it stands it will neutralize and destroy what might fairly be called vested rights. The nature of the country is such that there is no room for two lines, and I think if the committee had had an opportunity of considering it they would not have allowed this report to come in. Hon. gentlemen who were not present may not understand, perhaps, the way in which the business of our committee is sometimes managed. Outside people—solicitors, promoters and friends—come in and talk to the committee for and against the Bill until the committee sometimes is entirely out of patience. I think it was 1 o'clock, or nearly so, to-day when this thing came up and passed without any consideration.

HON. MR. MILLER—Does the hon. gentleman oppose the amendment?

HON. MR. CARVELL—I am not opposing the amendment made by the hon. gentleman from Richmond, but I am in favor of a further amendment—that is, the obliteration of the balance of that clause.

HON. MR. MILLER—If my hon. friend will allow me to make a suggestion, I think there was no difference of opinion as to the amendment I moved in regard to the road from Rockland to Ottawa being a parallel line. If my hon. friend will allow that amendment to be concurred in he can move at the third reading of the Bill the amendment which he desires.

HON. MR. DICKEY—And I would suggest that the third reading of the Bill be fixed for to-morrow.

HON. MR. CARVELL—All I want to point out is that while I concur with the hon. gentleman from Richmond in erasing the words that apply to a branch to the city of Ottawa, we ought to have gone further and struck out the balance of the clause. I will take the suggestion of the chairman of the committee, and postpone the consideration of the matter until to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to.

RESOURCES OF THE GREAT MACKENZIE BASIN.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. GIRARD rose to

Call the attention of the House to that part of the Dominion, known as the Great Mackenzie Basin, and the country eastward to Hudson's Bay; And enquire when the Government propose to introduce any measure for the better protection of the people, and the protection of the rich minerals, furs and fisheries, of that country?

He said: In calling attention to the Great Mackenzie Basin and the country eastward to Hudson Bay, I may be excused for occupying the time of the House while I place that country before Parliament as one of the most important and valuable portions of the Dominion. In our discussions this Session we have largely extended our field of observation, giving due consideration to the many questions of public interest that have come before us. The question that I now submit to your consideration is that of better protection for a portion of our people who are so distant from us, and are surrounded by so many difficulties in the way of communication with the rest of the Dominion that they have remained almost as total strangers in the Confederation.

The Indians of that country are, as all Indians are, improvident, poor and destitute, sometimes starving, but their condition can be improved by a kind protection and instruction in moral and religious principles.

The report made by a select committee of the Senate last Session, which must have received the attention of the people of this country, as it has commanded the attention of the people in Europe, proves that that far country is ready for organization, and that it is important for the Government to do it now, rather than it should be done by others who would keep the country for themselves.

A country which covers over one million of square statutory miles, with a coast line on the Arctic Ocean and Hudson Bay of about 5,000 miles, one half of this coast line easily accessible to whaling and sealing craft; with a river navigation of about 2,750 miles, and a total of about 6,500 miles of continuous lake coast and river navigation, is certainly worth looking after. A time will come when that river and lake

navigation will give connection with Vancouver and Victoria by way of the north Mackenzie, the Arctic Ocean, and Behring Straits and Sea; and who is able to tell what will be then the importance of this Dominion.

But that country is not only important because of its navigation; it is important, too, because of its lands. You find by referring to the reports of the committee that there is a possible area of over 1,380,000 square miles, suitable for potatoes, barley and wheat; with a pastoral area of 860,000 square miles, 26,000 miles are open prairie, and the remainder wooded; 400,000 square miles of the total area comprises the barren grounds.

We speak of that country as a cold country, but investigation has disclosed the fact, that cultivation makes a great difference in the weather, and it has been well proved that spring flowers and the buds of trees appear as early north of Great Slave Lake as at Winnipeg, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and earlier along the Peace, Liard, and some minor western affluents of the Great Mackenzie River, where the climate resembles that of western Ontario. So that it is not improbable that we may see before many years immigration going in that direction, and subduing all difficulties, as they have been subdued in Manitoba and the North-West. At one time we were of opinion that the severity of the climate and the difficulties of communication would be an impediment to any extensive settlement of that Province. Yet, in less than twenty years we have done a very important work in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

Nevertheless, we are all proud of our position in that part of the country, and it is not without a strong feeling of satisfaction that I have put before you the efforts that have been made from time to time to bring to the notice of Parliament the resources of a country which, less than twenty years ago, was considered to be an unknown desert. Even in Manitoba, at that time, there was no population which would compare with the vast, extensive territory to be found there for settlement. There were no settlers in the North-West Territories, though at the present time you will find at least one-quarter of a million of inhabitants in that

country. I see that in Manitoba there is a population of 125,000, and in the North-West 100,000, who are making for themselves comfortable homes and a profitable living, and will in a few years add greatly to the strength of the Dominion. I predict that in the no distant future a large bulk of the revenue and wealth of the Dominion will come from those territories. All that has been done within a short period, and to-day if I call the attention of this hon. House to that unknown portion of our vast territory, the Mackenzie Basin, it is because I think there are millions of dollars there which can be realized by the Dominion Government if something is done to open up communication with and develop the resources of that country. We all remember that not many years ago the territory of Alaska was sold by Russia to the United States for \$7,000,000. To-day the United States Government, if they were offered seven times \$7,000,000 would, I am sure, refuse to sell that territory; and they would be right in refusing it, because if there is a part of the American territory where natural wealth abounds it is certainly in Alaska. In the same way, although the Great Mackenzie Basin is supposed now to be a vast wilderness, there is untold wealth there also—not in population, but in its mines, in its fisheries, in its rich pastures and its timber; and it will not long be permitted to remain in its present solitude. The report of the committee appointed to enquire into the resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin last Session says, in regard to the fisheries of that region:

“Salmon are abundant in the rivers and along the coast of the north-west side of Hudson's Bay, as well as in the rivers of the northern shores of the continent. Your committee consider it advisable that means should be adopted to ascertain more accurately the extent and value of the salmon fisheries of these regions, with a view to utilizing them for the purposes of commerce and for the revenue which they may afford.”

It is not sufficient to rest content with having so rich a possession in the North-West; we must do something to develop it. For years we discussed the question of the National Policy. I present this question to-day as one of national policy. I understand by a national policy, all schemes and projects which are calculated to bring wealth into the country, to induce

immigration into the country and to promote its prosperity. It is extending our limits and finding out how to become more wealthy and more prosperous, and giving to the country the necessary legislation to promote those objects. I think it is the duty of the Government to provide protection for that country. At present it has no protection. There are some justices of the peace appointed there by the Hudson Bay Company, but there is no protection at all for the Indian. The Indians in that basin number over 20,000 souls, and while it is not absolutely for the Indians protection is required, steps should be taken to keep that country for ourselves. At the present time there is danger of expeditions coming over from the United States and taking possession of that territory. Fifty resolute men, armed with supplies and ammunition, would be sufficient to hold the Mackenzie River against any force that could be sent against them at present, owing to the difficulty of getting into that country. It would be a serious matter to the Dominion to lose so important a portion of our territory as the Great Mackenzie Basin. I do not know whether I can succeed in creating the same impression in the breast of every other member of this House that exists in mine, but my own conviction is that that Territory is the richest part of our Dominion. There is also a certain amount of protection due to the Indians, whose position it is possible to improve. They are educated, to a certain extent, by the missionaries, and some of them become valuable citizens; but I think that industrial schools should be established there, as in other parts of the North-West, where the Indians could either be taught trades or to cultivate the soil, so as to induce them to make their own living. They are as intelligent as the aborigines in any other part of the world. Even on the shores of the Arctic Sea we find Esquimaux tribes who are distinguished by their intelligence and their capacity to do any work that they are called upon to do, and they deserve the protection of the Government, especially by establishing schools amongst them where they could receive some education. Generally, at the present time, they are able to read and write in syllabic characters, but that is not enough. Possibly at some time in the future we may be able to use

that country as a reserve for all the Indians. A good deal could be done to promote the interests of the people of that country. Nothing has been done yet. I do not blame the Government for it, but I consider it my duty to call their attention to the matter. That race cannot long remain in its present position. If we cannot do something for the protection of that part of the country others will step in, and our property will pass to others. We have in that country the largest reserve and the finest furs in the world. Some protection should be given to the fur-bearing animals. For instance, we are informed that strychnine is used to destroy foxes. In some parts of the Dominion the use of poison for such purposes is prohibited, because it is not merely the foxes that are destroyed, but the poison remains on the ground for a long time, and causes great destruction to other animals. I think, in that country, as in other portions of Canada, the use of poison for killing animals should be prohibited. Then, with regard to the fisheries: there is no law to protect them. I do not see why we should not adopt some measure of protection. Sometimes I have thought it would be possible to establish some organization among the Indians and the Hudson Bay Company's employes in that country, who are generally men possessing some education. They should be charged by the Government with looking after the general order of the country, and making regulations for the protection of the fisheries, of the fur-bearing animals and of the mines and forests, pending a more complete organization. I make the suggestion to the Government with the hope that they will find it possible to make some movement in that direction. I learn that a considerable amount of Customs duties is collected at Hudson Bay ports every year. At York Factory and Churchill, in 1885, the amount collected was \$8,227; in 1886 it was \$7,660, and in 1888 it was \$9,388; and there was some \$600 or \$800 collected on goods brought into the country by way of the Stickeen River. Is it reasonable on the part of the Government to collect this money without giving any aid or protection to that vast region? They now give nothing more than some \$300 or \$400 a year for maintaining schools. It is

all right enough to collect the Customs duties, but the money should be expended in the education of the people and the protection of their interests. The fisheries certainly need some protection, especially the whale fisheries, which are found at the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Unless they receive some protection soon the whale will soon disappear from the region. In the report of last Session on the subject I find the following :

"Only a few years ago these animals had a much more extensive range than at the present time. Owing to improvements in navigation and methods of capture they have, of late years, fallen an easier prey to their pursuers, and have taken shelter in the less frequented seas of the northern coasts of Canada. Now they are being pursued to their last retreat by foreign whalers, and some species are threatened with complete extinction in a few years if this condition continues. It is to be borne in mind that whales are long-lived and slow-breeding animals. The American whalers attack them with harpoons, explosive bombs and lances, fired from large swivel guns carried on steam launches, instead of the old fashioned weapons thrown by hand from row boats. These methods not only destroy the whales with great facility, but inspire the survivors with such terror that they seek the most distant and inaccessible parts of the northern seas, and have entirely disappeared from the water in which they lived only a few years ago."

The protection of the fisheries will become necessary in some way. There is a disposition on the part of the people to destroy everything of the kind when there is no protection. I think, also, that a law for the protection of fur-bearing animals would have a good effect in that country. I do not suppose that the Indians would conform to it, but they would be encouraged in respecting the law by the white people who are living there, with very beneficial results to the whole country. There is another way in which the Indians can be helped. It appears that there were some cases of starvation a couple of years ago, due to the fact that the Indians were without nets. I think it would be only right to expend some of the money collected at the Hudson Bay ports in purchasing nets for the Indians. We cannot permit them to become destitute and starve when it is possible to help them. You may ask how is it that in a country of such large and varied resources anyone is destitute? The explanation is that they are Indians, and it is the nature of the Indian to live in destitution and poverty. They do not know any better, but when

they become educated and are taught to work, and shown the advantage to be derived from industrious habits, they will soon become self-sustaining. I have, no doubt, wearied the House in my efforts to bring this matter before them in a language with which I am not familiar, and I have to thank hon. gentlemen for the kindly manner in which you have received my remarks. I hope that my appeal to the Government will receive some consideration, and will have the effect of helping that section of the country, in whose interests I am so deeply concerned.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the House has reason to be grateful to the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface. We were afraid, and I think I expressed the dread myself at an earlier period of the Session, that the departure from this House of the hon. gentleman from Selkirk (Dr. Schultz) would leave no advocate of the Great Mackenzie Basin behind; but I am pleased to see that the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface is bound to supply, as far as he can, the place of the hon. gentleman who has gone; and I might say, judging from what he has done this Session, that he is filling the bill remarkably well. There was one point in the speech of the hon. gentleman and in the notice that he has given that I think deserves the serious attention of the Government. He enquires whether the Government propose to introduce any measure for the better protection of the people, and of the rich minerals, furs and fisheries of that far country. It will be remembered, possibly, by hon. gentlemen, that in the report of last year's committee there was a recommendation that the Government should take steps to protect the fisheries and the wild animals of the Mackenzie River Basin, and I think that that is really one of the things that the Government ought to do; and I hope that when the leader of the House comes to answer the hon. gentleman's enquiry he will inform us that the Government have taken steps to protect the fisheries and the fur-bearing animals of that country. As to the protection of the people, I presume that the Government do not allow spirituous liquors to be taken into that country, and that is the principal protection that just now we can give to them.

HON. MR. GIRARD.

But the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface insisted very vigorously on the necessity of protecting the fisheries of that country; and then a little later on he said he thought it was the duty of the Government to buy nets for the Indians. Now, there is no more speedy way of destroying the fish in that country than by netting them, and I am rather disposed to hope that the Government will not comply with the last suggestion of the hon. gentleman. I think hook and line and spear are the proper implements to catch the fish in those waters. If the Indians are furnished with nets they will very soon deplete the waters of the Mackenzie country of their fish.

HON. MR. TURNER—I should not like to allow the two motions made by my hon. friend to pass without saying a few words. I have taken a very great interest, not only in the North-West, but in the work of the special committees of enquiry of the two last sessions. The first was in 1887, on the natural food products of the North-West. The committee of this House appointed at that time went into that very fully, and I think to the now Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba is due almost entirely, if any honor is to be received for the result of the labors of that committee, the credit for the amount of information obtained by the committees of 1887 and 1888. Last year the enquiry developed into that of the Reserve of the Mackenzie Basin, and our late colleague showed an amount of energy and took an amount of trouble for which he deserves great credit. I sent a very large number of copies of the report of that committee to England, and spread them broadcast from Land's End to John O'Groat's House. From almost every place I sent them I have received very satisfactory letters of acknowledgment, expressing astonishment at the immense country we possess. What seems to have forcibly struck both the literary, the newspaper and the commercial men from whom I heard, is the fact that the isothermal lines run northward in the western part of the Dominion, and that in our far north-western country we can produce so many varieties of cereals and vegetables. That seemed to astonish them more than anything else, and that fact alone being

brought prominently before the people of England will, in itself, do a great deal of good, in showing that we possess something more than a frozen country; that while on the Atlantic coast the climate is rigorous and the summers are short, in the same latitude, in the valley of the Mackenzie, the climate is temperate, and permits of the cultivation of many varieties of cereals. I had a number of letters, but I shall not trouble the House with reading them. I should like, however, to place the following article from the *Glasgow Herald*, of the 7th December last, in our *Debates*. It is as follows:

"The world is still very young after all, and there is plenty of room for 'expansion,' even after the most generous Seeleyan pattern. One does not need to go to the steppes of Asia, or the coral reefs and swamps of Oceania, or the jungles and deserts of Africa, in search of breathing-spaces for the surplus populations of congested nationalities. Between the frontier of the United States and the northern boundary which the spread-eagle finds in imagination in the Arctic Circle there is enough vacant land bending, or at least subject, to the sway of the British flag on which to find 'lots' of considerably more than three acres, and adapted by nature for much more than the support of cows, for all the Highland crofters, Irish peasants, and English agricultural laborers whom we are likely to have upon our hands within the next century or so. Manitoba and the North-West Territory are no longer either unknown or unoccupied countries, and British Columbia offers many attractions to the immigrant. Almost countless numbers of square miles of fertile land are still waiting utilisation in these regions, and so long as the pace be not forced too rapidly the occupation of them will assuredly bring relief to one hemisphere, wealth to another, and comfort to both. But there is a newer world still within the limits of the New World which even now is practically as little known as the centre of Africa—with this difference, however, that all that is known is in its favor.

"The 'Great Reserve' of the Dominion of Canada—a tract of country which has been for months the subject of close and careful investigation by a select committee of the Senate, whose interim report lies before us—covers an area of 1,260,000 square miles, without counting the islands of the Arctic Archipelago. It has a sea coast-line—exclusive of many inlets and deeply-indented bays—of 5,000 miles, of which one-half is easily accessible to whalers and sealers; a lake coast-line—and only the large lakes are estimated—of 4,000 miles; and a river navigation of 2,750 miles, of which 1,360 miles are deep enough for light sea-going steamers, and the remainder is suitable for stern-wheel steamers towing barges. In the total of 6,500 miles of lake-coast and river navigation there are only two breaks, one of twenty miles and one of seventy miles, both surmountable. This is the Great Mackenzie Basin—the area drained by that remarkable river which rises in the Rocky Mountains, on the borders of British Columbia, and falls through several months into the Arctic Ocean. The committee have ascer-

tained that within this immense territory there is a possible area of 656,000 square miles fitted for the growth of potatoes, 407,000 square miles suitable for the cultivation of barley, and 316,000 square miles suitable for the cultivation of wheat. Such figures as these are simply bewildering to the small-acre Briton, whose modest hope is of some day converting the ten-acre croft into a thirty or fifty-acre farm, not by discovering new land, but by amalgamating holdings and deporting those for whom there is no room. And even this is not all, for the committee are satisfied that there are 860,000 square miles of pastoral area, 274,000 miles of which may be considered arable, and 26,000 miles of which are open prairie. The barren area within the territory is estimated at 400,000 square miles, and is at present considered useless for either man or beast. It may perhaps be necessary to point out that these figures are not intended to be added together; what is meant is that of the total of 1,260,000 square miles, portions may be regarded from different points of view. The chief commercial product of this northern world at present is its furs, and the region is especially interesting as being the 'last great fur preserve of the world.' But it has been discovered that along the headwaters of the western affluents of the Mackenzie River there are from 150,000 to 200,000 square miles of more or less auriferous land, while gold has been found also on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and is believed to exist in portions of the barren area. Silver, copper and other valuable minerals are all known to exist in the Mackenzie Basin, but the deposits of petroleum promise to be the largest source of mineral wealth. Were the Hudson's Bay route to England opened up it is believed that there is enough petroleum in the Mackenzie Basin to make us independent of Pennsylvania.

"Until now this vast region has remained as unknown as the interior of Australia, for although Arctic explorers have followed the coast line and descended two of the rivers which flow into the Arctic Sea they have had no eyes for the matters which have engaged the attention of the committee of investigation. There is the question of climate, of course, but it is to be noted that in the arable and pastoral area of this territory latitude bears no direct relation to summer isotherms. To put it otherwise, spring flowers and the buds of deciduous trees appear in these northern latitudes as early as, and in some places along the western affluents of the Mackenzie even earlier than, at Winnipeg, Minneapolis or Ottawa. The native grasses are reported equal to those of Eastern Canada, and the prevailing south-west summer winds bring that warmth and moisture which render possible the growth of cereals in far northern limits. The winters, of course, must be severe, but the coal and lignite deposits are very extensive, and the forest area is enormous, much of the timber being adapted both for house and ship-building, mining, railways, and bridging. The wealth of food and oil-producing fish in the lakes and along the coasts is simply incalculable, and the statement that trout are often found in the lakes reaching forty pounds in weight is enough to fire with deathless ambition all the devoted anglers, the pride of whose life it is to kill a salmon in a Highland loch. For the rest, it has been ascertained that even in the northernmost portion of this territory—that is to say, between the mouths of the Mackenzie and Behring's Straits—navigation is open for three months of the year. Eastwards to Hudson's Bay and southwards to the Canadian provinces com-

HON. MR. TURNER.

munication can, of course, be kept up much longer and by railway extension all the year round. Such, then, are the general features of the Great Mackenzie Basin, including the most extensive petroleum field in the known world, and comprising an area greater than that of the Australian Continent, or equal to two-thirds of the area of Europe. The committee concludes by affirming that they have reason to believe 'that a comparison of the capabilities of this extent of country in our own continent exceeds in extent of navigation, area of arable and pastoral lands, valuable fresh-water fisheries, forests and mines, and in capacity to support population,' the equivalent area on the Continent of Europe. The total white population in the Mackenzie Basin at present is under 250, and the Indian population is sparse and peaceable, resembling in character the Indians of British Columbia. Of course, one is accustomed to such very sanguine views of life in Canada that there is a prudent disposition always to allow a margin for Canadian optimism. But from what has been said it will be seen that room is left for liberal margin, and also for a handsome residue. In fact, it is almost impossible to resist the impression that in this 'Great Reserve' of the Dominion there is material for the making of a new world."

The name that was given to that report was, I think, a very good one—The Mackenzie Reserve. The great trouble we have in the North-West, in my opinion, is that our settlers and settlements are scattered over almost infinitude, and I think if you increase that difficulty you are going to do the settlement of that country a good deal of harm. It is better that we should help those parties who are now settled there; and we should bear in mind that some of them settled in that country almost under false pretences—I mean those who live on the North Saskatchewan. It was originally intended to build the Canadian Pacific Railway two or three hundred miles north of the route finally adopted. I think in the interests of the country, and of the railway itself that the present location is the better one, but it was a disappointment to those who settled on the Saskatchewan in the full expectation that the railway, having been surveyed there, would be built by the northern route. Now, I think it is our duty to assist in providing those people with railway communication. I have always had a very strong opinion on that subject, and in the very last conversation that I had with the late Hon. Thomas White he agreed most thoroughly with me on the subject.

HON. MR. MACFARLANE—Have you any information as to the number of people settled there?

HON. MR. TURNER—It is well settled, and a very fine country, too. The trouble is that every place thinks its own point the best of all. My policy has always been to build a line—I do not care whether it is the extension of the Manitoba & North-Western or the Long Lake—to Prince Albert. At that point you reach a river which is navigable for 600 miles westward through a country every portion of which is suitable for settlement. The navigation of the river is interrupted by rapids east of Prince Albert, but above Prince Albert the river is navigable for light draught vessels for a considerable portion of the season. A railway being built northward to Prince Albert, a light class of vessels would be able to utilize the river as far up as Edmonton, and would furnish a splendid means of settling the poorer classes of immigrants and placing them where there is good land and plenty of wood and water.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—There are steamers on the river now, are there not?

HON. MR. TURNER—Yes; but they are too large. Steamers for that river should not draw more than 18 inches of water to be effective at all seasons of navigation. Such vessels could navigate from Prince Albert to Edmonton without the slightest trouble. There is one thing, and that is really what was the cause of this Mackenzie River Basin enquiry—the fact as to whether the buffalo was extinct or not. I was exceedingly sorry when I learned that the Stoney Mountain buffalo had emigrated to the south of the line. This report of the committee last year proved completely that there are buffalo in the Mackenzie River reserve. And I would urge upon the Government that if they desire to preserve any animals they should try to preserve the buffalo.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I can assure my hon. friend from Winnipeg that the Government do not yield even to himself in anxiety for the proper protection of the people within the limits, but at present they find it rather difficult to decide what measure of protection lies within their power, or rather within the limits of the

expenditure which they could afford to devote to it, and how far any such measure of protection as my hon. friend advocates would be favorably received by the scattered people who inhabit the Mackenzie River country. My hon. friend speaks of protection of fish and fur-bearing animals. This territory at present, though I am satisfied it is capable of sustaining a large population, is inhabited, almost exclusively, with the sole exception of some missionaries and Hudson Bay Company's officials, by tribes of Indians.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Migratory, too.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They are very much scattered over the country and not settled in their habits. These people live almost entirely by fishing and hunting, and I do not know how far the introduction of the system of protecting fish and fur-bearing animals would either be pleasant or advantageous to these people. We heard last winter of these tribes of Indians being in a great state of distress. They were actually, we were told, on the verge of starvation, if not actually starving. I believe that those statements were a good deal exaggerated. They were so, according to the information we had at that time; but it is tolerably obvious that these people have not anything to spare in the way of providing for their existence, and that if we were to impose a restriction on the catching of fish or on the killing of animals it might cause serious difficulties, actually, in their being able to preserve life. How far this danger might extend I do not know, and it is not easy to ascertain, but at all events it is obvious that that is a consideration of very great importance in attempting any measure of protection in that country. The duties of which my hon. friend speaks are collected, I fancy, at the Hudson Bay posts to the north, and a large portion of these duties, which are but small in themselves, must no doubt be paid upon the food and clothing and other imported articles used by the people themselves at those Hudson Bay Company's posts. At all events, it would be a dangerous principle to establish, and difficult to regulate, that there should be a balancing of interest between the Government and

any section of the people as to the duties which are collected in the posts adjoining the residence of these people. On what principle is the division to be made? How much is to be deducted from it to pay expenses? A thousand questions would arise. The fact is, I think these people will be eventually obliged to share in the fate and in the lot of the rest of the people of the Dominion. Such appropriation of the revenues of the country as may be deemed expedient, proper and just to be devoted to their protection, will have to be so devoted, no doubt, but I do not know that we could do it upon any arbitrary plan of that description. I shall bring before my colleagues what my hon. friend has said on those subjects. His statements will afford them a large measure of information beyond what they already possess on it, and although no measure is contemplated this Session on the subject the matter will receive consideration before the next Session of Parliament.

THE VETERANS OF THE WAR OF 1812.

MOTION.

HON. MR. GUÉVREMONT moved

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General, praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House, a list, giving the names of the Veterans of the War of 1812 actually living, with their place of residence and the amounts of their respective pensions.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Government will have pleasure in bringing down the returns which my hon. friend desires.

The motion was agreed to.

THE LOWRY DIVORCE CASE.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved that the seventh report of the Select Committee on Divorce *re* Bill (G), "An Act for the relief of William Gordon Lowry," be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, on a division.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved that the Bill be now read a third time.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I should like to ask my hon. friend to postpone the third reading of the Bill until to-morrow.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. CLEWOW—If there is any substantial reason for postponing it I have no objection.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I want to move an amendment.

HON. MR. VIDAL—You can move it now as well as any other time.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I want to move a six months' hoist. As a matter of principle I am opposed altogether to divorce, but where there are very grave reasons why a woman should not be obliged to live with a brute of a husband, or a man should not be obliged to live with a base, low woman, I would exercise my right to refrain from voting. But in a case like this, after reading the evidence carefully, I must confess I have come to a different conclusion, and that I look upon this as a put up job—to use a common phrase—by the parties interested. I find, in the first place, that these parties were married on the 12th of September, 1887; they lived together for three weeks; the woman then left him. He went after her and asked the reason why she left him. She replied that she could not live happily with him, but did not upon that occasion tell the reason why. A few days after that he went back to her again, and she said to him she could not live with him because she could not be happy—that she had been a little indiscreet with a man named Wilson before she married, and that she was in the family way. My experience as a medical man and as a man of the world is, that that story is a little fishy, because I never knew in my life a case where a woman had ever, without being pressed by her friends or by her husband, and for a motive confessed to a thing of that kind in that manner. In the next place, the evidence shows that in the month of November—about two months afterwards—a blacksmith named Wright was asked by this man Wilson, the seducer of Mrs. Lowry, to invite Mrs. Lowry to his (Wright's) house. It was about the middle of November, probably six weeks or two months after she was married. Wilson wanted to see her, he said, as he was sorry for what had taken place. Wright gets Mrs. Lowry to come to his house. Wilson and Mrs. Lowry met in

Wright's house at eight o'clock at night; Wright and his wife were present, in the kitchen. They chatted together as neighbors and freinds for two hours, and then Wright and his wife retired to bed. At one o'clock in the morning he hears Mr. Wilson going away—the lights were out. A child is born of this woman on the 23rd of April, 221 days after her marriage, as I calculate the time; and as the ordinary time is 280 days it made it only 59 days short of the usual period. It is true that the doctor who attended the woman in confinement said that the child had come to maturity, and I am not willing to dispute that; but I do dispute that the woman was in a position to say that she was in that condition when she was married. In the month of June the petitioner takes with him another neighbor to go and interview his wife for the purpose of hearing whatever statement she might make, so that it could be brought up against her in evidence. This neighbor appeared to be very reluctant about going, knowing that the thing was coming up in evidence. Still, he went to the house, and when Lowry asked his wife if she was guilty of adultery in the blacksmith's house she declined to answer. Lowry then conveniently leaves, and this man, the witness, says to her: "Now, you know I am here as a witness against you; are you guilty of the crime?" and she confesses. Could there be anything more fishy or more like a put-up job than that? It so appears to me, and for that reason I shall vote against the report. This is the evidence we have of the adultery:

"Q. Had you occasion to see them again? A. I never saw her but once since that

"Q. When and where? A. I think it was in June last.

"Q. Under what circumstances? A. Mr. Lowry came to me and told me he was going to go before his wife and ask her if she had committed adultery with John James Wilson, and he wanted a witness. He asked me if I had any objections to go. I told him I did not like to go at first; still, I knew both of them, and I consented to go. I went there ahead of Lowry and I talked with Florence for a while in the room, and he came in, and his brother, I think it was, and he put those questions to her, if there was such a thing as adultery committed at John Wright's. She made no answer; she never answered him at all. They got up and went out.

"Q. Who? A. The Lowry's. There was no person in the room only Florence and myself. We got talking for a while there; she played some on the organ, and after a while I told her it was a terrible thing, this scrape that they got into; and I asked her, in like manner, if she knew that I was there as

a witness. She said: 'Yes.' I said: 'Anything you tell me, I am brought here as a witness, and it will come against you' This was after the Lowry's went out; there was just herself and I. She said she knew that. I told her I was sorry to hear the rumor of what occurred at Wright's. I asked her if it was so that adultery was committed at John Wright's. I said, in like manner, 'Florrie, if you do not like to answer it is all right, because I am sorry for you, and that is the reason I put those questions.' She said: 'I am sorry too; there was adultery committed at Wright's.' That was all I talked to her about the matter."

I ask hon. gentlemen if that does not look like a put-up job in order to accomplish what he sought here? If it is not, I certainly cannot read the evidence in the same light that other hon. gentlemen read it. I am free to confess that the hon. gentlemen who are members of the committee, who see the witnesses and hear how they answer the questions put to them, can judge, perhaps, better than I can what weight should be attached to it; but I am taking the evidence as it appears in the paper before us, and from it I cannot come to any other conclusion than that they were playing a game of blackmail on this poor woman, or that it was an understood matter from the start.

HON. MR. CARVELL—Who seeks the divorce?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The husband. The wife does not seem to oppose it at all. My object in opposing the Bill is to stamp this kind of thing out. If there are cases where divorce is sought on proper grounds I am willing to allow those who approve of divorce to exercise their right to vote for or against it; but in a case like this I am bound to vote against it every time; and I, therefore, propose to divide the House on it, by moving, as I now do, that this Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be read the third time this day six months.

HON. MR. GOWAN—As chairman of the committee it becomes me to say a few words in respect to this case. The evidence is short and the proof is, to my mind, conclusive. My hon. friend, from whom I am exceedingly sorry to differ on this occasion, had not the advantage of hearing the witnesses give their testimony. The petitioner in this case is a young farmer twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, a very respectable looking young

man, and his demeanor in giving his evidence most favorably impressed me, as it did, I think, every member of the committee. And so with regard to every witness that was examined before us. The facts of the case, as brought out by my hon. friend, were, very shortly, these: The young man married this young woman; they lived together some three weeks. His conduct throughout was that of a good and kind husband, and he seemed to be very fond of his wife. In the course of about three weeks she deserted her husband and her home. He was dreadfully depressed in consequence. He saw her, and sought to induce her to come back, and asked her if she had anything to complain of. She complained of nothing, but said she could not live happily with him. He went a second time to her and saw her, and used the same argument to try and induce her to come back. He really showed by his manner in giving his testimony and the sorrowful expression upon his countenance, moved to tears, as he was, that he was painfully sorry for what had occurred. The last time he was with her she said to him that she "had to do" (that was the expression) with another man—Wilson. He left her at once in deep distress. Some time afterwards he heard of the circumstance, which was narrated to us afterwards in evidence, which at once convinced him that his unfortunate wife, guilty of immorality before her marriage, by her own confession had been guilty of the heinous crime of adultery. I think he took the course that would occur to any honorable, high-minded man to take, although he was but an humble farmer. He wished to hear from her own mouth what she had to say, and he approached a mutual friend, not a friend of his in particular, but a friend of hers as well, a neighboring farmer, who lived within a few miles of him and had known them both from childhood, or for several years afterwards. He asked him to come with him to see this woman, who was living with some relative or friend, and he asked her if she would not acknowledge her shame to her husband, and she would give him no answer to the question that was put. He and some relatives that were with him, failing to elicit any answer to the question, left. The mutual friend that he brought with him remained,

and he had a conversation with this woman afterwards, and told her that he was there as a witness, and did not disguise the fact that he came there as a witness to hear what she had to say. He did not push her to give her answer; on the contrary, he showed great reluctance to hear anything on the matter, and she then and there acknowledged her guilt to him—that she had committed adultery upon this particular occasion at Wright's. I admit, as my hon. friend has said, the extreme imprudence of the blacksmith in bringing those two people together. I am not aware, nor do I know that it came out in evidence, that the blacksmith had any knowledge that improper intercourse had existed between Wilson and this young married woman before she was married. However, he knew that they were friends, and he knew that Wilson either was, or professed to be, exceedingly sorry and grieved at the fact of her leaving her husband in the condition she was; and, at the instance of this Wilson, he invited her to meet Wilson at his house. They came, and remained until ten o'clock, when the blacksmith and his wife went to bed, leaving them there together—a most imprudent act, a most dangerous act, under the circumstances. This imprudence, which possibly led to this serious matrimonial crime, cannot be charged in any way against the petitioner. He is certainly not to be held answerable for that. The simple question that the committee had to decide was whether she was guilty or not, and the circumstances went strongly to show that she was, and her own admission to this witness fully confirmed it. Perhaps there is no man in this House who takes a stronger view than I do with regard to the duty of the Senate in looking carefully into every question of this kind coming before us for consideration, and short of a sacramentarian view, which I do not hold, I think there is no one in this House who entertains a stronger appreciation of the necessity of the greatest possible care being taken before recognizing facts that in effect dissolve the sacred bond of marriage. I can assure this House that the body of gentlemen who were selected by the Senate to enquire into this matter has given it the greatest care in considering this case, and I think I speak

the sentiments of every member of the committee when I say that we one and all thought this was a case in which the facts fully and fairly entitle this young man to the relief that he asks. I would never be a party to any proceeding of this kind, leading to the dissolution of the sacred tie of marriage, if I did not have the amplest evidence for the support of every necessary allegation; and if I believed that there was anything like collusion in the matter I certainly would be utterly unwilling that a single step should be taken towards relief. Parties coming into this House asking for relief seek a privilege. They do not come, as they do to a court of law, asking that justice should be done on the evidence submitted. They ask a favor—a privilege. They ask that an Act of Parliament should be passed, and I think we might well require, in granting such a privilege, that every one who approaches Parliament in that way shall come with clean hands—shall come with a case untainted with anything like collusion. Of course, we enquired into that case specially, as committees always do, and there was nothing in the circumstances to warrant the conclusion that there was collusion between the parties. I am sorry that my hon. friend has arrived at the decision that it was a put-up case. I have had some experience in testimony, and I think my mind is not so constituted that it would be carried away by any feeling in the matter, and I certainly must say that I can scarcely conceive a case where the evidence of the facts was clearer and where the negative evidence of collusion was clearer. I humbly submit that the chosen body of the Senate, who are primarily the judges, and, perhaps, in a certain sense, the best judges as to the facts of the case in regard to there being collusion or not, and having had the advantage of hearing the witnesses, I never joined in any finding that I could do so more conscientiously than I can in this.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am quite pleased that yesterday, when this matter came up for consideration and report, I suggested that the House should first be possessed of the evidence, and I am pleased to see that my hon. friend from Lancaster has brought this matter before the consid-

eration of the House, for I think it has been too much the case in the past that the report of the committee appointed to investigate these matters was generally taken as a matter of course to be right, and very little consideration has been given by the House to such reports or the evidence upon which they are founded. Therefore, I am glad to see now that there seems to be a desire on the part of the House, not only to consider the evidence, but for each man for himself to come to a proper judgment upon the case. I may say that the circumstances of this case were not as strong as in many cases we have had before us, in which there has been more conclusive evidence; but the facts as they came before us, the disposition of the witnesses, the character of the witnesses which have all been described so well by my hon. friend, were so conclusive, that the committee repelled any idea of there being a put-up job, as spoken of by the hon. gentleman from Lancaster. I felt that I could not help but sustain the rest of the committee in the finding at which they arrived.

HON. MR. SULLIVAN—In seconding the resolution of the hon. gentleman I think it is only right that I should say a few words in explanation. I have unlimited confidence in the hon. gentlemen who compose this committee, combining, as they do, a large amount of the legal talent and the integrity of this body: therefore, it is not because I have no confidence in their not giving due attention to this matter that I second the resolution which my hon. friend has proposed. It is simply because, on reading the testimony and studying it very closely, as any hon. gentleman would, that I came to the conclusion there was not sufficient evidence to warrant the committee in recommending this divorce. I understand the practice of this Senate to be that it is only on most incontrovertible evidence of adultery divorce can be granted. If that be so, I submit that the evidence in this case does not furnish that convincing proof to one reading it which it ought to do. I submit that there should have been some evidence to show the character of this woman. This petitioner who, according to the testimony of the learned judge, exhibited such evidence of good character, should have made due enquiry into the character of

the partner with whom he was to spend the happiest portion of his life. Men do not rush into these matters without some reflection, at all events, and if he had given the attention which he should have done to enquiring into her character I submit that he would have found out her depravity, because a woman as depraved as this evidence would lead us to believe must be very depraved indeed who could coolly tell her husband what I conceive to be a most mendacious assertion—that she was three weeks pregnant, on one of their first interviews. It is a matter of impossibility for a woman to tell whether she is three weeks pregnant or not, and unless she wanted to escape from what she considered to be thralldom of some kind I can only understand it in that way. The evidence should show, I submit, what character this woman was. Why was not some one called to prove that she had improper intercourse with Wilson if he was there that evening in the blacksmith's house when those people went to bed. There is no evidence there of immorality before marriage, and I could not find evidence of adultery after marriage. I do not think it is within the rule of the Senate to go into the characters of people previous to marriage. Therefore, I fail to see that there is that indubitable evidence before us that there should be to prove adultery to have been committed. I believe that we are all proud of the fact that the marriage tie is held in such respect in this country, and I perceive the difficulties under which a man labors in criticizing the conduct of the committee in not hearing further evidence. Ignorant, as I am, of the proceedings of judicial courts, I can fully appreciate the force of the remark which the hon. chairman of the committee has made as to the impression made by witnesses in giving their evidence; but I submit that to my mind there is not sufficient evidence before us of adultery having been committed after marriage. I think there should be some evidence to show that this woman was a depraved character; she could not have plunged into such iniquity at once after her marriage. That struck me as singular, and although it may inconvenience the petitioner some by not passing this divorce, still I think it will be in the best

interests of justice and in the interest of society at large that the Bill should not be granted.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—While I observe that the petitioner, while before the committee, impressed the chairman very favorably with his great experience in taking evidence, I have no doubt that there was good reason for it. For all that, we are human beings, and as such frail, and we may sometimes be impressed when there is no just cause for it. To carry this Bill into effect it separates man and wife. To do that the evidence should be clear and without question, and the crime which leads to it and which gives power to the Senate to deal with these cases is one that there does not seem any evidence of here. Now, take this husband, and instead of placing him in the light in which the chairman has placed him, as a respectable man, favorably impressing the committee—take him as a deep-dyed ruffian, who wants to be separated from this woman; he lays his designs, with his good looks and good-natured appearance which he wears before the committee, and which often are put on to produce the very effect which seems to have been felt by my hon. friend the chairman. But where is the evidence of adultery? All I see in the world is a husband, who is anxious to be separated, telling what the wife had told him. That is all the evidence there is on the point I am speaking of. She was three weeks married, and she confessed to him her infidelity. I hear medical men on both sides of me say that she herself could not tell the fact that she was pregnant as that time. Now, that is a very important point in this evidence—the number of days that she had been married before she disclosed to her husband that she had connection with Wilson, would not enable her to know that she was pregnant. Who can tell whether she ever admitted it? Say, for a moment, that the husband, for his own designs, makes that false statement. Take it that the husband comes and says his wife admitted that. Supposing his object was to be divorced *nolens volens*, is it too much to say that it might have been a fabrication? Is it on such evidence that we should be asked to break this holy bond of matrimony, or is it such proof as we would hang a

HON. MR. SULLIVAN.

on man? The husband, the party anxious to put an end to this contract, tells you that his wife told him so—on her admission to him. I submit that is too weak, too frail. In the lower courts such evidence would scarcely sustain a man in winning his suit, and surely much more and much stronger evidence would be required in putting an end to a solemn contract of this kind. The next remove is from that to the time that some mutual friend asked them to come together, and all the evidence we have there is evidence of admission only—the evidence that they were brought to the house of the mutual friend. They sat up with the people of that house until 10 or 11 o'clock. The people of the house went to bed and left the woman and this man Wilson together. Where is the evidence of anything irregular happening in that house, if you do not take again the admission that is carried to you from the party desirous of being relieved? Is there any confirmatory evidence? Is there a word in support of what the husband tells you? Surely we are not called upon here, on an occasion of this sort, to separate those people on such evidence. The chairman said that the committee to whom was delegated cases of this sort should be the best judges of the evidence. I do not know any reasons for that. They are sent as judges are sent to the court, to take evidence of the facts and report them. The court afterwards gives effect to that evidence, but they are not called upon to sustain the case, as it has been held below. They look at the evidence for themselves and they pronounce upon that. This case stands in that way, and the instant you allow a latitude, and take the mere *ipse dixit* of the party wishing to be divorced that moment you relax the law, even as it is administered in this Chamber, and you will make divorce as common as it is across the line. While many of us here are in principle opposed to divorce upon any terms whatever, still we feel that it is our duty, where two are bound together in matrimony and cannot live together, except in a state that is almost a living death, to grant a separation. But in a case like this, where the wife is not called at all, and we do not hear a word from her, it is different. We will be told that she had notice, and

that if she did not come it was her own fault. It seems to me that her not coming may be accounted for in many ways—from a feeling of delicacy or shame, or want of means, or other good reason; but I do submit that there is not in the evidence as reported here any case made out to justify the granting of this divorce. If there is any doubt at all we should give the benefit of the doubt to the party that has not been heard. Probably the petitioner, if he knew the innermost thoughts of his mind, may have his own plans—he may have some one before his eye that he thinks he can live better with than the one he married and repudiated. As to the inconstancy of that wife, when I hear medical men stating that she herself could not know at the time that credit is given to her for the admission of adultery that she was pregnant, I say I doubt very much that such an admission was made, and doubt that a woman would make it a few weeks after her marriage, when she herself could not know she was in the condition she described. On this occasion I feel it my bounden duty to vote against this report.

HON. MR. VIDAL—There is one important matter that has been entirely lost sight of by those who are standing up to defend the rights of this woman, and that is that she was duly served with a copy of the accusation made against her and with notice of this petition; still she did not appear. If she was innocent she would have appeared before the committee personally or by counsel, and made some efforts to establish her innocence.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Where is she? The evidence does not show where she is.

HON. MR. VIDAL—The evidence shows that she was served with a copy of the Bill. The fact I call attention to is this, that she had full knowledge of the charges brought against her; that she had an opportunity of coming forward and denying those charges, and she took no step whatever to disprove the allegation.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—There is no doubt that is good in theory.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—My theory is that there was collusion.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Every hon. gentleman may entertain his own opinion of the

evidence, whether it proves or disproves collusion. My theory is this: the House has referred the matter to a select committee composed of persons best adapted in this Chamber to investigate these matters—gentlemen who are well able to judge of the value of testimony, and to judge, by the way in which the words are uttered and the manner of the witnesses in giving evidence, whether they are speaking true or false. When such matters are committed to them I do hold that they, having heard the evidence, are the best judges as to the character of the testimony adduced before them, and that when that committee unanimously say that they are satisfied that the party complained against is guilty, that there has been no collusion between the parties, I think the House is, not exactly bound to accept their decision, but before anyone finds fault with that decision he should be prepared to give some very strong and conclusive evidence to justify taking such a step; because it is setting up the individual judgment of a person who has not seen the witnesses or heard the evidence against the judgment of gentlemen who, we all admit, are admirably qualified to take the evidence and decide upon it. In my own mind, there should be no hesitation whatever in adopting the report of the committee and granting the relief petitioned for.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—The hon. gentleman forgets one thing: he says the woman has been invited to appear and has failed to appear, and that the logical consequence of her non-appearance is that she must be guilty of the offence of which she is charged. I do not think that is the logical consequence. To my mind the logical consequence is that the woman, having left her husband three weeks after her marriage, because she could not live happily with him, and having remained away, is keeping out of the way in order to let this man get a divorce. If the committee argued the case as the hon. gentleman does now, in my opinion they argued it in a wrong way.

HON. MR. CARVELL—While sympathising very largely with the mover of the amendment, I rise to ask this hon. House to excuse me from voting, because I have not seen the evidence. I under-

stand that it is the proper thing to furnish every member of the House with a copy of the evidence. I have not seen it, or been able to read it, and therefore I cannot vote upon the Bill.

HON. MR. SMITH—I rise to take the same position as my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island: I have not read the evidence and am not, therefore, prepared to vote one way or the other. My feeling is that in these cases the Senate is a court; the law of the land allows people who seek relief of this character to apply to us for divorce; the Senate has seen proper to appoint a committee to investigate these cases. The House, I believe, has exercised a wise discretion in selecting the best men to form a committee, inasmuch as the law of the land permits divorce under certain circumstances, though I conscientiously believe that divorce should not be granted at all. I would be disregarding my duty as a member of the Senate if I were to vote against the report without knowing anything of its merits. I do not take the ground that I have no right to vote here on such a Bill; I think I have. Although the church to which I belong is opposed to divorce under any circumstances, I say that if I were a member of that committee, and the evidence, to my mind, was sufficient to warrant the petitioner in seeking relief, and good reason was shown why a separation should take place, I, as a member of that court, acting in a judicial capacity, would have a right to vote yea or nay on the subject. I do not bring my conscience in. I have no right to bring my conscience in here to deprive any person of a right which the law of the land affords him. I have taken that ground ever since I became a member of the Senate. I feel that way now, but inasmuch as I am not familiar with the details of this case I think it would be unreasonable and unjust to vote against the report. If it is possible for the committee to afford members of this House an opportunity to read the evidence in those unfortunate cases perhaps it would be better for us all that it should be enclosed in an envelope to each member of this House, so that he could inform himself of the facts before being called upon to vote.

HON. MR. VIDAL

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—The evidence was circulated.

HON. MR. SMITH—Not in an envelope. As an ordinary printed document one may take notice of it or not. I do not speak for myself alone, but for many other members of the House who have not read the evidence and are obliged to take the report of the committee. Most members of the Senate will accept the report of the committee, and if it was a matter that I was in the habit of voting upon I would consider the committee a safe guide; but still the evidence should be in the hands of everyone who is called upon to consider the Bill. There may be "put up jobs;" no doubt there are such cases, and I think the more difficult it is to obtain a divorce the better. No Catholic comes here to ask for a divorce. When we are joined together we know that it is until death parts us, but that is no reason why Roman Catholics should come in here and deny to other people, who view the matter in a different light, the rights which the law grants them. I, for one, am not prepared to do it.

HON. MR. POWER—The speech of the hon. gentleman from Toronto (Mr. Smith) explains a circumstance which has sometimes puzzled me. To my knowledge, he is a clear-headed, business-like man, and a conscientious man; and I have often wondered how it was that he supported some of the Government measures that have been brought before this House. His speech just now explains it. He says that when he comes in here he leaves his conscience behind him.

HON. MR. SMITH—I say that every man who comes in here should do so as a citizen of the land. He has no right to let his conscience stand between him and his plain duty as a citizen—he has no right to let his religious scruples prevent him from giving to every citizen the rights that the law of the land affords him. It is on the same principle that a Catholic judge acts when he is appointed to preside in a court of law. When a matter comes before him that he conscientiously thinks is not right, does he permit that to interfere with the discharge of his duty? No. He administers the law as he finds it.

The House divided on the motion for the third reading of the Bill, which was adopted on the following vote:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McKindsey,
Archibald,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Botsford,	Macfarlane,
Clemow,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Cochrane,	Merner,
Dickey,	Montgomery,
Drummond,	Perley,
Glasier,	Read (Quinté),
Gowan,	Reid (Cariboo),
Haythorne,	Sanford,
Kaulbach,	Sutherland,
Lewin,	Turner,
McCallum,	Vidal,
McClelan,	Wark—28.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Almon,	McKay,
Armand,	McMillan,
Baillargeon,	Macdonald (Midland),
Bellerose,	O'Donohoe,
Bolduc,	Paquet,
Boucherville, de	Pelletier,
Casgrain,	Poirier,
Chaffers,	Power,
DeBlois,	Stevens,
Girard,	Sullivan,
Guevremont,	Trudel—23.
McDonald (C.B.),	

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

SUMMARY CONVICTIONS ACT
AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (O), "An Act to amend 'The Summary Trials Act.'" He said: This Bill is introduced for two purposes. One is to enable warrants of justices of the peace to be executed in a district or jurisdiction different from that in which they are issued. That is already the law with regard to certain warrants, but it is proposed to extend it. The other purpose is to establish a tariff of fees in cases of summary convictions. This tariff has been prepared after a very careful study of the tariffs used in the various Provinces, and appears to be one which will serve the purpose. It is not too extravagant, and it will be fair and just to all parties. These are the only two objects of the Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend will be able to tell us how far the jurisdiction of a magistrate is extended by this second clause beyond what he now possesses. I fail to see, from reading it, that the jurisdiction of a magistrate, as far as the warrant is concerned, is extended in any way. It may be, although I have not read the Act; but I must say I think it might go further. My experience has been, in matters of a criminal nature, that a fugitive from justice often escapes because of the necessity of having the warrant endorsed. The magistrate's jurisdiction only extends to the country or district in which he is. The constable taking that warrant, and crossing into another district, has to get it endorsed by another magistrate, and I have known cases in which the time lost in getting the warrant endorsed has enabled a fugitive to escape from justice. In one instance I suggested that the constable should not know the boundary line, and in that way a great criminal was arrested. If in that case the constable had been particular as to boundaries a notorious criminal would have escaped arrest. I think it would be advisable to extend the power of the magistrate's warrant, at least to all the counties of the Province in which he has jurisdiction. It is a matter to which my hon. friend ought to give some attention, because I know of my own knowledge that many criminals, in consequence of the necessity of having the warrant endorsed, have escaped justice, to the great demoralization of the community.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The change which the hon. gentleman proposes to make would alter the entire system with respect to the jurisdiction of these justices of the peace. They are a class of men acting gratuitously and without any special training as justices, as a rule. Hitherto, there has been a territorial jurisdiction, and that is the case now throughout the Dominion—a territorial jurisdiction in which the power, or judicial rights, such as they are, of that justice extends, and no further. This Bill is to facilitate the execution of a warrant so issued in another district beyond the jurisdiction of that justice, on simply going through the formality of having the justice in the district to endorse

it. Of course, if that were not required the principle of territorial jurisdiction would be entirely abandoned; every magistrate who is appointed would have jurisdiction beyond the district for which he is so appointed. My hon. friend proposes that the jurisdiction of the magistrate shall be extended to every county in the Province in which he is appointed, but it might as well be over the whole Dominion, I presume, as over a whole Province. However, it is such a change that it would require very grave consideration before it could be adopted, and it is not contemplated by this Act.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the Bill is a very good one, as far as it goes. It proposes to remove two objectionable features of the present law, and I think it is just as well that it does not propose to go any further. It does not propose a revolution in the existing law, but to remedy two existing defects, and I think it does that.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (83), "An Act to incorporate the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Railway Company." (Mr. Sutherland).

Bill (76), "An Act respecting the incorporation of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company." (Mr. Girard).

The Senate adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 20th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (77), "An Act to further amend the Act incorporating the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company (Limited)." (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (M.), "An Act to amend the Summary Trials Act." (Mr. Abbott).

ONTARIO MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. VIDAL, from the Committee on Banking and Commerce, reported Bill (42), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Ontario Mutual Life Insurance Company," with certain amendments. He said: The amendments which have been made are as follows: In the Bill, as it came down to the committee, it appeared to the committee that there was not sufficient notice given to the parties interested. It is purely a mutual company, and consequently there are no shareholders, except the policyholders, and these are scattered throughout the Dominion. The Bill, as it came to the committee, required only notice to be given—the notice published in the locality and one or two papers in Toronto. It was thought by the committee that a large number of the policyholders would have no intimation whatever of the annual meeting, and no opportunity of having their voice heard at the meeting without further notice. The committee suggested, therefore, that an amendment should be made, and this amendment, you will observe, meets the difficulty, by fixing the date of the annual meeting in the first instance, so that the simple fact of the annual meeting being fixed by statute is good notice at all times to the policyholders when the annual meeting will be held. In addition, it is required that notice of the annual meeting shall be attached to the notice sent out yearly to each policyholder requiring him to pay in the amounts due by him. It is considered that in this way the interest of the policyholders will be fully secured. That is the only amendment in the Bill, and it is one which I think the House will see is fully in the interest of the public.

HON. MR. MERNER moved concurrence in the amendment.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

CANADIAN GENERAL TRUSTS CO.'S BILL.

AMENDMENTS CONCURRED IN.

HON. MR. VIDAL, from the Committee on Banking and Commerce, reported Bill

(34), "An Act to incorporate the Canadian General Trusts Company," with certain amendments. He said: I may inform the House that there is no alteration in the effect of the Bill; it is merely an alteration with regard to the place to be occupied by the proviso added to the sixth sub-section of section 2, to carry out the very object that the clause required; but this being a very important matter, it was considered desirable that it should stand out more conspicuously in the Bill; that the Bill should only be brought into operation under such circumstances that its provisions could be carried out in harmony with the laws of the Province in which the business of the company was carried on. There is also another amendment—a clause added to clause 10 in the Bill. These amendments will not in any way affect the principle of the Bill, but will make its provisions less objectionable.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved concurrence in the amendments.

HON. MR. POWER—This is a very important measure, and as the amendments are not printed I would suggest that they should be allowed to stand over until tomorrow for concurrence.

HON. MR. MILLER—I would like to ask my hon. friend if the sub-committee was not struck to consider that Bill?

HON. MR. VIDAL—No; that was for another Bill; this Bill was very thoroughly discussed in the committee, and we had the valuable assistance of Hon. Mr. Abbott in considering it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is a Bill of very great importance, indeed, before the House, for which the sub-committee to which my hon. friend refers was appointed. This is not the Bill. This is a Bill similar to one or two others which have been passed, and in which one or two clauses have been inserted that do not exist in the others that still further improve its provisions.

The motion was agreed to, and the amendments were concurred in.

ONTARIO LOAN AND DEBENTURE CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. VIDAL, from the Committee on Banking and Commerce, reported Bill (48), "An Act to consolidate the Borrowing Powers of the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company," with certain amendments. He said: In explanation of the amendments made by the committee to this Bill I might observe that although numerous, on reading them they really do not amount to much. Several words had to be inserted, but very little change was made in the sense of the clauses that were amended. The words now introduced were struck out when the Bill was in the other branch of the Legislature; but on further explanation it was found that they were necessary, and that the Minister of Justice had entirely withdrawn his objection to them, and with the consent of all parties they were re-inserted here. They give the power of opening stock books in other places besides Canada, and make proper provision for the registry of shares and transfers. In consequence of the changes made the seventh clause was found to be unnecessary, and therefore the committee struck it out.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved concurrence in the amendments.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

RULES OF COURT IN CRIMINAL MATTERS BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (55), "An Act respecting Rules of Court in relation to Criminal Matters." He said: There was a point which my hon. friend from Nova Scotia raised with reference to this Bill when it was in Committee of the Whole, as to the power which is proposed to be given here to the courts to make rules regulating the sittings of the court, or of any division thereof, or of any judge of the court sitting in chambers, to which it was proposed to put an exception, for the purpose of protecting courts in the Province of Quebec, except in so far as they are regulated by law. I understood my hon. friend to say

that he thought some of the courts in Nova Scotia were already regulated by statute, and that it would be an advantage to change, that and allow the judges themselves to make rules to regulate the sittings of those courts.

HON. MR. POWER—It was the hon. gentleman from Richmond who made the last suggestion.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have consulted the Minister of Justice, who is familiar with proceedings in Nova Scotia, on the subject, and he says that his impression is that the sittings of the courts in Halifax alone are regulated by statute, and he is inclined to think that it is better to leave the law in its present position in that respect—that the exception would be quite correct as applicable to Halifax, but in no other respects. The effect of the law will be such as was intended. I would therefore suggest that the Bill be now read the third time.

HON. MR. POWER—I find that the sittings of the courts all over the Province are regulated by statute, but I do not think that the sittings in Halifax are. I have now before me the last series of the Revised Statutes, and in chapter 104 I find this provision in section 21:

"There shall be, as heretofore, five circuits in the Province—the Midland, the Shore, the Western, the Eastern, and the Cape Breton circuit."

Then it goes on to describe what these circuits shall embrace. Then section 22 provides:

"The Supreme Court shall sit twice a year for the trial of causes and issues, whether legal or equitable, which are to be heard and determined by a judge without a jury, and also for the trial of jury causes in the several counties as follows:"

HON. MR. MILLER—That is civil procedure altogether.

HON. MR. POWER—I am aware of that; and then the statute goes on to give the dates at which the courts are to sit in the rural districts. The hon. gentleman from Richmond suggests that that refers to civil business exclusively. That is perfectly true; but, as I stated in the committee, criminal trials are held at the same sittings as the civil trials. I do not like to set my opinion up against that of the Minister of Justice, but possibly the

Minister may not have consulted the Nova Scotia statutes at the time he spoke.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Perhaps the mistake was mine, and not that of the Minister of Justice. I understood him to say that one rule prevailed in the city of Halifax and that another rule prevailed in the rest of the Province. He consulted Mr. Sedgwick, the Deputy Minister, and they talked the matter over and came to the conclusion that the courts which are now regulated by statute had better remain as they are, and that this Bill should apply to those that are not regulated by statute.

HON. MR. MILLER—It is true that criminal trials are had at the courts which are held to settle civil cases, but I think it would be difficult for my hon. friend to find a law providing that rule in the Revised Statutes. I do not know that he will be able to find any law of the same kind applicable to the courts outside of the city of Halifax.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The judges have felt the difficulty on circuit, as questions have arisen as regards procedure and practice in criminal matters, and the judges felt that they were not qualified to make regulations in such matters as regards practice and procedure, and rules with regard to the conduct of cases. In any case the jurisdiction given to them is simply from the Province of Nova Scotia, as applied to civil matters, and not to these matters.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

COLLECTION OF TOLLS BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (L), "An Act respecting the Collection of certain Tolls therein mentioned." He said: I promised my hon. friend to be able to explain to him a little more clearly than I could the other day the intention and object of the last clause of this Bill, to the effect that nothing in this Act contained shall in any way affect appropriations made by Parliament during the present Session in respect of the services to which this Act relates, but

every such appropriation shall continue in force under the control of the proper Minister, as if the transfers provided for by this Act had not taken place. I have ascertained from the Minister of Inland Revenue the object of this clause, and, being explained, it is clear enough what it is intended for. In point of fact, the estimates for the salaries or pay of the officials who collect those tolls now have always passed through the Department of Inland Revenue, and it is rather late in the day to make the change in the estimate from the Department of Inland Revenue to the Department of Railways and Canals in one case, and the Department of Public Works in another. This amendment, therefore, simply provides that the salaries of those officers who are to be transferred to the different Departments, who collect these revenues, when this Act comes into force will be paid out of the appropriation made for that purpose by the estimates of this Session.

HON. MR. POWER—Where is the saving that the hon. gentleman said would accrue under this measure, if the same officers are to be retained, and simply transferred to other Departments?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not pretend that this Act itself creates the saving; it enables the saving to be made hereafter, by placing the collection of these tolls in the hands of the Department which controls the works in respect of which these tolls are collected. That Department will be able to economize in the reduction of its staff, and a reduction of the staff is contemplated. Some of the officials now employed by the Department which controls these works will be required to take upon themselves the duty of collecting the tolls, so that a portion of the employes required under the old system can be dispensed with.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Will there not be some considerable increase, rather than diminution? At present a considerable number of the staff receive their pay from Ontario, Quebec, and the Dominion Governments jointly, each paying one-third. I understand that now they are dissolving partnership.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I understand that the Federal authorities are taking charge of the officers who control the slide dues, and Ontario and Quebec are to have independent officers for collecting their revenues. Heretofore the Supervisor of Cullers' office has been sustained by the three Governments, and also the collection of slide dues.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Bill simply transfers the duties which the Collector of Inland Revenue now performs in relation to the votes mentioned to the other Departments under whose control those works are. The partnership between the three Governments will continue exactly the same as before, and is not affected by this Bill.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

CENTRAL COUNTIES RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

REFERRED BACK TO COMMITTEE.

The Order of the Day having been called—"Third reading Bill (33), Prescott County Railway Company, change of name to the Central Counties Railway Company, as amended,"

HON. MR. CLEMOW said: As there seems to be a conflict of opinion respecting this Bill since it came from the committee, possibly it would be better to refer the Bill back to the committee, in order that its provisions may be better understood. I shall therefore move that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be referred back to the Committee on Railways Telegraphs and Harbors, for further consideration.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS ASSENTED TO.

His Honor the Speaker announced that the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor-General, Mr. Justice Strong, was coming down to the Senate to sanction some Bills.

HON. MR. ABBOTT then moved that the House adjourn during pleasure.

The motion was agreed to.

At four o'clock, p.m., the Honorable Samuel Henry Strong, a Puisné Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, Deputy Governor, proceeded to the Chamber of the Senate, in the Parliament Buildings, and took his seat upon the Throne. The members of the Senate being assembled, the Deputy Governor was pleased to command the attendance of the House of Commons, and that House being present the following Bills were assented to, in Her Majesty's name, by His Honor the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor-General on his behalf, viz. :—

An Act to make further provision respecting inquiries concerning Public Matters.

An Act respecting Corrupt Practices in Municipal affairs.

An Act to permit the Conditional Release of First Offenders in certain cases.

An Act to amend "The Weights and Measures Act," chapter one hundred and four, of the Revised Statutes.

An Act to incorporate the Alberta Railway and Coal Company.

An Act respecting the Kootenay and Athabasca Railway Company.

An Act respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.

An Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company.

An Act to incorporate the Dominion Life Assurance Company.

An Act to incorporate the Hawkesbury Lumber Company.

An Act to incorporate the Assinaboia, Edmonton and Unjiga Railway Company.

An Act to amend the Act incorporating "The Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company of Canada."

An Act respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Company.

An Act to incorporate the Calgary, Alberta and Montana Railway Company.

An Act respecting the Hamilton Central Railway Company.

An Act respecting the South Ontario Pacific Railway Company.

An Act to incorporate the Lac Seul Railway Company.

An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Kingston, Smith's Falls and Ottawa Railway Company.

An Act respecting the Lake Nipissing and James' Bay Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to "The Nipissing and James' Bay Railway Company."

An Act respecting Steam Vessels to be used in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

An Act respecting the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

An Act respecting the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to "The New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway Company."

An Act to incorporate the Victoria, Saanich and New Westminster Railway Company.

INTEREST BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (N), "An Act to amend the Revised Statute respecting Interest." He said: In consequence of my attention having been called to this Bill by my hon. friends opposite, and certain information which the hon. member from Ottawa gave me as to decisions in Ontario, which I may say, *en passant*, are different from decisions on the same point in other Provinces, I have been looking into the law, and I have not been able to make up my mind as to what amendments will be required to this Bill; but some will be necessary, I am satisfied. I would ask the House to let the Bill take a stage to-day, and we will consider the amendments in Committee of the Whole.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not intend to oppose the second reading, but at the same time one or two observations suggest themselves to me. Looking at this Bill as a whole, I think it is *ultra vires* of this Parliament. It is true the Parliament of Canada has jurisdiction in the matter of interest, but this Bill really does not deal with interest so much as it deals with the effects of judgments in the several Provinces. The first clause of the Bill is as follows:—

"1. Except as in the Revised Statute respecting interest, or in this Act otherwise provided, every judgment debt shall bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum until the same is satisfied."

Now, I contend that that is a provision the power to make which on the part of this Parliament is very doubtful. It is a matter for the Local Legislatures to say whether judgments shall bear interest or not. The view taken of the interest which is allowed on judgments in the several courts is that the interest is a sort of penalty in addition to the amount of the judgment, and it is a matter for the Local Legislature, which has the sole right to deal with a judgment and with its effects, and say what the amount of the judgment shall be—it is for the Local Legislature to decide whether the judgment shall bear interest or not. If the Local Legislature decides that every judgment shall bear interest, or shall bear interest from a certain time,

which is another matter within its jurisdiction, I do not deny that this Parliament may have a right to say what rate of interest the judgment shall bear. The rate of interest, I take it, is a matter which comes within our exclusive jurisdiction, but I contend that this Bill, which says that a judgment shall bear interest, and that it shall run from a certain time, is a matter which is not for us, but for the Local Legislatures, and I hope, as the hon. gentleman has said that he proposes to give this Bill some consideration, that that is one of the matters which he will consider; and if it should happen that he has overlooked it, then I respectfully ask his consideration to that point in dealing with the Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—What my hon. friend has said is precisely the point that has attracted my attention. It seems to me, the question whether a judgment shall bear interest is one for the Province, and not exactly a question for this House. The rate of interest we must regulate; it is solely within our power to do that, but to say what debts shall bear interest and when it shall commence is, I am inclined to think, beyond our jurisdiction. It is one of the most important of the questions which arises on this Act; but there are others. I need hardly say I did not prepare the Act, and I did not know that the attention of my hon. friend, the Minister of Justice, was called to it, until I spoke to him on the subject to-day, but by Tuesday I shall be prepared to say exactly what the Government will do with respect to it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It is better to state the necessity for the Bill. I do not understand its necessity.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The objection which my hon. friend has just mentioned was hinted at on a former occasion, but is more fully stated now. In Ontario there has been a decision as to interest which is different from the rule in the other Provinces, and this Bill would interfere with that decision. The Bill seems to me to be necessary to some extent, but not precisely, I think, on the ground which I stated to the House the other day. The fact is, I have not yet ascertained the principle on which the Bill was constructed,

or for what purpose it was sent here. The Bill is undoubtedly needed, but it is a measure which should be more circumscribed in its character than this Bill is. The details of the objections to it may be fairly discussed when it comes up before a Committee of the Whole.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (58), "An Act respecting the Berlin and Canadian Pacific Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Merner).

Bill (66), "An Act to ratify an Exchange of Land between the Ontario and Quebec Railway Company and the Land Security Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (69), "An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company." (Mr. Sullivan).

Bill (82), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and North Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Sullivan).

Bill (75), "An Act respecting the Bay of Quinté Bridge Company." (Mr. Flint).

Bill (76), "An Act respecting the incorporation of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company." (Mr. Girard).

The Senate adjourned at 4:40. p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 21st March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (Q), "An Act to revive certain regulations respecting the Fisheries in Nova Scotia." (Mr. Power).

Bill (R), "An Act further to amend the Bank Act, Chapter 120 of the Revised Statutes of Canada." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (S), "An Act to amend Chapter 148 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intituled 'An Act respecting the Improper use of Firearms and other Weapons.'" (Mr. Read).

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (34), "An Act to incorporate the Canadian General Trusts Company." (Mr. McMillan).

CERTIFICATES OF MASTERS AND MATES BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (26), "An Act to amend the Act respecting certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships, Chapter 73 of the Revised Statutes." He said: This is a Bill, the object of which is to change in some degree the nature of the certificates which are granted to masters of ships on their clearance. Heretofore it has been the custom to grant these certificates to a limited extent, that is to say, to a certain port, omitting intermediate ports—trading vessels I am speaking of, trading to South America,—and it is intended to give them a certificate of a different form, which will enable them to call at any port. It is thought that it will be a public advantage; it is asked for by those who are engaged in the trade, and there seems to be no objection to it.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. leader of the House said that he did not think there could be any objection to this Bill. I notice by the newspapers that there has been a very considerable discussion on the Bill in the other House, and it occurs to me that the Bill is rather an objectionable one. Briefly, the position of things now is this: the master and mate of every sea-going ship are obliged to hold certificates of competency, which are granted after examination. The masters and mates of coasting vessels are exempted from this requirement, and coasting voyages include voyages between Canada and Newfoundland, or any port in the United States on the Atlantic coast, as I understand. This Bill proposes to extend the meaning of the term "coasting voyage" to any place in the West Indian Islands or on the east coast of South or Central America, so that if this Bill becomes law a master or mate may sail as far as Cape Horn from any port in Canada without having a certificate of competency.

HON. MR. MILLER—What certificates should they have?

HON. MR. POWER—Under the present law there are certificates of competency and certificates of service. This Bill proposes to exempt vessels sailing to those ports from the necessity of having any certificate. I think that if it is desirable that the masters and mates of vessels should possess certificates of competency, the master or mate of a vessel going to the West Indies or South America requires it just as much as the master or mate of a vessel going to Europe. Practically, now the general law will only apply to vessels going across the Atlantic to Europe, or the Mediterranean or Africa, and it does not require nearly as much seamanship to take a vessel safely across the Atlantic to England as it does to take her to the West Indies or down to the most remote ports of South America. The hon. gentleman has not told us what the reasons are which have induced the Department of Marine and Fisheries to propose this very extensive exemption. I think we ought to hear them.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I must say that this Bill is considerably in the interests of the merchant shippers of Nova Scotia, and that the legislation is chiefly asked for from that Province. I think, if the hon. gentleman from Halifax would consult the merchants engaged in the West India trade from his city, or the ship-owners of the county of Lunenburg, he would find that they have been clamoring for some time for this Bill to extend the coasting trade to the West Indies and South America. Very often our small schooners, taking cargoes of fish to the West Indies, find it difficult to get men qualified under the law to navigate those vessels, although they are qualified to sail vessels along the coast of the United States. We have plenty of men without certificates who can navigate a vessel, and with whom merchants can trust their property and their ships, and in whom the insurance companies have every confidence. These men are employed during the summer in fishing, and in winter are engaged to navigate the sailing vessels to the West Indies. As far as Lunenburg is concerned, there is sometimes great difficulty in finding persons qualified under the law to sail vessels

to the West Indies and South America, and frequently delay and loss have occurred in consequence. I am sure that all the fishing firms there are anxious that this amendment to the law should be brought into operation, and they have solicited me, on more than one occasion, to have the law amended. I objected, on the ground that under our educational system every man had an opportunity to become qualified. Notwithstanding the facilities afforded for gaining an education, I find that our vessels are often in want of persons competent under the law to take charge of them. Feeling, as I have often felt, that this has been a serious inconvenience to the coasting trade, I think the proposed amendment to the law is a proper one, and I hope it will receive the sanction of the House.

HON. MR. MILLER—I quite agree with the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg as to the desirability of this legislation. Our certificates are of two characters—first, certificates of competency; and second, certificates of service. It very often happens that a captain possessing a certificate of service may be more competent to take a vessel to those ports to which he has been trading all his life than a master possessing a certificate of competency, and it is in order to allow this class, who, by practical experience, have acquired the requisite skill and knowledge, to take vessels to those ports. I know captains of vessels who sailed to the West Indies years ago without any certificate of competency or of service, and who would be incapable of passing the examination required for a certificate of competency, but who, from their long experience and practical knowledge, are quite competent to undertake the duty with which they are entrusted. I think it would be a great pity if any objections should be made to this Bill, because I think it would be of great service to the shipping of Nova Scotia.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is in error on one point, and that is, that the certificate of service will still be required. The objectionable point about this Bill is that it does not require a certificate of any kind—either of service or of competency.

HON. MR. MILLER—It does.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman should look at Chapter 73 of the Revised Statutes, to which this is an amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friends from Lunenburg and Richmond have anticipated a portion of the reasons I was about to give for the introduction of this Bill. It does not change the law as to certificates. That subject is not touched upon at all by this Bill; but hon. gentlemen will perceive that under the system as it now prevails a coasting vessel can clear without a certificate for any port, say, in the United States; that is to say, it can sail down to Florida or New Orleans, or any port along the coast. The principle of the law is that a man does not require the same qualifications for sailing along a coast, where, in case of difficulty, he has a harbor at his elbow, that he does to sail across the ocean, and no doubt that is the principle on which this advantage is allowed to smaller vessels, on which it would be a burden to require men of a high class of marine education to sail them. If a shipowner has a master who can take his vessel down the coast to Florida or New Orleans, what reason is there that he should not be allowed to take a vessel to the West India Islands or the coast of South America? If he can go a couple of thousand miles from here along the coast, why should he not be allowed to go a few hundred more, to the West Indies or South America, places where we are endeavoring to make a trade, and to which we wish to encourage trade? If it were proposed to allow a master to cross the Atlantic without a certificate that would be open to another species of argument; but here we allow him to go all along the coast of the United States to New Orleans, but we say he shall not pass further down to the West Indies. I do not see any reason which I would call a good reason for confining the trade of these small vessels to the United States, and the object of the Bill is simply to extend that privilege, so that these coasting vessels may go down the coast of South America as well as the coast of North America. I can see no difference in principle, and I can see a

great many advantages which the trade of the country will obtain, and the people who are engaged in shipping would obtain, by extending this principle a little further than the law already extends it.

HON. MR. POWER—As I have already said, the voyage to South America is really a more difficult one than the voyage to Europe, and if the hon. gentleman wishes to be consistent the better way is to repeal this provision in the Revised Statutes altogether, so that an uncertificated master can sail a vessel across the Atlantic or anywhere else.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend, in order to make that a good reason, will have to establish the fact. The voyage to Europe requires the sailing of a vessel 2,000 miles in the open sea, which calls for a higher class of marine education than sailing a coasting vessel.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (83), "An Act to incorporate the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Railway Company." (Mr. Sutherland).

SUMMARY CONVICTIONS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on Bill (O), "An Act to amend the Summary Convictions Act and the Act amending the same."

(In the Committee).

On clause 2,—

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is a slight amendment which I desire to make to sub-section 3, which forms part of the clause now under consideration of the committee. It appears that it has been held by a majority of the court—Justice Galt was, I think, the dissentient justice—that section 22 of the Act does not include a warrant after conviction on failure of sufficient distress; that that refers to warrants to enforce attendance before conviction. I have a communication before me from the Attorney-General of Ontario on the subject, requesting that this point may be cleared up,

and I have no doubt that it should be, and for the purpose of doing so I propose to the House to insert after the word "issued," in the second line of section 22, an amendment which I have prepared. I merely mention this in passing, because it bears upon this clause, and points out in what way I propose, at a stage further on in the Bill, to supplement it by the amendment proposed by the Attorney-General.

The amendment was agreed to.

On the 5th clause,—

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I wish to move that the following be inserted as the 5th clause:

Section 22 of the Summary Convictions Act is hereby amended, by inserting after the word "issued," in the second line thereof, the following words:—

"Whether under the preceding sections or under other sections of this Act, and whether before or after conviction, and whether for levying any fine or cost by distress, or for the imprisonment of any such person."

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is another amendment which I shall propose at the third reading of the Bill. I have been written to by persons in the district of Algoma, pointing out that in consequence of the change in the territorial division of the district of Algoma there are now two appeals from the decision of the magistrate, and I am preparing a short clause to put that right. The law says that appeals shall lie to the General Sessions of the Peace, and then it says that the decision of a magistrate in the district of Thunder Bay, if appealed from, shall be appealed to the district of Algoma; but that portion of Algoma which constituted the old territorial division of Thunder Bay is now a district of itself, and it is necessary, therefore, to amend the law so that appeals will go to the General Sessions of the Peace in that district, instead of to Algoma.

HON. MR. ODELL, from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments.

EXPROPRIATION OF LANDS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (P), "An Act respecting Expropriation of Lands." He said: This

is a somewhat elaborate Bill, which is proposed to be substituted for chapter 39 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, and for the Act 50 and 51 Vic., cap. 17, which amends it. The object of the Bill is simply to modify and improve the procedure for the purpose of the expropriation of land for public works. The powers which the law already gives for that purpose are not increased, but the mode in which those powers shall be exercised—the mode of procedure, of obtaining title, of regulating claims of persons existing upon a property, especially the claims of those who cannot be paid at the time in consequence of some incapacity—all these are dealt with, and to some extent modified and, as I think, improved. As there is no difference between the principle of the Bill and the principle of the law which exists on the Statute Book, I do not know that I would accomplish any useful purpose in going over the clauses and pointing out in what respects they differ from the law; but I shall be prepared, in Committee of the Whole, to take up the Bill clause by clause, and point out the exact differences between this Bill and the corresponding powers in the other, and, where there are changes to explain the reasons which the Government think justify them in proposing the changes to the House.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (49), "An Act respecting the Alberta and Athabasca Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to 'The Great North-Western Railway Company.'" (Mr. McMillan).

Bill (2), "An Act to permit Foreign Vessels to aid Vessels Wrecked or Disabled in Canadian Waters." (Mr. Vidal).

Bill (16), "An Act to provide against Fraud in the supplying of Milk to Cheese and Butter Manufactories." (Mr. Read).

Bill (89), "An Act to amend the Charter of Incorporation of the Great North-West Central Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (65), "An Act respecting the Atlantic and North-West Railway Company." (Mr. McMillan).

AN ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved that when this House adjourns to-morrow, it stands adjourned until 8:30 p.m. on Tuesday next. The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 4:20 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 22nd March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (57). "An Act to incorporate the Cobourg, Northumberland and Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Flint).

Bill (44). "An Act to incorporate the Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society." (Mr. McClellan).

Bill (46). "An Act to amend the Act respecting Queen's College at Kingston." (Mr. Vidal).

CENTRAL COUNTIES RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (33), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Prescott County Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the Central Counties Railway Company" with an amendment. He said: This Bill is one that was sent back to us for reconsideration, and reached us with an amendment which had been submitted in our first report, striking out the words authorizing the building of a branch from Rockland to Ottawa. The additional amendment is made by carrying that striking out to the

end of the sub-section, and takes away the power of the company to cross the Ottawa River or build any line on the northern side of the river, because it would interfere with existing charters, and in that way the amendment received the unanimous assent of the committee.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is in error as to the unanimity, because the amendment was carried only by a small majority.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read a third time, and passed.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (T). "An Act for better securing the Safety of certain Fishermen." (Mr. Power).

THE PUBLIC RESERVE ON THE OTTAWA RIVER.

MOTION.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved:

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that His Excellency will cause to be laid before this House, copies of leases or existing arrangements permitting the occupancy of the reserve of public property on the Ottawa River, from Bay to Kent street, in the City of Ottawa.

The motion was agreed to.

PINE ISLAND, IN THE OTTAWA RIVER.

ENQUIRY.

HON. MR. CLEWOW enquired:

Whether the Government is aware that it is contemplated by certain parties to construct wharves for piling lumber on Pine Island, in the Ottawa River, in this city, which must necessarily greatly increase the risk of fire, particularly to the Parliamentary Buildings of the Dominion?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have to reply to my hon. friend that some time since the attention of the Department was drawn to the fact the Pine Island had been bought or leased from the Quebec Government, and that the purchaser or lessee had sublet or sold the said island. Over this property the Department has no control.

SUMMARY CONVICTIONS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day having been called for—"Third reading (Bill O). Summary Convictions Act amendment, as amended,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: As I mentioned yesterday, there is a slight amendment required to this Bill, in consequence of the fact that since the last Act was passed one of the divisions of the district of Algoma, from which appeals may be laid to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Algoma, has become a district for itself, and has its own general sessions of the peace. Therefore, there are practically two appeals now for the division of Algoma. I propose to move the following amendment: "The second sub-section of the 7th section of the Act 51 Vict., cap. 45, is hereby amended by striking out the words "in the district of Thunder Bay to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the district of Algoma." The result of that will be that the appeals will go to the Sessions of the Peace for Thunder Bay district.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I think they have been separate for a great many years.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand they have only been separated recently. It was called a provisional district, I believe—Thunder Bay district—before.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. SMITH moved the third reading of the Bill.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

THE BAGWELL DIVORCE CASE.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day having been called—"Consideration of the ninth report of the Select Committee on Divorce on Bill (J), for the Relief of George McDonald Bagwell,"

HON. MR. TURNER said: As the evidence was only placed in the hands of Senators before noon to-day, probably it would be just as well to ask that the Order of the Day be discharged and the consider-

ation of the report be postponed until Tuesday next.

HON. GENTLEMEN—Go on! go on!

HON. MR. TURNER moved the adoption of the report.

HON. MR. DICKEY—My hon. friend has perhaps not taken notice of the effect that this motion of his will have as a precedent. The evidence in this case was only distributed about half an hour ago, and it was understood yesterday that in future the evidence in each case should be in the hands of Senators twenty-four hours before proceeding with a Bill. I have had the advantage of hearing the evidence, and therefore do not require any postponement on my own account; but I think it is unwise to establish a bad precedent.

HON. MR. GOWAN—In consequence of what fell from my hon. friend from Toronto about the desirability of posting the evidence in an envelope addressed to each member, in order that it might not get mixed up with other documents, I sought to have that carried out, and with no little difficulty I succeeded. Some of the officers of the House, who had no particular charge of the matter, readily acceded to my wishes, and it was done. I am aware of the fact that this evidence was mailed about half past ten this morning, and if hon. gentlemen did not receive it until this afternoon it was because they did not call for it at the post office. It was certainly there at eleven o'clock to-day.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Although I am a member of the Divorce Committee, I think it would be a bad precedent to establish, and therefore the consideration of this report should be postponed for twenty-four hours.

HON. MR. MILLER—It seems very strange that when the hon. mover of the motion expressed his willingness to allow this matter to stand over for a few days there was no objection raised to proceeding immediately with the Bill; now that he is ready to proceed with it objections are raised.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I was just about to make the same remark.

HON. MR. TURNER—My desire was to postpone the reading, in order to allow hon. gentlemen the opportunity of digesting the evidence. I therefore move that the Order of the Day be discharged. (Go on! go on!) All right, if it is the desire of the House to proceed immediately, I move that the report be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed, on a division.

SPEEDY TRIALS OF INDICTABLE OFFENCES BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (17), "An Act to make further provision respecting the Speedy Trial of certain Indictable Offences." He said: The existing Act for the speedy trial of indictable offences applies only to Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba, and this Bill is merely intended to extend its operations to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Last year I think we extended it to British Columbia, but the present measure makes it practically universal throughout the Dominion. There are no alterations of any moment in the Bill. There are some slight changes in the language, but nothing in the principle. It merely endeavors to confer upon judges holding similar jurisdiction in each of these Provinces, in the ordinary courts of these Provinces, similar jurisdiction with regard to this class of offences. There is a portion of the Act which will not come into force immediately on its passage, because it has been thought it would be better to allow the Provinces to make provision for the appropriate judges before conferring upon judges by name or by title this particular power, and therefore, with regard to those Provinces, the Government take power by proclamation to bring the Act into force there, which is intended to be done as soon as they pass the requisite legislation, and we are informed that they propose immediately doing so.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

DELAY IN THE PUBLIC PRINTING.

The Order of the Day having been called—"Second reading Bill (49), Alberta and Athabasca Railway Company, change name to 'Great North-Western Railway Company,'" "

HON. MR. VIDAL said: I regret to say that this Bill is not yet printed. It is really too bad that at this period of the Session, when time is precious, we are unable to go on with the legislation of the Session for want of printed copies of the Bills. I am ready to proceed, but my feeling is so strong about the impropriety of giving a Bill the second reading if it is not before the House that I shall not ask to have it read now. I therefore move that the Order of the Day be discharged, and that the second reading take place on Wednesday next.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think I should say that my attention has been repeatedly called to this delay in the printing of our measures, and of *Hansard* also, and I have brought it formally before my colleagues, and especially my colleague who has charge of that department in the absence of the Secretary of State, and I think I can promise the House that there shall not be a recurrence of this exceedingly reprehensible neglect on the part of the Printing Department.

The motion was agreed to

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (73), "An Act to incorporate the North-Western Junction and Lake of the Woods Railway Company" (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (87), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Quebec Board of Trade." (Mr. Robitaille).

Bill (90), "An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company and the Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec Railway Company." (Mr. Read).

Bill (98), "An Act to amend the Wind-up Act, Cap. 129, Revised Statutes." (Mr. Smith).

Bill (100), "An Act further to amend the Civil Service Act, Cap. 17, of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Smith).

The Senate adjourned at 4:45 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 26th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at 8:30 p.m.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (103), "An Act further to amend the Act 36 Vic., Cap. 61, respecting the Trinity House and Harbor Commissioners of Montreal." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (108), "An Act to amend Cap. 13 of the Revised Statutes, intituled 'An Act respecting the House of Commons.'" (Mr. Botsford, in the absence of Mr. Abbott).

Bill (109), "An Act to amend the Law respecting the Exchequer Court of Canada." (Mr. Botsford).

Bill (105), "An Act further to amend the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act." (Mr. Botsford).

Bill (74), "An Act to incorporate the Supreme Court of the Independent Order of Foresters." (Mr. Read).

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (I), "An Act for the relief of Arthur Wand." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (F), "An Act for the relief of William Henry Middleton." (Mr. Clemow).

FRAUDS IN THE SUPPLYING OF MILK BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) moved the second reading of Bill (16), "An Act to provide against Frauds in the supplying of Milk to Cheese and Butter Factories." He said: This Bill is similar to one that has already been passed by the Ontario Legislature; but the courts have decided that it is unconstitutional and *ultra vires* of that Legislature; consequently, it has been found necessary to come to this Parliament to procure the legislation desired. It is to provide against the sending of milk to cheese and butter factories in an improper condition. The Bill has already passed the House of Commons, and there will be no objection to it in this Chamber.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time

GREAT NORTH-WEST CENTRAL RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved the second reading of Bill (89), "An Act to amend the Charter of Incorporation of the Great North-West Central Railway Company." He said: This is a very short Bill, the object of which is merely to eliminate one clause in the charter to give running powers to the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

The Senate adjourned at 9:10 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 27th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills, reported without amendment from the the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, were read the third time, and passed:—

Bill (75), "An Act respecting the Bay of Quinté Bridge Company." (Mr. Flint).

Bill (58), "An Act respecting the Berlin and Canadian Pacific Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Merner).

Bill (66), "An Act to ratify an Exchange of Land between the Ontario and Quebec Railway Company and the Land Security Company." (Mr. Power).

Bill (76), "An Act respecting the incorporation of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company." (Mr. Girard).

WINNIPEG AND NORTH PACIFIC RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (82), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and North Pacific Railway Company," with an amendment. He said: The effect of this amendment can be explained in a few words. It occurs in the clause which

requires this company to build twenty-five miles a year of the railway, which is 300 miles long. The same clause contained a provision that the powers of the company should cease at the expiration of ten years, only allowing them time to build 250 miles; but the clause, as altered, leaves the provision for building twenty-five miles each year intact, and there is a provision also that in case they do not build twenty-five miles in any one year their charter shall cease. The two provisions being inconsistent, it was thought better to make it perfectly clear that, while they build the twenty-five miles each year, they will have the whole time to build the line. I can see no objection, therefore, to the Bill being read a third time at once.

HON. MR. GIRARD moved that the amendment be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

ONTARIO, MANITOBA AND WESTERN RAILWAY CO.'S BILL

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (83), "An Act to incorporate the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Railway Company," with amendments. He said: Two of the clauses of this Bill are amended. One is the clause respecting the head office. By the Bill as it came to us it was in Winnipeg, Manitoba, but the promoter of the Bill, strange to say, applied to us to change it to the town of Port Arthur, in the Province of Ontario. The second amendment relates simply to one of the points on the Seine River, making the point of departure at or near the Seine River and thence to Lake of the Woods. On that point I apprehend there is no difficulty whatever; it is a change to make it more congruous with the other parts of the Bill.

HON. MR. SUTHERLAND moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

HON. MR. DICKEY.

KINGSTON AND PEMBROKE RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (69), "An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company," with an amendment. He said: This Bill relates to a railway of some importance running into the city of Kingston from Pembroke. Under the charter which this proposes to amend some work had been attempted to be done in the way of extension, or branches, and the result was litigation. The Bill, as it came to us from the House of Commons, did not contain, of course, the proviso which has been added here, but we were apprehensive that if the Bill passed in its then shape it would enable the company to make extensions from the end of the line in the city of Kingston through property where there was an objection to it, and might lead to more litigation. The persons who made objection to it did not object to the power of building branches anywhere outside of the city of Kingston, so the views of the parties became completely modified and made unanimous in the course of the negotiations. The parties were represented before us, and the result was this proviso, which contains a special reservation that it shall not affect any pending litigation, and the powers conferred upon the company of building the branches shall not extend to any lands within the city of Kingston. As the parties connected with the city of Kingston made the only objection that was raised to the Bill, this fairly reconciled all the conflicting views, and the result is that the amendment has been agreed to by both sides, and therefore I see no objection to the adoption of the report.

HON. MR. SULLIVAN moved that the amendment be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

ST. GABRIEL LEVEE AND RAILWAY COMPANY.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved the third reading of Bill (45), "An Act to revive

and amend the Acts relating to the St. Gabriel Levee and Railway Company."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I had the honor of bringing before the House an objection to a clause of this Bill that I thought it was open to in section 4, and I have been discussing with my hon. friends who are promoting the Bill, and there will be no objection to the motion that I am about to make, that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that section 4 thereof be struck out, and do not stand part of the Bill.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—There is no objection.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved the third reading of the Bill as amended.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

SPEEDY TRIAL OF CERTAIN INDICTABLE OFFENCES BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (17), "An Act to make further provision respecting the Speedy Trial of Certain Indictable Offences."

(In the Committee.)

On the second clause,

HON. MR. POWER—If the hon. gentleman who has charge of the Bill will look at paragraph (d), in sub-clause 3, he will see that the expression :

"County attorney or clerk of the peace, includes in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, any clerk of a county court, and in the Province of Manitoba any crown attorney, the prothonotary of the Court of Queen's Bench, and any deputy prothonotary thereof, any deputy clerk of the peace, and the deputy clerk of the Crown and Pleas for any district in the said Province."

Nothing is said as to the meaning of the expression, "county attorney" or clerk of the peace in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. It occurs to me, although it may not be absolutely necessary, that it might be as well to define the meaning of the term as applied to those Provinces as well as to the others.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That I understand applies to the previous clauses and defines some of the phrases in the previous clause.

HON. MR. POWER—No ; the object of this second clause of the Bill is to define certain terms, and in this paragraph it undertakes to define the terms "county attorney" and "clerk of the peace" as regards four of the Provinces, but not as regards Ontario and Quebec. I believe they have an officer called the county attorney in the Province of Ontario, and I presume it was not considered necessary to include him.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is not defining the phrase ; it is naming another officer who may act along with the other official mentioned in the Bill.

HON. MR. POWER—In the Province of Nova Scotia there is not any clerk of the peace now, and another officer—clerk of the county court—is substituted for him.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Is there no county attorney in Nova Scotia ?

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Then this obviously answers the purpose, for it would be a substitution.

The clause was agreed to.

On the title,

HON. MR. POWER—Before the title is adopted I wish to call the attention of the leader of the House to the fact that the person selected to prosecute does not seem to me to be the best officer to do it, judging from my experience as regards the Province of Nova Scotia. In clause 12 it is provided that :

"The county attorney or clerk of the peace, or other prosecuting officer, may, with the consent of the judge, prefer against the prisoner a charge or charges for any offence or offences for which he may be tried under the provisions of this Act."

In the Province of Nova Scotia the clerk of the county court would be the prosecuting officer, and in that Province, as a rule, the clerk of the county court is not a professional man, and it is a doubtful policy to provide that an officer

who is not a professional man, and who is out of practice if he is a professional man, should have to undertake the duty of preferring charges against the prisoner, and acting as prosecutor.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—As the law stood it simply provided that the county attorney or clerk of the peace should undertake this duty.

HON. MR. POWER—It did not apply to the lower Provinces, then?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is what is called the clerk of the county in Nova Scotia. He is an official very similar, I suppose, to the clerk of the peace, and from his familiarity with the proceedings he knows enough to prefer a charge against a person, I presume. This clause has received the consideration of Sir John Thompson, who is an advocate from Nova Scotia, and knows more about it than I do.

HON. MR. POWER—If the hon. gentleman will defer the third reading of the Bill until to-morrow he might call the attention of the Minister of Justice to the matter.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I made a note of the very objection which my hon. friend has raised, for I know that the clerk of the county court, as a rule, is not a man capable of formulating a charge.

HON. MR. GOWAN—Perhaps my hon. friend did not observe the provisions in the 21st section.

HON. MR. POWER—That does not affect it. My hon. friend does not expect that the Local Government of Nova Scotia will dismiss a large number of clerks of county courts there in order that men may be appointed who are qualified to act under this law.

HON. MR. GOWAN—It is quite clear that those provisions are not intended to apply, unless they are put in force by the Governor-in-Council.

HON. MR. MACINNES, from the Committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

HON. MR. POWER.

GREAT NORTH-WEST RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. VIDAL moved the second reading of Bill (49), "An Act respecting the Alberta and Athabasca Railway Company, and to change the name of the company to the Great North-Western Railway Company." He said: This company find that the limit given to their line by their charter is a difficulty in the way of their obtaining money. Capitalists are not disposed to engage in the construction of so short a line. In order to meet that difficulty, having received assurances that if they do extend the limit of their line the funds for construction will be immediately forthcoming, the company asked for power to extend their line northward from the Canadian Pacific Railway, and southward also to the international boundary line. They give in the Bill very strong assurances of relying upon being able to get the money, and they ask for authority to extend the line from some point north of the Red Deer River to the Peace River, at or near Dunvegan; and also from its southern terminal points in a southerly direction to Lethbridge, and bind themselves to complete 100 miles from the point of its intersection with the Canadian Pacific Railway in a northerly direction towards Edmonton by the 1st of December, 1890, and the remainder to a point at or near Edmonton by the 1st of December, 1891, and to complete its line to Lethbridge by the 1st of December, 1892. They also desire that when they go into their larger operations that the name of the company shall be changed.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

ATLANTIC AND NORTH-WEST RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved the second reading of Bill (65), "An Act respecting the Atlantic and North-West Railway Company." He said: The object of this Bill is to extend the time for completing the railway five years. The company have built a large portion of the road, for which they

got this charter in the first place, and they want to have Montreal fixed as the place for their head office.

HON. MR. POWER—I have grave doubts as to whether this is a Bill the principle of which should be adopted by this House. This is the company which undertook to construct what is known as the Short Line Railway from Montreal to St. John and Halifax. They have built their road to St. John—at least they have made a connection with roads which run into St. John—and they come to Parliament and ask that the time for completing the road—that is, for building the section which is to give connection with Halifax—be extended for five years. Under their charter, and under the contract which the company had with the Government, the time expires on the 1st of July of the present year, and this is a proposition practically to extend that time for five years, which would look as though the company really did not propose to supply the link in the Short Line which gives connection with the Province of Nova Scotia and the south-eastern portion of New Brunswick. I cannot help feeling that it is very doubtful whether this House should approve of the principle of such a Bill. It should contain, at any rate, some provision by which the company should be obliged to proceed with the construction of the line from Harvey to Salisbury immediately.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I agree with my hon. friend. It seems to me there is no earnest of this company completing the link between Harvey and Moncton. When the subsidy was voted for this road the intention was that it should be extended to Moncton to connect with the Intercolonial Railway. The time for completion expires on the 1st of July, and there is no evidence of an intention to proceed with the work. We, of Nova Scotia, when the subsidy was granted in aid of this line, were assured, not only by the Government but by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, that this road would be extended to Moncton. I do not know whether the fault rests with the Government in not seeing that this is accomplished, but I do hope that they will take some means to compel the company, or the Canadian Pacific Railway, to complete this road. The Province of New

Brunswick does not care so much about it, because St. John is now connected with the line, and there is a rivalry between St. John and Halifax. But a great deal of dissatisfaction exists in Halifax. The public there has been looking for the completion of this road to Moncton, and I hope that the Government will endeavor to remedy any defect that there may be in their legislation and see that this road is completed from Harvey to Salisbury.

HON. MR. POWER—I see that the Bill has been amended in the House of Commons, but the amendment does not go far enough.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I think it would be treating this company very harshly to reject the Bill. They have built about two-thirds of their line, and they only ask for the usual extension of time to complete it. They have built over 320 miles.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

THE PRINTING OF PARLIAMENT.

CONSIDERATION OF THE THIRD REPORT.

HON. MR. READ moved the adoption of the third report of the Joint Committee on Printing. He said: This report recommends that certain documents be printed and certain other documents be not printed.

HON. MR. POWER—There are other things in that report besides those to which my hon. friend refers. There are recommendations as to the distribution of the Dominion Statutes. This recommendation was adopted:

“That it be an instruction to the Queen's Printer of Canada to send a copy of the Statutes, Annual and Consolidated, to each member of such of the Local Legislatures as will reciprocate by sending a copy of their respective Statutes, Annual and Consolidated, to each member of both Houses of the Dominion Parliament who therein represent the Province so desiring to reciprocate.”

I do not propose to object to that, though the sending of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada to the various members of the Local Legislatures involves a considerable expenditure, but I think the House ought to be aware of what we propose to do. Then the clerk of the committee reports that the expenditure for public printing for

the fiscal year 1887-88 was \$73,109.56. There are some recommendations with respect to the contractors, MacLean, Roger & Co., to which I do not propose to make any objection; but the general question to which I think it proper to call the attention of the House is this, that the amount which Canada expends for printing public documents is very large indeed, and is more than is represented in that report. As the Government are now apparently anxious to economise, and as they think it possible to save two or three thousand dollars in the expenses of this House, I think that this economy should not be limited to the Senate. They could save a very large sum of money by adopting a different principle in dealing with our Blue Books. In England, where the revenue is considerably larger than the revenue of Canada, the Blue Books are not distributed gratis, as they are distributed here. In England the practice is to offer parliamentary documents to the public at prices which just cover, as I understand, the cost of printing. I would suggest to the hon. leader of the House that the Finance Minister, who is anxious to economise, might take into consideration the desirability of adopting, at least to a certain extent, in Canada, the system which prevails in England. The other day I received—and I suppose every hon. member of this House received—a notice from the Auditor-General, asking how many copies, not more than six, of the Auditor-General's report I should wish to have. As there are practically 300 members in the two Houses of Parliament that would mean, if every one of them took as many copies as he was entitled to, that we should take, in addition to the copies distributed at the beginning of the Session, 1,800 copies of the Auditor-General's report. Now, that is a bulky and it must be an expensive volume; and I am satisfied that that expenditure alone would probably wipe out, if deducted from our annual outlay, all the considerable sum of which the hon. leader of the House spoke as having been added to the Senate's expenditure in the matter of stationery. Some of those departmental reports are books that possess very little general interest; and why they should be distributed wholesale gratuitously is something that I cannot understand. It is perfectly reasonable, perhaps,

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that each member of the Dominion Parliament should have one or two copies of each departmental report, but I think that there the gratuitous distribution should cease; and I hope that the hon. gentleman will direct the attention of his economical colleague, the Minister of Finance, to the considerable possibilities of economy which exist in this direction.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—We ought not to compare the English system with the one in force here; the conditions of the two countries differ. I think a great deal of this printed matter which is circulated is read. I know it is so, as far as my county is concerned. As far as the Auditor-General's report goes, it might with advantage to the public be more extensively circulated, so that the public would know where their money goes, and public opinion would suggest any remedy that might be deemed necessary to be applied. On the whole, I think that the circulation is not unreasonably extravagant.

HON. MR. READ—I had forgotten that there were two reports for consideration, and the brief explanation that I gave referred to the fourth report. I have to thank the hon. member for Halifax for calling my attention to the error.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—We have to thank the hon. member from Halifax for calling attention to the recommendation that copies of the Consolidated Statutes be sent to such of the Local Legislatures as will reciprocate. I have no idea how many members there may be in the various Legislatures, but supposing they all reciprocate this House would have to send copies of the Consolidated Statutes to the members of the Local Legislatures in all the Provinces of the Dominion, and it is easy to see what an enormous cost that would involve. Again, how is it to be ascertained? Are you to correspond with those Houses and keep your type standing until the number of copies needed is ascertained or are you to provide yourself with a certain number of copies to meet a possible demand? I would suggest that that clause be struck out.

HON. MR. POWER—It would mean about 300 extra copies.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—These extra copies are comparatively inexpensive. Once the reports are in type the printing of a few extra copies does not amount to much, and every facility should be given to those who are called upon to deliberate upon the public affairs of the country to inform themselves on the legislation affecting their Provinces. The only Province having a large number of members in the Local Legislature is Ontario. The representatives of Quebec are not very numerous.

HON. MR. POWER—If you add the members of the Legislative Council of Quebec to the members of the Legislative Assembly you will find the number is about the same in the two Provinces.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That would make about 300 copies altogether for the whole Dominion. I do not know that it would be more than that. I may be 50 or so wrong. These copies cost about \$1.25 each.

HON. MR. POWER—The Consolidated Statutes cost a great deal more than that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Queen's Printer advertises them for sale at a very moderate price indeed. It is under \$2, I am confident. The other suggestion of the hon. member from Halifax no doubt has a great deal of truth in it, as to the expense that could be saved, but I should be sorry to see that economy effected by restricting the circulation of the Auditor-General's report. That is a report in which every inhabitant of the country is interested, and it is of the greatest importance that every one who is capable of understanding it should see and examine it for himself, in order that he might judge for himself what truth there is in the wild statements that are made about the expenditure and the financial condition of the Dominion.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not object to the distribution of the statutes. I called attention to what the report embodied, and I called attention to the Auditor's report, to show how wide its distribution was. I think that report and the Trade and Navigation returns are the only two which there is any necessity to circulate largely.

The motion was agreed to.

SAFETY OF FISHERMEN BILL.

SECOND READING POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day being read—
“Second reading Bill (T), Safety of Fishermen,”

HON. MR. POWER said: As I understand that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has this matter under consideration, and has not had time to look into this Bill yet, I would move that the Order of the Day be discharged, and the second reading take place on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

NORTH-WESTERN JUNCTION AND LAKE OF THE WOODS RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. CLEWOW moved the second reading of Bill (73), “An Act to incorporate the North-Western Junction and Lake of the Woods Railway Company.” He said: This is a Bill for the purpose of constructing a road from a point in the town of Emerson in a westerly or north-westerly direction to Portage la Prairie and Brandon. This road will connect with the Great North-West Central Railway at Brandon and the Manitoba and North-Western Railway at Portage la Prairie, forming a junction with the Canadian Pacific Railway at these points. This line will shorten the distance between the eastern terminus, Lake of the Woods, and the western boundary of the Province of Manitoba 80 or 100 miles compared with any other road, and it opens for settlement a vast fertile region of country between Emerson and the Lake of the Woods. This road will render available the large and valuable supply of timber in and near the Lake of the Woods for building purposes and fuel throughout the Province of Manitoba.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read a second time.

QUEBEC BOARD OF TRADE BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. PELLETIER, in the absence of Mr. ROBILAILLE, moved the second reading of Bill (87), “An Act to amend the

Act to incorporate the Quebec Board of Trade." He said: The first and most important change in the Act is an amendment to the section which provides that all members of the Board of Trade shall be inhabitants of the city of Quebec. It is proposed to amend that so that any persons identified with trade, commerce and manufactures of Quebec, whether residing in the city or not, may be members. A good many members of the Board of Trade reside at Lévis, and it is important that these should be eligible for membership. The other amendments refer more to the administration of the Board of Trade.

The motion was agreed to.

SECOND READING.

Bill (90), "An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company and the Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec Railway Company." (Mr. Read).

WINDING-UP ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (98), "An Act to amend 'The Winding-up Act,' Chapter 129, of the Revised Statutes." He said: This Bill has several objects, some of which are of considerable importance, but the greater part of which are mere machinery which this Bill improves. In the first place, it extends the operation of the Winding-up Act to causes beyond those which are specified in the Act as it stands. Those causes are somewhat restricted now, and this enables the winding-up under other circumstance than those which are provided in the Act, as, for instance, when the company itself has deliberately come to the conclusion, and declared it by resolution passed at a special general meeting of the shareholders called for the purpose, it is possible under this Act in the discretion of the court to allow it to be wound up. That is one of the main grounds on which liquidation may take place. Another ground is when the capital stock has diminished by 25 per cent. There is a remedial clause which permits the judge to refuse, if good reason is shown why the company should not be wound up, even

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under circumstances such as these, and that will prevent any injustice resulting from these clauses. The Bill further provides for the extension of the persons who may apply for many details for more summary proceedings by the court in its discretion; it extends the clause respecting fraudulent preferences to a certain extent, which is an important clause, and really required amendments. Under the Act as it stood the debtors of insolvent companies have been able to escape payment by purchasing claims which were worthless and setting one off against another. There are other small amendments which I have included in the Bill, and which will come up separately before the House when the Bill is referred to a Committee of the Whole.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

INTEREST BILL.

CONSIDERATION IN COMMITTEE POSPONED.

The Order of the Day being read—"Committee of the Whole House on Bill (N), to amend Revised Statutes respecting Interest,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The difficulties which appeared to us all in the Bill on its first introduction I have made up my mind as to a mode of remedying, and I shall be prepared to submit an amendment to the House in committee. Another question has been started since the Bill was last before the House, respecting another important point—indeed, the effect of a certain section of the Act respecting interest which now stands on the Statute Book in respect of penalties. It would appear from this clause, as it has been inserted in the Revised Statutes, that the old-fashioned triple penalty for usury is still applicable to a very narrow class of incorporated companies. There does not appear to be any cause for it. However, the matter is under consideration, and I shall be prepared to submit a clause on that question when the Bill is before the House in committee.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the whole chapter in the Revised Statutes on interest requires to be re-cast. At the present time it is merely a conglomeration of

enactments made without any method and by different Legislatures, and they are anything but harmonious.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Order of the Day be discharged, and that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the Whole House, on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

FISHERIES IN NOVA SCOTIA BILL.

SECOND READING POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day being read—
“Second reading Bill (Q), to revive certain regulations respecting Fisheries in Nova Scotia,”

HON. MR. POWER said: I move that the Order of the Day be discharged. Perhaps the House will allow me very briefly to explain what this Bill proposes to do. The Fisheries Act of the year 1868 continued in force certain chapters of the Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, chapters 94 and 95, and also certain Acts of the Legislature of Nova Scotia passed subsequently to the third series of the Revised Statutes, which became law in 1864. In keeping alive these enactments the Fisheries Act also provided that the regulations made under those Acts should continue in force until repealed by regulations made by the Governor-in-Council of the Dominion, and it provided that certain Dominion officers should take the place of certain officers mentioned in the Nova Scotia statutes.

In the year 1875 the Parliament of Canada passed an Act which repealed those Nova Scotia statutes, and also repealed the regulations which had been made under the Statutes, and made no provision for supplying the places of those regulations. In most cases no regulations have been made since that time to take the place of the regulations which governed the shore fisheries in Nova Scotia previous to the year 1875. The fishermen, in most instances, I presume, are still unaware of the fact that these regulations are not any longer in force, and have gone on working under the old regulations, under the supposition that they are still valid. If they could continue in that blissful state of ignorance there might be no special object in reviving

those regulations; but once in a while even Nova Scotia fishermen get into litigation, and when a lawsuit takes place with regard to a berth for mackerel, or some other fishing, it is discovered that the regulations under which the fishermen are acting are not valid in law. The object of this Bill is simply to provide that, where no regulations have been made by the Governor in Council to take the place of the old regulations, they shall remain in force—that is, so far as they are not inconsistent with the law of Canada or with any regulations made under the Canadian law—until they are repealed by regulations made by the Governor in Council.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend has correctly stated the reasons why we desire down in Nova Scotia to have some new regulations. I know that difficulties have arisen in my own county in regard to the shore fishing, and I know that cases brought before the justices there have in many instances failed in consequence of there being no authority for the acts, and no way in which to regulate the setting of nets and placing of seines. Therefore, I am with my hon. friend from Halifax in this matter; but as regards the other Bill which has been passed over for the present, I hope my hon. friend will see that it is desirable he should drop it altogether.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is a difficulty which strikes one in the proposition of my hon. friend, and that is, he proposes to ratify a large number of regulations that are not before us. I presume that difficulty can be overcome by giving us some means of knowing what those regulations are?

HON. MR. DICKEY—I was about to suggest, with regard to the object of this Bill, which I think is a very laudable one, that it would be certainly more convenient in every way if, instead of asking for legislation to ratify those regulations, the regulations themselves should be adopted as amendments to the Fisheries Act, so that it would be before the world with the other legislation. But if we did get this amendment in the Fisheries Act we would have to hark back to the legislation of Nova Scotia to find out what those

regulations were. I think my hon. friend the leader of the Government, in conjunction with the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, should try to embody whatever amendments are required as distinct clauses in amendment to the Fisheries Act.

HON. MR. POWER—I am glad the objection is raised, because it enables one to meet it. Those regulations were recognized by the Act of 1868—the Fisheries Act. It continued all those regulations in force; and I am satisfied that no regulations of any consequence have been made in Nova Scotia since 1868—at any rate none since 1875. They were in force, and were recognized by the Government and Parliament of Canada up to the end of 1875; and this Bill does not propose to ratify any regulations made since that, if any were made. It proposes simply to leave the regulations which were in force in 1875 in force now, as they would have been if that clause of the Act of 1875 which, I believe, must have been passed under a misapprehension, had not been passed. Those regulations are not of the character that the hon. gentleman from Amherst thinks, because they were purely local regulations. In the various counties of the Province the Sessions of the Peace were authorized to make regulations as to the fisheries in the different bays and little fishing settlements along the coasts. Those regulations were made generally by the inhabitants themselves. The fishermen met together and agreed upon certain regulations for the harmonious carrying on of the fisheries. They were reduced to writing by a magistrate or some other educated man, and then submitted to the County Sessions, and the Sessions either ratified them in their existing form, or with amendments, and they were enforced in the different localities. There are different regulations in different localities. The fishermen have made them to suit themselves; and hon. gentlemen will see that it would be very difficult indeed to collect all those regulations and embody them in the form of a Bill—in fact, it would be quite impracticable; but whenever the Department of Marine and Fisheries deem it desirable that any

general regulations should be made, of course these regulations would repeal any of the local regulations which conflict with them; and I do not see that the reviving of them could do any harm, but it would be productive of a great deal of good and would satisfy the fishermen along the shore.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Is it possible to get some authenticated copy of those rules and regulations, so that we might see what we are confirming?

HON. MR. POWER—Parliament confirmed them in 1868, and they remained in force until 1875. They were made by the Sessions of the Peace to suit the wants of the people of the different districts. I suppose copies could be had, but it would be a very long task to collect them. As a rule, those regulations existed before Confederation, and were continued for eight years after Confederation, down to 1875, when they were summarily wiped out by what I consider to be this unwise clause in one of the sections of the Act of 1875.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am afraid it would be difficult to collect them, as each Sessions of the Peace has its own regulations adapted to the locality.

HON. MR. POWER—I move that the Order of the Day be discharged, and that the second reading of the Bill be made an Order of the Day for Monday.

The motion was agreed to, and the Order of the Day discharged.

CERTIFICATES OF MASTERS AND MATES BILL.

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day being called—Committee of the Whole on Bill (26), "An Act to amend the Act respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships, Chapter 73 of the Revised Statutes,"

HON. MR. POWER said: I have been informed by a member from Nova Scotia in the other Chamber that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who introduced this Bill, has to a certain extent modified his views on the measure. My informant may not be correct in his information; but the leader of the House will have an opportunity to consult the Minister of Marine and

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Fisheries, and perhaps he would not object to letting this Bill stand over until Monday. I shall make just one observation to show the desirability of that course. This Bill provides that a ship may go to any point on the eastern coast of South America without a certificated master or mate. The voyage to the coast of South America, even as far as the mouth of the Amazon River, is a more difficult and longer one than the voyage to Europe. I have consulted an experienced captain on the subject, and he says that the voyage to Europe is a much easier one than the voyage to South America. The object of the introducer of the Bill, as I understand it, was to allow vessels to go to the West Indies and British Guiana—Demarara is the port to which they go—without a certificated master or mate. I think the better way would be to let the alterations stop there. I have understood from the leader of the House that it was proposed to allow them to go to Bermuda also. I think that is a proper thing to do, for Bermuda is only about half way to the West Indies, and as the Bill has to be amended in any case the hon. gentleman might not object to allow it to stand over until Monday, to get it right. I am not contending that we should have certificated masters and mates at all, but if a ship is not allowed to go to Europe without a certificated master or mate surely she should not be allowed to go to Buenos Ayres or Montevideo, a longer and more difficult voyage, without a certificated master or mate. As I understand that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has modified his views on the matter, the Bill might be allowed to stand for further enquiry.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—As far as Nova Scotia is concerned, I think the ship-owners would be quite satisfied to limit it to the distances my hon. friend has mentioned. It would quite meet the trade of small vessels trading with Guadaloupe and the coast of South America. Bermuda is in the direct track of our vessels going to the West Indies, and the fact is they go either side of the island, and I can see no reason why Bermuda should not be included in the Act. I know that some of our smallest class of vessels—some 50 or 60 ton vessels—go to the Bermudas with potatoes, fish and such products.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think Bermuda ought to be included in the Act, and I think there was an intention to put it there, but the language does not cover it, and I propose at the proper time to make that amendment. I am a little surprised at what my hon. friend from Halifax tells me, as regards the views of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. I had an interview with him to-day, just before the House opened, and he expressed himself as being of the same opinion as he was in the first instance—that the Bill was an improvement on what we had, and he hoped it would pass. As he put it, under the law as it now stands a vessel can go past all those places to which my hon. friend objects—a coasting vessel can go to any part of the United States or Canada, can go round Cape Horn and up to British Columbia by the west coast without a certificated master or mate. The object of this Bill is to enable vessels which at present can go past certain ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coast to enter those ports. It seems an absurdity that a vessel that can go down along the coast of South America, around Cape Horn and up the West Coast of America cannot stop at any of the ports in Brazil or Chili, or the Argentine Republic. In point of fact, that is what it is intended to effect, and to give them the right to call at and clear from any of those ports along the coast.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend from Halifax does not seem to think that certificates are necessary at all.

HON. MR. POWER—I do.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I move that the Order of the Day be discharged, and that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on this Bill, to-morrow.

Motion was agreed to, and the Order of the Day was discharged.

EXPROPRIATION OF LANDS BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on Bill (P), "An Act respecting Expropriation of Lands."

(In the Committee.)

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the Minister would tell us what the changes from the existing law are?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There was an attempt made to amend the Act as it stood. There are several respects in which it required amendment, but it was found really almost impracticable. It would have made the whole matter so confused, and it was thought better to re-cast the Bill altogether, and it has been re-cast, in many instances, without much change.

On clause 10,

HON. MR. POWER—I can understand that in the old Act this provision as to the depositing of a plan of the land at any time required was intended to cover land which was at that time in possession of Her Majesty. The law, I presume, previous to the passing of the Act, did not require that the plan should be deposited, and the Government was given an unlimited time, apparently, to make up for that defect; but now time is given for filing plans. It seems to me that it would be unreasonable to allow the Government to postpone the filing of plans for an unlimited time. There ought to be some time within which the Department taking the land should file the plan.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is really in order to enable the Crown, where it is in possession of land under what it believes to be a good title, and finds some defect in the title, to remedy this defect by filing its plans and going through the process of expropriation. In that way it gets a good title and, of course, the real owner of the land is properly compensated, when, by keeping quiet a claim, the Crown might be defrauded.

HON. MR. POWER—Clause 8 provides that:

“Land taken for the use of Her Majesty shall be laid off by metes and bounds; and when no proper deed or conveyance thereof to Her Majesty is made and executed by the person having the power to make such deed or conveyance, or when a person interested in such land is incapable of making such deed or conveyance, or when, for any other reason, the Minister deems it advisable so to do, a plan and description of such land, signed by the Minister, the deputy of the Minister or the secretary of the Department, or by the superintendent of the public work, or by an engineer of the Department, or by a land surveyor duly licensed and sworn in and for the Province in which the land is situate, shall be deposited of record in the office of the registrar

of deeds for the county or registration division in which the land is situate, and such land, by such deposit, shall thereupon become and remain vested in Her Majesty.”

The committee will see that is a very sweeping power, to say that an engineer or land surveyor may file a plan which has not been approved or ratified by the Minister; and immediately on the filing of that plan, without the concurrence of the owner, the land is vested in Her Majesty. Clause 10 does not oblige—I think it ought to—the Minister to file the plan within a reasonable time, so that the owner of the land may know what has been done. It would allow the engineer who was in charge of a public work to keep a plan in his possession for an unlimited time, and then on his filing this plan, made by himself and not approved by anybody else, the land would forthwith become vested in the Crown. I can understand why, as regards lands vested in the Crown at the time of the passing of the Act, almost unlimited time should be given to file the plans; but in other cases plans should be filed within a reasonable time. I do not undertake to say what is reasonable time; that should be determined by the committee and the Government.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive that the remedy which is sought to be attained by this clause is a remedy which might become necessary at any moment. There was a limit of twelve months before, but it was found to be a mere snare to the Department, because any claim, not obvious on the face of the documents, was simply kept quiet until the period when the plans were to be filed had elapsed, and then exorbitant demands were made on the Crown. It is not to be presumed that a wanton use of this power would be made by any Minister of the Crown. It must be that the Minister will, at all times, employ properly educated and trained persons to make the expropriation. The only point is this, that the Crown may at any time enter upon possession, under an agreement or permit, or any other kind of a document, and they are supposed to be there by authority from the virtual owner of the property; yet they may find out that this person has not got a clear title, and it is necessary to go to the real owner and pay him for the property. To do that they may take this

proceeding to enable the Crown to get the property and to compensate the proper owner.

The clause was agreed to.

On clause 35.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Clause 35 is new. It is intended to provide that a public work built under an appropriation of public money in any navigable water or harbor shall be deemed a lawful work. A difficulty of this kind has arisen in connection with some works at Halifax over a portion of the Bay, where the legality of a public Government wharf, regularly authorized and built with public money, was disputed. The object of this clause is to make it clear that where a work of public utility is built with public money under proper authority it shall be deemed to be a lawful work or structure.

HON. MR. POWER—This should not be allowed to affect any litigation pending.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Of course it will not. It is really intended to be a declaratory Act. As far as my information goes, there is no litigation of this kind pending; but supposing it were possible that there was some prosecution against the Government by reason of a pretention that a work so constructed is not a lawful work, I think we ought to set that right.

HON. MR. POWER—I happen to be aware of a case, not of a public work constructed by this Government, but one constructed by the Government of Nova Scotia—a bridge across Porter's Lake, in the county of Halifax, which was held to be an improper interference with navigation, because it encroached about 6 inches more upon the channel than the bridge which had previously stood there. There was litigation about that, and the Government were worsted, I think. Although the plaintiffs did not deserve very much consideration, still it would not be fair for the Legislature to step in and declare that that structure should be deemed from the beginning to have been a lawful public work.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will see that this would not include such a work; that the authority given to con-

struct any public work of this kind includes only authority to interfere in such manner and to such extent as shall be approved by the Governor in Council.

The clause was agreed to.

HON. MR. ODELL, from the committee, reported the Bill without any amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the report be received and adopted.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was ordered for third reading, to-morrow.

The Senate adjourned at 5:30 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 28th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE SOLICITOR OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

ENQUIRY.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.) inquired.

Whether G. M. Clarke, Solicitor of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, is the same person who was judge of the united counties of Northumberland and Durham, Ontario? If so—

1st. When did he receive his commission as judge of said counties?

2nd. When was he pensioned?

3rd. What is the amount of his annual pension?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—In answer to the first portion of the question, I have to say that he is the same person; second, that he received his commission of judge to the said counties 14th December, 1858. His pension commenced on the 1st of December, 1887; the amount of his annual pension is \$1,600.

SPEEDY TRIALS OF INDICTABLE OFFENCES BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (17), "An Act to make further provision respecting the speedy Trial of certain Indictable Offences." He said: This is the Bill respecting which we

had some discussion yesterday, and it was suggested by some hon. gentlemen opposite that I should enquire whether it is not possible to name another officer than the clerk of the County Court in Nova Scotia to conduct these trials. I have had a conference with my hon. friend the Minister of Justice on the subject. He tells me that a number of these officers are really legal men, and all more or less fitted for the work they have to do, and he finds it impossible to point out another class that would be more efficient. Moreover, he considers it of the utmost importance that the work should be done by the clerk of the court who tries the case, and although some of them may not be at the moment competent, they will become so very soon, and at all events it is the best he can do.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

EXPROPRIATION OF LANDS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being read—
“Third reading Bill (B), Expropriation of Lands,”

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: There are certain trifling alterations in this Bill, almost entirely verbal, which somehow or other were overlooked yesterday, and I think the most convenient way to make them would be to refer the Bill back to a Committee of the Whole House for the purpose. I move that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be re-committed for further consideration.

The motion was agreed to.

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. SCOTT—Does this supersede the present Expropriation Act?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; to the extent to which it is modified, it is a substitute for it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I see in the 14th clause provision is made for the expropriation of lands owned by a Province.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That, I think, is just as it was before.

HON. MR. POWER.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I see it is taken from the Revised Statutes, but I think something more is necessary. If I understand the present law, where the Federal Government take Crown lands from a Province for any public purpose the mode of expropriating is by filing a plan in the Crown Lands Office, and notifying any persons who are squatters on the land, or who have claims that may not be recognized by the Department.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This seems to be an additional precaution to be taken where the land belongs to a Province. The whole procedure, otherwise, is the same.

HON. MR. ODELL, from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (100). “An Act further to amend the Civil Service Act, Chapter 17 of the Revised Statutes.” He said: This is a Bill to make some alterations in the various arrangements, principally under the Post Office Department. The first clause has reference to the Civil Service generally. It provides for the reduction of the salary of the clerk of the Board of Examiners, and for the reduction of the salaries of the members of the board, as it will not sit so often in future. The second section repeals and substitutes another clause for section 2 of the present Act. That is merely for the purpose of including post office officials amongst others who may now by law be appointed without having passed the Civil Service examination. It is considered that they are a class of officers whose capacity for the functions of their office is not to be tested by an examination before the board. Then there is a change to be made which will enable the salaries of post masters in certain districts to be adjusted. Another provision is to establish a regular scale of salaries to railway mail clerks for night service. The payment in future, in addition to the regular salary, is to be in proportion to the service rendered. They will be paid by mileage, an allow-

ance not exceeding half a cent per mile for every mile travelled on duty in the post office cars, and an additional allowance of half a cent per mile for every mile so travelled between 10 in the afternoon and 6 in the forenoon. This will effect a considerable saving in respect of payments for extra duty. The other clauses are mainly for adjusting the salaries of postmasters at two or three of the larger towns. In the case of the city postmasters, it is intended to equalize the salaries of the postmasters at Montreal and Toronto, for in point of fact the business of the post office at Toronto is considerably larger than that of the post office in Montreal, while the salary of the postmaster is smaller. There is another provision which will enable the salary of a postmaster to be slightly increased in proportion to the increase of work.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

THE PRINTING OF PARLIAMENT.

FOURTH REPORT ADOPTED.

The Order of the Day being called—
“Consideration of the Fourth Report of the Joint Committee on Printing.”

HON. MR. POWER (in the absence of Hon. Mr. READ) moved that the report be adopted.

The motion was agreed to, and the report was adopted.

HOUSE OF COMMONS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (108), “An Act to amend Chapter 13 of the Revised Statutes, intituled, ‘An Act respecting the House of Commons.’” He said: This is a Bill to make a slight alteration in the domestic arrangements of the House of Commons. The money voted for the purposes of the House itself is by this Bill to be subject to the order of commissioners as it now is. There is a slight alteration in the arrangement respecting the management of this fund, which I understand is of very little importance, but I am not posted on it at the moment.

If the House will allow the Bill to go to the second reading I will be prepared to point out the exact alteration to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to and the Bill was read the second time.

EXCHEQUER COURT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (109), “An Act to amend the Law respecting the Exchequer Court of Canada.” He said: This Bill is intended to extend, in some degree, the powers of the court, or, rather, to define them than to extend them, and in some respects to extend them also. The first provision is to enable a reference on any minor matter to one of the officers of the court to inquire into and report upon, and if necessary to call in assessors to assist. The next provision of it is the power for making rules regulating the procedure of the court, and there is a further rule added which is of some importance, with regard to adjudicating upon claims, that if the injury to any land or property alleged to be injuriously affected by the construction of a work can be removed by the alteration of the work or the construction of an additional work, and the Crown should offer to make the addition or alteration, that the judgment of the court may be modified in view of that offer, and be made subject to the obligation of the Government to make the modification required. There is a further provision to allow interest to be paid on moneys under judgment at the rate of 4 per cent.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

SUPREME AND EXCHEQUER COURTS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (105), “An Act further to amend the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act.” He said: This Bill has for its principal object to extend the appellate jurisdiction of this court to cases from the judgment of any court of last resort created under the provincial legislation to adjudicate concerning the assessment of property for provincial or municipal purposes, in cases where the person or

persons presiding over such court is or are appointed by provincial or municipal authority, and the judgment appealed from involves the assessment of property at a value of not less than \$10,000. The next clause purports to authorize the Governor-in-Council to suspend the operation of certain rules, but it is not improbable that I may ask the House to consider that further when we come into Committee of the Whole. The other clauses are simply to make provision for carrying on suits where either party to a suit dies during its pendency.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not propose to oppose the second reading of this Bill, but the policy indicated in the first section, to give appeals from courts created under provincial legislation on cases concerning the assessment of property for provincial or municipal purposes, seems to me to be very doubtful. These assessments are generally made by the local municipal officers in the first instance, and from the decision of those officers appeal is given by local legislation. If there is one case more than another in which it is desirable that litigation should stop at an early date it is in the case of assessments, for otherwise very serious difficulties may occur in striking the rates if there are a number of appeals. These assessments are things that cannot stand over for months, and it is of great consequence that the assessment of any city, or of any rural district for that matter, should be finally fixed at a very early day, and under this provision that would become impossible. As a rule, the provincial laws have so arranged things that these appeals are adjudicated upon and disposed of before the collection under the assessment begins; but if a party who complains of his assessment is allowed to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada a decision may not be reached for a year afterwards. It strikes me that this alteration in the law is going to cause very serious inconvenience, and I hope that the hon. gentleman who has charge of the Bill will consider that, as well as the second clause, between now and the time we go into committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand that there have been several instances of what

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might be called very hard cases arising out of local prejudice or local disputes, where appellate jurisdiction is very much needed indeed; and as this is confined to cases where the assessment is over \$10,000 it does not seem to me likely to cause any great difficulty anywhere, or that the appeals are likely to be very numerous. If a man is wrong in appealing he has to pay the costs, and the costs of an appeal to the Supreme Court are very heavy. I will confer with the Minister of Justice about the matter, and I will mention to him the views expressed by the hon. gentleman, and see if there can be any modification of the clause.

HON. MR. LACOSTE—Is there not an appeal already under the law as it exists?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Very probably there is in Quebec, but not from any of the other Provinces.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF FORESTERS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. REESOR moved the second reading of Bill (74), "An Act to incorporate the Supreme Court of the Independent Order of Foresters." He said: This Bill has passed the House of Commons without any opposition, and it was very carefully gone into there before the Banking Committee, who had the assistance of the inspector of insurance.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

WRECKING BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. VIDAL moved the second reading of Bill (2), "An Act to permit Foreign Vessels to aid Vessels Wrecked or Disabled in Canadian Waters." He said: The whole of this Bill is comprised within the three lines of the first clause: "United States vessels of all descriptions may render aid or assistance to United States or other vessels wrecked or disabled in Canadian waters contiguous to the United States."

The other clauses are merely added to provide for bringing the Act into force

and limiting its duration. It might very naturally be supposed that a Bill of this kind would meet with universal approbation. It certainly seems, at first sight, that there could not possibly be any reasonable objection made to it. It contemplates the position of vessels in distress, or wrecked, life and property exposed to loss, and it might be supposed that would be a sufficient reason to make it lawful for a vessel of any country whatever to render assistance to a ship or other vessel in such a position. Still, we find that the coasting law, as it at present exists, does not warrant it. Hon. gentlemen must be aware of the present restrictions of that law with reference to this matter, as well as those of the laws of the United States. It is a matter of fact that although a vessel may get into urgent distress—say an American vessel in Canadian waters—by the strict letter of the law she cannot be assisted by any tugs of her own nation. Although they may be close at hand, they may not come and relieve her. Now, it is quite true that the authorities of our country and also the authorities of the United States have, I believe, invariably sanctioned every effort which has proved to be necessary for the protection and preservation of life and property, although in violation of law, so that practically there may not have been that evil result from the existence of such a law that might otherwise have been expected; but does not this prove the necessity and desirability of making that lawful which, by common consent, is right and proper to be done? Why should a right act be an illegal act? That fact alone should prove that the barriers ought to be removed which interfere with carrying out these acts of necessity and humanity. The extent to which we are interested in this matter may be judged when we think of the disproportion between the marine interests of the United States and those of Canada. I have been looking at the official table furnished to the United States Congress. It is true that it is for 1887, but we cannot get for any period nearer than that. From that statement I find that seventy-three vessels were totally lost in 1887, and of these sixty-five were wrecked in United States waters and eight in Canadian waters. Of

vessels not totally lost, but which were a partial loss, in number 102, ninety came into that position in United States waters and twelve in Canadian waters. Hon. gentlemen will be struck with the proportion of interest which the two countries had in the matter. Then, as to the interest of the two countries in the seventy-three vessels totally lost, fifty-four were American and eleven were British. Of the 102 partially lost, ninety-six belonged to the United States and six were British. It is quite obvious, then, that the interest of the United States is very much greater than ours.

HON. MR. MILLER—Is the Bill intended to have operation in Canadian ocean waters?

HON. MR. VIDAL—I should judge not. However, that is a matter for lawyers to determine. The Bill says: "Canadian waters contiguous to the United States." I am dealing now entirely with the inland waters, extending from Montreal to Port Arthur. Although I do not think that the United States deserve any commendation from our people for their general treatment of Canada, I certainly think that in this matter they deserve praise, and have set us a good example.

HON. MR. MILLER—Because it suits them.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I believe that in this instance they have been guided by the dictates of humanity. Nine years ago they placed on their Statute Book an Act identical with this Bill which is now before the House, word for word the same, except that "United States" is changed to "Canada." They have held out to us for nine years this offer of reciprocity in wrecking; they have told us that although the disproportion is so great between our interest and theirs they are willing to give us this reciprocity, and I believe they have done it in the interest of humanity and good neighborhood. As a certain proof that they have not changed their mind in this matter, notwithstanding the little irritations that have taken place between us during the last few years, we find that so late as last year a Bill was proposed to be enacted in their Congress giving still greater privileges than the Act of nine years ago contains. I hold in my

hand the Bill introduced in the United State Congress and reported favorably upon by the Foreign Affairs Committee, and only prevented from becoming law by the adjournment of Congress and near approach of the Presidential election. This Bill proposed to give Canadian vessels the right to render assistance to vessels in distress as well as when wrecked or disabled in United States waters contiguous to Canada, and to take in pumps and other appliances; that was a large extension of the privileges granted by the former law. I regret that this Bill, as it was originally introduced in the other House by Mr. Kirkpatrick, was not adopted, for it gave permission to foreign vessels to enter Canadian waters with all appliances and to render aid and assistance to distressed as well as wrecked and disabled vessels, thus covering a much wider field of assistance than is covered by the Bill as it now stands. I deeply regret that having before us this plain declaration of good will and desire on the part of the Americans to enact legislation of this kind, that instead of meeting them in the same friendly spirit, instead of legislating as I would like to—outdoing them in generosity—we are falling back on what I call a kind of school-boy argument—"If you injure me I will injure you"—which I think is a low motive to influence legislators and statesmen. I think it would have been more creditable to us, not only to accept their Bill which they propose to improve and enlarge, but by our legislation here to show that we fully reciprocate their good will in this respect and their desire to aid in the protection of life and property when in jeopardy.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I understood that the Bill before us was an exact counterpart of their Bill.

HON. MR. VIDAL—It is an exact counterpart of their Bill of nine years ago.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Which is still on their Statute Book?

HON. MR. VIDAL—Yes; and would come into operation on the passing of this Bill.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I did not catch the distinction between the later Bill and the present one.

HON. MR. VIDAL

HON. MR. VIDAL—The present Bill does not cover the case of vessels in distress, and not actually wrecked and disabled, nor permit the bringing in of wrecking appliances. Suppose a sailing vessel on a lee shore, a point ahead of her and a point astern of her, and she is unable to get out?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—She is in distress.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Yes; but relief is not provided for in the Bill before us. That is why I think Mr. Kirkpatrick's original Bill was better than this.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—No law, human or divine, prevents any one from helping a vessel in distress.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I think the hon. gentleman is quite right as to the divine law, but what is the human law? It is the written law, and I say its letter is violated by the performance of these acts which humanity requires us to perform, and that is why I contend we should bring the written law into harmony with the standard of what is right and fit to be done. A few instances may be mentioned to show the way in which the present law has operated. For instance, hon. gentlemen may remember the steamer "Spartan," a Canadian vessel, getting stranded on a Canadian island in Lake Superior. In her difficulty she was aided by an American tug; there were no Canadian tugs near. They got her off, and so she was able to be towed into port. Of course, the officers naturally wished to take her to a Canadian port for repairs, but the captain of the American tug says: "I cannot do that; I should be liable to seizure and a fine. I must tug you to an American port." What is the consequence? The cost of the repairs, \$26,000, is expended in the United States and lost to Canadian workmen, and when the vessel is brought into Canadian waters a heavy duty was paid on the materials used in the repairs.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—As I understand, my hon. friend is going to perpetuate that very thing.

HON. MR. MILLER—It would not be the case with an ocean-going vessel.

HON. MR. VIDAL—If there was perfect freedom, such as this Bill would give, the American captain could not have said: "I cannot go into a Canadian port."

HON. MR. McCALLUM—What was to hinder him?

HON. MR. VIDAL—He could be seized for coming in.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Anyone knows better than that.

HON. MR. VIDAL—It is all very well to say that the law would be set aside by the Customs officials. I do not want to leave it to the discretion of the officials. I want to make the law right.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Was there anything to prevent that vessel from clearing from Sault Ste. Marie and towing the vessel to Owen Sound or Collingwood?

HON. MR. SCOTT—Yes; the American vessel would be liable to seizure if she touched two Canadian ports in succession.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The Sault Ste. Marie Canal is in American waters.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Take the case of the steamer "Algoma," a splendid steel steamer owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which was lost on Isle Royal, in Lake Superior. Although the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had all the necessary wrecking appliances at Port Arthur, within fifty miles, they could not be employed, and American appliances had to be used, so that all the profit that was obtained in discharging these duties went to foreigners. Now, hon. gentlemen say the law is not enforced in these matters sometimes, but it always may be and sometimes is. Is it not known to them that in a very simple case which occurred at the east end of Lake Ontario a few years ago a small tug was towing four loaded canal boats in the open lake when a storm came on, a storm so severe that, humanly speaking, nothing could save the tug or the barges in tow unless aid was given to them. One of our Canadian tugs went to their assistance and fortunately was successful in bringing them safely into Oswego. What was the result? The Canadian tug was seized and the owner was obliged to give a bond for a \$400 fine

for performing this meritorious act. The bond was subsequently cancelled, but if such an act is right, do not let us have a man made liable to such treatment for his kindness and generosity in assisting to save life and property. Another instance occurred in Lake St. George, where the channel is narrow. An American vessel got into difficulty there, stuck on the edge of the narrow channel. A passing Canadian vessel threw a line to her and towed her off. As soon as that vessel went to the nearest American port she was seized for infraction of the law. I hold that the law should be so framed that an act of this kind should be legal. This Bill has been before the country for some time. Its introduction last Session, and the debate upon it, gave it notoriety and attracted the attention of people interested in our inland navigation. We find amongst the persons interested in shipping, all or very nearly all, desire the passage of this Bill, and are taking steps to endeavor to have it become the law of the land. The Canadian Underwriters' Association, for instance, who are certainly very deeply concerned in the matter, are extremely anxious that this Bill should be enacted. They sent a deputation last week representing a number of the leading insurance companies, and the Canadian Marine Association, representing all vessel owners navigating the inland waters of the Dominion. Now these parties are deeply interested in this matter, and they are supported by the insurance companies and the boards of trade from one end of the country to the other, who have all petitioned in favor of it or expressed opinions favorable to it, from Port Arthur to Montreal. The shipping and forwarding interests of Montreal are all in favor of this Bill, and very anxious that it should pass. There are Canadian wrecking companies also, that might be supposed to have an interest in not having such a measure become law, but most of them favor it. All of them are deeply interested in this matter, and with the exception of one company, or possibly two, are favorable to this Bill; and why? They do not consider that it will injure their interests or render their property valueless—quite the reverse. They consider, and very properly consider, that while the American vessels are ten to one

of ours, and the wrecks in the same proportion, it opens a wider field for their employment, and that just so soon as we pass this Bill, and effect is given to it by proclamation, the United States waters are open to our vessels. The legislation is already on their Statute Book, simply waiting for this Bill becoming law to go into operation.

HON. MR. MILLER—Is it not true that the larger crop of wrecks is on the Canadian side?

HON. MR. VIDAL—The hon. gentleman is quite under a mistake there; it is just the reverse. The losses, as I have already shown, were, out of seventy-three total losses, sixty-five in American waters and eight in Canadian waters.

HON. MR. READ—Is that on the lakes?

HON. MR. VIDAL—On the inland waters of Canada.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—The rivers also?

HON. MR. VIDAL—Yes; the report states exactly where the wrecks occurred. I am guided entirely by the United States official report, in which it is clearly and distinctly stated where the losses occurred, and in each case the name of the State or Province is given. The proportion of partial losses, it may also be remembered, was ninety in United States waters to twelve in Canadian, so that the argument of the larger number of wrecks being in Canadian waters is wholly untenable. Not only is the proportion of shipping, but also, as might be expected, the number of wrecks larger in the United States, and to open their waters to our wrecking companies is to give our vessels a larger field. Our vessels are so few in number, and our interests are comparatively so small, that there would not be enough employment for wrecking parties in our own waters, and this Bill would, instead of injuring, open a much wider field to them. They are perfectly conscious of this fact, and the representatives of some of them have written very strongly indeed to members of the other House urging the passing of the Bill as in their interest. What objections are made to it? And who are the objectors? We find the persons most deeply interested in our marine operations are all in favor of it—why is

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it opposed? It surely cannot be in the interest of humanity, or a desire to protect life and property that is exposed to loss. What can the motive be? It seems it is regarded by some as an interference with our National Policy—rather a strange argument to bring against a Bill of this kind, even if it were founded in fact. In my opinion the matter before us is far above any fiscal question. The losing or gaining of a few dollars by a few individuals or companies should not be taken into consideration in discussing a question of this character. The higher claims of the maritime interests of the whole community are entitled to full consideration. And who is it that is to be affected injuriously in its fiscal relations? The greater number of those parties who are engaged in wrecking are favorable to the Bill, only one, or at most two, parties objecting. These latter do not wish it, because they think it will not be to their pecuniary advantage. That is not a very strong reason why the Bill should not receive the sanction of this House. Not only boards of trade, but shippers, vessel owners, forwarders and insurance companies throughout the country have all, either by petition or by representation to members, signified their desire that this Bill should become law. I do trust that the measure will receive from the House a favorable consideration, that we will join the other branch of Parliament in freeing ourselves from the reproach of rejecting the offer of the United States for reciprocity in this direction. A proposal has been made elsewhere as a condition to be added, namely reciprocity in towing. In my judgment, that is an entirely different question. That, I think, is a purely fiscal question, purely a part of the National Policy, and consequently is entirely distinct from the question now before us. So far from thinking that the addition of a clause of that kind to the Bill would have the effect of gaining that reciprocity for us, I am satisfied that it never would—that it would have the effect of rendering the Bill before us perfectly nugatory if we passed it. The United States are not going to give up that part of their protective policy, not until they see clearly that Canada is ready to become a part and portion of the great Republic.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—And that will never be.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I do not think it will, and consequently to put such a clause in this Bill would be the same as rejecting it altogether. It is true that a private wrecking company opposes the Bill, because it considers that its opportunities for making gains might be somewhat reduced by the legislation; but I do not think it is right that we should allow the profits of one or two, or twenty associations of the kind, to interfere with the settlement of a question of this importance, affecting the interests of a very large portion of the country, and which is demanded in the interest of humanity and kind dealing with fellow human beings in distress and trouble.

HON. MR. CASGRAIN—I desire to make a few remarks on the question introduced into this House by the hon. member from Sarnia. This measure of reciprocity in wrecking is one of great interest to a large number of people in the country, and it appears to be a clear case of surrender to the Americans of an important privilege without receiving in return any adequate advantages. Many persons in Canada have a large amount of money involved in the wrecking industry, which is invested in tugs, steam pumps, and all kinds of appliances used in saving, not only property, but lives also, and some of them have gone to large expenditures to meet every case of emergency. In granting to our neighbors the right of reciprocity in wrecking, a large amount of capital would be rendered valueless, probably ruining or crippling some of our people who have been investing their means in this industry. I believe this measure is against the interest of the people of this country, who get nothing in return, and would be obliged to abandon the advantages of which we have a large portion, and although the wrecking business is done cheaper in Canada than in the United States it is quite remunerative to the owners of the wreckers. Now is the time and the opportunity to put in force and in practice those principles which were so strongly expressed and recognized in this hon. House only a few weeks ago, that the National Policy, which has made

this country so prosperous, should be sustained, against all reciprocity movements. The National Policy should be maintained in all its integrity, and not be given away piecemeal; otherwise, it would be a delusion, people would lose confidence, and would be afraid in the future to embark in any new industry or enterprise. I hope that these remarks will be well received in this hon. House. If I have taken up the matter, my sole object is to secure the interest and to ensure protection to a large class of our people who are largely interested in the wrecking business.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I have given the best consideration that I could to this measure, and I regret that I am unable to support it. At first blush it would seem to commend itself on humanitarian consideration, and I have no doubt that my hon. friend from Sarnia, who feels vividly the moral aspects of the case, supports it mainly on that ground; but I can see no force in that connection. Notwithstanding that my hon. friend is unable to perceive it, I cannot see any difficulty whatever. The law as it exists does not prevent a vessel coming to the aid of another vessel in distress. The law is found in the Act respecting the coasting trade of Canada. Section 3 enacts that the master of a vessel, not a British vessel, engaged or having been engaged in towing a vessel from one port to another, except in case of distress, shall incur a penalty. Now, this is the law, and it certainly does not prevent any interference of a foreign vessel *in case of distress*, and that the implied permission is not a dead letter on the Statute Book I think is sufficiently shown by a report which I hold in my hand—a report of the Steamboat Inspectors and Harbor Commissioners for the year 1887. On page 271 I find a detailed statement of persons to whom presents were given—captains and officers of vessels who have saved life—and I believe a similar provision prevails in the United States. I find one case in which a captain got a gold watch; another in which he got a binocular glass; another a letter of thanks, and so on, showing that it does not stand on the Statute Book as a dead letter. It is true that foreign vessels are prevented from towing in our waters,

but in case of distress any vessel may come to the aid of another for the purpose of saving life, and I am not aware of a single instance in which it has been brought to the notice of the Department that an officer of a foreign vessel who has been active in saving life has failed to receive an appropriate reward. On humanitarian principles, therefore, I think that the Bill has really no standing, and should not be passed by this House, inasmuch as this exception in the section of the Act to which I have referred, "except in case of distress," amply covers the ground where a vessel comes to the relief of another vessel. It must, therefore, be considered upon general principles, and I confess that I am unwilling to give anything without receiving an appropriate equivalent, and the appropriate equivalent is not given under the existing law of the United States as regards Canada. A good many years ago, I think it was in 1875, Mr. Plimsoll introduced his very important measure in the House of Commons. He was a man of broad views and a warm, generous nature, and as full as my hon. friend from Sarnia is of anxiety for the life and safety of the men employed on British vessels. He accomplished a great and good work in the end, but the measure as it was at first introduced and passed the House of Commons would have completely destroyed the marine of Canada. Fortunately it was discovered in time, and the present able and efficient Deputy Minister of Marine was sent to England; he arrived after it had passed the House of Commons and when it was before the House of Lords. He then pointed out the effect of it—if it was passed that it would have annihilated the trade and the shipping interests of Canada, and fortunately it was altered in the House of Lords. An amendment was made which rendered the Act safe so far as Canada is concerned. Mr. Plimsoll was a man imbued with the principle of humanity, but he did not understand the effect of the measure that he desired to see enacted, and it is sometimes unsafe for us to follow even our instincts of humanity in a matter of this kind, without taking into consideration all its bearings. I hope the same course will be taken in this House that was taken in the House of Lords

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on Plimsoll's Bill. I confess I would be prepared to support the measure if the amendment proposed by Mr. Charlton in the House of Commons had been introduced here. I think it would be tolerably safe, and I would be prepared to vote for it, but in its present shape we surrender everything and get no equivalent for it, and I really cannot support it. I believe that my hon. friend is moved by the highest and best considerations. If foreign vessels could not come to the aid of vessels in distress for the purpose of saving human life I would vote with him, even if I ran counter to the general policy of Canada; but to vote with him on the plea of humanity, when it really has no solid foundation, would, I think, be wrong. I, for one, am not prepared to do so.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I rise to express my utter surprise that a gentleman who is usually so extremely accurate in his statements to this House should tell us that we are giving away everything and getting nothing in return.

HON. MR. GOWAN—I said "no adequate return."

HON. MR. SCOTT—I understood this was a proposal for reciprocity in wrecking between the two countries. We have some thousands of miles of navigable water contiguous to each country. In that long line of water communication, extending from the neighborhood of Cornwall to the west end of Lake Superior, vessels are engaged in the coasting trade and pass from American to Canadian ports, and *vice versa*. In that long space, no doubt, marine accidents will frequently occur. At present, as has been explained by the mover of this Bill, if a vessel is coming to grief in American waters, and a Canadian tug that would be able and willing to give her relief and assistance is at hand, she cannot even throw a hawser to her. In the same way, if a Canadian vessel is in distress in Canadian waters an American tug is not allowed to approach her. The vessel may lie there and go to pieces—until a Canadian tug can be obtained—perhaps at a distance of a 100 or 200 miles. Yet the hon. gentleman is prepared to maintain that this is a proper and neighborly policy between two nations. I always understood it to be the

policy of this Government that when the Americans are willing to extend to us any measure of reciprocity that we are, on our part, ready to entertain it. We did so thirty years ago, and we derived some considerable benefit from it. Since the Reciprocity Treaty was abolished we have from time to time endeavored to secure reciprocity in certain well-defined natural products of both countries, and we have to-day on our Statute Book, and last Session we confirmed it, the fact that in certain seeds, plants, trees and various other things we are willing to have reciprocity. It was considered to be a mutual advantage. So far as the exchange of other products to-day is concerned, if it were not for our manufacturers the Government of the day would be quite prepared to entertain reciprocity with the United States; yet here, in a matter where we are directly interested—ininitely more interested than the Americans are, because it is shown by the hon. gentleman from Sarnia that their wrecks amounted in one year to sixty-five in American waters, while there were but eight wrecks in Canadian waters, and therefore far less work for our tugs than for the American tugs—their offer of reciprocity is refused. I understand that there is not a man engaged in the marine trade in this country who has not held up both hands for this Bill. I am told that all the underwriters are in favor of this Bill. It is a measure to promote the saving of life and property. Who is to draw the nice distinction as to whether a vessel is going to pieces on the rocks, or is going to save herself from becoming a complete wreck, before a tug is justified in coming to her assistance? Who is going to draw the distinction? We know how arbitrarily the Customs regulations are enforced in this country—how vessels are seized and their owners fined, and we know very well that no American vessel will risk her ownership or a fine by undertaking to decide that a vessel is in that particular kind of distress which our Customs officers will recognize as justifying an American tug coming to her assistance. I say that in view of the circumstances mariners would not be justified in considering that they would be protected in towing a distressed vessel into a Canadian port on the shallow plea that she would otherwise

have gone to pieces. The tug owner would be liable to detention of his vessel and to pay a penalty of at least \$400. How my hon. friend from Barrie, who has a judicial mind, can undertake to tell this House that we are getting no equivalent when we are passing a Bill in the very words of the American Act, substituting Canadian waters for American waters—that it is a one-sided arrangement—I fail to understand. He did not in any way illustrate it; he did not tell us how it was that the owners of all the Canadian tugs on Lake Superior are in favor of this Bill—more particularly the Lake Superior Tug Company, who were quoted in the other House, and who, I think, sent forward some papers to a gentleman in that House asking that this Bill should be passed. I am informed also that the majority of the tug owners on Lake Ontario are in favor of this Bill. If I am correctly informed, the opposition to this measure comes from a very narrow section of the country—it happens to be in the Narrows between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. It is there the opposition to this Bill centres. In the principal inland ports of this country they are all in favor of this measure. The gentleman who had charge of it in the other House we know is from Kingston, one of the principal ports on Lake Ontario and headquarters of two tug companies. Will we undertake to say here that our tug companies are not equal to the American tug companies? That they are not as well manned, have not as good appliances and are not as skilful sailors, or that they are not as daring men to go to a vessel in distress? I would regret that we should place such a cloud on the manliness of this country. This Bill is opposed by two companies at the outside. If there is such opposition in the country to this Bill why is it there are no petitions on our desk to-day against it? Why does not some hon. gentleman rise in his place and say that this Bill is attacking the vested interests of the people in this country? We all know that when vested interests are attacked they know how to make their grievances known to Parliament, and if they had good cause for it to-day we would have had petitions and circulars addressed to both Houses in opposition to this Bill.

Hon. gentlemen who have spoken have not shown us where the Bill is going to do any injury. It must be apparent to everybody that a Bill that is so generally supported as this Bill has been in the House of Commons, the vote on Mr. Charlton's amendment being only 56 to 108, in a House largely constituted in favor of the National Policy, cannot be an unpopular one. Certainly no such majority could be obtained if this measure was thought to be a one-sided arrangement, and the amendment was simply a stab at the Bill itself.

HON. MR. MILLER—It was ten times as important as the whole Bill.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Yes; it raised a new question, because the United States had not made a new tender. In 1870 they had made such an offer, and we had made such an offer, but unfortunately a bad feeling arose, and they withdrew their offer and we withdrew ours. They have since placed this law on their Statute Book, and if it is important that we should participate in the coasting trade, which I think would be a magnificent thing—and just as surely as I stand here to-day I believe it will come; I believe it will come by extending the olive branch and accepting what they have offered first. We know very well that everything cannot be obtained at once between two great nations. If you desire to promote mutual consideration one for the other, and they make a proposal which is, at all events, something in the way of a reciprocal act, and we say: No, we will not take that, but if you like to do something more then we will consider it; it simply means a refusal to meet them fairly. But let the wrecking appliances in which the two countries are concerned be reciprocal and you will find very quickly that the privileges of the coasting trade will follow. They have a very much larger number of vessels than we have. Our coasting trade has been destroyed, and the trade of this country has gone down to such an extent that the proportion is about eight to one. I hope the Senate will keep itself abreast of the times and will not, at all events, make a retrograde movement—at least, that it will not be behind the House of Commons. This House can afford to look

at this question from a broad standpoint. The hon. gentleman opposite has said that there is no humanitarian view of this case. I maintain that there is. If there is not that, there is at least a friendly aspect to it. We desire to cultivate friendly relations with the United States. This is one of the evidences of it. Our trade with them is nearly equal to our trade with the rest of the world, and yet in a matters of this kind, if we throw out this Bill we practically declare that we would rather see our vessels go to pieces on the rocks than be protected by a vessel flying the Stars and Stripes. I do not think it is in accord with the feelings of the age, and I would deeply regret that this House should be behind the House of Commons in its appreciation of the merits of this measure.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I think the hon. gentleman from Sarnia has covered the ground perfectly. In fact, he has stated it as well as it could be stated. I do not agree with all that the hon. gentleman from Ottawa has to say here, because I am not particularly anxious to hold out the olive branch to our friends across the border; they do not hold it out to us very often, and when we do get "a-trading," as the little boy says, we generally come out second best. In this case, however, there is not a doubt that to save life and property this Bill should be adopted, and without the amendment, for the amendment is just equivalent to a six months' hoist. There have been some pretty hard cases under the Wrecking Act. How would any hon. gentleman here like to see the boats of one company stranded coming down loaded in American waters, over from Long Island, and boats of the same company going up empty, and they dare not go to save their fellows without running the risk of being seized and fined \$400. If hon. gentlemen in this House found some of the profits of their business going in that way I doubt very much if they would be so patriotic as some of them pretend to be. It is true that a tug can go so far as to save life, but a good captain and a good crew will stick to their vessel as long as there is a chance to save her, and if they are good men, and do stick to their vessel, sometimes they stick too long

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and lose their lives in trying to save her. I have known it to happen with a forwarding company in Montreal and Kingston, who have the largest number of boats running on the St. Lawrence. I have for the last few years been hearing constantly of hard cases, where boats belonging to the same company dare not go to save their own property, because it was in danger in American waters. It seems very hard in the 19th century. Certainly we may blame the United States as much as we please in other things, but they are not to blame in this case for they have offered reciprocity in wrecking, and it has been a mystery to me for years why it was not done before. I do hope that the Senate will not reject this Bill again. It has been rejected once, and I think it would be the most inhuman thing that could be done to throw it out again. The only reason I can assign for it, if it is thrown out, is the fact of hon. gentlemen voting in ignorance of what they are voting for.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I have had some practical experience in wrecking, having been engaged in this business for seven or eight years. I have had nothing to do with it for the last four years, but there are people in Canada who are engaged in it, and a large amount of money has been invested in the business, owing to the protection that has been given to it by the Order-in-Council passed in 1877. A misapprehension exists amongst hon. gentlemen in this House and in the other House in reference to this matter. The humanity cry has been raised for a long time, but I will undertake to show hon. gentlemen that there is no humanity in it. I will undertake to show that the cry of humanity is raised by American wreckers in order to bring grist to their own mill. I will show you that Canadians have been misrepresented in the correspondence from Washington between them and the British Government, and that Canadians have been maligned. The promoter of this Bill in the House of Commons quoted from the official correspondence the following extract:

"The affidavit of the master of the steam tug 'Bryant,' of Buffalo, shows that the American schooner 'Augustus Ford,' of Oswego, was driven ashore near Grand River, Canada, in November, 1874; that his tug was requested to come to her

assistance, and arriving before any other vessel the master of the 'Bryant' took off from the wreck the frozen dead bodies of the captain's wife and others, and saved a part of the cargo of grain; that there was no Canadian vessel present capable of rendering the required succour; and that for this simple humane service the 'Bryant' was seized by the Canadian authorities and subjected to thirty days' detention and a fine of \$400 in gold, only a part of which fine was subsequently remitted."

I am a living witness of what took place on the occasion referred to in that affidavit, and if the promoter of this Bill in the House of Commons had turned over a couple of leaves more, as he should have done if he wanted to leave the House under a proper impression, and quoted further from the correspondence, he would not have presented this country before the world as a community of barbarians. What are the facts in this matter? The Order-in-Council was passed twelve years ago to protect Canadians in this wrecking business. At that time we had very little wrecking plant in Canada; to-day we have a large amount of it. Now, I say that this affidavit which has been quoted is false in every particular, and that it has been made to do duty for the sake of humanity in this country. I remember the night of the wreck of the "Augustus Ford;" I will remember it as long as I live. That incident occurred within a mile and a-half of my own house, late in November. The schooner was coming down the lake, and ran for Green River, missed the harbor, and when she struck the ground she broached to and came broadside on the beach, and word came that the vessel was ashore and the lives of the crew were in danger. At once the people in that neighborhood ran to their assistance, but the sea was running so high and making such a breach over the vessel that no boat could live in it. We built a fire on the beach, and all that night we paraded the shore with lines and blankets to see if we could find anybody in the surf. The crew of the Canadian boat "Jessie" finally took a boat down and launched her, at the risk of their own lives, in the morning, and saved those that were on the vessel. It is true that the captain and cook were found frozen to death, but what are the facts about the tug "Bryant?" She came up a day or two after the weather had moderated—not to save life, but she was sent up by the underwriters. Now, where do they live?

Not in Canada, but in the United States. As I understand, there is no company in Canada to-day that takes risks on the hulls of vessels, and the hull controls the cargo. The tug "Bryant," as I said, came up a few days afterwards, and we put the dead on board of her and she took them down to Buffalo. She came two or three days subsequently with another tug, the "Niagara," with pumps on board to wreck this vessel. We saved the lives and had taken care of the vessel, but when the American wreckers came up they said: "We don't want your assistance;" and of course, in discharging this cargo and trying to save it, and toying in and out of the harbor, the tug "Bryant" was seized for coasting and for doing the work that our tugs were ready and willing to do, and find \$400 for it.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Had you any other tugs in the harbor to do it?

HON. MR. McCALLUM — Certainly, but their motto was "No Canadian need apply." They would not employ our tugs. The hon. gentleman says there are only one or two individuals in this country who oppose this Bill, and he points to me because I live between the two lakes. I have not got a cent in the business, but I consider that I would be lacking in my duty if I did not raise my voice in the interests of Canada and against this false cry of "humanity". Although this Order-in-Council was passed twelve years ago, I defy the hon. gentleman from Sarnia or the hon. gentleman from Ottawa to point to a single instance where a dollar's worth of property or a life has been jeopardized by that Order-in-Council—and the hon. gentleman opposite was a member of the Government that passed the Order-in-Council. This affidavit that has been spoken of has been quoted—Mr. Kirkpatrick quoted it last Session in the House of Commons. I presume that the House will believe me when I say he quoted it as an illustration of the evil effects of the Order-in-Council, although the circumstances connected with the wreck of the "Agustus Ford" took place three years and a-half previous to the Order-in-Council being passed. But that affidavit has done its duty. It is doing duty to-day—and why? In order to

befog this question, and to advance the interests of the Americans. The hon. gentleman opposite says he would be ashamed of his country if the Canadians were not able to compete with the Americans. Man for man, give us an even chance and we will take the lead of them, and particularly on this question; but we are handicapped. How was it previous to the Order-in-Council being passed? American wreckers came to this country and did as they pleased, but they would not allow us to go over to their waters, and we had quite a time before we could get the Government of the day to pass the Order-in-Council. Some people talk glibly of a vessel in distress. Do they understand the word "distress"? A vessel may be in distress, if she is a steamer, by the breaking of her machinery, by being out of fuel, by the crew being sick, or by something being wrong with her rudder. If she is a sailing vessel, under the same circumstances, and if she loses a spar or canvas, although she may have everything in first class order and be on a lee shore, if she cannot work off she is in distress. Is there any law, human or divine, to prevent a tug owner from rendering assistance in that case? None that I know of. When we see a signal of distress at sea it is very much like hearing a cry of distress on shore. What would be the duty of any man on hearing a cry of distress? His feeling is: "If there is a possibility of my saving that life by risking my own I shall do so." I have known men, with very little chances in their favor, risk their lives in trying to save the lives of others. It is said that there are only one or two in favor of this Bill, and that the interest opposed to it is small. I can tell my hon. friend that there are men who have a quarter of a million of dollars invested in this business under the protection of this Order-in-Council. Do hon. gentlemen want to destroy that investment and make it worthless? Do they want to drive honest, loyal Canadians out of Canada because they cannot compete with Americans in our own country? And why can they not compete? Because the underwriters live on the other side of the border, and they will give the work to their own people only. Have we not seen evidences of it recently at Niagara, Fort Erie, Windsor and Sarnia, and in the

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city of Buffalo the other day, where a resolution was passed to prohibit Canadian workmen from coming there to work, except as citizens? That is one of the olive branches they hold out to us. In the case of the "Augustus Ford" we saved the lives, the Americans made the money. Pass this Bill to-morrow and it will be the same thing over again—a vessel may go ashore, the crew is saved by the means at our disposal—or assistance is rendered from the shore, long before a wrecking tug can be found, and then the American wrecker comes in and makes the profit. Some persons seem to imagine that a wrecking tug is always working up and down the lakes looking for wrecks. That is not the case. We had considerable trouble before we got this Order-in-Council passed, and I will read what we had to do even before we could bring pressure to bear on our own Government. We had to prove to them that we were suffering from the state of the law. I remember the time very well when we had a large wrecking tug at Windsor. We wanted the Government to protect us, but they would not. The circumstances connected with the passing of this Order-in-Council are as follows:

"The 'Prince Alfred' was purchased by Windsor parties, who at the same time purchased a wrecking plant. A few days after the boat had been fitted out here ready for business an opportunity was afforded to test the question whether the United States would show sufficient liberality to allow Canadian tugs to do wrecking work in their waters in return for the liberality of our Government, who had tacitly allowed Americans up to that time to do wrecking and towing in Canadian waters, the former without any permit.

"A Canadian vessel having been stranded near Wyandotte, in the Detroit River, some twelve miles below this point, the captain came up to Detroit for assistance, but finding no suitable tug then in Detroit, came over to Windsor and engaged the 'Prince Alfred.' The manager of the 'Prince' at once applied verbally to the Customs Collector at Detroit for a permit, but was refused. A telegram was then sent to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington describing the situation and asking for a permit for the Canadian wrecking tug to go to her relief. The following answer, which has become historical, was returned:

"No. All vessels ashore or stranded in American waters pass into the hands of United States Custom authorities, and must not be touched by foreign wrecking tugs."

That is the answer we got in those days. Then, after they had enjoyed these privileges in this country for years, the first time we asked for any favor of the kind they refused it. Canadians at that time

had not \$5,000 invested in wrecking plant in Canada, and when one of my own vessels got on shore I had to send to Buffalo for a wrecking pump, and they would not give me one unless I took two. In order to get it I had to pay for the two, although I only used one. Just as soon as they would freeze out the Canadian (and that is the intention of this Bill) the vessel business in this country would suffer again; prices would go up, just in the same way as prices went down when Canada was made a slaughter market of a few years ago. My hon. friend speaks of the large majority in favor of this Bill in the other House. I know he has been working it up for years. They talk about petitions. I know that petitions could be secured to hang a great many people in this country if they were worked up. The promoter has gone to Cleveland about the drawing of this Bill. He has been wine and dined by American insurance companies while getting it up. He is a fine gentleman, a good Conservative, and I love him very much; but if I love Geo. Kirkpatrick a good deal, I love my country more, and that is why I stand here in opposition to this Bill. The men engaged in this wrecking business contribute largely to the revenue; nearly all their wrecking plant is manufactured in the United States—a small portion of it in Great Britain—and I contend that we have wrecking plant in Canada, at Port Colborne, on the Welland Canal, that is not to be surpassed on the lakes. There is a company there that can pump coal or wheat out of a vessel 80 feet under water. I know there is a company at Kingston, a member of which professes to be a great wrecker. He has not done much of it yet. He does all his wrecking on paper. He is a kind of a crank on this question of wrecking. He is willing to teach Americans and Canadians something about wrecking, but he has not done anything yet. He did not take off any last year. He tried one, and she is in a hole up there yet. I do not say but that he may succeed by-and-by, but we do not want to change the whole policy of this country to please this gentleman. Of course, hon. gentlemen say: "Oh, there is no politics in this." Look at the vote in the House of Commons. Every single man that is opposed to the National Policy voted for George

Kirkpatrick's Bill, except John Charlton. That is enough to suit me.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Sir Hector Langevin voted for it.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I will call the hon. gentleman's attention to something nearer home. I find the following in a recent issue of an Ottawa paper:

"Mr. Kirkpatrick's Bill, providing for the acceptance of the reciprocity in wrecking offer of the United States Government has been adopted by the House of Commons, but care must be taken that it is not rejected by the Senate. The Government agreed to the principle of the measure very reluctantly. They evidently regarded it as part of the general 'piece-meal attack upon the National Policy,' which the Opposition are alleged to have organized, and fear that it is but the thin edge of the unrestricted reciprocity wedge. They will find it hard to make their followers believe that reciprocity in wrecking and towing is more advantageous than reciprocity in buying and selling, and may seek to avoid a difficulty by getting Mr. Kirkpatrick's Bill rejected by the Senate. Already it is hinted that Mr. McCallum has been instructed to move the six months' hoist, or endeavor to have an amendment inserted which would have the effect of nullifying the measure when its second reading is proposed in the Upper House."

Now, I am not very often "directed." I generally act on my own part. I have not been directed much by anybody since my old mother died. I am opposed to this measure; I am opposed to it because it is sacrificing the interests of Canadians in favor of Americans. But there is one point I want to deal with before I sit down—that is the question of the steamer "Spartan." It is really amusing that it should be brought as a grievance, except as against the American tug. Either the captain of the American tug did not know the channel to go to Georgian Bay, or he wanted to bring grist to the American mill. Anyone who has studied the question for a moment must know that an American vessel cannot go from one Canadian port to another; but what was to prevent this man going through the canal at Sault St. Marie, calling at the Custom house and clearing for Owen Sound or Collingwood? That is what he would have done if he had wanted to do his duty to the owner of the Canadian vessel. A grievance of that kind is like the humanity cry. I am opposed to this Bill because it interferes with vested rights under the National Policy. I am opposed to this Bill because it is not in the interest of Canada, because

it will have the effect of driving good, loyal Canadians from their own country to become American citizens; because they are told to-day by underwriters that if this Bill becomes law they cannot get work on this side. I am opposed to it on these grounds, and therefore I move that the Bill be not now read the second time but that it be read the second time this, day six months.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I first wish to make a remark about a statement which fell from the hon. member from Barrie. That hon. gentleman, in whose opinion upon a great many subjects I have the greatest confidence, stated that he did not like to give any advantage of this kind without a substantial consideration. He must evidently have failed to look into the comparison which the wrecks in the United States bear to those in our own country. In some cases they are eight to ten times greater than ours. Therefore, we gain a very valuable consideration, because if the wrecking facilities be such as the hon. member for Monck claims they are, they have at Port Colborne the very best wrecking establishment to be had, and he simply opens up to that wrecking concern a trade from eight to ten times greater than it enjoys to-day, so that his argument utterly falls to the ground. The hon. gentleman from Windsor spoke about the very large number of people who are opposing this measure. After listening patiently to everything that was stated on the subject I failed to discover that the opposition comes from more than one, or at most two, wrecking concerns, and this grave body is asked, laying aside all other considerations, to legislate for the protection of this one, or at most two, wrecking institutions. I would have been glad if the hon. gentleman, instead of making such wide statements, had told the House the amount of capital directly interested in this matter opposing the Bill; but he failed to do that. Who opposes this Bill? As I have said, one, or at most two, wrecking concerns. Who support it? Every shipping company in the country, the underwriters, the marine association which represents the shipping interests of the Dominion. These ask both Houses of Parliament to enact this

Bill. I want to deal with some of the remarks of my hon friend from Monck. In the first place he asks: "Where are the underwriters? They are on the other side." If he had looked at his figures accurately he would have seen that Canadian underwriters during the past year insured hulls to the amount of \$600,000.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—They are going out of the business, I understand.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—Why did not the hon. gentleman tell us that?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The last one in the business was the Western, and my information is they are going out of the business here, and will not insure another hull.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—The most telling argument the hon. gentleman could use—they are going out of the business because this Bill is not the law of the land. The Canadian underwriters insured last year upon hulls \$600,000; they insured cargoes to the value of \$11,000,000. These were Canadian underwriters, yet the hon. gentleman says, "Where are the underwriters? They are in the United States." If we are to take a patriotic view of this question, if we are to dissociate it from the National Policy and all political feeling, such as some speakers have manifested to day, and look at it in a broad and statesmanlike way, what would we have? Instead of having \$600,000 insurance on our hulls we would have two or three millions, and instead of \$11,000,000 on our cargoes we would have \$20,000,000; but if I were an underwriter, with the law as it stands to-day, a law which leaves a vessel in imminent danger of going to pieces, with no means of rescuing it unless by some circumlocution, I would not take \$1 of risk. If we take steps to provide greater security I venture my word that the marine insurance business of this country would be more than double within twelve months. The hon. gentleman from Monck said he defied any member of this House to cite a particular instance in which there has been any loss of life or property for want of legislation of this kind. I will cite, one and I defy the hon. gentleman to contradict it. The propeller "City of Owen Sound," went ashore in a snow storm on Michipicoten Island. There

passed by at the time an American tug. She could have done all that was needed, and done it, at the time, for \$2,000. The tedious, irksome and unwarrantable plan which exists had to be adopted, and before the vessel could be taken off the damage to the hull alone was between \$20,000 and \$30,000, and the entire loss of the vessel for the following season. The hon. gentleman challenges any one to cite a case. I have cited one, and I defy him to disprove it. If common sense is to prevail instead of prejudice, I take it for granted that hon. gentlemen will give the consideration to a case of that kind that the circumstances demand. My hon. friend from Sarnia made reference to this case of Capt. Macdonald, who found the tug "McArthur" in distress; he did not state the case fully. The captain found that the night was coming on; the barges were deck laden with lumber; a heavy gale was springing up, and if he had not knowingly and consciously violated the existing law, if he had not felt that from a humanitarian point of view it was his duty to take that vessel into port, the probability is that that tug and the barges would have been lost before the morning, with all their crew. But he took them into port. What did the authorities do? Did they give him an autograph letter, or binocular glasses, or a medal of the Humane Society? No; they fined him \$400 for it, and required him to give bond for the payment of the fine. Now, I maintain that if we could tabulate the lives that have been lost and the property that has been destroyed through the disadvantages that have arisen through this cumbrous law it would appal hon. gentlemen. The hon. member from Monck says: Why not put up a signal of distress—a signal of distress in a snow storm, or in a dark night! What is the use of putting up a signal four or five hundred miles from communication? Now, I confess I had hoped there were matters that could be discussed in this House without having the National Policy hauled into them, that there were some matters that could commend themselves to our judgment, and where men could get at least the credit of their convictions for standing up and speaking here from the standpoint to which humanity appealed to us. My hon. friend from Monck says that the only thing he

can see in this is pandering to the United States. Now, we are both Highlanders, my hon. friend and myself, and he claims to be a loyal man, and so do I. Hon. gentlemen will remember the last entry in the journal of David Livingstone, when his hand was scarcely able to write the words: "All that I have to say is this: Let God's blessing descend upon him, be he Englishman, American or Turk, that will help to heal the open sore of the world;" and if it were the Turkish nation that came before us to-day to ask for this legislation I would deem it as much my duty to grant it as to the American people. There is another point, Hon. gentlemen who have looked into this matter will bear in mind that our entire coast from Windsor up to Port Arthur is almost unprotected by wrecking establishments. The Americans have a wrecking establishment thoroughly equipped at Mackinaw, and another at Sault Ste. Marie. Are our people to be deprived of the advantages of these, or are they to wait amid all the inconveniences until they can telegraph to Ottawa or elsewhere and obtain help and deliverance? There is another aspect of the case: you must bear in mind that fully seven-eighths of our entire traffic passing down the St. Lawrence goes on the American side of the river between Alexandria and Clinton Bay. From one to two tows go down every day, carrying with them 100,000 bushels. If these barges get on the coast the tug cannot take them off. Surely there ought to be an end to an anomalous law of that kind. Surely the very tug that takes these vessels down ought to be utilized in affording them relief! I sincerely hope that we will, as a Chamber, be able to look at this question without political feeling. I will close by reading just one extract. We have heard a great deal about the tug companies being opposed to it. Now, I will read what the Lake Superior Tug Company (limited), says. "We ought to say that we are the only tug owners on the northern Canadian shore of Lake Superior, and if we cannot hold our own in competition with American tug companies then we deserve to go under."

HON. MR. FLINT.—As seconder of the motion, I feel inclined to say a few words

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland).

on the subject. Looking at this question, I am reminded of a story that I read some years ago about two hunters. One was a Yankee, the other an Indian. They agreed in the morning to go out and hunt, and in the evening to divide fairly the game they had killed. When they returned to camp the Indian had shot a turkey, and the Yankee had killed a crow. The Yankee said: "Now, Jim, we must divide; I will take the turkey and you take the crow, or if that does not suit you, you take the crow and I will take the turkey." Jim said: "It is all crow me, and all turkey you," and I think this Bill is constructed on the same principle. It is giving to our American neighbors all we can possibly give them, and we might as well give them the whole. I think there is a good deal of Yankee about it. I am very sorry to think that our friends are so anxious to open up this question, to enter the wedge and allow the Americans the opportunity of competing with our people on this side, who are doing everything they possibly can to save life and property, and to take away from them what little they have at the present time. It may be possible that my hon. friend has not exactly stated one part of the case with respect to wrecking matters—that is, with reference to the underwriters. There are one or two underwriters on this side, but it appears they are going out. My hon. friend from Toronto says they would double the amount of their insurance during the present year if this Bill were passed. Whether it would be so or not is a matter of surmise. I think we should protect ourselves; if we are not prepared to do so we might as well give up at once. If this measure passes it is giving to the Americans a right which I do not think they should have in connection with our waters, and if we pass the Bill we might just as well assume the position that in case the American Government passes a Bill to annex Canada we should turn round and reciprocate with them by passing a Bill to annex the United States to the Dominion. I do not believe in that doctrine at all. We should be Canadians, and endeavor to follow the course which we deem advisable in the interest of our own people. I think the position of those who have spoken in favor of the Bill is in

direct opposition to the best interests of Canada. Therefore, I am opposed to the measure from principle. We should look out for ourselves; if we do not, it is certain no one will look out for us. The underwriting and wrecking business in the United States is so much larger than ours that if we do not foster our wrecking establishments and underwriting business we can never expect to gain much; they will take the whole of it from us. It has been stated here that life has been saved, but it has not been by the Americans. An affidavit has been referred to, but any body can swear out an affidavit, and many a man would do it for very little money indeed. I think we should reject this Bill. I have looked at it in all its various phases, and taking every thing into consideration, so far as our inland navigation is concerned, and I think we should protect our own interests to the best of our ability. I think the Government have done right in the course they have taken. I uphold them in what they have done, although it seems the policy was initiated by a Government whose general policy did not meet with my approval. Under the circumstances, I trust the measure will receive the six months' hoist.

HON. MR. READ (Québec)—It it had been shown that one life had been lost for want of this legislation there might be some reason for passing this Bill; but no such loss has occurred, and consequently the humanity cry does not apply. The hon. gentleman who moved the second reading of this Bill showed that a large proportion of the vessels plying on the inland waters belonged to the United States. If this Bill were to become law its operation would be this way: An American vessel running aground on the Canadian side, the captain would at once telegraph the owners, who would look to the underwriters. The underwriters would apply at once to their own tug companies, and American vessels would be sent up to do the work in our waters. That is what would be the actual operation of the law if it were enacted. As they have the large proportion of vessels, the inference is that they would have the large proportion of wrecks, and having the largest proportion their people would

be employed on our coast to do the work which our own people do now. It has not been shown that one life has been lost, although the law has been in operation for fourteen years. Some property may have been destroyed, for all I know, but even that can scarcely be shown, except in the one case mentioned by the hon. member for Midland. If that has been the case, what occasion has there been for this Bill? This is another plum to be picked out of the cake. They keep taking a plum here and a plum there, and if we allow this to go on we will soon have nothing but the crust left. We have on our Statute Book an offer which they do not accept, and which would remove all this difficulty. Here is a clause relating to our coasting trade: "The Governor in Council may from time to time declare that the provisions of this Act shall not apply to vessels of any country where British ships are admitted to the coasting trade."

Now, why don't they apply that? There is our offer some years ago. Why don't they take that? No; they think possibly they would not get all the work in that way. The hon. gentleman from Toronto spoke about the barges on the St. Lawrence. Those barges run down in still water, and there is not much danger of their going aground there. They run down the batteaux channel under tow, and there is seldom a barge lost there. I shall vote in favor of this amendment.

HON. MR. McINNIS (B.C.)—Before the vote is taken I desire to say that about a week or ten days ago I was approached by the hon. gentleman from Monck. He made certain representations which induced me to promise that I would not vote against the six months' hoist. Had I been in possession of the facts that have been presented to the House this afternoon I certainly would not have acted in that manner. I was given then to understand that we had not an underwriter in Canada. I was given to understand that a vast majority of the wrecks took place on the Canadian side, but the figures given by the hon. gentleman from Samia entirely rebut that statement. Having given my word to the hon. gentleman from Monck that I would not oppose the six months' hoist, I feel it my painful

duty to withdraw and not vote at all; otherwise, I would most willingly vote for the Bill. Before I sit down I must congratulate the hon. gentleman from Sarnia on becoming at last a convert to unrestricted reciprocity, and I am only sorry that the measure before the House is not of a larger nature than it is. I am sorry that it did not include coasting towage as well as wreckage.

The House divided on the amendment, which was carried on the following division:—

CONTENTS:

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McKay,
Almon,	McKindsay,
Botsford,	McMillan,
Boucherville, de,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Carvell,	Macfarlane,
Casgrain,	Merner,
Clemow,	Miller,
Cochrane,	Perley,
DeBlois,	Poirier,
Drummond,	Read (Quinté),
Flint,	Reid (Cariboo),
Girard,	Robitaille,
Glazier,	Ross,
Gowan,	Sanford,
Kaulbach,	Smith,
Lacoste,	Sutherland,
McCallum,	Turner—34.

NON-CONTENTS:

Hon. Messrs.

Archibald,	Odell,
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Chaffers,	Pelletier,
Dever,	Power,
Grant,	Ressor,
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Haythorne,	Stevens,
Leonard,	Sullivan,
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Macdonald (Midland),	Wark—26.

The Senate adjourned at 6 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 29th March, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (89), "An Act to amend the Charter of Incorporation of the Great North-West Central Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)

ALBERTA AND GREAT NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (49). "An Act respecting the Alberta and Athabasca Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to the Great North-Western Railway Company," with certain amendments. He said: These two amendments are literally the same, referring to the title and one of the clauses. The Bill as it came to us asked that the name of the company should be changed to the Great North-Western Railway Company, and as that might interfere, possibly, with another very important railway with an analogous name, which I have just reported upon, the Great North-West Central Railway Company, it was concluded to change the name to the Alberta and Great North-Western Railway Company. That was carried out by the amendments which have just been read in the title and in one of the clauses.

HON. MR. VIDAL moved concurrence in the amendments.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

ATLANTIC AND NORTH WEST RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (65), "An Act respecting the Atlantic and North West Railway Company," without amendment.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved that the Bill be read the third time on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

SAWDUST IN THE OTTAWA RIVER.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. CLEMOW inquired:

Whether the Government have taken, or intend to take action in reference to the report submitted by the special committee of the Senate at its last Session, with respect to sawdust being deposited in the Ottawa River, below the Chaudière Falls, in the city of Ottawa?"

He said: No doubt hon. gentlemen will recollect that the matter referred to in this notice engaged the attention of the Senate last year. A special committee

was appointed, and they reported very fully before the termination of the Session. At that time the leader of the House was good enough to say that the subject would receive the consideration of the Government, and from the information afforded by the evidence produced he thought a case was made out sufficiently strong to induce some action to be taken in the matter. I know, of course, that it requires some time for notice in order to make arrangements which will cause a suspension of the difficulties that have been complained of, but I think now, a year having elapsed, it is high time that something should be known with respect to the intentions of the Government as to this very important matter. Last year, although the water was very high, the difficulties of navigation in the Ottawa River continued through the season, and I know myself that boats were detained two or three days before they could descend from the basin to the Ottawa River. Now I think this nuisance should be abated as quickly as possible. I suppose it will be stated that no very great injury has been occasioned to the navigation of the river. I believe that a survey was made last year by parties at the instance of the lumbermen, and I am told that they have reported that there is no serious impediment to the channel of the river. The evidence produced before the committee last year, which was submitted by an officer of the department, showed conclusively that all the bays and shoals at different parts of the river were more or less filled with sawdust, and the natural result must eventually be that the channel also will become interrupted. But I contend that even if the channel were not interrupted no one has a right to impede the navigation of the bays or interfere with the riparian rights of those who own property along the banks of the river. I hope that something will be done in this matter soon. There is a very strong feeling in this section of the country on the subject; the people have suffered for a great many years, and now I think the time has arrived when there should be some redress. It was stated last Session that explosions had occurred where large accumulations of sawdust had been formed, and it was considered at the time that such a thing was

hardly possible; but we have had evidence this winter that explosions do occur. On one occasion our Sergeant-at-Arms was nearly killed by an explosion while crossing the river on the ice, and I think our worthy Speaker was on the river at one time when an explosion occurred, from which he escaped with considerable difficulty. To my knowledge several explosions have occurred since last year, and danger arises from these large accumulations of sawdust in many ways. A large river like the Ottawa should be kept free to the public; it is one of the national highways of the country, and no individuals or corporations should be permitted to injure or obstruct it in any way. It is high time now that some method should be adopted to put an end to this nuisance. It has been said that this sawdust cannot be utilized, but during the last year it has been used in the manufacture of paper. There is a mill now which is manufacturing a capital article of paper from this sawdust, and it can be utilized on a much larger scale, as well as in other ways. It only requires the machinery to do it. It can be converted into charcoal and a variety of other articles, and made a source of revenue instead of a source of loss and a great impediment to the navigation of the river. I put this notice on the Paper at the instance of parties in this section of the country who naturally look to me as having taken some interest in the matter. I am frequently asked if nothing can be done to abate this nuisance. Men who had a large business in boating on the Ottawa years ago have been prevented from pursuing their avocation. Their calling is gone, and I cannot see why the interests of the public should be interfered with in this way, even though it should benefit parties who are engaged in large lumbering operations. I believe that a remedy can be applied, and if the proper one is adopted that it will be a source of revenue instead of a source of loss and inconvenience.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend, I am sure, is as well aware as any other member of this House of the importance of the subject which he has brought before the Senate to-day. The question of compelling the lumbermen to deposit the sawdust elsewhere than in the river, or to

destroy it, is one which affects an enormous manufacturing interest in this country, and so far as the Government are instructed, the expense of a change will be very large indeed. I am greatly in hopes that my hon. friend's accounts of the injury that is done to the river by this sawdust is to some slight extent exaggerated—that it is not quite so bad as my hon. friend says; but there is no doubt, and the Government are satisfied that it does injure the river, more especially the bays and the outlets of streams, and the like, coming into the river. I said last Session that the Government intended to take action in the matter. They have been making inquiries, taking preparatory action ever since. They have had a survey of it made; they have taken great pains to have the river examined by a competent person employed by themselves, and they have his report, which confirms, to a considerable degree, the report of the Committee of this House, which was laid before the Government, of course, and which received their full consideration. Since then the mill-owners have desired to be heard, and represented that they wished to be parties to an inquiry as to how far this damage extends, if there is any damage. Some of them contend that there is none; others admit that there is some, but they desire to be heard, and they have employed Mr. Sandford Fleming, a gentleman well known to every member of this House, to examine the river and make a report on this sawdust on their behalf. I understand that he is at this moment engaged on that, and that a report from him is expected. As soon as it is received the whole subject will no doubt be taken up. Inquiries, so far as they are needed, will be made, the subject will be taken up and some remedy will, no doubt, be adopted for the evils which the deposit of the sawdust in the Ottawa river produces, of a character appropriate to their extent and their importance.

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD rose to

Inquire if it was the intention of the Government to purchase plant for the manufacture of electric light and charging the cars, or had already purchased it at any of the stations of the Intercolonial Railway, and if so, at which of such stations?

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

He said: Before proceeding to put the inquiry of which I have given notice, I desire to mention a few reasons why I think it is important for the general interest of the Dominion that some notice should be taken of the position in which the Intercolonial Railway stands. Any person intimate with the public accounts must be aware that the financial position of the Intercolonial Railway is anything but satisfactory. I have taken the trouble to collect some figures with respect to it, which show the extent to which the Dominion finances are called upon for the operating expenses of this road. Last year the expenditure was \$3,276,441; total earnings \$3,912,783, leaving a deficit of \$362,608. When it is taken into consideration that the Intercolonial Railway was built in the most substantial manner from funds provided by the Dominion, and was considered one of the best roads on the continent, and when we consider that the railway pays nothing, no interest on the capital which was expended in constructing that road, it does seem to be rather strange that the Dominion funds should be called upon to pay so large a deficit for the simple working of that road. I am aware that it is contended that it was not built as a commercial work—that, in fact, it was built for the Dominion, and consequently that the tariff should be low. That, to a certain extent, is an argument why the road is not more successful than it has been; but I may remark that so far as my knowledge goes the tariff rate for passengers is not much lower than it is on any other road in Canada or the United States, and the lowness of tariff applies only to freight.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—Do you know what the rate is for passengers per mile?

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—For short distances, so far as my knowledge goes, it is 3 cents per mile. With respect to freight, there is no doubt it is well to say it is for the benefit of the Dominion at large, or for certain portions of the Dominion, that the tariff on freight should be low. It is a question worthy the consideration of the Parliament of Canada whether, in justice to other parts of the Dominion, and in consideration of the financial state of the country, that road

ought to pay working expenses. It would seem to be the policy of the Government to adopt such a tariff that, with proper management, it should not be a drain upon the resources of the Dominion. In considering this question I made some inquiries about other railways of a similar character. I understand that the Grand Trunk pays a dividend to its preference shareholders, and must pay all its liabilities besides. I understand also, by the reports in the public papers, that the Canadian Pacific Railway is earning a certain amount—quite a large amount over and above working expenses. I am enabled to inform the House that I received information from the New Brunswick Railway Company, certainly not situated in any more advantageous circumstances than the Intercolonial Railway, that they pay their working expenses, and interest on the debentures which have been issued, to a large extent. Now, there is something peculiar about the administration of the Intercolonial Railway, that it cannot do as well for the Dominion as those private enterprises do for their shareholders. I have made some calculations as to the expense of the Intercolonial Railway to the Dominion, and it is not merely the deficiency of \$363,000 for the working expenses that should be looked at, but we ought to take into consideration the interest on the capital invested in its construction. The other companies which I have mentioned borrowed money also, and they pay the interest upon that money. Now, apply that rule to the Intercolonial Railway and what would be the annual expense, stating that the funds which were required to build that road were obtained at the rate of 5 per cent., at which rate I believe the principal part of the money expended on the Intercolonial Railway was obtained. Taking that as a basis, you will find that the Intercolonial Railway is now worked at an annual expense of \$2,500,000 over and above the earnings of the road. I am not sufficiently acquainted with railway matters to point out exactly why that is so. I know this: that public enterprises are always more costly, either for construction or for operation, than private undertakings. That may, to a certain extent, explain it, but it certainly is not sufficient to account

for this disparity between the expense of running the Intercolonial Railway and operating railways by private companies. I may further mention that many of the railroads in the United States pay dividends, and they must certainly pay interest on the bonds which are issued upon the road before paying dividends. There is one point about the Intercolonial Railway that strikes me as deserving of inquiry, and that is the General Stores Account. Many hon. members here may have sufficient knowledge of railway management to be satisfied that the amount of stores that are bought for the Intercolonial Railway are reasonable for a road of that extent. The General Stores Account for the year ending 30th June, 1888, was \$2,154,600, and at the termination of the year there was \$500,000 worth of stores on hand. It seems to me to be a very large amount, in the first place, for general stores for a railway, even of the extent of the Intercolonial Railway, and having so many stores on hand many of them must deteriorate in value. It does not appear to me to be economical management to have so many stores on hand, some of which must be perishable. Further than that, it must take an army of employes to take charge of so many stores. That is a feature of this account, a feature which, it strikes me, ought to be remedied. I have not sufficient information, perhaps, to understand the working of the railway, but I throw that out to hon. members of the House as a question for consideration.

Now, to come down to the inquiry which I have made, it would seem that the Railway Department should be rather cautious how they enter into speculations and expend large sums in supplying plant for manufacturing purposes, when in the same places where it is proposed to manufacture electric light private enterprise could supply it cheaper than the Government or the railway authorities entering into that speculation. It is quite evident that the Government cannot carry on any manufacturing, or do any public work, except at greater expense than it can be done by private enterprise. If it were necessary I could illustrate that principle by familiar cases, that would surprise hon. gentlemen on certain expenditures which have taken place in the Dominion, of

which I am aware. The number of employes on the railway is very great, but if the management undertake to manufacture the electric light they must have more employes, which must add to the expense of the road, and I was rather surprised when I understood that the Railway Department, notwithstanding the financial position of the road, was to undertake an enterprise which could be carried on much more cheaply as a private undertaking.

HON. MR. DICKEY—When my hon. friend put this notice on the Paper I certainly did not expect that so wide a field of discussion would be opened before us, and therefore I am not at the present moment in a position to follow him into that discussion; at the same time, I think it is unfortunate that my hon. friend has not suggested anything as a remedy for this state of things.

HON. MR. POWER—Change the Government.

HON. MR. DICKEY—For I am bound to admit with him that there is throughout Nova Scotia and, to some extent, as far as I know it, in New Brunswick, a very wide feeling of dissatisfaction at the management of the Intercolonial Railway. That dissatisfaction, allow me to state, can hardly be accounted for by the reason which is suggested rather than asserted by my hon. friend as to the lowness of the tariff rates—in other words, it could hardly be expected that the people down there would complain of the management of the railway on the ground that the tariff was too low, but I think if my hon. friend had cast about for a reason he could have found one which would account in a very considerable degree for the dissatisfaction which has been adverted to and the feeling which, I admit, exists very generally in the Province. I think it would be only necessary to advert to the fact that the Intercolonial Railway, unlike any other road that I have heard of in any country in the world, is managed at an office 300 miles from the western terminus of the line and nearly 1,000 miles from the terminus at the other end. Now, there is an office at Moncton, in a commanding position, where the two parts of the Intercolonial Railway intersect, and

HON. MR. BOTSFORD.

at that central place, it appears to me, looking at it in a common sense, rational point of view, the road should be managed. I regret that we are called upon in this sudden manner to enter into a discussion of this kind, and I shall therefore say nothing more on that branch, except to state this: that during the last fortnight we have had a deplorable instance—I will not say of mismanagement—but something like unaccountable neglect or mismanagement on that road, about 400 miles from here, and that is a state of things which I think should call for serious consideration on the part of the Government. Two trains meeting each other, and trying to pass each other on the same track, resulted in lamentable loss of life, exceeding any that has occurred in any other accident on the Intercolonial Railway. That brings me to remind the House of attempts which were made at one time to cure a deplorable state of things which existed a few years ago, when every three or four months accidents very like the one to which I have referred occurred, with more or less loss to life or property. It will be in the recollection of members of this House who have been here for the last ten or fifteen years that on various occasions I have brought the block system to the notice of the House and of the superintendent of the road. At first the very idea that a non-professional man should suggest anything that would assist a civil engineer in the management of a railway was scouted. It was said simply that it could not be—how could this gentleman know anything about railways? Well, he did not pretend to have anything but common sense, but it was pressed on the House and on the Government that if this state of things was permitted to continue, if trains were allowed to take their chances of running to a station in time to get there before another train could reach it, these accidents would inevitably happen. The block system was scouted, was laughed and jeered at, and in fact became a sort of by-word, but in time these gentlemen had to adopt it, and peace reigned for a few years. We had something like safety and something like an assurance that when we stepped on a train on the Intercolonial Railway we were not likely to butt against a train running in

the opposite direction. The consequence was that accidents diminished, most fortunately and happily. I am told that the accident which happened the other day is due to the fact that the block system is no longer in existence. It certainly could not have been in force when the accident at Rimouski occurred, because under the block system no train could pass a station unless the conductor knew that there was no obstacle between that station and the next one, and no train could leave the corresponding station without similar notice, so that a collision of the nature of the one that occurred the other day is simply impossible where the block system is in operation. Therefore, I think that when we find that the road is managed by gentlemen who take such a lofty idea of their own position that they will not listen to a suggestion, but insist upon running the road according to their own ideas, we need not be surprised that my hon. friend is constrained to inquire why the Intercolonial Railway is not a better paying investment. I think it is right that the House should have the benefit of this inquiry, and whether there is going to be a speculation in the establishment of these electrical works for the purpose of manufacturing this electric light, and whether there is any explanation of the charges which my hon. friend has made against the road itself for not being self-supporting, I think the citations he has made certainly ought to lead to inquiry, and lead the Government to ascertain whether the road should not be in a position to, at all events, not be open to the taunts that are made that it is a road entirely for the benefit of the Maritime Provinces. That is an assertion which I cannot admit for a moment. It is not a road exclusively for our benefit, but it is a road, to a large extent, to the advantage of flour merchants and others who wish to send large amounts of traffic over it; and I may say this much, in fairness and justice to the line itself and to the management of it (although I dare say it will have a more able advocate presently), that with regard to these long hauls it is not possible that traffic can be conveyed at the same rate per mile as on short hauls. For example, in the flour trade, which is a large one in our Province, you enter into competition

with the short route to the sea and thence by vessels to the ports of the Maritime Provinces. That enters largely into the question whether the freight is too high or too low. Under all the circumstances, I hope the inquiry which my hon. friend has started will produce good results, and that he will get satisfactory assurances from the leader of the Government that if the road in the past has not been carefully managed some means will be taken to ensure management which will give greater satisfaction in the future.

HON. MR. WARK—I am surprised to hear my hon. friend state that the road is not for the benefit of the Maritime Provinces. If such a complaint came from New Brunswick it would be justified, but if the road is not worked for the benefit of Nova Scotia I do not know what it is doing. It is carrying their coals at three-tenths of a cent per mile as far as it can carry them, and at a loss. The Government has built the Pictou town line, which is tacked on to this and adds to the expense. The Government are also building what is called the short line across Cumberland, Colchester and Pictou, which was intended to be about 80 miles in length. But it is 67 miles to Pictou, and to reach New Glasgow it must be built 12 miles to Stellarton, and then as far down to New Glasgow. That is all being built at the expense of the Dominion, and to be run at the expense of the Dominion, and if the railway is not paying now how will it be when all these additional expenses are tacked on? An extraordinary piece of legislation passed through this Parliament with respect to what is now called the Eastern Extension; that is 80 miles long from New Glasgow to the Gut of Canso. It was provided in that Bill that if the company which was subsidized to build it did not run it, it was to revert to the Province of Nova Scotia, and if they did not run it that it was to fall into the hands of the Dominion, and the Dominion paid Nova Scotia \$1,280,000 for it, and they are operating that at \$20,000 a mile of a loss on the running. Then they are building a road from the Gut of Canso through Cape Breton. That is a Government undertaking, too, and it is to be run at the expense of the Dominion. What will be the loss, then?

If it is already as great as the hon. gentleman pointed out, what will it be when these new roads are completed and in operation? I believe they will be run at as great a loss to the country as the Prince Edward Island Railway. The misfortune is that the railway was placed in the wrong position originally. It ought to have left the St. Lawrence at Rivière du Loup and come down through the middle of New Brunswick, where it would have traffic. Now, there is a short line building which will take away a very considerable portion of the Intercolonial Railway, and there is a line constructed from Rivière du Loup to Edmonston to connect with the New Brunswick system of railways which will take away more of it, and to look for any saving on the operation of that road is out of the question, especially when all these appendages that I have referred to are tacked on to it—that is, the Short Line, as it is called, across the eastern counties of Nova Scotia, which is really a local line running round the coast to accommodate the little seaports, such as Pugwash, Wallace, Tatamagouche and Pictou. That is the course the Short Line is taking, and when that is finished, and when the eastern extension from New Glasgow to the Gut of Canso is completed, and the road through Cape Breton is built, you may depend that the expense now is but a trifle to what it will be when all these are in operation. I can account for building these roads through Cape Breton and that eastern extension. I can account for them being taken as a portion of the Intercolonial Railway with the intention, when they are finished, of making Sydney the terminus, and to have these ocean greyhounds, as they are called, running from there, perhaps to the nearest port in the United Kingdom, probably to some port in Ireland. In that case Halifax will be left out in the cold. That is the only reason I can see for building all these as Dominion roads. The Cape Breton road is one that ought to be subsidized liberally by the Local Government and perhaps by the different portions of the country that it is passing through, but if it is built entirely at the expense of the Dominion that must be the object, and if that is the object, and it is necessary in connection with the Can-

adian Pacific Railway that it should reach the furthest terminus in our Dominion, it ought to be run by the Government; but still it will not lessen the expense which must attend this great undertaking. The expenses must be increasing every year, instead of diminishing.

HON. MR. ALMON—I think the inhabitants of Nova Scotia are indebted to the hon. member for bringing up the state of the Intercolonial Railway before this House. I belong to a party that does not find fault with the Government unless there are very strong reasons for it, but still the Conservatives and Liberals of Halifax together have found fault with the way in which the Intercolonial Railway is managed. Now, the hon. member for Amherst remarked that some people say no person should find fault with the railway except an engineer. It does not require an engineer to know that when you leave Halifax you go only 60 miles to Truro, and then there is a stop of 20 minutes for tea; then 60 miles more to Amherst, and another stop of 20 minutes for another tea. No persons get on the train between the two places. That is 20 minutes lost at Truro, making the road, say, 12 miles longer. At the other end of the line, at Levis, to save 9 miles a couple of million dollars were spent.

HON. MR. PELLETIER—More than that.

HON. MR. ALMON—Say \$3,000,000, to save 9 miles. I can tell you a way to save \$3,000,000 by a stroke of the pen. Save the 20 minutes lost at Truro. Year after year I have brought this matter to the notice of the House. Another complaint I have to make is with regard to the buffets on the road. The fare you get on board of the train is of the vilest description. You are poisoned with water soup, which even in Lent it would trouble anyone to find meat or animal matter in. The other fare on board the train is almost as bad. It appears to those who travel on the line that there is a studied attempt to prevent the Intercolonial Railway trains connecting with those of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Quebec. When we came up this last time we were early, but the train was slowed off when we approached Levis, and when we got there the last boat had left half an hour, thus preventing us

making the connection. I do not know that it was done on purpose, and when we chaffed the conductor about it he laughed it off. That is not the only way in which, to my mind, the Intercolonial Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway play into each others hands. About a year ago a son of mine sent to Ontario for some wild rice. It took exactly four weeks from the time the letter left Ontario for that rice to reach Halifax. It had been delayed on the road just because there appears to be some arrangement between the Grand Trunk Railway and the Intercolonial Railway that trains shall not connect, in order to throw the traffic down to Portland and to take it away from Halifax. They talk about the road being economically conducted; I know that a poor clerk who was on the other side of Winnipeg was obliged to come down to Halifax on account of family matters. His pay was \$2 a day. The Canadian Pacific Railway gave him a passage down for half fare. When he asked the same from the Intercolonial Railway, which, being a Government employé he should have got, he was obliged to pay full fare. Now, I think that, considering the half fare is a privilege given to us, likewise to Sunday School pic-nics and to anyone who puts on a white choker and calls himself a clergyman, the poor clerks who have to travel a couple of thousand miles to reach home should not be asked by the Intercolonial Railway to pay full fare. It is not asking a great boon to be allowed to travel at half fare. I do not say whose fault it is, but there is a fault somewhere, and there is a universal feeling that it is the duty of the Government to find out where that fault is in the management of the Intercolonial Railway. Take the case, the other day, of the coal mines. I understand that without giving any notice, or very short notice, the tariff on coal was so raised that the mines had to shut down. Is it no harm to throw so many laborers out of employment? The working of the mines had led many of the employés to build houses and bring their families there, and the stopping of the works caused great loss and inconvenience.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—This House and the country should be thankful to the hon.

gentleman from Sackville for bringing this subject before Parliament, particularly if all the matters referred to in his remarks are properly discussed. I am sure that good results will flow from a careful examination into all these details connected with the working of the Intercolonial Railway, although they may not perhaps be exactly pertinent to the inquiry on our Order Paper. As to the relative benefits of this great work—the Intercolonial Railway—to the Lower Provinces, I confess I agree very much with the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Fredericton, that however the people of New Brunswick may feel towards it the people of Nova Scotia should not certainly find so very much fault, or at least if they do have fault to find as regards the rates they cannot fail to consider that in New Brunswick a very much greater evil exists, and very much greater cause for complaint may be discovered. The question of the rates of freight upon coal has been referred to. I am willing to admit that for long hauls those articles of freight which amount to considerable quantities may be carried more cheaply per mile than for shorter distances; but I think the public are not quite prepared to admit that any commodity should be carried, as the coal from Nova Scotia is carried, at a rate not more than one-fourth or one-fifth as much as a farmer or a lumberman of New Brunswick has to pay on a similar class of freight. We all admit that it is desirable that the Intercolonial Railway, which cost the Dominion such a large amount of money, should be utilized as far as possible for the development of the resources of the country, and in the Province of New Brunswick, where there are extensive freestone quarries that could be made very valuable, and would employ a large amount of labor and capital, one would think it is just the sort of material that the Government of the country would endeavor to facilitate the carriage of from one Province of the Dominion to another. It is an article which is required and which could be sold as far west as Toronto. A year or two ago the manager of one of our red stone quarries—a stone that is exceedingly valuable for building purposes—a shade of color, I believe, which it was stipulated that the new departmental buildings here should be built of, a condition of the con-

tract from which there has been a departure—could have received a large order for stone from the quarries he was managing, provided he could get such a rate upon the Intercolonial Railway as not to exceed twice as much as was paid upon coal from Springhill to Montreal.

HON. MR. MILLER—Springhill mines are owned in Montreal.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—I cannot say as to the ownership, but there seems to be a very great disparity between the amount of freight charged on different articles of the same class. The point I wish to make is this: if it is in the interest of the Intercolonial Railway to carry the coal from Nova Scotia to Montreal at such exceedingly low rates for the purpose of increasing the output of the mines, employing a large number of men, promoting the value of shares, and of course increasing the wealth of the individuals holding them, would it not be an equal benefit to the country if the development of our stone quarries were promoted in the same way, or to a certain extent in the same way. We all know that building stone is a lower class of freight than coal, and does not require cars of so costly construction. Stone may be carried entirely upon flat-cars, which require no side fixtures at all. Now, why do the Government refuse to allow building stone to be carried at a low rate? It was not asked that it should be carried at the same rate as coal is carried, but if the Government would allow it to be carried at even double the rate it would encourage that industry; yet the managers of those quarries could not get those terms. The result is that while the Springhill mines have been prosperous—and I am glad to know it—the stone quarries of Albert county, and I dare say of the county of the hon. mover of this resolution, are largely idle. They cannot be profitably worked, for the reason that the rate of duty in the United States is high and the rates on the Intercolonial Railway are so exceedingly out of proportion to the rates for coal that it cannot be sent to the western Provinces. I think when justice ceases to be even-handed it ceases to be justice, and I scarcely see why a particular

interest like coal should be specially looked after and other interests totally ignored and neglected. But coal is not the only industry which enjoys these exceptional and extraordinary rates. It came to my notice two or three years ago that hay was carried over the Intercolonial Railway at an exceedingly low rate; but it was not hay from Westmoreland or Albert, or elsewhere in New Brunswick; it was hay produced in the Province of Quebec. The hon. gentleman on my left speaks about the necessity of making special rates for long hauls, but I would like to ask this hon. House if there is any instance in railway economy where the charge upon a long haul is less than the charge upon a short section of the same road? Yet it is exactly the case with respect to the hay, if I am not wrongly informed—that the rate upon hay from Rimouski to Halifax was less than the rate on hay from Moncton to Halifax, over the Intercolonial Railway. Why such a condition of affairs should exist is beyond my comprehension. I think the more these things are discussed the more light will be thrown on this branch of the subject as to why the Intercolonial Railway is not paying working expenses. A reference has been made to the condition of the road. When I was on my way here less than a month ago the engine became disabled on the way up, and the result was we were detained a length of time until another locomotive was procured. That is an occurrence which may happen upon the best regulated railways, but upon inquiring of the officials connected with the train I was told that there had scarcely been a day for a fortnight previous to that that the engine had not given out on some part of the road, and the train had been delayed. I only mention these allegations for what they are worth. They may or may not be true, but it is true, at any rate, so far as the occurrence that I mention on that particular day is concerned. The road is a very good road, carefully built, but the rolling stock, it appears to me, is sadly running down. It is not being kept in the condition it was a few years ago. That must be apparent to any gentleman who travels on that road. If the Government would take the matter in hand, and examine carefully into the tariff, and

HON. MR. McCLELAN.

adjust it upon a more even scale, so that the business men of the country may know upon what they can depend, so far as freights are concerned, and will endeavor to mete out even justice to all parties, it will be in the interests of the country. They should look a little more also into the rates paid by passengers, and abolish, as far as possible, the pass system, and even the half-fare system, and give everyone equal privileges over the whole line. If they do so there will be a considerable increase in the receipts of the Intercolonial Railway.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not propose to add anything to the length of the discussion which has taken place. A good deal of valuable information has been conveyed to the hon. gentleman who represents the Government here, but I think it is hardly fair to expect that hon. gentleman to be in a position now to answer the various statements that have been made, or to give us the Government's defence against the charges that have been made. I rise partly for the purpose of saying that I shall try, before the close of the Session, to give the hon. gentleman an opportunity to present the Government's defence. No one would suppose, from the notice on the paper, that a discussion of this sort was going to take place, but the leader of the Government in this House has some idea now of the nature of the charges against the management of this road, and when the question comes up again he will be in a position to make a defence, if there is one.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Many complaints have been made about the smallness of the earnings of this road in proportion to the cost of running it. We might as well talk of the smallness of the earnings of the canals and other public works up here. We do not expect any of those works will pay directly a revenue to the country, but indirectly the country is compensated for the outlay upon those works. The very gentlemen who complain of the small earnings of the road want the freight rates and passenger rates reduced; others want short-haul rates reduced, and others want reduced rates on stone and on lumber. If these gentlemen had their way there would be no revenue

at all from the road. We know what took place in Nova Scotia the other day when the freight rates on coal were raised—it practically paralyzed the trade. If higher freight rates are charged the consumer will have to pay a higher rate for the coal, so that the consumer gets the benefit of the low rate existing at present.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I agree very much, indeed, with what the senior member for Halifax has said—that it cannot be expected that the Government can be placed on their defence as to the entire management of the Intercolonial Railway, including all the minor details, and the difficulties which arise on every railway, without exception whatever, on an inquiry whether a dynamo has been placed in a certain station on the road—I must say I do not think the discussion has been a valuable one. In that respect I must differ from my hon. friend from Halifax. I do not think any discussion can be considered valuable which places on record in the official reports of our debates and before the public a series of censures on the Government, without the Government having an opportunity to make a defence. It is utterly impossible for me to say the reason of the difference in the tariff on coal and stone, and the reasons for accidents on the railway, as if we had not on other railways, admitted to be well managed, accidents reported every day, some of them much more serious than anything reported on our own. I therefore respectfully ask the House to permit me to decline to go into a discussion of this kind, and I thank the hon. gentleman from Halifax for his promise that he will, before the close of the Session, give me an opportunity to discuss this matter on proper notice. With what ability and labor I am capable of, I endeavor to do and say what can be said on these subjects of inquiry, but I cannot pretend to answer, at a moment's notice, questions of administration of justice in British Columbia and accidents to cars on the railway on the other side of the continent. With regard to the hon. gentleman's question, I say the Government have purchased plant for charging dynamos on the cars at Point Levis and at Moncton. These are the only two places.

NORTH PACIFIC FISHERIES.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.) rose to

Ask the Government what steps have been taken, or proposed to be taken, to secure the rights and protect the interests of Canadian fishermen in the North Pacific and Behring Sea against the unwarrantable interference of United States revenue cutters?

He said: I gave this notice the other day in consequence of the somewhat extraordinary proclamation issued by the President of the United States, bearing date the 22nd inst., anent the Behring's Sea Fisheries. I may say here that I would not have given this notice had I been aware that my hon. colleague from Victoria was about to make a similar inquiry. Had I been aware that he was going to move in the matter I would have allowed the hon. gentleman to have all the honor and pleasure connected with the bringing of it before the notice of the Government. The free navigation of and free fishing in Behring's Sea—beyond the three-mile limit—are matters of great importance to the people of British Columbia—in fact, it is a matter of vital importance to a very large number of our people who are engaged in the fur seal fisheries, and that number is steadily increasing year by year. Last year several Nova Scotia vessels went out there for the express purpose of fishing for black cod, and engaging in the fur seal fisheries in and around the Aleutian Islands and in Behring's Sea, but the proclamation just issued by the President, I believe, will be the means of preventing not only Canadian and foreign vessels from entering into that sea and pursuing their vocation there, but will also be the means of preventing United States vessels from fishing in those waters. In the proclamation reference is made in section 3 of section 1956 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and reads as follows:—

"Section 3. That section 1956 of the Revised Statutes of the United States is hereby declared to include and apply to all the dominion of the United States in the waters of Behring Sea, and it shall be the duty of the President at a timely season in each year to issue his proclamation, and cause the same to be published for one month at least in the newspaper (if any such there be) published at each United States port of entry on the Pacific coast, warning all persons against entering such waters for the purpose of violating the provisions of said section, and he should also cause one or more vessels of the

United States to diligently cruise said waters and arrest all persons and seize all vessels found to be or to have been engaged in any violation of the laws of United States therein."

HON. MR. KAULBACH—That you will find to be the territorial waters of the United States.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—I would be only too happy to place that construction on the proclamation; but it must be within the recollection of the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg, and others in this House, that the contention of the United States has been for several years—in fact, ever since they acquired Alaska from Russia—that they not only bought the land but also bought and have the exclusive right to half of Behring's Sea. The contention of Russia was owing to the fact that she at one time owned all the land surrounding Behring's Sea; she owned Behring's Sea also, and had an exclusive right to all it contained.

HON. MR. MILLER—Which the United States never admitted.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—It was not admitted, and I may say in reply to the hon. gentleman from Richmond that no people or Government protested more strongly than the people and Government of the United States against the monstrous contentions of Russia; but things have entirely altered. The United States now own the American side of Behring's Sea, and they contend that all the rights and privileges that were claimed by Russia prior to the purchase of Alaska have fallen to them, and that they now own the American half of Behring's Sea. By reference to the map hon. gentlemen will see how absurd that pretension is—a sea at its mouth about 700 miles wide by 1,000 miles long.

HON. MR. DICKEY—What is the hon. gentleman's authority for stating that the United States have claimed the same power over Behring's Sea that Russia did? What official authority can he give for any such contention on the part of the United States Government?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Not from that proclamation.

HON. MR. POWER—The action of the United States revenue cutters.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The proclamation only professes to deal with the part of Behring's Sea that belongs to the United States.

HON. MR. MILLER—The territorial waters of the United States.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Just as we claim territorial jurisdiction over three miles beyond the coast in our own waters.

HON. MR. POWER—The language is ambiguous.

HON. MR. McINNES—I might answer the question of the hon. gentleman from Amherst by asking another question: Why is not the three-miles limit stated in the proclamation—that it is only within the three-miles limit, or within what is generally recognized as the territorial waters of any nation? My principal reasons for saying that they lay claim to the American half of Behring's Sea is this: two years ago British Columbia vessels—Canadian vessels—were seized by a United States revenue cutter from 50 to 75 miles from any land, while quietly engaged in catching fur seal.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—They have not done it since.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—These vessels were taken to an American port, the officers and crew were imprisoned, they were tried before a United States judge, found guilty, and vessels and cargoes confiscated. That, I think, ought to be sufficient authority. If that is not enough I will refer the hon. gentleman to the correspondence that took place between the Secretary of State at Washington and the Imperial Government, wherein the same claim to the exclusive right to Behring's Sea is made.

HON. MR. MILLER—Are not negotiations going on now for compensation to the owners of those vessels?

HON. MR. POWER—We cannot find out.

HON. MR. McINNES—I think I have evidence here to satisfy the hon. gentleman from Richmond on that point. I find by a cablegram of yesterday, published in this morning's *Citizen*, that in the Imperial House of Commons the question was asked:

"Sir Geo. S. Baden-Powell asked in the House of Commons this afternoon whether the case of the three sealing ships arrested in Behring's Sea in 1887, and condemned by the Alaskan court, had been admitted to appeal by the Supreme Court.

"Sir James Ferguson, Under Foreign Secretary, replied that the time allowed for appeals had lapsed."

So that it appears that the owners of those vessels seized and cargoes confiscated have not been compensated, and in all probability, now that the time has passed for an appeal, never will receive one cent.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Those were suits by the private owners. The hon. gentleman has asked a question and has not waited for an answer. He asks why the proclamation did not state three miles from the shore. The language used in the proclamation is what is used in every official proclamation. They do not go into particulars. They say: "All waters that come within the territorial waters of this country," and the citation that my hon. friend has made I tell him has no bearing on the question.

HON. MR. McINNES—I am very sorry that my hon. friend cannot see the bearing of the telegram I have read; but I know this, that unless some steps are taken by the Dominion Government or by the Imperial authorities, by which assurances will be given that our fishermen will not be interfered with as they have been in the past, a very important branch of our fishing industry will be destroyed. If the contention of the United States to the exclusive right to Behring's Sea is not a proper construction to place on the proclamation I cannot understand why the proclamation itself is worded in such ambiguous and guarded language. I sincerely hope that the Government will give assurances that they are taking active steps for the protection of our fishermen on the Pacific as well as on the Atlantic coast. Last year when the Fisheries Treaty was under discussion I called attention to what I considered a great wrong to the fishing interest of the Pacific Province, and that was that the whole question of the fisheries of Canada was not included in that treaty. Now that a year has elapsed, and in all probability a new treaty will be negotiated, I sincerely hope and trust that in the interest of the whole Dominion they will not allow any treaty

to be entered into that does not include the fisheries of British Columbia and contiguous waters.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—I wish to reply to the hon. gentleman from Amherst as to the proof there is that the American Government claim the exclusive right to Behring's Sea. The proof is that vessels have been seized while fishing in Behring's Sea, and the trial of the cases held at Unalaska before an American judge, who rendered an elaborate decision. The vessels were seized seventy miles from the land, and his decision was that the United States had jurisdiction over those waters lying between the coast of Alaska and a line drawn from the middle of Behring's Straits down the middle of Behring's Sea, and not only that, but the Secretary of State at Washington, in his correspondence with the Foreign Office, contended that the whole of those waters were conveyed by Russia to the United States. Last year they receded from that, or did not seize our vessels while they were engaged in sealing in Behring's Sea. Although three American vessels of war were cruising in those waters none of our sealing vessels were seized. That contention has been abandoned, and they have come back to the international usage of the three-mile limit.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am glad that my hon. friends have taken this up, because it affects our Nova Scotia interests as well. I am glad to learn that in the fishing as well as in the commercial interests of Canada on the Pacific coast our Nova Scotia vessels are concerned. One of our Nova Scotia vessels is engaged in the tea trade with China. I believe that the territorial rights of the two nations should be the same on the Pacific as on the Atlantic. We know that up to the time the United States obtained Alaska they claimed that the Russians had no exclusive rights in Behring's Sea. We know, as far back as 1872, Secretary Boutwell, in reply to a request that the United States Government would send a revenue cutter to prevent Australian and Hawaiian vessels from taking seals in Behring's Sea, declined doing so, on the ground that the jurisdiction of the

United States on the Alaskan coast was limited to three miles. He said: "I do not see that the United States would have jurisdiction or power to drive off parties going up there for that purpose, unless they made that attempt within a marine league of the shore." In 1822, when the Russian Government claimed sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean north of latitude 51 degrees the United States repudiated it. Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, expressed surprise at any claim beyond the laws and usages of nations, and the result of it was that a treaty was negotiated between the United States and Russia, by which the former had their rights of fishing and navigation confirmed. A similar recognition of the claims of Great Britain followed soon after. Therefore, I cannot see how the United States can make the pretensions they have put forward to exclusive sovereignty over one-half of Behring's Sea. It is evident that they are backing down. They will make no more seizures, and the proclamation which has been referred to is simply to regulate their own fishing rights in their own territorial waters. They could not go beyond that, so far as we are concerned. The United States must feel that their claim to exclusive jurisdiction over Behring's Sea is too preposterous to be upheld, and that it would be repudiated not only by England but by every civilized nation in the world, and that it would be resisted by force if necessary.

HON. MR. SMITH—The answer to the hon. gentleman's inquiry is, that this matter is engaging the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government at present.

SECOND READING.

Bill (103), "An Act further to amend the Act 36 Vic., Cap. 61, respecting the Trinity House and Harbor Commissioners of Montreal." (Mr. Smith).

CHEESE AND BUTTER MANUFACTORIES BILL.

REFERRED TO SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

The Order of the Day being called—
"Committee of the Whole House on Bill (16), Frauds in the supplying of Milk to Cheese and Butter Manufactories,"

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)

HON. MR. READ said: I have been asked by some members of the House if this Bill could be referred to a special committee, and I should like to have it so referred, as some gentlemen from the Province of Quebec desire it. I therefore move that it be referred to a select committee composed of Messrs. Bellerose, McCallum, Ross, Merner, Haythorne, Power, McKay (Truro), and the mover.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Is this Bill introduced in the interest of the dairymen, the manufacturers, or the consumers of cheese? I am afraid that this Bill will have a bad effect. Our cheese has a good reputation on the other side of the Atlantic—perhaps it stands higher than any cheese imported.

HON. MR. READ—A Bill similar to this was passed by the Ontario Legislature, and was in operation for some time, but was declared in February last to be *ultra vires*. This Bill is to prevent any adulteration of milk which is sent to the factories, and the object, if possible, is to keep up the high standard of our cheese.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It gives the privilege of manufacturing skim milk cheese, or as they are sometimes called, grindstones; it will be an inducement to the manufacture of skim milk cheese, which certainly we do not expect Canadians to manufacture or put on the market.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—It appears to me that this Bill gives the privilege of manufacturing into cheese milk of a very inferior quality, and not only that, but milk taken from a cow that is diseased—for instance, a cow suffering from cow-pox.

HON. MR. READ—It is to prevent that.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—That is the privilege that the Bill gives, if written notice is given to the owner or manager of the factory. Then I consider clause 13 objectionable. It provides:

"13. Any pecuniary penalty imposed under this Act shall, when recovered, be payable, one-half to the informant or complainant and the other half to the treasurer or president of the factory to which milk was sent, sold or supplied for any of the purposes aforesaid, in violation of any of the provisions of this Act."

Very often the informant is the factory man, and the patrons would be at a very great disadvantage in dealing with a factory when those who are interested in the division of the fine would be the witnesses against them.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (37), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Massawippi Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Stevens).

Bill (99), "An Act to incorporate the Three Rivers and Western Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (62), "An Act to incorporate the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company." (Mr. Perley).

Bill (63), "An Act to enable the City of Winnipeg to utilize the Assiniboine River Water-power." (Mr. Girard).

Bill (79), "An Act to incorporate the Union Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

The Senate adjourned at 5:10 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 1st April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (77), "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Quebec Board of Trade." (Mr. Robitaille).

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

MOTION.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD moved:

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General; praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House a detailed statement showing the total annual cost for supplying the electric light for the use of the Intercolonial Railway and charging the cars with electricity at the respective stations of St. John and Halifax, and the names of the parties performing such service.

He said: In calling attention to the expenditure and management of the Intercolonial Railway it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that in the

near future two rival roads will be open for operation. This must have a very important influence on the position of the Intercolonial Railway. I believe that the distance saved between Montreal and St. John by the Short Line is between 300 and 350 miles, as compared with the route by the Intercolonial Railway from Montreal to St. John. If that be the case, it will render the journey from the western part of New Brunswick to Montreal some fifteen hours shorter than by the Intercolonial Railway as it has been run of late. There is also another short line about to be opened from River du Loup by Temiscouata to St. John, which will shorten the route by rail from Quebec by River du Loup to St. John about 200 miles. That will shorten the journey some eight or nine hours. This certainly is a most important feature in our system of railways, and it would seem to require at the hands of Parliament some action with regard to the Intercolonial Railway. I need not dwell on this. The facts are so obvious that travellers will go by the shortest route, that the new lines will take the principle number of passengers between Montreal and the Lower Provinces as soon as they are opened. They will also have a very important bearing upon the freight traffic of the Intercolonial Railway. I venture to remark, or rather to suggest, that the able leader of the Government in this House, if he devoted his unquestionable ability to the investigation of the management and the expenditure of the Intercolonial Railway, would have an ample field for economizing the funds of the Dominion, far more so than the special committee which was appointed here to investigate and suggest a reduction in the expenditure of the two Houses of Parliament. I think it would be found that in the latter a very small amount can be saved, but in the other case I am satisfied that a very large amount can be economized.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is no objection at all to the motion of my hon. friend. I merely rose to say that if I were to accept the suggestion of my hon. friend, and devote myself to discovering how the Intercolonial Railway might pay, I might hit upon a plan that would not

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be altogether agreeable to my hon. friend, and to other hon. friends from that section.

The motion was agreed to.

ATLANTIC AND NORTH-WEST RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved the third reading of Bill (65), "An Act respecting the Atlantic and North-West Railway Company."

HON. MR. POWER—I do not propose to oppose the third reading of this Bill, but I wish to make a few observations in connection with it. This company is, I think, the same with which the Government contracted in 1885 or 1886 for the construction of the Short Line Railway from Montreal to St. John, Fredericton and Salisbury. As the hon. gentleman from Sackville has just said, the Short Line has been completed so far as to make connection with St. John, and that connection will shorten the distance between Montreal and St. John very considerably—I do not think, perhaps, quite as much as the hon. gentleman said, but very considerably indeed. The portion of the road which was to shorten the distance to Halifax, and to Moncton and all points south and east of that, has not been constructed; in fact, work on that section of the road has not been begun, although under a contract made between this company, whose Act of incorporation we are amending, and the Government, that section of the road between Harvey and Salisbury was to have been completed by the 1st of July of the present year. Now, this Bill does not contain any provision that that section of the road shall be completed within any very short period. It contains a provision that the time for constructing and completing the road shall be extended for five years. This provision is qualified by a proviso inserted in the Railway Committee of the other House:

"That the extension of time granted by this Act in respect of the portion of the line between Harvey and Salisbury or Moncton shall not be continued beyond the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety, unless before that day the company shall have expended on that portion at least the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to the satisfaction of an engineer to be appointed by

the Minister of Railways and Canals; in which case the time for the completion of that portion shall be extended for a further period of two years."

Now we see that the people of Nova Scotia and south-eastern New Brunswick, who were solemnly promised in the year 1885 that this road would be completed by the 1st of July, 1889, have now a not very binding guarantee that \$100,000 shall be spent on the portion of the road between Harvey and Salisbury previous to the 1st of July, 1890. Every hon. gentleman must see that this is a great "decline and fall off" from the promises that were so solemnly made four years ago. It seems the more unsatisfactory and the more aggravating to the people of Nova Scotia inasmuch as the proposition for this Short Line Railway originated with the people of Halifax. The first mention of this line was made in the city of Halifax, and the first steps in its favor were taken by the Chamber of Commerce and, I believe, the City Council of that city; and it does seem most disappointing and unsatisfactory, the scheme having originated there, that that is the only portion of the Dominion which is not to receive any immediate benefit from the large expenditure of money in connection with this road. I feel bound, as a representative in some sense of the Province of Nova Scotia, to express my great regret and disappointment at the present position of affairs. Although the Atlantic and North-Western Company are the nominal contractors with the Government, yet the Canadian Pacific Railway Company are the real contractors. I do not propose to find any fault with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. They simply have gone into the matter as business men, and they find this state of facts, as I understand from the leader of the House and other gentlemen, that the road between Lennoxville and Mattawamkeag has cost about 50 per cent. more than the company were led to believe it would cost. Any hon. gentleman who paid attention to what took place here in connection with the selecting of a route for the railway four years ago will remember that engineers and other persons representing the interests of the city of Quebec, and also the interests of Fredericton and of Halifax, declared that the route selected by the Government engineers was not by any means the best that could have been chosen for

this work; but the Government, for a wonder, were in a great hurry to get the question settled, and they decided upon the selected route, without having sufficient information in their possession as to the character of the country which the line that they decided upon was to traverse. The result has been about what was pointed out at the time by those who were not in favor of the line selected by the Government. It has turned out that the line was so difficult of construction that it has cost somewhere in the neighborhood of \$9,000,000, instead of \$6,000,000, as was estimated at the time. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company undertook to construct the whole line, I presume basing their calculations upon the estimate made by the Government engineer, and upon the reports submitted to Parliament and to the company on behalf of the Government. If they have been obliged to spend nearly \$3,000,000 more than they had been led to believe the portion of the road that has been constructed would have cost, and they find now that they have not the means of going on and building the third section of the road, the company are not altogether to blame. If they are to blame at all it is because they were too ready to accept the reports and estimates made by the Government engineers. I cannot help expressing again my regret that now, through, as I regard it, the ill-judged and unjustifiable haste of the Government in 1885 in selecting the route for this railway without sufficient inquiry and consideration, the people of Nova Scotia and of a great part of New Brunswick are deprived of the advantage that would have been afforded by this Short Line Railway if it had been constructed in accordance with the original contract. I may say that, as regards the section of country to which I have just referred, the railway as now completed is of almost no appreciable advantage whatever.

HON. MR. WARK—I regret to have to differ from my hon. friend from Halifax. I suppose he voices the opinions of the people of Halifax; I do not know that he does of the whole of Nova Scotia. I think this is not a question that Nova Scotia, either east or west, is very deeply interested in. The earnest desire of Halifax throughout has been to divert this away

from the city of St. John, and that is an impossibility. The city of St. John lies so much nearer to Montreal than Halifax does that its geographical position excludes Halifax from the benefit of the short line that it so much desires. It would have carried the road far further north in New Brunswick than the line now proposed, but it was impracticable. Now, this is not the short line. If they wanted a short line built it would cross the river St. John below Gagetown. North of that there is the Grand Lake, 30 miles long, and they must go round the head of Grand Lake before they can get down to Salisbury. So that if a line is stretched, as I have stretched it across the map from Harvey to Salisbury, it would pass south to St. John. But we have an interest in this road which the people of Halifax have not. We built a road at very great expense from St. John to the main line. This company has made running arrangements over that road. The policy of Halifax is, instead of paying a moderate sum for running arrangements over the New Brunswick Company's line, to compel them to build a rival road for a great part of the way. Again, we have an excellent road from St. John to Shediac. It belongs to the Government, it is true, and the Government show that they are sinking money in running the Intercolonial Railway. Why, then, not let the Short Line have running arrangements over that road, instead of compelling them to build a rival line to take more traffic from the Intercolonial Railway? If they would pay a reasonable amount for running powers it would be so much contributed to the Dominion treasury; if they build a rival road away round Grand Lake it will take away so much more traffic and make the loss on the running of the Intercolonial Railway still greater. The amount set apart for this road was \$63,400, representing a capital of \$1,506,000, and I think if the Government would agree to spend that amount in New Brunswick we could find some place where it could be employed to far greater advantage than running away round through the uninhabited wilderness above Grand Lake. Halifax is too far away to be benefited much by the expenditure. A train would reach there an hour earlier, perhaps, by the building of this road, but this is a matter in which the shippers of Montreal and the west are

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far more interested than the people of Halifax. A very earnest speech was made in this House a few years ago, in which it cropped out that the object was to make Halifax a winter port, and what they expected to benefit by was the steamers calling there and the disbursements of those steamers. That is a matter in which the Government are not much interested. I suppose in a few years the disbursements will take place at Sydney, when connections are made there for passengers, mails and light freights. The company have built as far as they ought to be compelled to build, and I think our railway ought to have the benefit of running arrangements with this company, and the Intercolonial Railway ought to have the benefit of running arrangements over its share of the line. It needs it all to pay running expenses.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do not agree with the contention of my hon. friend who has just spoken. In 1884, when the subsidy was granted to this road it was obtained through the united efforts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, particularly St. John and Halifax; but my hon. friend, having succeeded in obtaining all that New Brunswick requires, says he is quite satisfied, and thinks neither the Government nor the company should be compelled to carry out the original intention, which was that this short line of railway was to connect at Moncton. That was the basis on which the subsidy was granted and the contracts were given. Why the company has not fulfilled that intention and carried it out is not for me to say. I do not agree with the hon. member for Halifax, whose deduction seems to be this: that in consequence of the road going where it has gone it has cost \$3,000,000 more than it otherwise would have cost.

HON. MR. POWER—I said that it cost that much more than the estimate.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The inference from that is, that it cost more than it would have cost had it gone another way. I think it was the shortest and best road that the Government could, perhaps, find at the time, and there is no objection to be made on that score; but I feel, as my hon. friend from Halifax feels, that the

people of Nova Scotia will not be satisfied until the whole of the conditions on which this money was granted at the first are carried out. I see here a clause introduced by which it is provided that unless this \$100,000 is expended from Harvey on towards Moncton by the end of this year they shall forfeit that part of their contract. From this I would infer that the Government are prepared, in case the company should fail to carry out that, to make some arrangement by which this road would be finished. I am not supposed to know in what way, but I think it is a Government responsibility. It behoves the Government to see that the road is finished, even though they have to take it in hand themselves and make the complete connection. As far as it has gone, I believe the proper route was chosen, and, even if it should go no further, the distance from Montreal to Halifax has been shortened over 300 miles.

HON. MR. POWER—No; it is shortened to St. John, not to Halifax.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—If it is 300 miles shorter than the route by the Intercolonial Railway, while I claim, and the people of Nova Scotia claim, that the road must be completed, yet we have not lost by the money expended on the short line, because it has saved us 300 miles so far.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—The hon. member for Halifax seems to think it extraordinary that more time should be asked for this particular road and that it should cost more than was anticipated. We have no proof yet that there was any other suitable route that would have cost less. Then I am quite sure that it is common in this House to have charters extended for two or three years, and even for four or five years, and the other day we complained of some charter that was extended for eight or nine years. Therefore, I do not see why so much fault is found because this particular line has not been completed within the time promised. They have done a great deal of work in a very short time, and there should be very little fault found with them if they ask for a little more time now. Had they not intended to go on and finish the road it would have been very easy not to ask

for this at all, and then the charter would have fallen through; but to my mind this shows that they intend to carry it out. The hon. member for Halifax might have let this pass, as other roads are granted extensions; and as to the fact of the line costing more than was originally estimated, I do not think he could mention any instance in which a line has been built for the estimated cost. We have no clear proof that there was any other suitable route that would have cost less.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

THE WINDING-UP ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (98), "An Act to amend the Winding-up Act, Chap. 129 of the Revised Statutes."

(In the Committee).

On the 4th clause,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said the new fourth clause is for the purpose of extending the application of the Act somewhat. Under the former Act it was made only to apply to corporations designated in it which were insolvent, or which were being wound up. These are the only conditions in which companies were which rendered them amenable to the Act. By this clause this is considerably extended. It provides for the winding-up at the time the charter expires, or when the event upon which the corporation was made to depend has occurred, or where the company has passed a resolution at a special meeting of the shareholders requiring it to be wound up; when it is insolvent within the meaning of the Winding-up Act; when the capital stock is impaired to the extent of 25 per cent., and when it is shown to the satisfaction of the court that the lost capital will not likely be restored within one year, or when the court is of opinion that it is just and equitable that the company may be wound up. Then there is a clause further on, which provides in a way similar to the clauses which existed in the Insolvent Acts, that the winding-up order may be issued upon cause shown to the judge—for instance, on the representation of 25 per cent. loss of capital, that

it may be replaced, and it is within the discretion of the judge to stay proceedings.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It seems to me that sub-section "b" of section 4 is rather an extreme power, where the capital stock of the company is impaired to the extent of 25 per cent. that the company is liable to be wound up. My hon. friend must recollect that some very important institutions of this country have lost a much larger share of their capital than that, and they were allowed to go on under the authority of Parliament, and were eventually successful institutions. In one case 5 per cent. of the capital was allowed to be struck off by Parliament, and in another case 33½ per cent., and in that case it was not contemplated that the cancelled capital should be made up within a year. I do not think it is wise to trust to any dissatisfied shareholder the power to wind up a company because 25 per cent. of the capital might for a time be impaired. We know of institutions that have recovered their financial position although more than 25 per cent. of their capital had been lost.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The institutions to which my hon. friend refers were obliged to come before Parliament and get permission to go on with a reduced capital.

HON. MR. SCOTT—No; they asked authority to cancel that much of their stock.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They came to Parliament and asked for it. No doubt, any company likely to be wound up under this Act would have to ask authority to go on, and if they could show a reasonable prospect of success, they would get it. But to allow a company to go on in perpetuity with a distinct loss of 25 per cent. of capital is an injurious thing. It cannot be a benefit to the company itself, and may be a loss to outsiders. This is modified by the provision of the 8th section, which allows the company to oppose the application on the ground that it has not become insolvent, or that its suspension or default is only temporary, and was not caused by any deficiency in its assets, or that the capital stock is not impaired to the extent aforesaid, or that the lost capital will likely be restored within one year, and shows reason-

able cause for believing that such opposition is well founded, the court may adjourn the proceedings and order an accountant to inquire into the affairs of the company.

HON. MR. SCOTT—My recollection of the Joint Stock Companies' Act is that if a company find they have lost part of their capital they can, under an Order-in-Council, have the capital reduced.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No doubt the company can get its capital stock reduced, but I doubt if there is any provision in the Joint Stock Companies' Act under which, if a company has lost part of its capital, it is allowed to reduce its capital to meet that loss.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Is there any precedent for this legislation in England or the United States?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think this is taken from the improvement in the modern English Act.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I think it is an objectionable policy.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the objection of the hon. gentleman from Ottawa is well taken. Twenty-five per cent. is altogether too small a portion of the capital stock on which to take such action. If the loss were 40 per cent. there might be good ground for putting the company into liquidation. The 8th clause of the Bill, to which the hon. gentleman refers, does not cover the point raised by the hon. gentleman from Ottawa, "that the loss of capital will likely be restored within a year." In a great many cases the practice has been to reduce the capital stock. I know of several companies in Nova Scotia that had their capital stock reduced two years ago.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—By Parliament?

HON. MR. POWER—That is the usual course, that they get authority to reduce their capital stock, but I suppose a company applying to Parliament to have their capital stock reduced would not be able to plead that fact under this clause. Supposing the company have actually given notice of the application to Parliament to

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reduce their capital stock, they could not plead that fact if any dissatisfied shareholder of the company or any creditor outside chose to bring them into the court with a view of forcing them into liquidation.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I must say that my hon. friend's arguments do not produce a very strong effect upon my mind. If, as he suggests, the company is taking proceedings to get its capital reduced by Act of Parliament, surely no court would force the company into liquidation. Unless there is some reason on the part of the creditors or the public that the company should be wound up I do not think any court would force them into liquidation in the face of an application to Parliament. Whether it be 25 or 40 or 50 per cent., it is merely a matter of degree; but it seems to me that when a trading company has lost 25 per cent. of its capital, and cannot recoup itself, it is time for the company to be wound up.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—If the company show that they can recoup themselves, of course they would be relieved.

HON. MR. POWER—If the hon. gentleman turns to chapter 119, the Companies' Act, page 1575, section 19, he will find that the directors of the company may at any time make a by-law for reducing the capital stock of the company to any amount which they deem sufficient for the due carrying out of the undertaking of the company.

The clause was agreed to.

On the 10th clause,

HON. MR. SCOTT—There is a gentleman present who has suggested to me that there are some financial companies from the outside who propose to communicate with the House before the Bill passes through, and I would suggest that the third reading of the Bill be allowed to stand until Thursday.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Certainly.

The clause was agreed to.

On the 16th clause,

HON. MR. POWER—What is the meaning of this clause?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is a section bearing upon fraudulent preference. There is a careful provision in the existing law to prevent fraudulent preferences being obtained by contributors, by obtaining transfers of claims on the company and using the right of compensation or set-off in order to extinguish the claim which the company has upon them for contribution to its stock. That is, of course, contrary to the principles on which an insolvent company is to be treated. That clause does not apply to ordinary debtors of the company, and this is to extend the same principle with regard to debtors which prevails with regard to contributors.

The clause was agreed to.

On the 20th clause,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—On this clause there has been some discussion with the Attorney-General of Ontario, and he suggests the following as an amendment, which I propose to accept and substitute for sub-section 2, and my colleagues approve of it: "After a winding-up order is made, the court may from time to time, by order of reference, refer and delegate, according to the practice and procedure of such court, to any officer of the court, the exercise by such officer of any of the powers conferred upon the court by this Act, or any Act amending the same, as to such court may seem meet, subject to an appeal, according to the practice of the court in like cases."

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. MCKINDSEY, from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments.

STATUTES RESPECTING INTEREST BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (N), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting Interest."

(In the Committee).

On section 1,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The object of this Bill is to make the rate of interest upon judgments uniform in the North-West Territories with the rate which has

been adopted elsewhere—that is to say, 6 per cent. As the Bill now stands, I question if it has that effect. It purports to deal with the rate of interest throughout the Dominion. In certain points it appears to me to go rather beyond the jurisdiction of this House, if made applicable to the rest of the Dominion, and I see also it would vary the rule which has hitherto prevailed in different Provinces of the Dominion. For the purpose, therefore, of making the Act perform the duty we require of it, I propose to amend it by making it expressly to apply to the North-West Territories, where we have power of legislation, and for that purpose it is not necessary to make any great alteration in the Act. I would propose that the first clause should read to this effect: That the Revised Statute respecting interest is hereby amended by adding thereto the following provision, which shall apply to the North-West Territories only.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The clause which now stands as the first clause of the Bill will require some slight alteration. I want to strike out of it the exception.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Clause 2 might pass as it is with a slight verbal alteration.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Has that anything to do with the accrued interest?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; nothing whatever.

The clause was agreed to.

On the 3rd clause,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The third clause proposes that a judgment shall carry the same rate of interest as the contract upon which the interest was based previous to the judgment. I understand that has been held in some portions of the Dominion to be the law, but the principle is one which my colleagues and myself do not approve of, and we would prefer that the interest, which is payable by virtue of a judgment, should be 6 per cent. in the North-West Territory.

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HON. MR. PELLETIER—That principle has already been held in the Province of Quebec.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. MACFARLANE, from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments, which were agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

REGULATIONS RESPECTING FISHERIES IN NOVA SCOTIA BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. POWER moved the second reading of Bill (Q), "An Act to revive certain Regulations respecting Fisheries in Nova Scotia." He said: The Fisheries Act of 1868 continued in force certain statutes of Nova Scotia, two chapters of the Revised Statutes, 94 and 95, which dealt with shore and river fisheries, and two or three Acts in amendment of those chapters passed previous to the union of the colonies. The Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, third series, were adopted in 1864, and these other Acts were passed between 1864 and 1867. The Fisheries Act continued, as I say, those chapters and statutes in force, and also expressly continued the regulations made under these Acts, and provided that certain officers who are named also in the latter part of the first clause of this Bill should take the place of the officers mentioned in the Nova Scotia statutes and regulations. As I believe, through inadvertence, the Parliament of Canada in 1875, instead of providing that the local regulations made under those statutes should remain in force until other regulations had been made by the Governor-in-Council, or some other authority, repealed all those regulations and substituted nothing for them. The consequence has been something like this: under the Nova Scotia statutes the Sessions of the Peace in the various counties and sessional districts of Nova Scotia had made local regulations chiefly with respect to the shore fisheries. The fishermen had met, each body of fishermen in their own settlement, and had agreed upon certain regulations as to fishing berths, mode of setting nets and seines, &c., and those regulations were confirmed by the

sessions of the district and governed the settlements. I imagine that regulations of that sort were in force in nearly all the fishing settlements along the coast.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Was it confined to the coast?

HON. MR. POWER—No; but I speak chiefly with respect to the coast fisheries. The Department has made almost no regulations with respect to shore fisheries, and it will be seen that it would be almost impracticable for the Department here, a thousand or twelve hundred miles away from those fishing districts, to make regulations which will suit each little district. I think the better way is to leave it, as the former Act did, to each settlement to make its own regulations. It is the practice of the Department now not to interfere with the shore fisheries of the different settlements, but to leave them in the hands of the fishermen and let them arrange things for themselves. That would be quite satisfactory, only lawsuits have arisen, and it has been discovered in such cases that the regulations under which the fishermen acted, and which were supposed to be valid in law, are invalid, and judgment has been given against the man who would have had right on his side if these regulations had remained in force. The only object of this Bill is to put the fishermen in the same position in which they would have been if this Act of 1875 had not, as I think, injudiciously, and probably through inadvertence, repealed those regulations. This Bill does not bring to life any regulations inconsistent with the existing law, or inconsistent with any regulations made by the Governor in Council. The first clause provides that those regulations shall cease to exist whenever the Governor in Council makes regulations inconsistent with them, so that this can do no harm to any body, and will be a great convenience to the Department and very satisfactory to the fishermen concerned. The Bill provides, as I think every Bill of this sort should provide, that it shall not affect any suit now pending. I do not see that there can be any reasonable objection to the Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I cannot make any objections to this Bill. It seems to me, in fact, necessary in Nova Scotia, as

far as possible, these regulations being of such a character that each county should make its own regulations. I do not think you can make any general regulations that could be applied satisfactorily to all parts of the Province. There are many peculiarities in various localities which require special regulations which would be unsuited to other parts. The necessity for it is evident, as my hon. friend has shown. Probably, he may have had reference to what occurred at Margate Bay. There, in consequence of finding that there was no regulation in force, there has been improper conduct on the part of rapacious fishermen. If any new regulations are made, I hope, as far as possible, they will be under the control of the different municipalities along the coasts of Nova Scotia.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I regret very much that I am unable to concur in this legislation. There seem to be some insuperable difficulties in this Bill, or what I think in legislating we must regard as insuperable difficulties. What does this Bill in the first place propose to do? It proposes to revive and give authority to, as I understand it, a vast number of local regulations which have not been in force for thirteen or fourteen years. As I understand my hon. friend's statement, the Acts under which these regulations were made were repealed in 1875; consequently, the local rules and regulations which were in force at that time have not been in force since—they have been defunct for fourteen years. We are asked to revive those rules, which were probably all right in 1875, and to make them binding in 1889. We do not know in the slightest degree what those rules are; they are not spread out before us in any form whatever, and I do not know that there is any process by which we could understand what those rules are. We are asked to give effect to them, nevertheless, to make them the law of the land, to make them binding along the coast among the fishermen. What kind of law are we making? A law which has no general bearing on the people at all. As I understand it, every little community along the coast has its own set of rules, and we are suddenly to declare that the law in each of these communities shall be different from the law in the other communities, and shall

be such as it was fifteen years ago. That, it seems to me, is very objectionable in principle. It seems to me when this House legalizes rules and makes them binding upon the people in any portion of the Dominion they should be put before us in such an intelligible form that the law-givers, as well as those who are to be affected by them, shall understand them. Nobody in this House will say that he knows what those rules are which my hon. friend proposes by this Bill to convert into law. My hon. friend says, and no doubt his argument to some extent is quite correct in regard to that, that the sting is taken out of this proposition by saying that these rules shall only be binding in so far as they are not inconsistent with the Fisheries Act. Who is to decide that? I presume some local magistrate.

HON. MR. POWER.—No; the officers of the Fisheries Department are by this Bill substituted for the others.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Then an official who is not a lawyer, or possessed necessarily of any of the qualifications of a lawyer, would have to decide whether the rule he is called upon to enforce is consistent or inconsistent with the Fisheries Act. That seems to me to be imposing upon a local official, who is in no respect a legal official, duties which he is not calculated to perform. He may do them or he may not, but in my opinion it would be in that respect extremely dangerous to confer such a power. There is a further difficulty in this Bill, as I understand under a former law these fishermen could change their rules from time to time, under the authority of some local court. They were obliged to submit them to some tribunal, I believe.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The General Sessions of the Peace.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The Sessions is abolished.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They have no power given them by this Bill to make new rules and regulations; if they wished it ever so much they could not change them. They must abide by the rules they made for themselves in 1875. If the Nova Scotia Acts had remained in force I suppose they could have altered those rules from time to time by making new ones,

and submitting them to the court, but there is no provision here for doing that. There is no provision for allowing them to make rules; they must adhere to the rules which existed up to 1875. How is this House to decide whether those rules which prevailed in 1875 are suitable or applicable to the state of things in 1889, more especially as they do not know what the rules can be? Therefore, they are perfectly incompetent to judge whether these rules are suitable rules to be put in force fourteen or fifteen years after they were passed by these people, and to be put in force in such a way that they cannot be changed in any respect. My impression is that my hon. friend's design in this Bill is a laudable and just one—that is to say, that these little communities should be governed as to the details of their fishing to a reasonable extent by rules made by themselves. I cannot say that I know enough of the subject to speak with authority, but I think I could suggest a plan which might be adopted, by which these people could again be allowed to make rules for themselves in some easy manner, and amend them from time to time as they think proper. There might be some tribunal devised, or some referee or other discovered to whom they might submit them, as they did before. I gather from what my hon. friend said that this was a wholesome and satisfactory mode of making rules and altering them. I understood from him that these are not subjects that are calculated to come within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Government—that is to say, these details are not of such importance and are not so uniformly treated that the Fisheries Department could provide for them and arrange about them. Both the hon. gentlemen seem to agree in that. If that be the case, why not have an arrangement made by which these people can frame their rules for themselves and under which the rules can be supervised and allowed to be put in force? But it does seem to me that it is in the last degree objectionable for this House to take upon itself to say that a vast variety of rules, of which it knows nothing whatever, and which have not been in existence for fourteen years, should be suddenly revived and put in force. I think that is

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

objectionable in the last degree. I do not see how this House can agree to a proposition of that description. It is the essence of this and of every kind of legislation that a legislative body should know precisely what they are legislating about. Documents which are sanctioned are always placed before the House and generally printed in the Bill, so that every body may know what we declare to be law in the Dominion. Now, here I defy any hon. gentleman to say what it is that this Bill declares shall be the law of these isolated portions of the Dominion or of any one of them. There is a Bill which will shortly come before this House with respect to the fisheries, and I shall be happy to meet my hon. friend and discuss with him and the Minister some mode by which these local communities should again make their own rules. It seems to me that is the proper solution of this question, if it is really necessary that they should have these local rules. I hope my hon. friend will withdraw this Bill, and allow the subject to rest until the other Bill comes before us.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not feel that I can do that. It is the case of Dr. Fell: The hon. gentleman does not like the Bill; and I am sorry to say all the reasons he has given for not liking it do not satisfy me that he has a good reason for his dislike. The principle reason is that we are ratifying something the exact nature of which we do not know. I do not know that it is worse to ratify a thing that has happened in the past than to ratify regulations in advance, but still this House is continually passing Bills to authorize people to make regulations.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Hear, hear; that is what I propose.

HON. MR. POWER—We are going further in other legislation than I ask the House to go in this Bill. We know that these regulations were in force up to 1875; that there was no serious complaint with respect to them; that this Parliament, in 1868, when they knew no more about those regulations than we do now, recognized and legalized them. If it was a right and proper thing to legalize them in 1868 and allow them to remain in force until 1875 then, inasmuch as the character

of the shore fisheries of Nova Scotia has not materially changed since, I fail to see that there can be any serious mistake in allowing them to continue in force now. The fact is, as I tried to tell the House, up to a very recent date these regulations have been believed to be in force, and are now in a great many places still deemed in force, because the fishermen do not know that they have been repealed. We are simply now asked to legalize a thing which has been done and is being done at the present time.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It is the present practice.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Whatever it is.

HON. MR. POWER—Those are the regulations made by the courts of session throughout Nova Scotia, and, although the hon. gentleman says we do not know where they are, they can all be got if the Department think it desirable. The courts of session of Nova Scotia had regular records, and these regulations can be found in those records. The regulations for West Halifax are in the offices of the Marine and Fisheries Department, and the same thing can be done with other regulations. Then the hon. gentleman thought we would be imposing too important duties on the fishery officers; but we are continually imposing duties of just as delicate a character on those fishery officers. The hon. gentleman said: "You are legalizing and continuing in force regulations made by the courts of sessions, and making them like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which could not be altered;" but he could not have read the first clause, which says:

"The powers and duties in the above named chapter and Act of Nova Scotia devolving on the Governor in Council under said Acts shall vest in the Governor General of Canada in Council, and the powers and duties belonging to the General or Special Sessions and the grand jury shall, as affects the making of any regulation or regulations, order or orders, be vested in the Governor General of Canada in Council."

So that if it is found that any of these regulations which are now supposed to be in force by the fishermen work badly the attention of the Department of Marine and Fisheries can be called to those regulations, and the necessary change can be made by Order-in-Council. I do not see

that you can do anything better than that. It is not a very difficult thing to get an Order-in-Council to regulate anything of that sort. Then the hon. gentleman observed that it would be better to appoint some new tribunal to make regulations. I am satisfied that if I ventured to introduce a Bill of that sort here the hon. gentleman would be the very first to talk about the impropriety of introducing a new tribunal when we have already the Governor in Council. The Governor in Council has the power to make those regulations, and though my hon. friend would not, as expressing his individual opinion, take that ground, I am quite satisfied that the Department of Marine and Fisheries would resent any attempt on the part of Parliament to interfere.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understood from the hon. gentleman that the regulations were made by the fishermen themselves and sanctioned by some tribunal. My proposition was that they should again be authorized to make regulations which should be sanctioned by some tribunal.

HON. MR. POWER—That is all that this Bill provides, that the regulations shall continue in force; and the Governor in Council shall have the right to make changes which the fishermen agree to themselves. Inasmuch as where these regulations are not now known to the Department they can be made known by inquiry, I fail to see that there is any objection at all to the passing of the measure. The want of such legislation, as my hon. friend from Lunenburg has stated has been very seriously felt in the Province of Nova Scotia. This Bill does not propose to affect any other Province, and I think it will be found that there is no objection at all on the part of any body of persons in that Province to the passing of this Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I support the Bill of my hon. friend as being better than no regulations at all, as at present. I think it is better to bring in force again the regulations we had, until such time as the Government makes such regulations as it conceives to be proper. When we passed the Fisheries Act, in 1868, we continued these regulations up to 1875. We must have known then as much about them

as we do now. We legalized them, and we were supposed to know the effect of our legislation.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—And we repealed them.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I believe we inadvertently repealed them. It certainly was not intended to leave the whole of our coasts in Nova Scotia without any of these important and necessary regulations to protect the fishing industry. As my hon. friend from Halifax said, I believe it was inadvertently dropped. We should have some regulations, and as we had those regulations before sanctioned by this House, and it is presumed that they knew what regulations were necessary, I agree with my hon. friend that these regulations should be revived again, until such time as the Government think proper to consider the matter and introduce some other mode by which the subject could be more efficiently and properly dealt with.

The Senate divided on the motion for the second reading, which was agreed to by the following vote:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Archibald,	Odell,
Armand,	O'Donohoe,
Chaffers,	Paquet,
Grant,	Pelletier,
Haythorne,	Poirier,
Kaulbach,	Power,
Leonard,	Reesor,
Lewin,	Scott,
Macdonald (Midland),	Stevens,
Macfarlane,	Wark—20.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McKay,
Baillargeon,	McKindsey,
Botsford,	McMillan,
Casgrain,	Ogilvie,
Clemow,	Read (Quinté),
Dickey,	Reid (Cariboo),
Flint,	Ross,
Girard,	Sutherland,
Glacier,	Vidal—18.

The Bill was then read the second time.

EXCHEQUER COURT BILL.

THIRD READING.

Bill (109), "An Act to amend the Law respecting the Exchequer Court of Canada," passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, and was read the third time, and passed.

HON. MR. POWER.

TRINITY HOUSE AND HARBOR
COMMISSIONERS OF MON-
TREAL BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (103), "An Act further to amend the Act 36 Vic., Chap. 61, respecting the Trinity House and Harbor Commissioners of Montreal."

(In the Committee).

On the first clause,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: Hon. gentlemen will remember, no doubt, that the Government have taken over the deepening of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal, and that necessitates the charge of the buoys and beacons which indicate this channel being also placed under the control of the Government in some form. They were heretofore the property of the Harbor Commissioners of Montreal, in their capacity of Trinity Board. The two functions were combined some years ago in the Harbor Commissioners, and their duties in the double capacity of deepening of the channel and maintaining the buoys and beacons continued up to last year, when the whole system was taken over by the Government. The intention, in the first place, is to make it clear that the buoys and beacons belong to the Government, and in the second place to enable the Government, if it thinks proper, to employ these same commissioners in the care of these buoys and beacons. They have officers trained for the purpose, who perform other functions, and they have had a great deal of experience in the maintenance of these buoys and beacons in a proper way to assist the ships in finding this channel going up and down the river. It is very probable that they would be employed by the Government to keep these buoys and beacons in place during the season of navigation.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland), from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (108), "An Act to amend Chapter 13 of the Revised Statutes, intituled, 'An Act respecting the House of Commons.'"

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: This Bill is intended to substitute three clauses for clauses 13, 14 and 15 in the existing Act respecting the House of Commons. It is for the purpose of simplifying the procedure in respect of moneys payable for the expenses of the Senate and House of Commons. Under the law as it stood the sums of money granted for this purpose were paid from the Minister of Finance or Receiver-General to the order of the commissioners, and then they were paid back by the Minister of Finance and Receiver-General, according to the directions of the commissioners. If there should happen to be a surplus in the hands of the commissioners it was paid back to the Minister of Finance and Receiver-General. It is proposed to simplify that by providing that the money shall be paid on the order of the commissioners, so that there will be no surplus. As the moneys become necessary they will be paid on the order of the commissioners. In no other respect is the Act altered; it is simply to avoid a certain amount of circumlocution in the management of the funds.

HON. MR. POWER—The explanation made by the leader of the House does not indicate a necessity for this measure. At present these moneys are paid over to and held by the Minister of Finance and Receiver-General. One would naturally suppose that this was the proper officer to hold the moneys not expended, and I fail to see that any great inconvenience can result from it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Minister of Finance and Receiver-General pay over this fund to the commissioners under the Act. They could take the whole of it if they chose. Under this Bill they do not get the fund, but give orders for the payment of it.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

CERTIFICATES TO MASTERS AND MATES BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (26), "An Act to amend the Act respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships, Chap. 73 of the Revised Statutes."

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. POWER said: As to the general question whether we should require masters and mates to have certificates, that is a question of policy. Parliament has adopted the policy of requiring those certificates, except for coasting vessels. It seemed not an unreasonable thing, perhaps, that Newfoundland, which adjoins us, and is frequented by vessels of a small class, should not be deemed out of Canada—that the voyage to Newfoundland should be deemed coasting. The voyage to New York or Boston might be looked upon as a coasting voyage also; but this Bill goes very much further than that, and I was going to add that it might possibly be admitted that a voyage to the West Indies might in some respects be looked at as a coasting voyage; but this Bill goes further, and says that a voyage to Central America or South America, Rio Janeiro, Montevideo or Buenos Ayres shall be deemed a coasting voyage. The statement is absurd on the face of it. These voyages require much more skill than the voyage to England. The difficulty that has arisen in this case, and the difficulty which the Department of Marine and Fisheries wish to get over, is that it was found exceedingly inconvenient that vessels should not be allowed to go to the West Indies and British Guiana without certificated masters or mates. The hon. gentleman who has charge of the Bill can meet the object of the Department by limiting a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Amazon, on the east coast of America. I think I understood from the

hon. gentleman that he proposed to include Bermuda.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I have no objection, as far as Nova Scotia is concerned, if it were limited to the Amazon, but my hon. friend has failed to show us that by going down the whole coast of America there would be any greater difficulty in the voyage than going only as far as the Amazon. Vessels now have the whole coast of the United States, and can go down to the Gulf of Mexico and in round the Gulf. That is the most difficult of all navigations. The currents, trade winds and many other things there have to be considered that are not necessary when you make the straight line for the eastern coast of South America. It is immaterial to me whether coasting without certificate is limited to as far south as the Amazon or not, but I think the hon. leader of the House suggested the other day that he intended to include Bermuda.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; I intend to ask the House to include Bermuda, but I do not agree with the hon. gentleman from Halifax as to the necessity for any further restriction. As a fact, coasting vessels now go round the whole coast of South America and up again on the opposite coast on the western side of the continent as far as British Columbia, and that is strictly within the definition of a coasting vessel—that is to say, a vessel which does not cross the ocean, but follows the coast on both sides.

HON. MR. POWER—These vessels do not follow the coast; they go direct.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is quite a different affair from crossing the Atlantic or the Pacific. The hon. gentleman must be aware that the men who sail those ships on that voyage have to pass an examination and receive a certificate.

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am instructed that that is a fact, and I find in the Act, clause 3 of chap. 73, Consolidated Statutes, something which confirms that view. Clause 8 provides for certificates of service being given for coasting vessels.

HON. MR. POWER—There are never any examinations held for that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The 7th clause provides for the granting of certificates of competency for coasting voyages.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Coasting there has reference to the inland waters of Canada.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; to inland waters or to coasting voyages.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is under a misapprehension, for the very object of this Bill is to enable the masters and mates of coasting vessels who do not pass an examination to make long voyages without a certificate.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The law says that they shall be examined and shall have certificates. The object of the Bill is not to permit them to make a longer voyage than they make now, but it is to permit them to avail themselves of the advantages which may be derived from that voyage. We do not propose to alter the law as to the distance coasting vessels now go; we only give them the advantage of trading with intermediate ports. I move that the word "Bermuda" be inserted in the fifth line of sub-section "e," after the words "United States of America."

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. REID (Cariboo), from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments.

HON. MR. POWER—I cannot congratulate the Government on passing this measure. I think it would have been a more sensible thing to repeal the chapter requiring certificates to masters and mates altogether. The Government by this amendment propose to allow vessels to go without certificated masters and mates on some of the most dangerous and difficult navigation in the world, and they require certificates for navigation which is much less dangerous and difficult.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of the Bill.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (37), "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Massawippi Junction Railway Company." (Mr. Stevens).

Bill (62), "An Act to incorporate the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company." (Mr. Perley).

Bill (63), "An Act to enable the City of Winnipeg to utilize the Assiniboine River Water-power." (Mr. Girard).

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (80), "An Act to incorporate the Dominion Mineral Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (67) "An Act to incorporate the Assiniboine Water-power Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (86), "An Act to incorporate the Saskatchewan Railway and Mining Company." (Mr. Reid, B.C.)

Bill (81), "An Act to incorporate the Canadian Super-Phosphate Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

Bill (120), "An Act to amend Chapter 11 of the Revised Statutes, intituled: 'An Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.'" (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (107), "An Act respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company." (Mr. Perley).

Bill (85), "An Act to incorporate the Moose Jaw and Edmonton Railway Company." (Mr. Perley).

The Senate adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 2nd April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (90) "An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company, and the Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec Railway Company." (Mr. Scott).

ADULTERATION OF FOOD.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. PAQUET inquired :

Whether the Government, acting on information in the statements Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, already published under the signature of one of their officers, Mr. Thomas Macfarlane, Chief Analyst of the Dominion, has taken, or proposes to take, efficacious measures to prevent the perpetration of the numerous frauds so prejudicial to the public interests which are pointed out by him in these statements?

He said (in French)—When on Friday last I gave notice of the inquiry to which I now address myself, my object was to draw the attention of the Government and of this House to a series of bulletins which have been published from time to time by Mr. Macfarlane, the Chief Analyst of the Department of Inland Revenue, and which, in the mass of Blue Books which we have to study, might possibly be passed over unnoticed. These documents merit special attention and demand, in the public interest, to be most carefully studied. For several years the Government have been expending a certain sum of money; laws have been enacted, amended and consolidated, and I cannot perceive that the result at all corresponds with the efforts which have been made. Let us examine amongst these bulletins the two first, which relate to milk, that food so complete, so indispensable to children and so useful to people of all ages. What do we find? An adulteration most prejudicial to nutrition, either by the addition of water or by the sale of skim milk. It is necessary, according to Mr. Macfarlane (and he has assuredly good cause for making the suggestion) to establish a standard for milk, and for this reason: we know that under the most favorable circumstances milk ought to contain over 5 per cent. of butter fat, whilst under other circumstances milk may, without being adulterated, contain as little as $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Now, if the Government should decide to fix a minimum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and proceed against all who sell milk which contains less, there will be a better guarantee of good milk being easily obtained, analyses will be less frequent, and the expense less. Passing to the third bulletin, the estimable analyst submits to his chief that coffee is atrociously adulterated. Nothing is more agreeable than a good cup

of coffee. It is a stimulant, a tonic, and by its great nitrogenous properties, above all in the cafeine, it is a food. Well, in sixteen cities of the Dominion 85 samples have been analyzed, and of these 41 have been found impure. In the cities of Halifax and Montreal, of ten samples in each, only two were found pure. In St. John, New Brunswick, there were four out of ten; in Toronto, three out of six; in Winnipeg, five out of ten; in Quebec, five out of ten, etc. And the learned officer adds that in several of the cities referred to the collectors of samples were known by the vendors to be revenue officers, and may have been intentionally furnished with articles of a superior quality to those commonly sold. In consequence of this, the Department has suggested that the collection of samples be made by persons who are practically strangers to the dealers, and they would not be at all astonished if the list of adulterations would be found to be greater than the analyses so far show throughout the Dominion. The substances most generally employed for the purpose of adulterating coffee are roasted peas and chicory, and in many cases to the extent of 60 per cent. The peas contain more starch than nitrogen, and there is a real loss in the nutriment. The fourth bulletin shows an abuse which should be repressed, in the adulteration of commercial fertilizers. Manures are sold as high as \$10 per ton which do not contain more than one-half of the fertilizing principles. As my desire is solely to draw the attention of the Executive to the manner in which the laws that they are required to administer are respected, a simple mention should suffice. The fifth bulletin treats of cheese. I can state with pleasure that our Canadian cheese is very highly esteemed, that it is a source of considerable revenue, and that it commands a better price in the market than the American product. The reason is as follows: our neighbors frequently manufacture their cheese from skim milk, and give it the appearance of being rich by mixing with it oleomargarine, an article which is considered inferior to butter. Now, induced by such an example, some of our Canadian producers are imitating them, to the detriment of the splendid reputation that they have

acquired. The last bulletin treats mostly of lard. Not to fatigue the House, I shall briefly state the principal point—that the analysis of lard from Chicago, either Fairbank's or Armour's, etc., shows that they contain none, or very little, of the article that we have reason to expect to get, but only cotton seed-oil. To such an extent is this the case that a very respectable druggist in Montreal told me lately that he was unable to prepare any ointment with lard of those brands. I believe, hon. gentlemen, I have said enough to draw the attention of the Government to a state of things which imperatively demands a remedy, and I doubt not that this information, taken from official sources, will engage the attention of the authorities and lead them, in the public interest, to punish more rigorously than they have done in the past violators and despisers of the law.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am very glad that my hon. friend does not forget to endeavor to enlist the sympathy of the public in the crusade against adulteration which is being carried on by the Government to the best of its ability. I regret to say that it does not meet with all the assistance that I think it deserves from the public in attempting to bring about convictions for adulteration, or discovering the persons guilty of adulteration. My hon. friend must not suppose that there has not been a large number of convictions for violations of the law against adulteration, and to the greatest extent possible the prosecutions have been followed up with all the energy practicable. One great difficulty in the way of obtaining convictions has been the possibility of the person in whose possession adulterated goods were found exonerating himself from the charge by pleading ignorance of the fact. That is an obstacle in a great many cases; in fact, it is the most fertile source of defeat of the Government prosecutions. In a great many instances we believe it to be not well founded, and in a great many other instances it may exist, but is caused simply by the indifference or neglect of the party who buys the adulterated articles. In answer to my hon. friend's question, the Government have had under consideration these reports. They have caused a Bill

to be prepared, which they propose to ask this House to pass this Session, for the purpose of placing on a more satisfactory footing this defence of ignorance, and on other points they have it under consideration and are endeavoring to find a mode by which it can be remedied. The imposition of an additional tax on lard in order to prevent the introduction of adulterated lard, to which the hon. gentleman referred and which is a very important subject, has of course many other bearings, and requires to be carefully considered before that line is adopted. With regard to milk, my hon. friend noticed the fact that the analyst furnishes a standard below which it should not fall, but the Government are informed that there are certain classes of cattle whose milk does not contain $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of fat—the Holsteins. They give abundance of milk, but it is deficient in fat, and it would not in all cases reach that percentage. I understand that there is to be a convention of dairymen held in Ottawa in the course of eight or ten days, from which a good deal of information can be obtained on the subject. The matter is under the consideration of the Government, and a measure to remedy one of the great difficulties will be introduced to-day.

THE LATE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Before the Orders of the Day are called, I think it my duty to refer, in a very few words, to the loss which this country and this Government have sustained by the lamented death of my colleague, the Hon. John Henry Pope. The career of this gentleman, as a statesman and as an administrator, is familiar to us all, and to all Canadians. As I know, he brought to his important duties eminent business capacity, sound judgment and great decision of character, and he combined with these persistent attention to business and unflagging and untiring energy in the performance of his duties. These qualities combined to procure for him, as we all know, the entire confidence of his country and of his colleagues in the Government. He has left us, matured in years and full of honors, and we can only deplore his loss and sympathize with the family which has been bereaved by his death.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I desire to express the regret I feel, as I am sure every hon. gentleman does, at the death of the late Mr. Pope, and I feel that the country has sustained a serious loss in the removal of that gentleman from the public arena. Having known the late Mr. Pope for over thirty years I can confirm all that the leader of the House has said in reference to those peculiar characteristics of which Mr. Pope was the possessor. One might point, as proof of it, to the fact of the rare occurrence that that gentleman represented the same constituency for a period of over thirty years continuously. I know of no other instance in this country but one in which that honor was conferred by his fellowmen upon one individual for so long a period. Gentlemen have been in Parliament, no doubt, for longer terms, but constituencies are unstable and fickle, and often change their representatives. It was Mr. Pope's good fortune to be held in such high esteem by those who knew him best—by his own people in the very locality where he grew up from boyhood—that most unbounded faith was placed in him, and he was year after year in that long period elected to represent them in Parliament. I desire also to express my sympathies with the family of the late deceased, a feeling in which I am sure we all concur.

IMPROPER USE OF FIREARMS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) moved the second reading of Bill (S), "An Act to amend Chapter 148 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intituled: 'An Act respecting the Improper use of Firearms and other Weapons.'" He said: It must be observed that the practice of carrying dangerous weapons is on the increase, and we can scarcely take up a paper in which we do not read reports of loss of life from the use of the "ready revolver," as it is termed. It seems to be always present where it is not required rather than where it is required. The object of this Bill is to prevent—and I hope it will have that effect if it receives the approval of Parliament—to prevent and restrict as much as possible the carrying of firearms concealed upon the person. I notice that even boys

carry them; and young men carry them to their daily labor. The condition of law and order in this country does not render necessary or reasonable the practice of carrying dangerous weapons concealed on the person. The Bill does not aim to alter the law on the Statute Book very much; the amendment is to subject persons carrying revolvers concealed on their persons to a fine, instead of, as now, to giving security to keep the peace upon a conviction being secured. The Bill aims to fine a man, but it also provides that he shall be exempt from the penalty if he has taken the trouble to obtain a certificate from the proper authorities. I think the measure, if it has no other effect than to create the impression through the country that people are restrained from carrying firearms except on certain conditions, will be the means of saving many lives. It is only a few days ago we saw a report in a newspaper of a young woman who was shot while coming out of church because she would not allow her young man to walk home with her. He happened to have his revolver with him and he shot her. These things are reported every day in the newspapers. The matter has engaged my attention for many years, and if I had preserved clippings from newspapers showing the loss of life from the practice of carrying dangerous weapons the list would be a startling one. I think the Bill will commend itself to the House, and I trust there will be no objection to its being read the second time.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I entirely concur in all that has fallen from the hon. gentleman from Quinté. I should like the Bill to have gone further. Had anyone made a list from the newspapers for the past few years of the number of lives that have been sacrificed by the ever-present revolver it would make a rather startling calendar. There is no doubt many of the crimes reported are attributable to the facility with which they can be committed by the revolver. There have been dozens of such cases reported within the last few months, even in this country, and one really forgets them because of their frequency. For no other cause, but for a mere passing feeling of irritation, a man takes the life of another, because he has the facility for

doing so immediately at his command. Consider the case that occurred in Guelph a few days ago, where a man shot his wife and his two daughters. If it were not for the readiness with which the cartridge was supplied to the revolver—if there had been a moment of intermission, when no weapon could be had, by which the frenzy would have been stayed, it might not have occurred; but the chambers are loaded, ready to be fired, each one carrying death with its ball. No doubt, if one compares the number of cases of homicide that have occurred since the introduction of revolvers with the number that occurred antecedent to that period he would be convinced that the increase is largely due to the use of that deadly weapon. I have no doubt they have increased from four to sixfold, simply from the facility which the revolver affords for taking life. Anyone who has observed the effect of facility for committing crime on the human mind must have seen that, given the opportunity with the tendency and facility, and the crime is committed. I have really felt that human life is becoming unsafe from the facility with which men carry loaded revolvers on their persons, and discharge them for no cause whatever.

HON. MR. ALMON—Is there any clause in this Bill to prohibit the selling of revolvers to minors?

HON. MR. READ—There is not.

HON. MR. SCOTT—There ought to be.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I entirely agree with the hon. gentleman from Ottawa, that we are indebted to my hon. friend from Quinté for the Bill which he has placed before the House. There is no doubt whatever that the evil is not only very great at present, but it appears to be increasing, and instead of revolvers being the weapons of grown-up men they are becoming the toys of children, and of persons that can scarcely be described otherwise than as children. I think if the hon. gentleman succeeds in passing his Bill it will be a great benefit to the country. If it were not for the facilities afforded by the possession of dangerous

weapons many of the crimes which are reported would not be at all likely to occur.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think the Bill goes a little too far. I would not be disposed to fine a person for having a revolver in his possession; it ought not to go further than to punish for having the weapon concealed on the person.

HON. MR. POWER—I would like to suggest to the leader of the Government that when the Bill is in committee a clause might be prepared and added to the Bill to prevent the sale of weapons to minors, and possibly the sale to grown-up persons, unless the person who goes to buy has a permit.

HON. MR. SCOTT—There ought to be some system of registration.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—When the Bill is in Committee of the Whole I propose to move that the second clause be amended, to provide that one magistrate or justice of the peace in the Province of British Columbia may give a certificate. Where we have a very sparse population in the interior of the country it would be very difficult to get the signatures of two magistrates or two justices of the peace, or a stipendiary magistrate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

MORRISBURG AND NEW YORK RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

HON. MR. DICKEY moved the adoption of the report of the Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, on Bill (43), "An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway and Bridge Company." He said: The report of the committee, which is the subject of consideration to-day, is as follows:—

"THE SENATE,

"COMMITTEE ROOM No. 2,

"THURSDAY, 28th March, 1889.

"The Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, to whom was referred the Bill from

the House of Commons, intituled: 'An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company,' have, in obedience to the Order of Reference of Monday, the eighteenth of March instant, examined the said Bill, and now beg leave to report as follows:—

"Your committee have maturely considered the said Bill, and the allegations in support thereof and in opposition thereto, and on a motion as a test question to pass the first or incorporating clause, have decided by a majority not to pass the same. They have, therefore, deemed it inexpedient to proceed further with the said Bill during the present Session.

"All which is respectfully submitted.

"R. B. DICKEY,

"*Chairman.*"

In asking the House to consider this report I may say it is the first time that I have felt myself called upon to ask the Senate to consider a report made by myself, and that necessity has arisen on the present occasion from the fact that the hon. member who has charge of the Bill declines to do so, but on the contrary expresses his intention to oppose the report. The duty, therefore, devolves upon me of explaining as briefly as I can what the question is before the House. That duty is not incumbent on me so much as regards members of the committee as it is with respect to those who are not members of the committee. The very fact that it is the first occasion, as far as I am aware, that a question of this kind has been seriously brought before the House, renders it necessary that the House should really understand why it is that the committee have given such a decided opinion as regards this Bill, and why it is that for the second time they have been called upon to express that opinion—because this same question was before us a year ago—the same facts were before us, except the single fact of the lapse of some nine or ten months; and upon that occasion the Railway Committee, after maturely considering the matter, rendered a decision which was not challenged or questioned, and under which the Bill was postponed. The ground on which that decision was arrived at was that the Bill, if passed, would seriously interfere with the vested rights of another company acting under a charter to build a line of railway over the same ground

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exactly, and crossing the river at exactly the same place, and to do it under a name which was in all respects, except one word, the same as that of the company promoting the present Bill. One was the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway Company, and the other the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company. The difference in name is of little consequence, because these two towns lie in sight of each other on opposite sides of the River St. Lawrence, Waddington being in the United States and Morrisburg being in Canada. In the year 1882 this Waddington company, which I will call the old company, was incorporated, with capital to carry out this work, in which, I may say, the whole of this eastern part of Canada feel a deep interest, and especially the city of Ottawa, its terminus. Even at this last moment, notwithstanding all the delays that have occurred, and very few of them caused by any fault of the company, the interest felt by the people of Ottawa has been expressed by the unusual act of the city council coming before this body as a suppliant and asking that we should not pass this Bill, because it interferes with the vested rights of people in the city, and of every person who has an interest in the construction of this road. It is not wonderful, therefore, that it is a question we should view with some little interest, and, I might add, favor. I will ask the House to consider the position which we shall be in if a report like this, after being maturely considered last Session, and having been considered two days during the present Session, should be interfered with? I should like to ask the House, if such should be the case, what is the use of having a committee on railways, telegraphs and harbors? I may say that the committee have done their work as patiently and as impartially as they could possibly approach any subject of consideration, and they having come deliberately to the conclusion expressed in their report, a conclusion which I trust the House will not be disposed to interfere with. This company was incorporated in 1882. In 1884 an amending Act was passed, not a very unusual thing in the history of legislation

in this country, extending the time of construction to the year 1890. A company was formed, and that company made a formal opening of the road and performed certain work which is usual on such occasions, by removing a portion of soil, and so on, and erecting certain monuments. In the meantime they had gone to enormous expense in the way of making plans and surveys, and locating this line, to the extent, as was proved to our satisfaction on the former occasion, of something like \$35,000, this money being chiefly contributed by people in Ottawa, and to some extent by persons living in Morrisburg. The expenditure of which I have spoken represented the labors of the engineers and others in framing these plans, not merely for the location of the line, but for the very serious work which it was necessary to approach before they could attack the railway part of the work at all—that is to say, the great bridge across the St. Lawrence. The usual borings and soundings were made, and measurements were taken on which plans were made out, submitted to the proper department and received their sanction. But it was also an international bridge, and it became necessary that those plans should be submitted to the authorities at Washington. They were so submitted, and received the proper sanction there, so that there appeared to be nothing at that time, except the question of raising the money, to prevent the company from going on with the work of construction. In the meantime, some gentlemen who were connected with the old company became rather anxious that they should do something for themselves before they commenced this work; the consequence was—and I am speaking as to the evidence which was given before us, and which was not contradicted by the parties then present—not this year, but on a former occasion, there was a family quarrel amongst those people connected with the road. The way it arose was this: The promoter of the previous Bill—a member of Parliament, whose name is withdrawn from this Bill, but who appeared before us as the promoter—was with other gentlemen made directors, and they passed an order to appropriate to themselves the modest sum of \$160,000 in stock as paid-up shares. The promoter

of the Bill, acting for himself more particularly, secured the large amount of 600 shares, representing \$60,000, as his share of the whole, and the remaining—

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—I rise to a point of order. I think the hon. gentleman from Amherst, in referring to what took place last year in a committee room, is not in order.

HON. MR. DICKEY—As to the point of order, I say that these matters are distinctly connected with this Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It is not out of order to refer to what was before us the other day.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I suppose it will be called irregular if I state as a matter of history that this Bill was thrown out last year. The committee reported against the Bill, and that report was accepted by the House. On this occasion a new Bill came up before us, and evidence was adduced there with respect to some work which was done on the road since last sitting of the committee on the Bill, to the extent of \$500. That evidence was before the committee, and the committee considered the Bill, with reference to the rights of the parties under the old Bill, that those rights were intact. They found that not only had they under their charter until the year 1890 to finish their work, but it was also made plain to us that by the subsidy granted to this company under an Act of Parliament they have to the 1st of August, 1891, to complete this particular work. Now, I have been told very frankly by my hon. friend that he is going to suggest a clause of the Railway Act as a stopper to this Bill, to show that these parties have no rights at all. But the Railway Act is made for a certain purpose—that is to say, for all cases unprovided for; but it is not made to over-ride the provisions of any particular Act of incorporation. There are several cases in this very Session where the incorporation had taken place, I think, about twelve years ago. If there were no particular provisions in the Act which applied to that there would be no status at all for the parties, and they would have been

unable to come here and ask for a renewal and extension of their time as they did. Now, with regard to this question of vested rights of the parties, we have had a precedent this very Session, the case of the Central Counties Railway, in which the parties asked for powers to go from the Canada Atlantic line to the Ottawa River at a place called Rockland, and also to cross that river by a bridge, and go up the Gatineau on the one hand and to Buckingham on the other. Both of these lines on the Quebec side interfered with charters already existing. There seemed to have been a misunderstanding on the part of persons who objected to the Bill on the first occasion, and it was referred back to the committee at the instance of the hon. gentleman who had the Bill in charge. The moment the question came up it was decided, by an unmistakable expression of the committee, that this power to cross the Ottawa River and to compete in the Province of Quebec with these existing lines should be withdrawn. This is a precedent which only took place here during the present Session, and it so happens that it was for the purpose of protecting the rights of people who happened to be living in Ottawa, so that the circumstances are exactly the same. I think the wisdom and propriety of that are beyond question. Under these circumstances, therefore, I hope the House will continue to protect those rights. It is said that although the company have a couple of years they will be unable to do anything in that time. If this system of fighting Bills continues they will not be able to raise the money; but they have the very best possible reason for supposing that they can raise the money this summer, and if they make any *bona fide* attempt to go on with the work before the year 1891 they will no doubt be able to get an extension from Parliament, as other companies have done. Under these circumstances, they will no doubt be able to carry on the work. What I want to impress on the House is this: considering the position in which these parties are, a position of antagonism, suppose this Bill should pass, it is utterly impossible that the promoters of it could expect to do that work with another charter standing on the Statute Book with a period of two or three years to run. Therefore it is

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only throwing dust in the eyes of the public to say that the existing company have done nothing, and that these people are going to step into the breach and undertake to do what the existing company has been unable to accomplish. Why unable? Because of the very opposition in the money markets by the people who are asking for this legislation to-day. I think the case is a very clear one, and that this Bill ought not to be allowed to pass. The decision of the committee ought not to be disturbed. The committee have made their report. Fault may be found with it, but the committee itself, I think, is as fair a tribunal for considering a question of the kind as it would be possible to obtain. They have treated the subject as patiently and carefully as they could, and have come to this deliberate conclusion, and unless there is something exceptional in the case the House should not interfere with it. I think the general feeling of the Senate is to confirm the action of the committee, unless there is something very flagrant indeed. In this case, according to my judgment, all the equities and all the rights are on the side of those who are objecting to this Bill—that is to say, on the side of the old company, which is still intact and which has got possession of this field and with whose work this Bill would interfere. In taking that ground I have incurred, I am sorry to say, no small measure of obliquy, and something even stronger, to which I need hardly advert; but I care nothing for that. I am conscious of doing my duty, but I regret that in occupying the position of chairman of this committee I should be exposed to the taunts and abuse of persons outside who object to the action of the committee.

HON. MR. READ—The point of order I raise is that the hon. gentleman referred to evidence taken before the committee last Session.

THE SPEAKER—The rule is, as laid down in Bourinot, that no member in speaking can refer to anything said or done in a previous debate, nor to arguments used in Committee of the Whole, during *the same Session*, but this does not apply to debates of a previous Session.

HON. MR. DICKEY—There is no rule against that, but there is a rule against

referring to a debate. It is in the interest of peace, but that only applies to debate, and not to the evidence. But with regard to that, I think in the interest of justice—and it is only from that point of view I refer to it, because it is an unpleasant and ungracious task—I may say it was proved on a former occasion that these dissatisfied persons who separated from the others, and the portion of the board that met with them, passed an order to divide the sum of \$160,000 of this stock of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway Company among themselves.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—It might be as well for the hon. gentleman to give the reasons for so doing.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I will give my hon. friend the reasons, and he used a very suggestive word. In the entry of their minute book it has been proved that they appropriated 200 shares to one gentleman and 200 to another, until they came down to Mr. Hickey, to whom they gave 600 shares, representing \$60,000.

HON. MR. REESOR—As paid up stock?

HON. MR. DICKEY—I will come to that in a moment. This was seen by a witness who has given his testimony, which I can read to the House if necessary, a gentleman whose veracity will not be questioned. This gentleman states that the entry was made at a night session, and among those to whom shares were appropriated was Mr. Charles Odell, to whom 200 shares were allotted to propitiate him. When Mr. Odell heard of it he asked what it meant. He saw in the minute book what I have read, and at once denounced it. He said: "I cannot accept it for a moment; strike me out of that arrangement; I will have nothing to do with it." That is the quarrel. A few weeks afterwards they met here in Ottawa, and the big fight took place at the annual meeting, and then this same minute book was brought forward again. I am speaking now by the book; I have it under my hand. The same minute book was brought forward and the reason was struck out "for services as fully paid-up stock." Now my hon. friend has all the reasons.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—No; I have not got the reasons, and the hon. gentleman knows I have not.

HON. MR. DICKEY—My hon. friend has heard of payments for promotion; I can only say the moment the thing was mentioned there was a general shock through the committee, which those who were there present can well recollect, and they said: "We cannot stand a thing of that kind; it is out of the question," and the result was as I have told you. I have the statement here under my hand and will produce it if necessary. I think the House can hardly say that it has nothing to do with this Bill, because the identical Bill and the identical people apply, and on the other side the same people defend their just rights. Some of them are widows and orphans, who require to be protected. Under the circumstances, I did not think, as chairman, that the Bill was one which commended itself to the good feeling of the committee, and I opposed it.

HON. MR. READ—This is about the first time in my experience here that I have ever heard special pleading on the part of the chairman of the committee. If it had been before a jury I could have understood it, but it is the first time I have seen, in thirty years, the chairman of a committee take up a question in all its bearings and appeal to the House in the decided manner in which the hon. gentleman has made his appeal to-day. He tells us this is the first occasion on which a report of a committee has been re-considered.

HON. MR. POWER—He did not say that.

HON. MR. READ—I have in my recollection a very animated debate and a vote taken upon a report of a committee, and the Royal assent was not given to the Bill, and it came to Parliament another year—that is the Marine Electric Telegraph Bill. That was the report of a committee, just like this, and the circumstances were very similar to these. The preamble was proven one day and the Bill went through that day, and the chairman was supposed to report it to the House. He did not report it, but the committee was called together the next day and re-considered the whole Bill. I happened to go into the committee-room, and the gentleman who was interested in the Bill

had gone home, supposing that the Bill would be reported to the House. I went into the committee room and the Bill was being re-considered and reported to the House in quite a different form from what it had been in before. Now, this Bill has twice passed through the House of Commons without any opposition there. I am informed that the opponents of the Bill never appeared there for two years running. They came to the Senate last year and opposed the Bill, on the ground that they were going on to construct the road, and upon that representation, I suppose, the Bill was thrown out. Now, what have they done? They have done nothing since. This Bill has twice passed the House of Commons without any opposition.

HON. MR. DICKEY—You should not say that.

HON. MR. READ—I am informed that it passed through without any opposition, having assented to the principle of the Bill twice, and this committee having agreed to the preamble of the Bill one day, and the next day they took up the first clause of the Bill and decided by a majority not to pass it.

HON. MR. DICKEY—They receded.

HON. MR. READ—What has this old company been doing? The hon. gentleman tells us that they had a charter in 1882. They got it amended and the time extended in 1884, and from 1882 up to the present time it is not shown that any work has been done. Some plans were prepared, it is true, but I have affidavits in my hand which I will read to the House to show what the company have done :

“ONTARIO,
“COUNTY OF DUNDAS. }
“To Wit: }

“I, Guy N. Loucks, of the Township of Williamsburgh, in the County of Dundas and Province of Ontario, yeoman, do solemnly declare :

“1. That I have resided on lot number twenty-two in the first concession of the township of Williamsburgh, in the County of Dundas and Province of Ontario, for over forty years, and am well acquainted with the land in that locality.

“2. Some time in the latter part of the summer of the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven I saw a number of persons on the farm of M. D. Willard, being lot number twenty-one in the first concession of Williamsburgh aforesaid, which

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adjoins my land on the east. These persons were apparently doing some work, and had one or more teams of horses. I afterwards saw what work they had done, consisting of four or five furrows ploughed on each side of a strip of land about thirty-three feet wide and about two hundred feet long. The said work could have been done in less than two hours by a team of horses and two men.

“3. That on this first day of April, A. D. 1889, I pointed out the above spot where said work had been done to William Broder, James Gillespie and Alfred C. Casselman, and was present while they examined the same.

“And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the ‘Act respecting Extra Judicial Oaths.’

“(Signed), GUY N. LOUCKS.

“Declared before me at the
Village of Morrisburg,
in the County of Dundas,
this 1st day of April,
A. D. 1889. }

“(Signed), J. HILLIARD,

“A Commissioner for taking affidavits in High Court of Justice, &c.”

“ONTARIO,
“COUNTY OF DUNDAS. }
“To Wit: }

“I, James Pliny Whitney, of the Village of Morrisburg, in the County of Dundas, Barrister-at-Law, do solemnly declare, that—

“1. I was present on the farm of M. D. Willard, being lot number twenty-one in the first concession of Williamsburgh, in the County of Dundas, when the spot or place where certain work of construction for the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company was done, was pointed out by Guy N. Loucks to William Broder, James Gillespie and Alfred C. Casselman.

“2. That afterwards, on the same day, I had a conversation with M. D. Willard, the owner of said land, when he told me that the only work of construction he knew of was done at the spot we had just visited.

“3. The said M. D. Willard also told me where the pile of stones had been deposited on the river bank as part of said construction work; and I, together with the said William Broder, James Gillespie and Alfred C. Casselman, proceeded to the spot, where we found about one-eighth of a cord of field stones.

“4. The said M. D. Willard also, at the same time, told me that he had not sold to said company any land for right of way.

“5. I know of my own knowledge and recollection that the said work of construction was done in the latter part of the summer of the year of Our Lord, 1887, and, from investigations I have made, and examination of the local newspaper, called the *Morrisburg Courier*, I say that the same was done on the 27th day of July, A. D. 1887.

“6. I verily believe that the work described in the declarations of William Broder, Guy N. Loucks, James Gillespie and Alfred C. Casselman was the only work of construction done at any time by the said ‘The Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company.’

“7. It was at the time alleged by the partizans of the said last mentioned company that the said work was so done in order to keep their charter alive.

"8. On this first day of April, A. D., 1889, I searched in the registry office of the County of Dundas, at Morrisburg, in said county, and found no conveyances of any land for right of way for the said 'Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway' registered in said office, as hereinafter set forth.

"9. I searched particularly the registrations affecting lots twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two, in the said first concession of Williamsburg, which lots, I verily believe, comprise all the right of way of said railway in said first concession, and found that no conveyance of any such right of way has been registered in said office.

"10. The said pile of stones was deposited at the terminus on the bank of the St. Lawrence River on said lot twenty, and the said so-called work of construction was done on lot twenty-one, adjoining lot twenty on the west.

"11. Under the provisions of the registry law of the Province of Ontario the registrar has no power or authority to give a purely negative certificate as to registrations—he can only certify that certain specific instruments have been registered, and that *no others appear* registered against the land which may be in question; therefore it was impossible for me to obtain a registrar's certificate that no conveyance of right of way as aforesaid had been registered.

"12. Mr. A. A. Whittaker, the deputy registrar of said county, who has the principal management of said registry office in the said county, informed me at the time of my said search that he could not give me a certificate as aforesaid, but declared to me that in his recollection no conveyance of right of way for said railway over any lands in said county had been registered in said registry office.

"And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the 'Act respecting Extra Judicial Oaths.'

"(Sd.), J. H. WHITNEY.

"Declared before me at the Village of Morrisburg, in the County of Dundas, this 1st day of April, A. D. 1889.

"(Sd.), Wm. Broder.

"A Commissioner for taking affidavits in the High Court of Justice, &c."

"ONTARIO,
COUNTY OF DUNDAS,
TO WIT.

"I, William Broder, of the Village of Morrisburg, in the County of Dundas and Province of Ontario, contractor, do solemnly declare that—

"1. I am familiar with the work of earth excavation, and have been and am engaged as a contractor in the work of enlargement of the Rapid Plat and Cornwall Canals

"2. On this 1st day of April, A. D., 1889, I visited and examined the spot or place on the land of Mr. M. D. Willard, being lot number twenty-one, in the first concession of the Township of Williamsburgh, in the County of Dundas, pointed out to me by Guy N. Loucks as being the spot or place where certain work of construction was done by or for 'The Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company.'

"3. That I found that four or five furrows had been ploughed on either side of a strip of land about thirty-three feet wide and about two hundred feet long.

"A part of the earth had been thrown out and the whole of said work could have been done in less than two hours by one team of horses and two men.

"4. At the same time I was informed by the said M. D. Willard, the owner of the said land, that he knew of no other work of construction having been done except that mentioned above on his own land.

"5. Having been informed that a pile of stones had been deposited on the river bank, I went to the spot indicated, on lot number twenty, and found about one-eighth of a cord of field stones lying on the river bank.

"And I make this solemn declaration, &c.

"(Signed), WM. BRODER.

"Declared this 1st April, before

"J. HILLIARD."

Then it is said that they have purchased some land. I have a certificate from the registry office to show that nothing is registered as regards the land. There is no evidence to show that from last year to the present time any attempt has been made at doing work, and consequently I say that they are out of court and should not be recognized here. Now, I will read the opinion of the Minister of Justice:

"OTTAWA, 29th March, 1889.

"MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of yesterday, requesting that I should state what conditions the charter of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York imposes as to the time for construction, I beg to say that the time given by the charter as originally passed in 1882 (ch. 77), is *two years for commencement and five years for completion*. This, however, was amended in 1884 (see chap. 58). Under the amendment the company was allowed three years from the passing of that Act to commence and six years to complete.

"The three years would expire in April, 1887, and unless within that time the work of constructing the railway was commenced the charter was no longer in existence.

"The commencement mentioned in the Act must be a commencement of the actual construction of the railway (see 42 Vic., chap. 9, sec. 28, subsec. 6, being now sec. 35, chap. 109, Revised Statutes). A further requirement of this latter enactment, the disregard of which involves forfeiture of the charter, is that 10 per cent. of the amount of capital should be expended in the construction of the railway before the lapse of three years.

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed), JOHN S. D. THOMPSON."

As regards the subsidy given in aid of this road, here is a letter from the secretary of the Railway Department:

"OTTAWA, 26th August, 1887.

"SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, asking if any one has made application for the bonus granted to the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway Com-

pany, and to be advised what steps would be necessary to procure it, and in reply I am to say that this subsidy has lapsed and is unavailable.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed), A. P. BRADLEY,
"Secretary.

"C. E. HICKEY, Esq.,

"President of the

"Ottawa, Waddington & New York

"Railway Co., Morrisburg."

The subsidy is gone; it is quite evident they are not in a position to proceed with the work, and there is no reason why this part of the country should be debarred from having the railway because an existing company has the scheme on paper without any prospect of doing practical work. How can they expect to get money from anybody with a letter like that from the Minister of Justice? How can they expect to get capital when those who are opposing them have a letter like that in their hands. Nobody would take any interest in it when the Minister of Justice has declared that the charter is forfeited and there is authority that the subsidy cannot be granted. A number of questions have come up since this committee met, and I think it is only reasonable to the applicants that the question should be considered and all the parties heard before the committee again. Statements have been made that perhaps could be refuted, and the parties ought to be heard again.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I would like to ask the hon. gentleman whether the charter which is referred to in the communication from Sir John Thompson was not extended to 1890?

HON. MR. READ—I have given you his decision. I move that the said report be not concurred in, but that it be referred back to the Standing Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, for further consideration.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—I should like the hon. gentleman from Quinté to point out any precedent upon the Journals of the Senate, or of any Parliament, for a Bill which had been rejected in a committee being referred back again. So far as my own recollection goes, I know of no precedent.

HON. MR. READ—I find the following in Bourinot, page 452: "A report may be

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referred back to a committee for further consideration or with instruction to amend the same in any respect."

HON. MR. DICKEY—What is the citation for that—what is the authority?

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—That is where a Bill is referred back for amendment, not where it has been thrown out altogether. That authority would not apply to a case like this, but to where an amendment may be recommended by the committee. Then it would be in the province of the Senate to refer back the Bill for further consideration in respect to the amendment proposed by the committee.

HON. MR. READ—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that a committee's action cannot be considered and its report referred back?

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—Not where the Bill is lost.

HON. MR. READ—The Bill may be lost in committee, but not lost here. The House has not declared the Bill lost; when they have done so it will be time enough to say it is too late.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I asked the hon. gentleman for his authority; if he cannot respond to my request I would like him to put the book into the hands of some one that can understand it.

HON. MR. READ—The book is not now in my hands; I have handed it to Mr. DeBoucherville.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—It refers to page 222.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I am now looking at page 222, and I cannot find it there.

HON. MR. POWER—I think it would be a pity if this debate should degenerate into a discussion on a point of order. Although I am opposed to the motion made by the hon. gentleman from Quinté division, still I should be very sorry to lay down the doctrine that this House has no control over the decision of the committee. I think that is not the ground to fight the Bill on. The proper ground is the merits of the Bill. I think the Bill has no merits, and I am going to vote against it.

HON. MR. READ—I shall quote a little further, as the hon. gentleman before me, who is the ex-Speaker, wishes me to do so:

“A report may be referred back to a committee for further consideration, or with instructions to amend the same in any respect. In this way a committee may regularly re-consider and even reverse a decision it had previously arrived at. As the rules of the House govern the procedure of committees generally, a committee cannot renew a question on which its judgment has been already expressed.”

HON. MR. VIDAL—I am a little amazed at the position taken by the hon. gentleman from Quinté with reference to a measure coming to us from the House of Commons. It takes but a very short memory to recall the fact that when a few days ago I had charge of a Bill from the House of Commons, endorsed in that House by a vote of two to one, the hon. gentleman had no scruples whatever in throwing that Bill out. This is a new and recently developed zeal to uphold the action of the House of Commons. Hitherto, the hon. gentleman has correctly maintained that one of the principal duties of this House is to revise the legislation of the House of Commons, and when their action has been likely to inflict injury upon the individual, or to interfere with vested rights, and where they have apparently been influenced more by party feeling than by merits of the case, there is an obvious propriety in this House reviewing their action, and where necessary to reject such legislation. The hon. gentleman has referred to the action of the committee, saying that the preamble of the Bill was proved. It is quite true that at one meeting of the committee, not very numerously attended, the preamble was adopted by a narrow majority; but it is equally true that at a subsequent fuller meeting of the committee a motion was made to reconsider the preamble. The motion was carried, and upon reconsideration the vote was the other way—that the preamble was not proved. I think there is nothing at all wrong or unusual in a committee so reversing its action. As to the merits of the Bill itself, the hon. gentleman from Amherst has informed the House correctly as to the facts which came before the committee appointed last year to look into this matter; and when we remember that the action of that committee was sustained

by a vote of 18 to 3 I think it is a very important item to be borne in mind by this House. At that meeting of the committee we had the great advantage of having the interested individuals before us, both the promoters and opponents of the Bill, and taking the evidence from their lips, and from the lips of Dr. Hickey himself, we obtained the information which the hon. gentleman has now taken from the minutes. I asked him the question about taking this large number of shares, and if any money was paid upon them, and he said no. This large appropriation of shares, for some ulterior object, was put upon the books as paid-up stock without one dollar being paid thereon, and by that means he and his associates sought to control the actions of the company. Now, in my opinion the dishonesty and impropriety of this action of the parties seeking to get the new Bill did more to cause its rejection by the committee than, perhaps, the demerits of the Bill itself. The committee were so deeply impressed by the dishonorable manner in which those parties had thus proceeded that they probably were, to some extent, prejudiced against the promoters of the Bill; but apart from that question, the measure was dealt with on its own merits. It was clearly stated, and I think stated in harmony with the truth, that the original charter had not expired; that they had still eighteen months or more of that unexpired charter in which they required us to protect them. It is quite true there has not been a very large expenditure of money or a large amount of work done under the charter, but this can be accounted for. When last year we came to the decision that the new company was not to get a charter, it was then supposed that the old company would have an opportunity to issue bonds and raise money with which to go on with the work. But no sooner was our action taken than it was announced that the promoters of the Bill would come back to Parliament this Session with another Bill, and with that prospect before the public the old company could not negotiate their bonds. Who was likely to advance money to an enterprise with this threat of its charter being set aside the next year heralded abroad? This action on the part of the others, in my judgment, is really

the cause of the old company not being able to float their bonds or to obtain funds to go on with the work. It was proved to the company last Session that some \$50,000 had been expended in preliminary expenses. It is no trifling matter to make surveys, estimates and plans of a road of that character, and especially plans of the important bridge over the St. Lawrence.

HON. MR. READ—We have the evidence here, sworn to, that there has not been \$4,000 spent.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I am only speaking of the amount that was named to us. Certainly that sum was mentioned to us last year.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—It was not evidence.

HON. MR. VIDAL—In addition to the expense of getting out the plans for the bridge across the St. Lawrence, the company also located the line, and although a sneering allusion has been made to the ploughing that has been done I did not hear that it was claimed before the committee that there had been any work of construction done. The principal reason which is now advanced why the action of last year should be reversed is that the public interests are likely to suffer—that it is in the public interest we are asked to give this new charter and allow a new company to go on and build the road. I think, so far from being likely to secure the early completion of the road, it will postpone it to a further date. If hon. gentlemen will look into the Bill before them they will be struck with one fact connected with it. In clause 20 of the Bill it provides that the St. Lawrence bridge section, shall be commenced within five years, and clause 21 provides that the Ottawa bridge section shall be commenced within five years. But when is the main road itself required to be commenced? There is no time limit whatever for their commencing the work of construction. It is only provided that they are to have five years to commence the bridges, and it certainly appears that the argument that we are likely to get the road from the new company before the old one could build it is not to be relied upon. In order to get the road the proper plan

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for us to pursue is to strengthen the hands of the old company, and if this House will again set its face against interference with the privileges of this company there is every hope that the funds will be raised by it and the work will be proceeded with. Surely it is no small evidence in its favor that this important city of Ottawa has sent a memorial from its council to this House, setting forth the prejudicial effect on the interest of the people of the city that would result from the granting of this new charter.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Are they giving a bonus?

HON. MR. VIDAL—I don't know that they are. Who would give a bonus or take a bond with this threat hanging over the company of having their rights set aside by the granting of a second charter? But so soon as they have for the second time the assurance of this House that their rights will not be interfered with, then they will have a fair chance of getting bonuses and being able to negotiate their bonds. I do not think the other company stand on one whit better financial basis than this one. It is well known that the incorporators have not the means to go on with such a road; they depend upon negotiating their bonds. Is it likely that any person will take the bonds of this company with another company actually in possession of the line, and holding a charter? I think not. The committee which has very carefully considered this Bill in all its bearings, ought to be sustained by the House in their report. Of course, I fully admit the right which the hon. gentleman from Quinté has claimed to refer a report of any committee back to them, with or without instructions, but there is a kind of first claim which the committee has upon the support of the House, and that is the advantage which the committee has, and the House has not, of hearing the parties and looking into particulars, and as a general rule the report of the committee is accepted, unless some cogent reason is given why it ought to be rejected.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—The very object of appointing a committee is to save the House from the trouble of going into the details.

HON. MR. VIDAL—That is the function of a committee, and this I think the Railway Committee has done most thoroughly, and I trust that the committee will not be subjected to the snub of having their report sent back to them for re-consideration.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I do not like at all to get on my feet, and especially to interrupt a speaker, but I had very hard work to keep from interrupting my hon. friend before he sat down, when he spoke of the “dishonest appropriation of stock” by the directors under the Bill which is now under discussion. It is pretty strong language to brand a man or a number of men with having been guilty of a dishonest transaction. I tell my hon. friend what I believe to be the truth, that in the appropriation of that stock the directors were acting under the Act of Parliament. Parliament provided that the promoters should have a certain amount of stock, and when they appropriated it they did so to defend themselves against their co-partners who, after a family quarrel, had endeavored to over-reach them, who had spirited away their books and their bonds, and had done a number of things that warranted extreme measures, and my hon. friend should hesitate before launching a wholesale charge of dishonesty against the directors. I think the Bill ought to go back to the committee, and that the committee ought to have another chance to deal with it.

HON. MR. POWER—“Give us a rest.”

HON. MR. CARVELL—When a rest is required for the Senate I think the hon. gentleman from Halifax ought to be applied to, because it is in his power to grant us more rest than any other member of the House.

HON. MR. POWER—Excuse me; I referred to the committee—I meant that I did not think the committee ought to be given any more work on this Bill.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I have no hesitation in saying that there is no precedent for any other Bill having been handled in the way this Bill has been dealt with. I was not present at the meeting of the committee which made the last report. I was at a previous meeting of the com-

mittee which had passed this Bill with a number of others—some three or four others. The others were reported to the House, but this Bill, for some reason I know not, was not reported. Even now, I would like to have from the chairman of the committee the reason why that was not reported with the others, and why it was allowed to lie over? I think it is without precedent that measures such as have been resorted to in the corridors of this House to-day have been taken to defeat this Bill. I do not think any hon. gentleman in this House has ever before known such a course to be followed to defeat a Bill before the opening of the House. These things, with many others which it is not necessary to repeat now, lead me to the belief that the proper course for the House to pursue is to refer this Bill back to the committee for reconsideration.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—When I heard the hon. gentleman from Amherst, who is chairman of the committee, make a great many misstatements about this report being perfectly fair and just, and of the Bill having been carefully examined and carefully gone into by the committee, I must confess that I was a little amazed, because if ever I saw in my life the chairman of a committee trying his best to lean towards one side it has been in the discussion of this Bill.

HON. GENTLEMEN—No! no!

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Hon. gentlemen may say no, no, as long as they please, but I know I am supported in my statement by a large number of hon. gentlemen present. It has been the same way all through. The hon. gentleman from Sarnia stated a few moments ago, as did the hon. gentleman from Amherst, that there was about \$40,000 spent by the old company on that road; that we were therefore interfering with vested rights, and all that sort of thing. As far as vested rights are concerned, there are none in existence connected with the other company. That is proved beyond a doubt; because, apart from the letter of Sir J. Thompson, their charter lapsed at a given date if they had not spent 10 per cent. of the stock subscribed in construction. It is perfectly well known by everybody who knows

anything about this project and wishes to speak straight about it that the money spent has been a trifling amount. I heard it stated by a man who ought to know that between \$3,500 and \$4,000 was the utmost amount that could possibly have been expended on that road up to now, instead of \$40,000 or \$35,000, as the hon. gentleman stated.

HON. MR. READ—If the hon. gentleman will read the affidavit on his table he will see.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I have not read it yet, but I will read it now:

“DOMINION OF CANADA, }
“COUNTY OF CARLETON, }
“To Wit: }

“In the matter of the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company.

“I, Alfred Brunel, of the city of Ottawa, civil engineer, solemnly declare as follows:

“1. That I am a civil engineer.

“2. That I have carefully examined all the plans, profiles and specifications prepared and submitted to the Minister of Railways after the prorogation of Parliament last year, by or on behalf of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company.

“3. That I consider the outside value of the said plans, profiles and specifications the sum of \$200.

“4. That I had charge of the survey and location and of making the original plans of the line of railway made for the said last-mentioned company from Ottawa to Morrisburg—being the whole contemplated line of railway, including the approach to the bridge over the St. Lawrence River—and that the full cost of the same, in my opinion, did not exceed the sum of \$3,500.

“(Signed), A. BRUNEL, C.E.

“Declared before me at the }
City of Ottawa, the 1st }
day of April, 1889. }

“(Signed), R. J. WICKSTEED,
“Notary Public.”

HON. MR. DICKEY—That is not the bridge.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—The bridge is in about the same condition that this is, from all the information I can get. I am perfectly convinced in my own mind that those parties who are claiming such rights have not the slightest idea that they are ever going to build the road at all, and I do not think that any person who looks into the matter carefully, aside from all party feeling, can expect it. There is a reasonable prospect of the new company going on with the work and carrying it through. The hon. gentleman from Am-

herst was once or twice pretty hard upon me for transgressing the rules of the House, but I think he went as far out of the line to-day himself as any person. I do not know that it is quite the thing to talk to members in the corridors of this House, and tell them that the incorporators of a Bill have been acting dishonestly; I think it is a great pity that adverse feeling should be aroused in that way. The people want a railway, and they have been waiting for it for seven or eight years, and there is no more prospect of their having it now, not quite so much, as there was some years ago, if it is to be left under the old company. If there is a reasonable prospect of getting the railway now, why prevent it? I know personally that it goes through some of the finest country in Canada. Let us throw party feeling aside and try to get a live company that will go on and build the road, for that is what we want, and precedent or no precedent—if there is not a precedent it may be well sometimes to make one—let us send the Bill back to the committee for further consideration. It was after all passed by a snap vote, that could not have carried it half an hour afterwards. That is my opinion, and I feel quite certain that a large majority of the members of this House are particularly anxious to give fair play to this company.

HON. MR. ODELL—I wish to make a few remarks on this subject in answer to something that has fallen from other hon. members, and I would begin by stating that in my opinion the hon. member who has made this motion with regard to the Bill is totally out of order—that under the rules and practice laid down with regard to select committees and standing committees he ought to have brought it up by petition, in the first place, to show there was something wrong in the decision of the committee; and, moreover, he ought to have given notice of what his objections were, so that they could be properly met and discussed. I shall call the attention of the House, in the first instance, to “Todd’s Private Bill Practice,” in which he says:

“It may be well to remark here, that while it is, of course, competent to the House to amend or reject any Bill after it has been reported by a select committee, and to amend or reject any of the amendments agreed to by the committee, practically

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this right is but rarely exercised. The inability of the House to discuss a private Bill upon its merits in the absence of such information as evidence alone can supply renders its reference to a select committee indispensable; and the House practically delegates its responsibility to that committee, and almost invariably accepts their decision. The principle thus acted upon by our Provincial Legislature has been established in the Imperial Parliament as the result of a very long experience in private Bill legislation. The Right Hon. John E. Denison, Speaker of the House of Commons, a very high authority in all matters connected with either public or private parliamentary business, in his evidence before a committee of that House upon the business of the House, in 1861, says, in reference to this question—"If you look at the precedent of private legislation you will see that some few years ago it was held that it would be quite impossible to concede such enormous interests as railway interest to a committee of five men, but these enormous interests, such as the consolidation of all the railways in the centre of Scotland, which was discussed before the House of Commons the other day, and the great question of the docks at Liverpool and the Mersey, now go to five men appointed by the committee of selection, and practically there is no appeal from their decision, because the House has been obliged almost to adopt as a rule that it will not interfere with the decision of committee." (g) In a subsequent part of his evidence, after re-iterating this statement, he adds, that the House is the more disposed to support the decision of the committee, because the smallness of the number of the members increases the responsibility of the committee." (h)

In support of Todd I will now quote from the same authority that the hon. gentleman opposite does.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—What the hon. gentleman quoted does not go to support his point at all.

HON. MR. ODELL—It shows what is the practice in the British Parliament and here. In the procedure and practice as given by Bourinot he lays down the following:

"It is the practice to move concurrence in the reports of committees in certain cases. But when the report does not contain any resolution, or other proposition for the consideration of the House, it does not appear that any further proceedings with reference to it as a report are necessary."

I would ask, why is there a different course to be pursued with regard to this Bill to-day from that pursued with the Bill last year? Now, if you turn to the Journals of last year you will see what was done with the report. On page 181 I find the following:—

"The Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, to whom was referred the Bill from the House of Commons, intituled, 'An Act to

incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway and Bridge Company,' have, in obedience to the order of reference of Wednesday, the 2nd of May inst., examined the said Bill, and now beg leave to report that the preamble of the said Bill has not been proved to their satisfaction.

"And, in obedience to the sixty-eighth Rule of your hon. House, your committee state that the ground on which they have arrived at such decision is, that the passing of the said Bill would be an infringement of the rights of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company."

That was received by the House, and, therefore, I contend that the grounds taken by the committee then, that the Bill interfered with the rights of the existing charter, apply with equal, I may say greater, force to-day. At any rate, the House then admitted that the Bill of last year interfered with vested rights, and I cannot see how they can change that decision on the same Bill this year, though the names be different. The parties are the same, it is the same Bill, it is over the same ground, and precisely, in every respect, similar to the Bill of last year, and if it interfered with vested rights then why does it not interfere with vested rights now? I refer again to Bourinot, speaking of Private Bills and the Committee of the Whole:

"But it will be only in very exceptional cases that the House will depart from the general principle that guides them in the consideration of private Bills, and that is to interfere as little as possible with the decision of the committee, which has abundant opportunity of considering the whole question, which the House certainly has not. It is very rarely that a committee on a private Bill will interfere with the Bill as it comes from a select committee."

When the Bill is referred to a select committee you have not to go through the same formalities that are observed here; the parties on both sides are present and every opportunity is offered to state both sides of the case. I contend, therefore, that the House as a rule does not interfere with Bills coming from the committee unless they are Bills agreed to by the committee. They come up because such Bills have to be discussed, while a Bill rejected by the committee is thrown out entirely, and there is an end of it, and all you could do with it would be as you did last year, "Let it lie on the Table." Now I go further and say that in the case of a Bill of this sort, which has been rejected by the committee, the only proper course is for any member who pleases to ask to have that Bill

referred to the House to do so, and if so I contend that he is bound to give notice of what his objections to the Bill are, and the House itself, if it refers a Bill back under those circumstances to a committee, is bound to say what are the points that they want the committee to reconsider, and instructions should be given to them as to what they should do and what the objections of the House are. What object can there be in simply throwing a Bill back to the committee? Is it not simply a command to change their opinions and to send back the Bill in a different shape? Is this House going to over-ride its committee, to which it delegates all its own powers in fact? I contend that the case might be different if the Bill were agreed to, because then it has to be brought up and discussed, and sent back to the House where it originated, but when the Bill is thrown out altogether I contend the House has nothing to do with it. The hon. chairman of the committee was called to order because he referred to something which was before the committee last year. I will refer now, as I have a right to do, to what was before the committee this year. I have a short memorandum which embodies the gist of the whole matter—a memorandum in opposition to the Bill which is now before us, which I desire to submit to the House:—

“MEMORANDUM

“In Opposition to a Bill entitled an Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company.—Referred to the Select Committee of the Senate on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors.

“1. That this Bill, now introduced and referred to the Railway Committee of the Senate, over-rides the unexpired charter of a company granted by Parliament to incorporate the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company, 45 Vic., ch. 77, and Acts amending and extending the same, whereby the company have until the 1st of August, 1891, to complete the work on the said line of railway and bridges. *Vide* 48 and 49 Vic., Chap. 59.

“2. That the said Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company have faithfully performed all the preliminaries required by their Act of incorporation, and the Acts in extension thereof; and have expended a large sum of money in surveys, location, and in the employment of steamers and boats for the necessary soundings of the river, in connection with the sites for the bridges and in preparing numerous and expensive plans in connection with both the said railway and bridges, required by the Dominion and American Governments, which were eventually approved by both Governments.

“3. That after the prorogation of Parliament last year numerous additional plans and profiles of the line, in triplicate, showing the curvatures and gradients, with general specifications, etc., were prepared for the Minister of Railways, in connection with the provisions of the Subsidy Act, 48-49 Vic., ch. 59, which were duly submitted, occupying in preparation a large portion of the summer, entailing a very considerable outlay and other incidental expenses.

“4. Thus the whole line of railway from the city of Ottawa to the bridge site, near Morrisburg, has been located—portions of the right of way procured—the sites for the bridges settled and approved by both the Dominion and American Governments. The existing company having thus, in all respects, complied with the preliminaries required, not only by their charter, but by the Dominion and American Governments, have fully preserved their charter. Such preliminaries having been held by professional men and the courts as a *bona fide* commencement under the provisions of the Act—and have now until 1st August, 1891, to complete the undertaking.

“5. That when the Bill was under consideration, this Session, in the Railway Committee of the Commons, it was opposed by several members of their committee on the ground that it was practically the same Bill as was rejected by the Senate last year. That it would interfere with the rights of other parties, who already possessed a charter, and had invested a large amount of capital, and had made a certain amount of expenditure. That the Bill conferred authority on the company to build forty-five miles of line, and two international bridges, whilst not one single dollar of share capital was provided for the erection of these bridges.

“6. Under what pretext, therefore, can a charter be granted to another company for the same line of railway, the same bridges, and identical purposes, during the existence of the previous unexpired charter, without any guarantee that the applicants possess any greater facilities to obtain the requisite funds for carrying through the undertaking than the existing company possess, and without any compensation for the necessary and legitimate expenses already incurred by the existing company.

“7. That the existing company feel satisfied that the opposition persistently exerted by the promoters of the Bill now submitted has greatly prejudiced capitalists against the enterprise, and by proclaiming as they have from year to year that they were about to obtain a charter to supersede the existing one, they have caused the failure of several attempts to raise the necessary funds.

“8. If the charter now asked for is refused, and the existing company, so far relieved from the factious opposition heretofore exerted by the present applicants, they have every reason to believe that under pending negotiations they will be able to complete the work under their present charter, which has still upwards of two years to run—and what will the country gain by superseding it?—and giving to a rival company similar privileges with an extended period. Under the Railway Act, 5 Vic. chap. 29—of two years to commence and seven years to finish and operate the railway. And by their Bill they are only required to commence the bridges within five years and complete them within eight years from the granting of their charter. A course of legislation for which it is believed that no precedent whatever exists, and one which, if adopted, would

be an infringement of the rights granted under the existing charter, as is fully admitted by this committee in their report on the 4th May, 1888, upon a similar Bill introduced by the same parties last Session.

That the passing of the said Bill would be an infringement of the rights of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company.—*Vide* Senate Journals 1888, page 181—which applies with even greater force to the Bill now under consideration, coming as it does again before the committee, after the decision of last year by a vote of eighteen to three, which is utterly disregarded and ignored.

9. Under these circumstances it is confidently anticipated that the committee will confirm the just and equitable decision arrived at last Session and so report to the Senate—giving to the existing company the full benefit of their charter, which is all they ask.

“ March 19th, 1889.”

DIRECTORS.

W. J. ANDERSON,
Per Alex. Farlinger,
Attorney.

JAMES REDINGTON,
Per Alex. Farlinger,
Attorney.

GRACE KEEFER.
THOS. C. KEEFER.

JOHN J. MACCRACKEN.

STOCKHOLDERS.

T. B. ALDERSON,
Per Alex. Farlinger,
Attorney.

R. SHANNON,
Per Chas. Odell,
Attorney.

ELIZABETH IMLAY.
JOS. KAVANAGH.

JOHN H. SPENCER.

CHAS. ODELL,..... PRESIDENT.

ALEX. FARLINGER... SECRETARY-TREASURER.

In addition to this there is a unanimous petition from the City Council of Ottawa, praying that the opposing Bill now under consideration be rejected.

In the list of subsidies granted under the Act of 1885 the first company mentioned is the Ottawa and Waddington, to which a subsidy not exceeding \$3,200 per mile, nor exceeding in the whole \$166,400, is granted. Here are the requirements which the Government insisted upon with regard to the Act:

“ Subsidies will be granted to the above named companies on the following conditions: That the said railway shall be commenced within two years from the first day of August, 1885, and be completed within a reasonable time, not exceeding four years, such time to be fixed by Order-in-Council.”

Now the House can easily perceive that time is given until the 1st of August, 1891, to complete this work, inasmuch as there has been no Order-in-Council for fixing the date, and I think sufficiently answers the remark made by the hon. member a little while ago that the company was not in existence at all. I lay on the Table here a few of the plans, which will give you some idea of the labor and trouble connected with it. The hon. member who

spoke about the trifling sum that was expended on plans reported from the Railway Department applied merely and solely to those that were supplied to the Department. They were very voluminous, and had to be deposited in triplicate. The other plans, to a much larger extent, had to be prepared for the use of the company itself. Then again, they had to be prepared for the parties who were negotiating to undertake the building of the road, and these had to be very minutely and carefully made, both for the two bridges and for the two roads—that is, the road from Ottawa to the St. Lawrence, and that from the St. Lawrence on to Canton, where it is to meet the American road. I tell you that I could not carry in my arms all the different plans that had to be prepared and submitted, yet we are told this is little or nothing. Even last year additional plans were called for, which it took a large portion of the summer to prepare. I put it now to any intelligent man whether the preparation of all these plans and the surveys of the road, the location, profiles and sections, and all the other matters connected with the survey, would not constitute a commencement. No company would venture to begin the actual construction of the road until they had everything of that sort to work upon. With regard to what is said about the small work done in turning the first sod, that is what it was intended for. It has been said there was no opposition to the Bill in the House of Commons. I admit there was none by the parties holding the existing charter, and I will state the reason. When the former Bill was before the committee they went there last year with the intention of laying everything before them fairly and honorably, but they were treated in such an unceremonious and improper manner that they could do nothing. When they attempted to speak they were told: “ We do not want to hear you; we do not want to hear anything more.” The committee were, in my opinion, a packed committee, determined to pass the Bill without having any information before them.

HON. MR. CARVELL—Are you speaking of the committee of the House of Commons?

HON. MR. ODELL—Yes.

HON. MR. CARVELL—A packed committee ?

HON. MR. ODELL—Yes; they would not allow them to speak.

HON. MR. READ—I have a letter from the chairman to show what was done this year.

HON. MR. ODELL—I can show what was done this year :

“ Dr. Hickey's Bill incorporating the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway and Bridge Company was considered. It was stated that this was practically the same Bill as last year, which the committee and the House passed, but which was thrown out in the Senate. Mr. Dawson said this Bill would interfere with the right of other parties who already possessed a charter, had invested a large amount of capital, and had made a certain amount of expenditure. Dr. Hickey said that not a farthing had been expended. Mr. Dawson asked that the Bill might be postponed, in order to make inquiry as to what had been done by the other company. Sir Hector Langevin said that although due notice had been given, the other parties had not raised any objection to this Bill, and therefore it should go on. It was pointed out by Hon. F. Langelier and Mr. Edgar that the Bill conferred authority on the company to build 45 miles of line and two international bridges, whilst not one single dollar of share capital was provided for the erection of these bridges. Eventually the Bill passed with certain amendments.”

Now, I have, if I can put my hand on it, where Dr. Hickey himself, in some negotiations he was making with parties in reference to this railway, told them expressly they must have \$15,000 paid down at once to cover expenditures which were made under Dr. Hickey himself, who was president of the board at the time; and now he undertakes to say that not one farthing was expended. The promoters of the present charter simply ask for justice, that having made their commencement in the way I have described, and having been prevented from obtaining money to carry it on, they should not be interfered with by this legislation. They made two contracts for the purpose of proceeding with the road, and one of them was absolutely stopped because of the opposition made by the parties who are now before Parliament, not only in their own localities, but in the press of New York, from day to day, while the company were negotiating for money. The New York papers were filled with articles warning capitalists against having anything to do with it, on the ground that the charter had lapsed and that the existing

company had no rights whatever, and that they were themselves going to get a new charter next Session and upset the old company. This prevented one of the parties from proceeding, and I have no doubt a number of others from undertaking the work; and with regard to the last one, the following letter furnishes an explanation. It is from Mr. C. Foxwell, and is dated 16th October, 1888 :—

“ I have refrained from answering your late letters, and only do so now in answer to the telegram of yesterday p.m. from you. The death, or at least the suicide of one of the principal members of the syndicate necessitates my finding a man to fill his place; consequently, I am in no position to name an officer for you, nor will I be before possibly the first week in November; consequently the Ottawa scheme will have to remain just where it is, until I can move further. I make this plain statement of facts to you so that in no way to possibly embarrass any action that you may wish to take. In the event of your being able to find parties to take this matter up at an earlier date than I have mentioned, I will return you your papers and liquidate the draft.”

HON. MR. KAULBACH—That is virtually abandoning the contract.

HON. MR. ODELL—Of course, when a man dies he abandons it. The company were endeavoring in 1887 to get parties to assist them with money to carry on this work, and that fell through, owing to the opposition of the parties now before the House, as I have already stated. With regard to what has been said about expenditures and liabilities in the papers laid before the committee, the amount is given here: it is \$34,490. They do not say, and never have said, that they have expended every farthing of that money; but the statement includes liabilities incurred in addition to moneys actually expended. The following is a memorandum of expenditure and liabilities incurred by the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company under their charter :—

Exploration by L. G. Bell and others, civil engineers.....	\$1,200 00
Exploration and sounding for bridge at Ogden's Island.....	1,250 00
Exploration and sounding for bridge at Goose Neck Island.....	1,500 00
Preparing charts, plans, &c., for the above sites, cost of survey and location 47 miles of line from bridge site, Ogden's Island, St. Lawrence River to Ottawa.....	5,520 00
Late Augustus Keefer, expenses and advances.....	1,200 00
Late J. W. Imlay, expenses and services.....	800 00

T. B. Alderson, expenses and services...	3,000 00
Incidental—Printing, legislation, stationery, &c.....	1,000 00
Counsel fees.....	300 00
Professional services—Augustus Keefer..	3,000 00
Chas. Odell, chief engineer—5½ years, at \$2,000 per annum	11,000 00
Francis and Loutrell—engraving 1,560 bonds of \$500.....	2,160 00
H. J. Hubbard, trustee—signing bonds, at \$1 each.....	1,500 00
Survey and location of line to connect with bridge at Goose Neck Island and grading a portion of same.....	1,000 00
	\$34,490 00

Besides sundry expenses incurred in promoting the undertaking.

There are two claimants here in Ottawa, who are widows, whose husbands took a very great interest in the undertaking and advanced money on it, and these widows are now looking to Parliament to protect their rights by refusing to pass this Bill. The expenses of my brother, who has been the engineer under this charter for four or five years, come to \$2,000 a year, and I am sure that is a very small sum for an engineer of his standing. He is a most reliable one, and has been at work on nearly every railway in Canada since he finished his education on the other side of the Atlantic for his profession. Then there is the engraving of the bonds. The company were so satisfied when these contracts were about being entered into that they felt they were authorized to prepare their bonds. I repeat they do not say that the whole of this \$34,490 was actually expended, but a portion of it has been spent, and they are liable for the balance; and it is a fair statement of the expenditure on the part of the company. The hon. member on my left said that they wanted to get a live company. Well, if they want a live company they will take my advice and stick to the charter and let the old company carry on their enterprise, because I am satisfied that if it is taken from them it would, in the first place, be an act of injustice on the part of Parliament to do so, and in the second place it will kill the road entirely. They may rest assured of that, because the fight having been begun it will be continued, and I think the parties who have the charter can just as readily block those who are asking for another as they have already done. I will now read a memorial from the city council of Ottawa:—

"To the Honorable the Senate of Canada, in Parliament Assembled :

"The Memorial of the City Council of the City of Ottawa would respectfully set forth :

"That a Bill entitled 'An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg and New York Railway Company' has passed the Commons House.

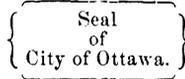
"That this Bill is a direct violation of the vested rights of a chartered company, unprecedented in the history of legislation.

"That the passage of a Bill granting a charter to a company to construct a road over a line identically the same as one for which an unexpired charter already exists would defeat the possible construction of any road.

"That this Corporation, representing the City of Ottawa, deeply interested in the construction of a line of railway over the route now covered by the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway Company's charter, would respectfully pray that your honorable body may not sanction the Bill now before your honorable House.

*"(Signed), JAMES GORDON,
Acting Mayor.*

*"W. P. LETT,
City Clerk."*



To show the characters of the parties now applying for a charter, it is only necessary to call attention to the following dishonorable attempt to get control of the votes at an election for directors, by voting to themselves \$160,000 worth of paid-up stock for services performed—for which no consideration or services were ever rendered:—

"On the evening of the 11th June, 1886, at a meeting of the Board of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company, held at Morrisburg, the following resolution was passed :

"11th June, 1886.

"Moved by Ira Morgan.

"Seconded by Neil McIntyre.

"That the undermentioned shares of the capital stock of the Ottawa, Waddington and New York Railway and Bridge Company be given to the Directors for reason.

"As follows:—

To W. S. Carman, 200 shares.
" Neil McIntyre, 200 "
" Ira Morgan, 200 "
" Chas. Odell, 200 "
" R. C. Carter, 200 "
" Chas. E. Hickey, 600 "

"Friday, 30 July, 1886.—The Board met this day at Morrisburg, when the resolutions of the last meeting, 11th June, were read over and adopted.

"October 8th, 1886.—I, Charles Odell, called on Dr. Hickey at his house in Morrisburg, and asked to see the minute book, not having been present at the evening session 11th June, or at that held 30th July. On looking over the minute book saw and became aware for the first time of the above resolution—voting the stock to the directors,

without any reason assigned. I asked Dr. Hickey whether it was paid-up stock in full. He replied: No; certainly not, but it was to be held merely in trust. This I could not understand, considering we held everything in trust as directors, and it was not only unnecessary to adopt such a resolution but irregular and fraudulent.

"October 20th, 1886.—Had a meeting of the Board at Russell House, Ottawa, at 7 p.m. Resolution of 11th June before referred to stood the same in the book as originally.

"October 21st, 1886.—This is the day of the annual meeting of stockholders, for the purpose of electing a new board of directors for the ensuing year. A said meeting was called for 3 p.m. The Board met at 10 a.m.; nothing done; adjourned until 2 p.m.; then met again; no business of importance before them. I looked over the minute book and found that a change had been made during the interim in the resolution of 11th June giving the stock to directors, by scoring out the word *reason* and inserting *services as full paid-up stock*. I at once told the Board I repudiated the transaction, and would state so publicly at the general meeting, which I did, explaining all the above circumstances, considering it to be a fraudulent act, and one I would not be a party to."

HON. MR. POWER—I would like to know with what object the hon. gentleman is submitting those statements to the House.

HON. MR. ODELL—My object is that the House should be put in possession of the facts.

HON. MR. POWER—Those facts were proved before the committee last year, and the House is supposed to be cognizant of them, and I doubt the policy of taking up the time of the House by proving facts that were before us last Session.

HON. MR. ODELL—I do not wish to prolong the discussion at all, but I have several other matters to which I was going to advert which I thought would have some weight with hon. members. I said before that the promoters of this Bill would never be able to carry out the enterprise. Their object has been from the first to get themselves in a position to sell their charter and put a few thousand dollars into their pocket, to which they are not entitled. To prove this I will read the following extract from a letter from a gentleman of high standing in New York:

"I have been told by parties in New York and other places that this Carman party was a fraud, that they have no capital, and can invite none, and no road can or will be built to a bridge across the St. Lawrence River so long as they retain control of anything connected with it. That they are simply hanging on to make a strike somewhere."

HON. MR. ODELL.

I am sorry to have detained the House so long, but I hope I have not occupied their time to no purpose.

The House divided on the amendment, with the following result:—

CONTENTS:

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott.	McKay.
Almon.	McKindsey.
Bolduc.	McMillan.
Carvell.	Macdonald (Victoria).
(Casgrain,	Merner,
Chaffers,	Miller,
Cochrane,	Ogilvie,
DeBlois.	Perley,
Flint.	Read (Quinté),
Girard,	Reid (Cariboo),
Guévremont,	Sullivan,
Kaulbach,	Sutherland.
McCallum,	Turner—27.
McDonald (C.B.).	

NON-CONTENTS:

Hon. Messrs.

Armand,	Macfarlane.
Baillargeon,	Odell.
Bellerose,	O'Donohoe.
Botsford.	Pâquet.
Boucherville, de,	Pelletier,
Clemow,	Power,
Dever,	Reesor,
Dickey,	Ross.
Haythorne,	Scott,
Leonard,	Stevens.
Lewin,	Trudel,
McClelan.	Vidal,
McInnes (N. Westm.),	Wark—27.
Macdonald (Midland).	

THE SPEAKER—I declare the amendment lost. The question is now on the main motion, for the adoption of the report.

The motion was agreed to.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (99), "An Act to incorporate the Three Rivers and Western Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (79), "An Act to incorporate the Union Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (8), "An Act to incorporate the Dominion Mineral Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (67), "An Act to incorporate the Assiniboine Water-power Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (81), "An Act to incorporate the Canadian Superphosphate Company." (Mr. Ogilvie).

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (26), "An Act further to amend the Adulteration Act, Chap. 107, of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 6:20 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 3rd April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (63), "An Act to enable the City of Winnipeg to utilize the Assiniboine Water-power." (Mr. Girard).

LAKE MANITOBA RAILWAY AND CANAL COMPANY.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (62), "An Act to incorporate the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company," with certain amendments. He said: The first amendment became necessary in consequence of this railway that is chartered being wholly within the Province of Manitoba, and we added a clause that it should be a work for the general advantage of Canada, especially as it is connected with powers to dig a canal, and also to make improvements in the navigation, and build piers and docks, and so on. The next amendment confined the power asked for in the clause to purposes necessary for the undertaking. The third amendment is for the purpose of declaring that no work shall be allowed that shall interfere with the free navigation of the waters which are touched by these works, in the same manner that the Railway Act generally

provides. The last amendment is one which brings the canal, which was not brought under the supervision of the Governor in Council—the canal works as well as the other works—the piers, docks and railway, and so on, under the supervision of the Governor in Council. These were necessary amendments, accepted as such by the promoters of the Bill, and I apprehend there will be no objections to them.

HON. MR. PERLEY moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

THE BEHRING SEA SEIZURES.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.) rose to inquire—

Whether the attention of the Government has been directed to the proclamation issued on the 2nd March by the President of the United States, which sets forth, after quoting the statutes in this case made and provided, as follow: "Now, therefore, I, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States pursuant to the above recited statutes, hereby warn all persons against entering the waters of Behring Sea, within the Dominion of the United States, for the purpose of violating the provisions of said section 1955, of the Revised Statutes, and I hereby proclaim that all persons found to be, or to have been engaged in any violation of the laws of the United States, in said waters, will be arrested and punished as above provided, and that all vessels so employed, their tackle, apparel, furniture and cargoes, will be seized and forfeited."

Whether the Government of the United States still adheres to its contention that the portion of Behring Sea conveyed by Russia, together with the Territory of Alaska, is under its exclusive jurisdiction, regardless of international usage?

Whether any agreement has been come to between the Imperial Government and the United States Government on the basis of international usage, under which British vessels could hunt and fish without molestation in the waters of Behring Sea beyond the international three-mile limit?

If not, whether the Government will make such representation to the Imperial Government as may be deemed necessary for the more ample protection of vessels and citizens of the Dominion entering Behring Sea for lawful commercial purposes?

Whether any correspondence has taken place between the Imperial and Dominion Government and the Government of the United States on this subject subsequent to that laid before Parliament

last Session, which marks any change in the attitude assumed by the respective Governments up to that time, on the question of limit of jurisdiction in Behring Sea?

Whether the question of compensation to the owners of Dominion vessels and cargoes seized in Behring Sea in the year 1887, by armed vessels of the United States, is receiving due consideration, and when may a settlement be reasonably expected?

He said: The merits of the case to which my questions refer have been dealt with on more than one occasion; therefore, I do not propose to discuss it now at any length. In fact, I would content myself with asking the questions which I have placed on the Notice Paper were it not that I would like to clear away any doubts, as to the importance of the subject, which may exist in the minds of hon. gentlemen who have not given it the consideration it deserves. I would like also to impress on the House that this question is not a purely provincial one, affecting only the interests of a limited number of people. On the contrary, it is one of great importance, affecting the whole Dominion, and the whole Empire, and therefore worthy the attention of hon. gentlemen. In order to define the position of affairs, I will briefly state that when Russia owned both sides of Behring Sea she claimed sovereignty to 100 Italian miles seaward from every portion of the land. From that position, so manifestly opposed to the comity of nations, she was obliged to recede in 1822 and 1825 at the instance of the United States and England, and declare that sea open to the commerce of the world. Notwithstanding the relinquishment of that claim, on the transfer of Alaska to the United States in 1867 Russia conveyed with that territory a portion of Behring Sea, extending in some parts to 700 miles from the mainland of Alaska. Such is the claim put forward to-day, with the result that we have knowledge of the fact that certain Dominion vessels seal hunting in that sea were seized by armed ships of the United States. We have also knowledge of the fact that the United States naval officers who made those seizures testified under oath that the vessels so seized were in a certain latitude and longitude—and from 115 to 50 miles distant from the nearest land. We have also knowledge of the fact that the masters of the seized vessels were tried by a judge and jury of the United States at Alaska, and found guilty of a

violation of the laws of the United States. I will read a short extract from the proceedings in that court:—

“The judge in his charge to the jury, after quoting the first article of the treaty of the 30th March, 1867, between Russia and the United States, in which the western boundary of Alaska is defined, went on to say: ‘All the waters within the boundary set forth in this treaty, to the western end of the Aleutian Archipelago and chain of islands, are to be considered as comprised within the waters of Alaska, and all the penalties prescribed by the law against the killing of fur-bearing animals must therefore attach against any violation of law within the limits heretofore described.’

“The jury brought in a verdict of guilty against the prisoners, in accordance with which the master of the ‘Thornton,’ Hans Guttormson, was sentenced to imprisonment for thirty days, and to pay a fine of \$500, and the mate of the ‘Thornton,’ Norman, was sentenced to imprisonment for thirty days and to pay a fine of \$300.”

So soon as the Dominion and Imperial Governments became possessed of the knowledge of the seizure of those vessels they pressed, with commendable perseverance, on the United States Government how unjustifiable its claims were. The English Foreign Office acted with such pertinacity that Secretary of State Bayard, on the 3rd of February, addressed the following note to the British Minister at Washington, from which I quote the following extract:—

“Without conclusion at this time of day of any questions which may be found to be involved in these cases of seizure, orders have been issued by the President’s direction for the discontinuance of all pending proceedings, the discharge of the vessels referred to, and the release of all persons under arrest in connection therewith.”

The Imperial Government construed that note as giving an assurance that no seizures of British vessels would be made in the meantime outside the territorial waters of Alaska, as well as being an assurance of a stay of proceedings in the case of the seized vessels.

Hon. gentlemen would naturally suppose that a promise of this kind would be adhered to; but what happened? No orders were given for the release of those vessels and their cargoes—or if any were issued at Washington they were never carried out in Alaska. The masters were released, but I cannot say if they paid their fines or not. Not only were those vessels not released, but in the face of that note of Mr. Bayard—as early as the month of July—five months after it was written, three more

vessels were seized, and their captains liberated on bail to appear for trial the following August. The Indian crews of those vessels were cast adrift, several hundred miles from home and totally unprovided for. What was done with those last three seizures I am not informed of. On remonstrance with Mr. Bayard on the seizures subsequent to his note of the 3rd February, relative to "a discontinuance of all pending proceedings," he replies, "That he can discover no ground whatever, from the expressions contained in his note referred to, for the assumption by Her Majesty's Government that it gave any assurances as to any other seizures now being anticipated, nothing being said in relation to such an occurrence." That is the way in which Mr. Bayard sets aside the construction placed on his note by the Imperial Government. I noticed in the English papers a question asked by Col. Baden-Powell as to compensation for the seized vessels, to which the reply given was, that the time for appeals had lapsed. In connection with that part of the case I will quote from a dispatch of 10th August, 1887, from Lord Salisbury to Sir Lionel West:—

"I have further to request that you will endeavor to ascertain and report to me when it is probable that the appeals referred to in your despatches Nos. 88 and 113, of the 2nd April, 1887, and of the 6th May, 1887, respectively, of the owners of the American ships which were seized on similar grounds, will come on for hearing, and whether any arrangement has been or can now, in your opinion, advantageously be made between the owners of the British and American vessels on the one side and the Government of the United States on the other, that one of these cases should be regarded as a test case, by which, in so far as the American legal tribunals are concerned, the remaining cases might be held to be concluded.

"It must, however, be clearly understood that any such arrangement, if made, could only affect the legal remedies which were open to the masters and owners of these vessels in the American courts, and would in no degree limit the right of Her Majesty's Government, after all such legal remedies were considered to be exhausted, to intervene through diplomatic channels and on international grounds on behalf of such masters or owners."

From that dispatch it will be seen that an appeal was taken at the proper time by the owners of the American vessels seized, and, I believe, by ours also, and if the necessary relief could not be had in the United States courts then Lord Salisbury promises diplomatic intervention on international grounds. In what-

ever position this matter now rests, I do hope the Dominion Government will not allow it to drop, but will urge on the Imperial Government the great necessity for an early settlement of the questions in dispute, involving as they do important public and private rights.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—In order to strengthen the position that I took the other day, when I stated that I believed the fair construction to be placed on the proclamation of the President of the United States was that half of Behring Sea belonged exclusively to the United States, I will read from the Montreal *Herald* of to-day a quotation from the Chicago *Tribune*, a strong Republican paper:

"There will be no craven cringing under this Administration. If Canadian poachers appear in Behring Sea taking seal they will be arrested and their ship and cargo confiscated. The United States will contend that these seals are American animals, born on American soil, having their habitat year after year on American islands, and entitled to American protection. It will contend, too, that its dominion extends over the Behring Sea, and that within this sea the taking of seal is an offence against the laws, to be promptly and vigorously punished. Russia's claim of dominion to the Behring Sea has not been disputed by any nation. The United States treated with her as such owner and acquired all the rights Russia had. To Russia's right to close the sea England repeatedly gave tacit assent. Russia and the United States divided the sea between them, and her half Russia still closes against the world. The laws of the United States have been extended over one-half, and the United States has given notice through the Treasury that its jurisdiction extends to the western boundary line passing through Behring Sea, as fixed by the treaty. Halleck, in international law, declares that 'national territory consists of water as well as land,' and the Coast and Geodetic Survey has declared that Behring Sea is not a part of the Pacific Ocean, but a distinct body of water."

As the policy of the Secretary of State at Washington is well known to be an aggressive one, I fear that the construction which I placed upon the proclamation the other day is correct, and the one that he will insist upon enforcing, and I heartily join with my colleague in urging upon the Government that there shall be no delay in impressing upon the Imperial authorities the importance of settling this question at once and forever.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—I noticed the article which the hon. gentleman has read, but it shows such a manifest ignorance of the subject on the part of

the editor that I paid no attention to it. It is a matter of history that Russia did recede from her claim to exclusive privileges in Behring Sea, and that the sea was left open to the whole world.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—I have merely read the article to show that that is the view which probably Mr. Blaine at Washington has taken.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do not think that under the President's proclamation we can join issue with our neighbors, because there is nothing which they set forth in their proclamation from which we dissent. It is merely a proclamation for the protection of their own rights, whatever they are. If they in that proclamation claim more than by the law of nations they are entitled to then it will bring the question to an issue. It seems to me to have a most important bearing on this question, that when, in 1872, we were sending up vessels to engage in the seal fisheries on the islands of St. Paul and St. George the then Secretary of the Treasury, when asked to stop it, plainly said that he could not prevent it; that it was outside of the territorial waters of the United States, as they were confined to the three mile limit. In 1822, when Russia set up this claim to all that part of the sea north of the 51st degree of latitude, the United States positively declared that they had no right beyond the three-mile limit—that international law and the comity of nations showed that they could claim nothing more than that, and what we contend for now. As Nova Scotia vessels have gone up there recently to prosecute the fisheries it is well that this question should be settled as soon as possible. In 1822 this right was receded from by Russia after long contention, and the privilege was given to the United States and to England also.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I might add that the United States put forth a pretension in 1887 to exclusive privileges in Behring Sea, and seized our vessels.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—They seem to be ready at all times to do anything to

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)

encroach upon us, unless we set ourselves against it. What we contend is that the same international law exists on the Pacific that prevails on the Atlantic, and that the rights obtained from Russia by the Americans in 1874 were no greater than they enjoy on the Atlantic coast. I sincerely trust that the Government will use all its power to secure a settlement of this question at as early a date as possible.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I regret that the hon. gentleman from New Westminster (Mr. McInnes) should have taken so much notice of this article from some obscure American paper, as to entitle it to a place upon the official report of our debates. I shall always regret to see such a compound of ignorance, insolence and malignity spread upon the pages of our official record; but it is worthy of no more attention than to characterize it by this phrase, which it richly deserves.

In answer to the question of my hon. friend, I would say that the Government has had its attention directed to this proclamation, and that it does not understand the proclamation to assert any new right by the United States or any right over Behring Sea. It is a species of annual warning which, under a statute of the United States, the Government is required to issue, cautioning all persons against trespassing on American waters, leaving the phrase "American Waters" to be defined under international law. That is the way our Government understands it, and that is really the true meaning of the proclamation—that it asserts no new right and constitutes no encroachment. That answer, to a large extent, disposes of the second portion of my hon. friend's question, because this Government has no intimation that the United States ever contended that this portion of Behring Sea was under its exclusive jurisdiction—that is to say, that they ever officially contended, as against the British Government, that it was under such exclusive jurisdiction, or that they attempted to hold any part of it, regardless of international usage. There has been a correspondence going on, of which my hon. friend has taken notice, and I think that makes it tolerably plain that there is no definitive assertion of any such jurisdiction over Behring Sea by the Government of the United

States. As my hon. friend from Victoria says, it is a well known fact that the most learned jurists of the United States have always disputed the Russian claim, and to my mind the people of the United States and the Government of the United States have proved that Russia never had such jurisdiction over Behring Sea as would be implied if we were to assume the validity of the seizures that have been made under authority of the Alaska courts. As to the next question, whether any agreement has been come to between the British Government and the United States with respect to hunting and fishing in those waters, there has been no final agreement—no agreement at all, in fact—but that matter is still under discussion. In answer to the next question, there has been still further correspondence on the subject since the papers laid before Parliament last Session, but the Government feel at this moment that it would hardly be proper to place that correspondence before the House. It is still going on and uncompleted, and it is not in the public interest that it should be made known.

That answers all the questions but the last, and as regards the last question I may say to my hon. friend that the expression of opinion by Lord Salisbury which he read is that upon which the British Government and this Government propose to act. Whatever may be the legal decision of the tribunals on the just demand of British subjects for compensation for damages done by these illegal seizures, they will not be abandoned, but in due course will be prosecuted.

ASSETS AND DEBENTURE CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called for consideration of the report of the Select Committee on Banking and Commerce on Bill (22), "An Act to incorporate the Assets and Debenture Company of Canada,"

HON. MR. VIDAL said: When I presented the report of the committee informing the House of the amendments which had been made to this Bill in committee, I stated the fact that they were so volu-

minous and of such a character that the reading of them to the House would really convey very little information; that the committee had thought that so important and so numerous were the alterations made that it was only right that they should be printed, and in that form presented to the House. That suggestion was adopted, and the Bill, with all the amendments incorporated in it, as it is now proposed to pass it, is before the House, and has been on members' tables for nearly a week. I presume that the amendments made have been carefully looked into and understood by hon. gentlemen, and it would, therefore, be unwise and unnecessary for me to go through them and explain their character and effect. They vary in importance, from the mere change of a word in some instances, and altering the mode of expression in another, to some very serious and very important amendments, restricting the somewhat extraordinary powers which, as the Bill came to the committee, seemed to be conferred by it, and which were thought to be in excess of anything that ought to be granted by Parliament to any company. All the amendments which have been made are in the direction of protecting the public interests, and to prevent the company from encroaching on the rights and privileges of others. The hon. gentleman from Ottawa had charge of the Bill, and he requested me, if it came up in his absence, to move concurrence in the amendments, which I now do.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

CIVIL SERVICE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (100), "An Act further to amend the Civil Service Act, Chapter 17 of the Revised Statutes."

(In the Committee).

On clause 2,

HON. MR. POWER—There is one objectionable feature in clause 2, that it carries still further the exemptions from the provisions of the Civil Service Act. This Bill exempts post office inspectors.

I think that post office inspectors are men who ought to be properly educated and trained in the department for their duties, and should not be brought in from outside.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The experience of the department has shown that a larger field of choice is necessary for the selection of officers for this purpose than can be had under the Civil Service Act. The capacity and training for this office are not to be tested under a Civil Service examination, and that is the reason the Minister has thought it necessary to ask the House to pass this clause.

The clause was agreed to.

On clause 3,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: Accountants, under the former Act, were allowed salaries of from \$600 to \$1,200. The duties of some of those accountants are onerous, and require men of a certain capacity to discharge them, and there is considerable range in the qualifications. Some of those officers are employed where vast sums of money are handled, and it is thought that an accountant in an office where such responsibility is involved is not sufficiently paid where the maximum salary is fixed at \$1,200 a year. It was thought better that the maximum should be placed in such a position as to be increased \$200. Any hon. gentleman acquainted with business will see that a first-class accountant in a business of large range and of an important character would not be over-paid by that allowance. The main difference, however, in this case is to be found in the provision for special class Excise men. These are the two main alterations. The special Excise men are officers who are placed in charge of distilleries, and upon them depends entirely the question whether the Government get full returns of the amount of spirit distilled or not. I am told that it is quite within the power of such men, without the possibility of detection, to cause a loss to the Government of tens of thousands of dollars; that any complicity between such men and the distillers could be managed with facility, and might result in enormous loss to the department, so that in point of fact these men have a very high class of responsibility. Under the circum-

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stances, the Government feel that it is only just and fair that these men should be placed in a position to be to some extent free from the temptation of accepting improper inducements to make false returns, or to connive at false returns, and they think these sums, \$1,200, \$1,400 or \$1,600, are not too large allowances to be made to men placed in positions of such responsibility.

HON. MR. POWER—It seems reasonable.

The clause was agreed to.

On sub-section 2,

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will explain what difference this will make in the pay of railway clerks?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The main difference in this is that payments for night work, which were formerly by salary, I think double pay, are entirely abolished, and railway clerks will now be paid only for the actual time they are on duty during the night. There will be a very considerable saving in this connection effected by this amendment. Formerly a mail clerk was paid for night work whether he was on the road at night or not; now he will only get paid for the actual time on the road, and for the time he is travelling. I propose to ask the House to alter the note to sub-section 2, which provides for an additional allowance to railway mail clerks of $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent per mile travelled between ten in the afternoon and six in the forenoon. That has seemed to us to be an unreasonable limitation. There is no reason why a man who works until ten o'clock at night should commence work at six o'clock in the morning. I will ask the House to allow me to amend this by substituting the figure eight for six—that is to say that night work shall be considered as commencing at eight o'clock at night and ending at eight o'clock in the morning.

The amendment was adopted.

On sub-section 3,

HON. MR. POWER said: In view of the anxiety of the Government to promote economy, I think this is a questionable policy. If hon. gentlemen will

look at this sub-clause they will see that in the 1st class of city post offices the salary of the postmaster is fixed at \$4,000; in class 2, at \$3,250; and it is only when we get down to class 5 that we reach \$2,800. It would seem to be an unreasonable thing that these city postmasters, who are all under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Postmaster-General, should have salaries very largely in excess of his, and the position of the city postmasters, judging, at any rate, from what we see in the city of Ottawa, is one the duties of which are not very onerous. I understand that the office of postmaster here at Ottawa is a perfect sinecure. The duties are discharged by the deputy, and the postmaster himself has practically nothing to do. I presume that the postmaster gets \$3,500 a year. Now, why a man should be paid that amount for doing nothing, a man who owes his appointment, not to any public services, but to his political services, is something that should be explained. I think that this large increase in the salaries of postmasters is very objectionable and is quite unnecessary. There was no difficulty in getting men to fill these offices before the increase of salary. I fancy it comes to this: under a mutilated Civil Service Act we have those postmasters, who are not asked to pass an examination at all. They are favorites, as a rule appointed for party services, and this Bill is to authorize the Government to pay men whose offices are in many cases sinecures larger salaries. It cannot be pretended that officers like the city postmasters should be paid higher salaries than the Deputy Minister, who is really the effective and actual working head of the department.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—In answer to the hon. gentleman, I can assure him that the postmaster of the city of Ottawa is a very competent and painstaking official, and I believe he performs his duties to the satisfaction of the Department.

HON. MR. POWER—The duties he is called on to discharge.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—His duties are very onerous and responsible, and I do not think he is sufficiently paid. There is an immense amount of free work in the office which is not included in the revenue,

and the work of the post office is much larger than the amount collected in revenue would indicate.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not deny that the work is done in the Ottawa post office, but I venture to say, notwithstanding the hon. gentleman's remarks, that it is done by Mr. Hawken, the deputy postmaster.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—No doubt a considerable part of the work is done by the deputy, but the postmaster is a very efficient officer, and I know from my own experience that it is sometimes an advantage to obtain outside assistance for the purpose of discharging duties of this kind. I heard the hon. gentleman say that the officials ought to be trained in the service of the department; but I think it has a very salutary effect on the service to import men who have acquired information apart from the red tape system that prevails in Government departments. I know that Mr. Gouin is a very painstaking official, and I would be only too glad to find that his salary could be increased, because he has a very large amount of work to do for which he receives no recompense. I venture to say that the amount of work done in the Ottawa post office during the Session of Parliament is as great, if not greater, than the work done in any other post office in the Dominion. The hon. gentleman will find out, if he will take the trouble to enquire, that the postmaster at Ottawa is giving satisfaction to the public and to the Department.

HON. MR. FLINT—I can say the same for the postmaster at Belleville. He is a most capable and faithful official. I do not think he is ever absent a day from his office, unless it may happen through illness. He not only looks well after his clerks, but he sees that everything under his charge is properly done. It is an unmerited slur upon a deserving class of officials to say that they do nothing. I know that the postmaster at Belleville earns his salary, and has for many years given general satisfaction to the public as well as to the Department.

HON. MR. POWER—It is very pleasant to know that some of the positions held

by postmasters are not sinecures. I know some myself that are not sinecures. I did not say that all were sinecures; I said that some were. The speech of the hon. gentleman from Rideau division does great credit to his heart. I quite recognize the good feeling he has shown. He and the postmaster at Ottawa have fought side by side in many political battles, and, of course, it was not to be expected that he would allow any reflection at this time to be cast on his old fellow-combatant.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—For the information of my hon. friend I would mention, though I am unable to explain it as thoroughly as I would wish, the effect of this clause will not be to increase largely the salaries of postmasters. The salary of the postmaster at Montreal, I understand, is \$4,000, and will not be increased by this new provision. The salary of the postmaster at Toronto, where the collection of postage is larger, and the revenue is larger than at Montreal, is less than the salary of the Montreal postmaster. It has been thought to be just to establish these salaries on a scale proportionate to the amount of revenue collected, rather than by an arbitrary provision to give one man a salary of \$4,000 and to give another, who does more work, \$500 less. The main change that will be effected by this clause will be the equalization of the salaries of the postmasters at Toronto and Montreal. There is one other postmaster affected by it: I am inclined to think it is the postmaster at Ottawa, but his salary is in proportion to the collection of revenue, and there is no reason why the postmaster at Ottawa should not benefit by such a scale of salary as well as any other postmaster. I do not know anything about the qualifications of Mr. Gouin for the position. I hear a good account of him from my hon. friend from Rideau division, and I suppose he knows more about him than my hon. friend from the other end of the Dominion. If a postmaster is not a fit man for the position the way to meet the case is not to reduce the salary of his office but to turn him out and put another man in his place. The proper way to do is to establish a fair scale of remuneration, and to see that only men who are entitled to it are appointed.

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HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will deal with the injustice done to the Deputy Minister.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not know that I am doing any injustice to that gentleman. It may be that \$3,200 is fair remuneration for his services, and I believe that trained persons can be got to do that work for the salary. I see no reason, where no injustice is done, for making a change. On the contrary, I see good reason why no change should be made. What the Government is trying to do is to combine economy with justice to these persons.

HON. MR. POWER—I am not specially advocating economy, only the Government have been announcing recently that they are in favor of economy, and I should like to see some more satisfactory manifestations of economy than we find in this Bill. There is no doubt that the Deputy Minister is a much more important officer, and his duties and responsibilities are much greater than those of any postmaster in the Dominion, and he receives only \$3,200. Now, if justice requires that the postmaster at Toronto should be paid as much as the postmaster at Montreal, surely, adopting the same system of argument which my hon. friend uses, the Deputy Minister has much greater right to get \$4,000. I am not advocating the claim of the Deputy Minister. Now, I shall tell the hon. gentleman how I would equalize the salaries paid to the postmasters at Toronto and Montreal. I should say that at the retirement of the present postmaster at Montreal the salary should be reduced to the same level as that paid at Toronto. I should think that a Government anxious for economy would adopt that system rather than increase the salaries. It is a sort of justice and economy that the country would understand and appreciate better.

HON. MR. ALMON—I am very much astonished at the views expressed by my senior colleague. In Halifax Mr. Blackadar, who is a very efficient officer, was appointed postmaster, though he had never been employed in a post office before. The only qualification that I know of possessed by Mr. Blackadar was that he controlled a very strong Grit newspaper. I

do not know whether he gave up the paper, because it was continued by his brothers, and many people think he is a sleeping partner.

HON. MR. POWER—Oh, no.

HON. MR. ALMON—I did not say that he was; I said that many people think so. It is so reported; whether it is actually so or not I do not know. If it was right to appoint a man who had never been employed by the Department before to the position of postmaster at Halifax, I do not think it was very wrong to make a similar appointment in Ottawa.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps my hon. friend will allow me to suggest that when the present postmaster at Halifax was appointed there was no Civil Service Act.

HON. MR. ALMON—What has that to do with it?

HON. MR. POWER—It has everything to do with it.

HON. MR. McDONALD (C.B.), from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

SUPREME AND EXCHEQUER COURTS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

IN COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (105), "An Act to amend the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act."

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: This is a Bill which originated in the House of Commons, and the Bill as introduced contained a clause which prevented a judge, against whose judgment an appeal is brought, from sitting in appeal on his own judgment. It appears that there was some controversy about this matter in the House of Commons, and some fear that this provision might be taken as offensive in some degree to some of the gentlemen on the bench of that court, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention, but nothing in any way disrespectful to them. Acting

on the idea that some delicate question was involved in the clause it was struck out in the House of Commons. On further reflection, and on conference with advocates practising in the court and the judges themselves, it has been determined by my colleagues that in their opinion it would be an advantage to have the clause replaced, and I have now to ask the committee to amend this Bill by re-inserting the following clause:

"1. Section nineteen of 'The Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act,' as amended by the Act passed in the Session held in the fifty-first year of Her Majesty's reign, and chaptered thirty-seven, is hereby amended by adding thereto the following sub-section, that is to say:—

"2. No judge against whose judgment an appeal is brought, or who took part in the trial of the cause or matter, or in the hearing in a court below, shall sit or take part in the hearing of or adjudication upon the proceedings in the Supreme Court: and in any cause or matter in which a judge is unable to sit or take part, in consequence of the provisions of this sub-section, any four of the other judges of the Supreme Court shall constitute a quorum and may lawfully hold the court."

I may say that in Lower Canada it has always been our law that no judge could sit in judgment in appeal on a case on which he had given a decision. It is thought that the natural disposition of a man to adhere to an opinion that he has given is so strong that it is an influence to which suitors ought not to be subject in appealing to a higher court; but I believe it has not been the rule in Ontario. Now, it seems that the universal consensus of opinion of the Bench and members of the Bar, who have been seen in reference to the matter, is that it is expedient to create this disqualification against a judge who originally delivered the judgment. I move that the clause be inserted as clause 1.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the hon. gentleman gave a sort of half promise that he would consider the question which I raised as to the objection of allowing appeals to the Supreme Court from assessments.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have discussed that with my colleagues, and they seem to think it is a proper provision. It applies to very large questions disposed of by the officials appointed altogether by provincial or municipal authority, and it is thought

fair that under such circumstances the party claiming to be aggrieved should have the right to appeal to the Supreme Court. It does not apply to the decisions of courts which are constituted under Federal jurisdiction or appointed by the Federal Government.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—What is the amount which is appealable?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—An assessment of \$10,000, or more.

HON. MR. POWER—The fact that the appeals are only allowed where the property is valued at a large sum does not materially diminish the difficulty. Take the assessment of a city: the assessors go round, and they are obliged to have the valuation concluded at a certain time, say on the 31st December. Then there is a period given (I imagine practically the same system prevails in all municipalities) to those dissatisfied with the assessment to appeal. Say the month of January is given; if no appeal is entered previous to the 1st of February the assessment stands. Then there is a certain time appointed, say to the middle of February, for the hearing of appeals. A court of appeal, constituted differently in different localities, sits and hears appeals from the assessors. Then, say by the 1st of April, or the middle of April, the assessment is finally concluded and the taxation notices are sent out. The municipal council fix the rate for the coming year based on the assessment as finally confirmed, after these appeals have been heard and the taxation notices are sent out. Look at the difficulty that may occur under this Bill. There are a great many people who are assessed for larger sums than the amount mentioned in this Bill—say there are ten people assessed for sums ranging from \$10,000 to \$50,000 who appeal under this clause from the final decision of the local court of appeal. The city authorities cannot tell, possibly for a year, or longer, what amount they are entitled to assess for during that year. It strikes me that very serious difficulties and confusion will result from this apparently harmless amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend speaks of a state of things that is not

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familiar to me. In large towns in my Province the rate is known. They do not make a special and different rate every year, and the inconvenience of which my hon. friend speaks could not exist in any degree.

HON. MR. POWER—I have outlined the system pursued in Nova Scotia.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If the rate is fixed after the assessed value is ascertained, of course it is only approximate. The number of appeals in a large town, like Halifax, for instance, could not affect the gross assessment of the whole city. It does not seem to me a good ground for depriving tax-payers of the right of appeal where large amounts are involved. In many cases it is claimed that local influences prevail and cause assessments to be made exceptionally high against certain persons. The only ground for appeal that I could understand would be that the assessment complained of is at a higher rate than the assessment of similar properties. It does not appear to me a valid objection to giving the right of appeal in such cases that a few persons who might claim that they were over-assessed would, by appealing, affect the assessment of a whole town. That would not be a sufficient reason to deny the right of appeal if it ought otherwise to be granted. The amount that would be represented by the difference between the taxation to which those persons would be willing to submit and the taxation based upon the assessment must be comparatively small in proportion to the total revenue of the city. Take the city of Montreal, where the assessment is \$120,000,000: We know that if a dozen, or twenty, or fifty proprietors in the city thought their assessment was too large, and appealed, it would not stop the wheels of the city government. It would amount to a comparatively small sum in a revenue of \$2,500,000. And so it is with other cities. There is an obvious possibility of injustice being done. I know myself that absentees are very apt to suffer injustice in the assessment of their property, and there are other classes of cases to which I might refer which might be open to the same difficulty. I think it is hard to deny those few persons the right of appeal, if

an injustice is done them, for what would appear to me to be necessarily a very trifling inconvenience to the city.

HON. MR. POWER—I am not convinced by the reasoning of the hon. gentleman; but there is another point to which I should like to draw the attention of the leader of the House. It strikes me that there is some question as to the constitutionality of this enactment. Municipal assessments are matters which are left exclusively to the local Legislatures and the local Governments. I think this is clearly an attempt on the part of the Federal Parliament to interfere in a matter which our constitutional Act leaves with the local authorities. What is known as the court of appeal in the city of Halifax is not a court in the ordinary sense; it is not like a county court or a magistrate's court, and I do not believe it was ever contemplated that there should be appeals to the Supreme Court from such a body as that. I think this is opening the way for a great deal of future difficulty.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It seems to me that the private rights of individuals are concerned here, and I do not see how you are going to limit them. A private individual should have the right to appeal to the highest court of the land, and I cannot see any distinction between this claim of right and any other claim of right. If a man thinks injustice has been done him he should have a right to appeal to the highest courts of the land.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—As to the constitutional question, the hon. gentleman will see by the British North America Act that the Federal Government are authorized to create a Supreme Court, and to give that court appellate jurisdiction from all the Provinces. That does not interfere with the right of the Provinces to make their own laws with respect to private rights; they are still regulated by the Provinces, but the fact that they have exclusive jurisdiction over private rights does not prevent suits in which those rights are involved being carried by appeal. It is one of the express powers given by the constitution to the Dominion to create a Supreme Court, to which

appeals can be taken from all the Provinces, without distinction of any kind.

On clause 2,

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: I move that the clause be struck out. It provides that the Governor General may suspend the operation of the rules of the Supreme Court, and this seems, on consideration, and on hearing representations made about it, to be an inexpedient power to confer. The rules are made by the court and laid before Parliament before they come into force, and it seems inexpedient to give to any person or body the right to suspend these rules in that arbitrary manner by proclamation.

On clause 5,

HON. MR. POWER—I think the procedure indicated here is rather old-fashioned and cumbrous, entering a suggestion of the death. Under the Judicature Act of the Province of Nova Scotia there is a shorter process than that. An application is made to the court setting forth the death of the plaintiff or defendant, and the court is asked to authorize the substitution of a new plaintiff or defendant as the case may be. The practice of entering a suggestion is cumbrous and antiquated, and is not to be found in the modern books of practice, and I would suggest to the hon. gentleman to adopt a different phrase. Entering a suggestion has a different meaning in the lower Provinces from what it has in Quebec; and in Nova Scotia and Ontario a different procedure is now adopted. I know from experience that entering a suggestion is rather an awkward sort of proceeding.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I imagine that this was intended to make the practice uniform. This practice of entering a suggestion is universal in the courts of the Province of Quebec. I do not know how it is in the other Provinces, but it is a very simple affair—the party merely files a short paper, stating that the plaintiff or defendant, as the case may be, was deceased on such a date, and suggests a substitute.

HON. MR. POWER—That is a case in which the law of Quebec is superior to that of the other Provinces. Entering a

suggestion does not mean the same thing in the other Provinces. If one could merely file a paper to suggest the death it would be a simple thing, but he cannot do that with us; he has to make application to the court for leave to enter the suggestion.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I will consider the matter, and will consult with my colleagues about an amendment before the third reading of the Bill.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The suggestion might be met by some such amendment as this: "Upon entering the suggestion of the death, or upon such other proceeding, leave may be granted by the court, &c."

The clause was agreed to.

HON. MR. DEVER, from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to.

SAFETY OF FISHERMEN BILL

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. POWER moved the second reading of Bill (T), "An Act for better securing the Safety of certain Fishermen." He said: I do not know that this Bill can be better explained than by reading the first clause:

"1. No dory, flat, whaler or other boat whatsoever shall be launched or shipped or set out from any vessel whatsoever for the purpose of fishing, or with intent that the same shall be used in fishing with hooks and lines, trawls or other similar appliances, or for the purpose of examining trawls, set lines or other appliances for fishing, unless there shall be placed in such boat and retained therein during absence from such vessel an accurate and serviceable mariners' compass, and unless there be placed in such boat at least on quart of drinking water and two pounds of bread for each man of the crew of such boat."

It is hardly necessary to indicate the reason for the introduction of a Bill like this. No fishing season passes by without our reading of instances where fishermen on the Banks have gone out from their schooners to catch cod or to look at their trawls and lines, and a fog has come up and those fishermen have not been able to find the schooner again, and have been

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sometimes for days in their boat without food or drink. We read that in a great many cases loss of life has occurred in that way. The object of the Bill is to provide, first, that there shall be a compass put into each of those boats when she leaves the schooner, so that by observing the direction in which they start from the schooner if a fog does spring up the men in the boat may be able to work back to the vicinity of where they left the schooner, or in case they fail to find the schooner they will know the direction in which the land lies, and will be able to make land. Then, in order to provide for the case of their being in the boat for any length of time, the Bill provides that there shall be a certain quantity of food and drink on board. The Bill looks reasonable in itself, and the objections to it I do not think are very serious. One objection which has been urged is, that it would be inflicting an unnecessary expense on the owners of the vessels. That objection is not well founded, because the owners have to furnish the crews with enough to eat and drink, so that the water and bread will be on board the vessel in any case, and the putting it on board the boats does not involve any additional expense. I have been informed by a gentleman who is in the business, and who put compasses in the dories that set out from his own schooners, that a compass good enough for the purpose can be bought for \$1, and a good, serviceable compass can be had for \$2. Inasmuch as the lives and fortunes of fishermen are involved, I do not think that trifling expenditure should be allowed to stand in the way. The Bill does not apply to mackerel fisheries, as mackerel are now generally caught with seines.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I fail to see that my hon. friend has made out a case for asking for this Bill. He seems really to know more about what the fishermen want than the fishermen themselves. He might as well tell us that fishermen should be obliged to put sails, oars and thole pins into their boats and take fog-horns with them, which they always do. I think this Bill is almost an insult to the intelligence of our fishermen. A more intelligent, industrious, active lot of men cannot be found in any part of the world. They thoroughly know their business; they are

alive to their own requirements and know their rights and interests, and throughout Nova Scotia, more especially in the county from which I come, the fishermen themselves own more than half of the vessels engaged in the fisheries. They have their associations, pass by-laws and discuss all matters connected with their interests. My hon. friend would lead us to suppose that they are serfs or factory men who cannot control their own time or actions. Probably two-thirds of the men who go in these vessels are interested in the venture, and the only hands that are hired, as a rule, are the cook and the stoker, as they call him, and the splitter, packer and salter. These are the men who remain on board the vessel. The others are independent men, who are alive to their own interests, and the loss of any one of them is a serious loss as regards the results of the voyage. Surely such men cannot be so entirely lost to their own interest, or to the danger to their own lives, or they would have asked the hon. gentleman from Halifax to introduce a Bill like this. If my hon. friend comes down to Lunenburg those men will consider him a curiosity, an antediluvian, who undertakes to teach them how to conduct their own business so that their lives may be saved. I am not sorry to see my hon. friend take a lively interest in the fisheries; at the same time, he has failed to show us that those accidents which he describes arise from want of compasses on board the boats. I tell my hon. friend that in the county of Lunenburg the fishermen always carry compasses and provisions in their boats. The hon. gentleman talks of a quart of water and a pound of bread for these men to get to shore with when they are 600 miles, and sometimes 1,000 miles from shore, away on the Banks. I do not think the hon. gentleman knows where those vessels go to for fish.

HON. MR. POWER—What Banks do they go to 1,000 miles from shore?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—On the Banks off Newfoundland, some of them 600 miles, and even 1,000 miles from land. It seems to me to be an insult to these men, who have their own associations, who meet to discuss matters relating to their own business, pass by-laws for their own pro-

tection, and suggest where they can establish a trade. They control the fisheries. These are not the kind of men who require a Bill like this, and it is not asked for, and the cases the hon. gentleman has cited it would not meet, for boats lost on the Banks are lost rather in consequence of the change in the position of the vessel, because of the variable nature of the currents, than from want of a compass. The trawls are set some distance from the vessel, and some of them are very long, and if a fog comes on a compass is of no value to them; the fog-horn is of much more value, so that my hon. friend ought to put a fog-horn in his Bill; the fishermen would rather do without the compass than the fog-horn. There is no public opinion asking for this Bill, and the hon. gentleman has failed to show that fishermen are such idiots, and so utterly incapable of taking care of themselves, that they must be provided for in this way. I look upon this Bill as being not only useless, but as insulting to a class of intelligent men, who have grown up in their business from boyhood and know precisely what its requirements are.

HON. MR. MCKAY—They are all owners in the business.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; they are owners; they are not hired men. There is no necessity for such legislation as this for such men. In the United States such legislation might be necessary. Where are those losses that are complained of? Not from Nova Scotia although we own half the fleet. It is from Gloucester most of those losses are sustained, and two-thirds of those losses are of men who go over there from the Lower Provinces, and are subjected to much greater risks from the recklessness of the Gloucester fishermen than they are at home. This Bill is not only not required—it is an interference with men who want no such interference, unless my hon. friend makes them out to be a class of idiots, incapable of taking care of themselves, or serfs or slaves, or factory hands, who are hired and, to a large extent, have to depend on the wages that they receive for the support of their families. I repeat that it is an insult to the intelligence of our fishermen to introduce a law which they do not ask for and which

is not necessary for the protection of life or property. I therefore move the six months' hoist.

HON. MR. ALMON—I rise to say that it is my intention to support this Bill. I doubt if there are enough compasses in a fishing vessel to supply every dory that leaves her, and very often a dory sailing about within a very short distance of the schooner is left out for days, until the men are almost dead from cold or starvation, which might have been prevented if they had only had a compass with them. The hon. gentleman from Halifax will remember the melancholy case that took place in the neighborhood of Cape Breton, where some fishermen, members of a respectable family, ate a large portion of the body of one of their number while lost at sea without any provision on board. Perhaps the quart of water provided in this Bill would be rather a small allowance, and might lead to the practice of carrying "flasks;" still it would be better than nothing. I don't suppose there is anything in the Bill to prevent them from putting a little more water in the boat if they choose to do so. I shall support the Bill of the hon. gentleman, even if it does not do the good he thinks it will, for it is a step in the direction of humanity.

HON. MR. CARVELL—In seconding the resolution of the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg I do so because I think the Bill before the House is perfectly useless should it be passed. All that the hon. gentleman from Halifax has said about compasses amounts to nothing, although as my hon. friend from Lunenburg says, the fishing boats do carry compasses and fog-horns. In foggy weather a fog-horn may be worth something, but a compass is useless. A dory leaves a vessel; a heavy fog sets in; the men know if they look at the compass when they are starting which way they are heading from the ship; but afterwards, when the ship is obscured from sight, she is not a fixture, she is not at anchor, but is moving about at the same time, and the compass becomes useless. But a stronger objection to it is that the crews of those vessels have as much to say on board of them as the captain. They are co-partners in the fishing expedition, and they will only go where they

HON. MR. KAULBACH.

have faith in the captain and in the ship. There is no more independent class of men in the world than the fishermen of the Lower Provinces, and the same may be said of those in the United States, so that any attempt to wet-nurse them in the way my hon. friend is attempting to do is utterly worthless.

HON. MR. ALMON—In case they are not able to find their own vessel, and determine to make to a part of the Atlantic to meet passing steamers, would not a compass be useful to lead them to the track of the steamers?

HON. MR. CARVELL—I am very glad my hon. friend has asked that question, because I think it will be readily understood that an attempt of a dory to seek a steamer in a fog would not likely be successful for the dory or those on board; and as for making for shore, one would suppose from the remarks of the mover that these fishermen were always near shore. The fact is, they are hundreds and hundreds of miles—sometimes 600 or 700 miles away from shore. To talk of a crew of a dory making that distance on a few pounds of bread and a few quarts of water is absurd. It only needs that hon. gentleman understand this matter to reject the Bill as useless.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—No one will question the statement made by the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg about the high intelligence of the fishermen from Nova Scotia, but I think he will do himself a great deal of credit if he takes back the slander that he has thrown upon the factory operatives of this country. He says that the fishermen of this country are not a set of idiots like the factory hands.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I did not say that; I said that they were not hired hands, like factory hands.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I rose to give the hon. gentleman an opportunity of setting himself right, so that such a slander would not go out from this House.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman has misunderstood me; I wanted merely to show the difference

between those fishermen and factory hands. These men are all masters, not hired hands. They sometimes draw lots among themselves as to who shall be their skipper. Every man is his own master, while factory hands, we know, are men entirely under the control of their employers.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—
But not idiots.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Certainly not. I did not say that factory hands are idiots; I say that they are a different class of men from fishermen. You may travel the whole of Canada and find no class of men any where more active, intelligent and plucky than our fishermen are.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It does not appear to me that there has been really any substantial objection made to this Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—There is no necessity for it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That, I suppose, is very much a matter of opinion, and this Bill appeals, at all events, to one's sense of humanity, as I read and hear frequently of losses, of deaths and wrecks that occur from neglect of precautions of the kind provided in this Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—There are no cases of that kind from my county.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have myself frequently read of fishing boats being lost from their schooners during a fog. What my hon. friend from Charlottetown says about the vessel moving is undoubtedly true; but it must be remembered that a sailor in a boat, knowing the general direction in which he left his vessel, could form some idea from the direction of the wind where she would be four or five hours afterwards. I do not pretend to understand the question, but I think the proposition is a good one, and if the fishermen already do these things which this Bill proposes that they shall do I do not see that the Bill can do any harm.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Will my hon. friend pretend to say that those associations of intelligent fishermen are not able to suggest what is necessary for the pre-

servation of their own lives? Are we to consider that they are so regardless of their own lives and their own interests as to leave to others to say how they shall conduct their business and what should be done to protect them? The first instinct of humanity is self-preservation, and is it to be said that the fishermen of the Lower Provinces are so regardless of their own interests as to prosecute their calling so recklessly as to require the intervention of the Legislature?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I regret that I do not feel justified in answering my hon. friend. I have spoken, and I do not feel that I have the right to speak again.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg is perfectly right as to the intelligence of the fishermen of his county, their industry and shrewdness. No one questions those. In moving the second reading of the Bill I referred to the fact that in some instances, in the county of Lunenburg, the provisions of this Bill were complied with already, but it happens that there are other counties in Nova Scotia where possibly the people are not as intelligent and as right-minded as the fishermen of Lunenburg, and the provisions of this Bill are not complied with by them. As the leader of the Government says, if the fishermen of the county of Lunenburg do those things now the passing of the Bill will not hurt them. The hon. gentleman spoke of fishermen being 1,000 miles from shore. He must be presuming on the fact that the great bulk of the hon. gentlemen in this House are not aware of the facts when he makes that statement. The greater part of the fishing is done within 150 miles of shore, and it would be an advantage to have a compass on every fishing boat, so that the crew could find their way to shore if they lost their vessel.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—If my hon. friend thinks that the want of intelligence and the idiocy of the people of Halifax require this legislation let them have it.

The amendment was declared lost on a division.

The Bill was then read the second time.

REGULATION RESPECTING FISHERIES IN NOVA SCOTIA BILL.

REJECTED.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole House on Bill (Q), "An Act to revise certain Regulations respecting Fisheries in Nova Scotia."

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: I hope it will not be considered that the Government are assenting to the passing of this Bill. I have no objection to it taking this stage, but I shall take the opportunity at a future stage of making a motion against it.

HON. MR. POIRIER, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

HON. MR. POWER moved that the Bill be read the third time presently.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I regret that further consideration of this Bill, coupled with a respect for the opinion of so many members of this House the other day, has not satisfied me that this would be a proper Bill for this House to adopt. The main objection which I have to the Bill is not so much to the merits of these rules and regulations, which it seeks to revive and make law, as to the fact that I do not know anything about those rules and regulations. I have not got them before me; I do not know what they prescribe or provide, and I think every hon. gentleman in the House is exactly in the same position as myself in that respect. I object to vote for the Bill, because I should then be voting to make legal rules and regulations of which I know nothing whatever. These rules and regulations, to my mind, do not possess any qualification that recommends them at this moment to the adoption of this House. They have not been in force for fifteen years. They were made fifteen years ago, according to my hon. friend's statement, for I confess my entire ignorance of them, except what I have heard from him. They may or may not be applicable at the present time; they probably are different one from the other; each one, as I understand it, is made for some local settlement, or village, or fishing place, by the people of that particular place, and, therefore, probably they differ one from the other. Now, I am unwilling to vote myself, and I should regret

very much to see this House vote to place on the Statute Book a law to make local rules and regulations which no hon. member of this House could explain or define if he were asked to define them afterwards. It is a species of blind adoption of what may or may not be valid or right that I think no deliberative body ought to sanction. For these reasons, I move that this Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be read the third time this day six months.

HON. MR. MACFARLANE—I supported the motion of my hon. friend from Halifax when he introduced this measure because I thought it might lead to some useful legislation, but on reflection I have become convinced that it is legislating in the dark, that it is attempting to put on the Statute Book what might be most unsafe legislation. According to the statement of the hon. gentleman himself, up to 1875 there were certain regulations adopted by the General Sessions of the peace in Nova Scotia, that then made all the regulations for the fisheries on the coast, which were acted on by the fishermen, and suited the fishermen at that time. But what has happened since? The fishermen have been making new regulations.

HON. MR. POWER—They had no power to make them.

HON. MR. MACFARLANE—No; but they have been making them. They were bound by these new regulations; they were not bound by the old ones. Although the regulations were not legal they were governed by them. Now, what would we be doing by this legislation? We would, by adopting this Bill, be legalizing regulations that were in force fourteen years ago, but which are not acted on to-day—regulations which not only are not law, but not the regulations under which the fishermen are acting now. It would be legislating in the dark, and would tend to damage the fishermen by leading to litigation rather than preventing it. It is a species of legislation that I shall certainly oppose. I shall vote for the motion of the hon. leader of the House.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I must stand by my hon. friend who moved in this matter. I consider those regulations are

better than none at all, and I think they are applicable to our coasts now just as they were before; the necessity for them exists now as it did then. At the time of Confederation we passed them as blindly as we would pass them now. Along the coast each man has a stage in front of his dwelling; another man now, in the absence of these regulations, can come in front of it and cut him off, by setting seines in front of it. As far as the county of Lunenburg is concerned, the regulations we had then are to a large extent now existing, because they do practice the same regulations among themselves, and it was only in the last year or two, when some litigation occurred, that they found there was no law in existence by which the wrongs done by their neighbors could be redressed. Therefore, when my hon. friend asked me to support this Bill I said: "Certainly; legalize those regulations until such time as the Government of the country can deal with the matter."

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—What regulations?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The regulations we had. My hon. friend ought to know what they are. I know what they are in my county.

HON. MR. CARVELL—What are they in your county?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I know how the berths should be drawn, and other matters. I do not speak from my personal knowledge of them, but from what I have learned in litigation. I shall stand by my hon. friend from Halifax.

HON. MR. POWER—I am sorry to find that the Government, having tested the question at the second reading, which is the proper time for the House to decide upon the principle of a Bill, should oppose it at this stage. Bourinot lays down the rule that the principle of a Bill is affirmed at the second reading, and the forty-third rule of this House is to the same effect. Now, the principle of this Bill was adopted at the second reading by a majority of the House; and although I do not mean to say that the House has not the power to throw the Bill out at the third reading, still that is not the usual course. It is a very unusual course, and I am

sorry that in connection with a measure which is as harmless as this the leader of the House should feel it necessary to go against the regular practice of the Senate. The only reason which the hon. gentleman gives is that we are legislating in the dark. As I said before, when the hon. gentleman made that same objection at the second reading, we are continually adopting here Bills which legalize regulations to be made hereafter, and as to which we know nothing at all. Now, we do know something about these regulations. We know that they were made by the sessions to suit the people along the shores of Nova Scotia. We know that this Parliament in 1868 expressly legalized these regulations, and that there has never been any complaint about them. As to difficulties that might arise, the Marine and Fisheries Department have the right whenever they please, if any of these regulations are found objectionable, to repeal the objectionable regulations and make others in their places. The hon. gentleman from Wallace made some reference to the fact that new regulations have been made. Some may have been adopted in the county of Cumberland—I never heard of any in the county of Halifax, and I gather from what my hon. friend from Lunenburg has said that no new regulations have been adopted in his county.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I think the hon. gentleman is decidedly wrong when he says that this House is in the habit of confirming regulations to be made hereafter. We do no such thing. We sometimes empower others to make regulations.

HON. MR. POWER—And we provide that those regulations shall have the force of law. Is not that legalizing them in advance?

HON. MR. VIDAL—No; it is now proposed to deal with regulations the minutiae of which Parliament would not listen to at all. This is a very different thing from giving power to a corporation to make regulations. This Bill calls upon us to make law certain regulations of which we know nothing at all. They may be good or evil, desirable or otherwise. When in 1875 they were repealed nobody protested against it, and nobody has since found

fault with that repeal. There has been no mention of it all these years. It is, moreover, highly probable that during those fifteen years the regulations have been changed in many places.

The Senate divided on the motion, which was adopted by the following vote:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McMillan,
Almon,	Macfarlane,
Archibald,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Bolduc,	Merner,
Botsford,	O'Donohoe,
Carvell,	Ogilvie,
Clemow,	Perley,
Cochrane,	Read (Quinté),
DeBlois,	Reid (Cariboo),
Dever,	Robitaille,
Drummond,	Ross,
Flint,	Smith,
Girard,	Sullivan,
McCallum,	Sutherland,
McKay,	Turner,
McKindsey,	Vidal—32.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Armand,	McClelan,
Grant,	Macdonald (Midland),
Haythorne,	Power,
Kaulbach,	Reesor,
Leonard,	Stevens,
Lewin,	Wark—12.

BANK ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

WITHDRAWN.

The Order of the Day being called—
“Second reading Bill (R), ‘To amend the Bank Act,’ Cap. 120, Revised Statutes,”

HON. MR. CLEMOW said: This is a short Bill to amend the Bank Act with reference to warehousing receipts, extending the privileges and the principle contained in the Act which was passed some years ago to deals, boards and other kinds of manufactured lumber. For some reason or other this privilege was not accorded to the lumber trade, and as it is a very important business in the country it was thought advisable that this privilege should be obtained, because it is desirable to give all the facilities possible to encourage the business. I understand that the Government intend to amend the Bank Act next year; therefore, I ask leave to withdraw the Bill from the consideration of the House.

HON. MR. VIDAL

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The subject matter of the hon. gentleman's Bill has been discussed and considered, and there seems reason to think that the provisions of that portion of the Act which enables advances to be made upon the property remaining in the possession of its owners may be extended to some of the classes of merchandise which my hon. friend refers to; but in point of fact the decennial period when the banks renew their charters comes next year and provision will have to be made for the continuance of the entire banking system. New provisions will be introduced and the whole Act will have to be re-cast next Session, and we all think it will be better not to attempt to patch or alter the Act just now to meet isolated cases, but that it shall be left to be dealt with next year, when the whole banking system of the country will come under review. I think my hon. friend would do well to withdraw the Bill for the present. It has served a good purpose, and I have no doubt that relief will be granted in the direction indicated.

The Bill was withdrawn.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (86), “An Act to incorporate the Saskatchewan Railway and Mining Company.” (Mr. Reid, Cariboo).

Bill (107), “An Act respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.” (Mr. McCallum).

Bill (85) “An Act to incorporate the Moose Jaw and Edmonton Railway Company.” (Mr. McCallum).

SENATE AND HOUSE OF COMMONS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (120), “An Act to amend Chapter 11 of the Revised Statutes, intituled, ‘An Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.’” He said: This is a small Bill, framed for the purpose of serving as a complement to the Bill which we passed two or three days ago. By that measure we simplified the mode by which the moneys required for the contingencies of the House of Commons were dealt with. The plan previously adopted was somewhat circuitous. By the mode which we sanctioned in the Bill which we passed two days ago we provided a more simple system. The commissioners for contingencies now

draw directly on the Finance Department for the amounts required from time to time. There is no fund paid over by the Finance Department in advance to be drawn upon by the Clerk of the House, as formerly. The sums required are drawn when they are required. This Bill simply arranges the machinery for doing that by amending the former Revised Statutes concerning the Senate and House of Commons in that direction.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman would tell us what change, if any, is made in the way in which the Senate money is dealt with.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is very little change made, so far as the Senate is concerned; the principal change is made with the House of Commons. The Clerk of the House draws for the precise sum required by him, and no credit is granted to him in advance in a bank. He draws at once for the sums required from time to time as necessary. Under the former system a separate fund was created, and at the close of the year he paid back any surplus that remained.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

The Senate adjourned at 6 o'clock, p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 4th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE FORESTERS BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

HON. MR. VIDAL, from the Committee on Banking and Commerce, reported Bill (74), "An Act to incorporate the Supreme Court of the Independent Order of Foresters," with certain amendments. He said: It would be well, in presenting this report, that I should call the attention of the House to the alterations that have been made. The important alterations are the striking out of the third clause of the Bill as it

appears in the printed copy, and the substitution of a clause, the main object of which is to grant incorporation to the branches of this society in a proper way. As the Bill came to us, it appeared to confer upon the head office the right to grant powers and privileges to branches which only could be conferred by this Parliament. It was thought desirable that that should be changed, and the branches will now be regulated under the direct authority of this Legislature. The main effect of the next amendment is that when any branch becomes insolvent it shall be optional for the head society to take the assets and assume the liabilities of that branch. As the Bill came to us first it gave power to the society to assume the assets of the branch society, but did not bring them under any liability to discharge the debts. The next amendment is one which I think should be reconsidered. I would recommend my hon. friend who has charge of the Bill to move concurrence in the amendments, at the same time reserving to himself the right to move a further amendment to the fifth clause on the third reading.

HON. MR. REESOR moved concurrence in the amendments.

The motion was agreed to.

DISCRIMINATING DUTIES AGAINST THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

MOTION.

HON. MR. WARK moved:

Resolved, as the opinion of this House, that in view of the fostering care extended by the mother country to her colonies from their infancy, as well as for the favorable terms on which their products have always been admitted into her markets, it would be unjust to the United Kingdom to levy higher duties on goods imported from thence than on goods of the same character imported from any foreign country.

He said: I have for several years been anxious to see the mother country and her colonies drawn more closely together. Some of the most eminent statesmen in England on both sides of politics have taken a deep interest in this subject, though it has been spoken of in very disrespectful terms in some quarters on this side of the Atlantic. I believe it would be in the interest of the whole

Empire that its numerous parts should be drawn more closely together, and that it would be for the interest of the whole world that the Empire should continue a compact body. When I saw this movement commenced for unrestricted reciprocity I felt that it was very likely to give a death blow to any movement in the direction I have long wished to see. I know that those who are engaged in this movement are perfectly sincere in supposing it would have no tendency to loosen the ties that bind the Dominion to the mother country, but I have a right to entertain my opinions on the subject as well as they have, and I believe it would be a death blow to the connection of the Dominion with the Empire if unrestricted reciprocity were carried out. I might say that before I ventured to differ from men with whom I have acted for many years I looked very carefully into the subject in all its bearings. I endeavored to ascertain what the result of unrestricted reciprocity would actually be. I felt that we were deeply indebted to the mother country—too deeply indebted to give any other country an advantage over her in our markets. My resolution therefore refers to the care which has been exercised by the mother country over her colonies, and particularly, as I am better acquainted with it, the fostering care which she has extended to the Province which I made my home sixty-four years ago. My hon. friend in front of me (Mr. Botsford) was born in New Brunswick, and was there twenty years, and was acquainted with twenty years of its history before I began to reside in it; but I am well acquainted with how the mother country dealt with us in our early history. There were a few scattered settlements in New Brunswick when the Loyalists came there in 1783. The Government gave them grants of land and appointed such of them as were qualified to any Government office that might be vacant, but I suppose the salaries at that time were small. The other settlers had gone in to hew their farms out of the wilderness. At the outset, I suppose they had very little to sell and did not know where to go to look for a market. The mother country seeing this, in a most judicious manner, in order to create some little trade in this young country, passed a law levying a duty on foreign products

which New Brunswick could spare in the markets of the British West Indies, and levying a similar duty upon such foreign products as the West Indies could send to us. This very soon caused a profitable trade to spring up between the West Indies and New Brunswick. It was found equally advantageous to both parties, and the policy of the mother country was highly recommended. But England did not stop there. She saw that we had abundance of timber in our forests, and she encouraged us to begin and send them our timber to take the place of what they had been importing from the Baltic and the north of Europe, and they gave us ample protection. That protection first began with 25 shillings a load:

In 1803 the duty imposed was—

On foreign timber.....	£1 8 4	
Colonial.....	3 4	25s.
<hr/>		
In 1825—on foreign.....	£2 15 0	
Colonial.....	10 0	45s.
<hr/>		
In 1833—on foreign.....	£2 15 0	
Colonial.....	10 0	45s.
<hr/>		
In 1845—on foreign.....	£1 5 0	
Colonial.....	1 0	24s.
<hr/>		
Same year—on foreign sawn lumber.....	£1 12 0	
Colonial.....	2 0	30s.

At first this new industry must have been commenced under great disadvantage. The people were without experience, and many of the cattle for teaming had to be imported, but the annual shipments gradually increased till in 1822 the quantity of square timber shipped was 266,450 tons, with a very considerable quantity of sawn lumber. They were building ships as early as 1823. In that year they had built 24 ships, registering 7,000 tons; in 1824 they had increased the number to 60 ships, registering 16,483 tons. In 1825 the number had increased to 108 ships, registering 24,000 tons. These were remarkable efforts for the young colony of 74,000 people—only the population of a moderate sized city. During the next forty years they turned their attention to the building of a better class of vessels, and it was not long until they had vessels afloat in different parts of the world, not only carrying timber, which was not so paying a business, but entering into the carrying trade of the

United Kingdom and outsailing what were then supposed to be the fastest vessels on the Atlantic—the New York liners. We had ships built within that period, one of which made her trip across the Atlantic in a little over thirteen days. She made the quickest trip that ever had been made to Australia, and our ships were very soon navigating every ocean and carrying freights to every port where the ships of the mother country could enter. The last particle of duty that was imposed on any of our products was a shilling a load, when they were about taking off all their duties from imports of that character. Since that time the mother country has not imposed a farthing of duty on anything we have sent there. We have sent home our timber, hewed, sawn and manufactured. We have sent home fat cattle, cheese, butter and our preserved fish, and the latter has become an important industry in the Maritime Provinces. In fact, everything that we have sent has gone into the market duty free. Now it is proposed that the people of a foreign country, to which we are under no obligation, should be admitted into our markets duty free, while we continue to impose heavy duties on goods imported from the mother country. We have never asked a favor from the mother country, but one, that was refused us, and that was the continuation of the protective duty on our timber. They were asked not to have that abolished. We complained of the management of the Crown lands, that they were held and retained as the property of the Crown, and out of their receipts the salaries of the Government and of the public officers were paid. The British Government said: "Give us a civil list and take the management of the lands in your own hands, and whatever you raise beyond the requirements of the civil list you can apply to the uses of the colony;" but they took this precaution, that there should be no jobbery, no favoritism: they laid it down as a rule that every acre of land sold, and every tree sold, should be put up at public auction, after due notice, and that was a safeguard to prevent anything like public robbery. They hardly waited for us to ask for responsible government until they gave it to us. The only thing they refused us was to continue

the protective duty on timber. We took a very gloomy view of the introduction of free trade in the mother country. New Brunswick and Quebec went hand in hand in strong remonstrances, and drew gloomy pictures of the effects which would follow the removal of protection. However, the mother country so far acceded to our request as to keep on a partial protection for some time longer, but it was contrary to the policy of the country to continue to levy a duty on timber, which fell on the consumers, and to take the duty off so many other articles which were necessary for ordinary consumption. However, the disaster that we feared did not follow. Instead of the water mills, as was expected, becoming useless, they were kept working, and were supplemented by a very large number of steam mills, and trade continued as prosperous as before, notwithstanding the gloomy views that our people had taken of it. But it might be asked: Why did they impose duties on our lumber at all? Anyone who lived at home when I was a boy could not be at a loss for an answer. The country was then engaged in a desperate war, and everything had to be taxed. In every house where there was more than one fireplace each one was taxed; if there were more than a certain number of windows they were taxed. Plough horses and ploughmen were not taxed, but the carriage horses, carriages, footmen and coachmen were taxed. In fact, almost everything was taxed on which a tax could be levied. It is interesting to see what our duties were at the time when these enormous taxes prevailed in the mother country. At that time in New Brunswick the duty on a horse was £5, on an ox £1, on a cow 10s.; then on rum it was from 10d. to 1s. per gallon, on brandy 1s. 6d., on wine 1s. and 3d. to 1s. and 6d., and on whiskey 1s.; on shrub 4d., and sugar paid, on one description of it, 2s. and 6d., and another 4s. per cwt. The duty on molasses was a penny a gallon, and on coffee a penny a pound. We were not allowed then to levy duties on tea. It was one of the privileges of the East India Company to have tea imported duty-free. Neither could we levy any duties on British manufactured goods, because it was an instruction to our Governors not to give their assent to

any Bill which imposed a duty on British manufactures.

We asked many years afterwards for permission to levy duties on such manufactures, and the answer was: "No objections, provided not for protection, only for revenue purposes." That was the permission we got at the time. I have thus briefly stated the favors that we received, the care that was exercised over us, the care that the mother country took to find a market for our productions—the West Indies and at home—the care that was taken to encourage our ship-building and all our industries, and the fact that now everything we send to them is admitted duty-free—all leaving a strong impression on my mind that we are under deep obligations to the mother country, and that these obligations ought to be acknowledged. I must now turn to another subject. I have taken a good deal of pains to enquire into this whole subject of unrestricted reciprocity. I have here in my hand a statement of the exports to the United States during the twelve years in which the reciprocity treaty was in operation, and during the years since it terminated to 1887, and the result is as follows:—

UNDER THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Years.	Value.
1855.....	\$ 15,136,734
1856.....	21,310,420
1857.....	22,124,295
1858.....	15,806,579
1859.....	19,727,551
1860.....	23,851,381
1861.....	24,331,335
1862.....	19,829,253
1863.....	24,021,264
1864.....	38,922,015
1865.....	36,176,977
1866.....	54,704,959
	<hr/>
	\$315,942,763
Annual average of 12 years...	\$26,328,564
Total first 9 years.....	\$186,138,812
Average first 9 years.....	\$20,682,090
Average of 21 years.....	\$36,492,157
	<hr/>
	20,682,090
Annual excess of average over 9 years' reciprocity....	\$15,810,067

HON. MR. WARK.

SINCE THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Years.	Value.
1867.....	\$ 33,604,178
1868.....	30,362,221
1869.....	32,090,314
1870.....	41,089,801
1871.....	37,424,351
1872.....	40,951,432
1873.....	43,808,970
1874.....	38,158,004
1875.....	32,763,870
1876.....	30,930,607
1877.....	26,046,090
1878.....	27,971,191
1879.....	27,876,944
1880.....	38,214,340
1881.....	38,041,947
1882.....	51,125,242
1883.....	44,740,876
• 1884.....	39,015,840
1885.....	36,962,541
1886.....	37,496,338
1887.....	37,660,199
	<hr/>
	\$766,335,296
Average for 21 years.....	\$36,492,157
Average of 12 years.....	26,328,564
	<hr/>
Annual excess of average over 12 years of reciprocity	\$10,163,593

Now, it is from these last three years under reciprocity, in which they purchased more than they did in the six preceding years from us, that the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity start. They say, here was a boom which would have lasted as long as we had a reciprocity treaty. And they say if we could get a reciprocity treaty again we would have just the same flourishing times that we had during those three years. Now, I altogether differ from those who assign that as the cause of our large trade of that time. The United States were engaged in a deadly struggle. The year before they entered on that war the census showed a population of 31,335,000 souls. The whole of the South was swept away; they could not go to California for soldiers; the result was that President Lincoln called out from the New England, Middle and Western States during the time of the war no less than 2,653,000 able-bodied men. They were not all called out and engaged in the war at once. The first were called out for only three months, but towards the

last they were called out for three years. Now, a number of those soldiers never returned to their homes; many were in their graves, many in hospitals. Of those that returned, many were maimed and disabled for life and many were broken down in constitution. The result was that such a body of men, who had been formerly producers, became consumers, that the rest of the population became unable to supply the army and supply themselves, and they came across to Canada as the nearest and, I suppose, the cheapest market, and paid high prices for our produce and flooded the country with American silver. I remember seeing a list of prices in a western paper where the prices were given in silver and in bankable funds; so it was really buying with depreciated currency; but to my mind it was to that war and to nothing else that this great rise in prices was due. But it might be well to look at the purchases they were making from us at that time. In 1862 they took only 8,000 horses; in 1863, 8,600; all at once, in 1864, they bought 19,000, and in 1866, 27,800. It went down to 7,000 in 1867, and here is the foundation of the same argument. They say: "See how prices fell and the volume of our exports was reduced when the Reciprocity Treaty terminated!" The same will appear in cattle. In 1862 they bought only 15,700; in 1863, 14,700; in 1864, 21,600; but in 1866, when the great strain of the war came on, they bought 146,600. Next year the number went down to 47,000.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not care to interrupt my hon. friend, but the war was over before 1866.

HON. MR. WARK—The war ended in 1865, but there was a shortage in the crops, and the country did not produce the normal extent of crops until the season of 1867, and consequently the prices kept up. The same remark applies to sheep:

	No.
1862.....	54,941
1863.....	88,141
1864.....	72,208
1866.....	167,633
1867.....	60,482

Now, a good deal is said about the market for barley. Canadian barley did not come to be an article of trade in the early part of the Reciprocity Treaty:

	Barley, Bushles.
1856.....	566,550
1857.....	989,447
1858.....	531,412
1859.....	1,309,638
1860.....	1,766,249
1861.....	2,730,144
1862.....	2,202,447
1863.....	2,347,977
1864.....	2,745,016
1865.....	3,777,014
1866.....	6,355,191
1867.....	6,882,776

So that the Reciprocity Treaty did not cause a very extensive market for barley. It has gone on increasing since reciprocity, and the result is that the brewers and the distillers of the United States just about divide the crop of barley with the brewers and distillers of Canada, and unless the purchasers of barley could induce the brewers and distillers of Canada to advance the price to the extent of the duty, if it were taken off, they would get no more for their barley than they get now. I do not know any country that ever took off duties for the purpose of benefiting a foreign population. It would be a very foolish thing to do. When they repeal duties it is for the benefit of their own people; they expect people will buy goods to a larger extent when they reduce the duty than they have been in the habit of buying before. One would think, to hear the reasons advanced by the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity, that our trade was destroyed by the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty. Instead of that it was the reverse, as the table I have already read to the House shows. Although I have shown that in the three years in which the exports to the United States were abnormally increased, it was in consequence of the condition of affairs in that country, and if we take the nine years before the close of the war we find that the average export amounted to \$20,000,000 a year, while the average from 1867 to 1887 was \$36,000,000 a year, so that there was \$16,000,000 a year of an average greater after the Reciprocity Treaty than during the time of the Reciprocity Treaty; but if we allow them the whole benefit of these three years, which is certainly not a fair basis of comparison, their average was \$16,322,000, and that left still \$10,000,000 in favor of the trade since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. The only inference to be drawn from this, so far as I can

judge, is that the Americans will only buy from us what they cannot produce themselves, and I do not think they will ever do anything more.

HON. MR. POWER—If I understand the hon. gentleman's figures, he undertakes to show that during the Reciprocity Treaty our exports to the United States were less than they were twelve years subsequently. Is that the point?

HON. MR. WARK—Yes; exactly. And I might say more than that, that these prices under the Reciprocity Treaty contained the prices which they paid to us for our wheat, flour and cattle, which they were not going to use at all, but which they exported. I will here refer to what we sold them at that time. From 1853 to 1867, 70 per cent. of all the wheat which was exported from Canada went into the United States and 55 per cent. of all the flour. Now, they did not want to use a bushel of this wheat or a barrel of this flour, yet it is all included in the price of their purchases from us. I went back through the Sessional Papers during the years that the Reciprocity Treaty was in force, and I was perfectly surprised at the number of outlets that the wheat and flour of Canada had then. All that was necessary was to get it over the lines, and then we were done with it. It was a very favored trade with the bankers; they increased their issues largely, as they said, to assist in moving the crops, and they moved them out of the country at the most convenient door that opened to them. They also got a return gold cheque, which was very popular, and these were terms which were very common when I came here first—moving the crops and gold cheques. You may say the Americans took the crops from the barn. They had a commission out of them; their railways and canals had a freight out of them; their merchants that shipped our products had a profit, and the New York liners carried them to market. Now, what has been the result since they raised up their barrier across the frontier? The whole of this trade has taken its course down the St. Lawrence, either by water or by our railways; it has built up Montreal. Look at the fleet of steamers we possess? Look at the facilities we have to send everything to market?

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How could you send your fat cattle to Europe if you had not those vessels? How could you bring immigrants into the country if you had to land them at New York and leave them to fight their way through to Canada? These steamers are not only of vast benefit to Montreal, whose trade has been built up by the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, but to the whole people of Canada. I dare say there are merchants who import their goods more cheaply and satisfactorily now than they could ever have done before our own route was established. There is no doubt the system of bringing immigrants into the country is very much improved. There is no doubt that everything we have to sell finds its way more quickly and directly to market, and our own railways and barges, and our own merchants, are gaining all the time over what they could have done under a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. A good deal has been said about fish. The trade is not of so much importance as one would suppose. Our total export of fish in 1887 was \$7,000,000 worth. Of this only \$2,435,000, went to the American market. From this amount should be deducted \$788,000 worth of fresh fish, which paid no duty. Consequently, \$1,647,000 is all that really would be shut out by any course that the United States might take; but this represents chiefly mackerel, and our neighbors will not do without them. They will give any price for them, up to \$20 or \$25 a barrel, rather than do without them, and duties are not likely to keep them out. Now, when the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity speak of what we ship from Canada to the two different countries they only speak of numbers; they tell us that we ship so many cattle, but they do not state the value of them. In 1886 we sent 60,000 cattle to Great Britain which sold for an average of \$82.21 per head. The same year we sent 25,000 to the United States, and they sold for only \$25 each. We shipped 36,000 sheep to the British market, and they sold for \$8.75 per head, and 313,000 to the United States, and they sold for only \$2.65 per head. These latter were chiefly lambs, and a person came into New Brunswick last fall purchasing lambs. In fact, he was looking for some place where he could slaughter them, and

he stated that in the American cities lambs raised in the Maritime Provinces are so much preferred that they would give any moderate amount in price for them, rather than take the western lambs, which, they say, are inferior. It may be due to our pastures or our climate; I do not know the cause. Lambs are the only live animals which they buy from us for their own use. The Canadian cattle going to the United States bring an average of only \$25 per head; last year they averaged only \$16, and they do not buy these cattle to consume them. They sell a good many of them back to us again. But this is not a question to be discussed in Parliament, where party spirit prevails, but in the Privy Council Chamber. If the Government would just sit down and consider whether it is profitable to let our lean cattle be sent across the line, paying a duty, to be fattened, and then returned to us as beef, on which duty is paid again, and what is not returned to Canada sent to Great Britain to compete with our beef, they might conclude that it would be better in the public interest to admit corn duty free from the United States and fatten our cattle at home, saving the duty going to the United States and the duty on the return to Canada. There is another very important consideration connected with this, and that is the effect which reciprocity would have on our farmers, especially the farmers of Ontario, who are the most anxious to obtain it. When the last reciprocity treaty terminated the United States farmers were laboring under an enormous load of war debt contracted by the different States. We were then the lightest taxed people to be found anywhere, but that state of things is now reversed. I do not know whether they have money enough in the treasury at Washington to pay off half the remainder of their national debt, but they have paid half of the original debt already, and they could pay off the balance in a few years if they chose; but things are changed with us. We have been making great improvements in the country and increasing our public debt and the burden of taxation. And, besides, the real estate of Ontario is mortgaged with the enormous sum of \$182,000,000, secured by loans to the amount of \$82,722,000, bearing interest

yearly. The estimated value of mortgaged property held for sale is \$3,122,690, so that it will be seen that the people are not able to bear this burden without the property being brought into the market; consequently, I think that this enormous debt hanging over them, and the decrease in the burden of the farmers of the United States as compared with twenty years ago, places them in a very different position to compete with each other. Another question is, how the new fiscal arrangements would be managed. We receive now \$22,209,641 in Custom duties. It is proposed, and most of the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity contend, that the \$7,131,000 which we collect on goods from the United States would be all the falling off we would have in our revenue, and that it would be made up by foreign imports. But that is a great mistake. If the manufacturers of the United States have crowded out of their markets English goods, until they import only 10 or 11 shillings per head, will it not in the same way affect her if we admit their products free and charge a duty on British goods? I do not say it would reduce our imports of British goods to 10 or 11 shillings a head, but if it reduced them to 20 shillings a head there would be a great falling off of the revenue. We import goods equal to 32 shillings per head of the population. I have compared the Trade and Navigation Returns to see what the United States were sending to us, and I came to the conclusion that our neighbors were crowding English goods out altogether under the Reciprocity Treaty. I have looked over the returns with a good deal of care, and my conviction is that there would be a wonderful falling off in the imports of Great Britain and a very large deficit in the revenue derived from those imports. I will now submit two statements, showing the trade between the British Empire and the United States in 1887:

IMPORTS from the British Empire into the United States for the year ending June, 1887.

England.....	\$149,253,029
Scotland.....	15,414,059
Ireland.....	9,194,410
Gibraltar.....	5,943
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and P. E. Island.....	4,982,631
Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and N. W. Territories.....	32,206,326
British Columbia.....	2,334,728
Newfoundland and Labrador..	168,307

British West Indies.....	12,282,681
British Guiana.....	2,739,873
British Honduras.....	494,309
British East Indies.....	18,939,090
Hong Kong.....	1,436,481
British Possessions in Africa and Islands.....	1,251,405
British Possessions in Austra- lasia.....	5,432,888
British Possessions, all other.	1,044,307

\$257,180,467

Total to the United States from
all countries 752,490,560

Of which the British Empire furnishes 34 per cent.

Exports from the United States to the British
Empire for the year ending June, 1887.

England.....	\$326,729,751
Scotland.....	29,814,212
Ireland.....	18,106,015
Gibraltar.....	732,055
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and P. E. Island.....	2,453,360
Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and N.-W. Territories.....	30,828,838
British Columbia.....	1,705,912
Newfoundland and Labrador.	1,174,237
British West Indies.....	6,654,657
British Guiana.....	1,469,039
British Honduras.....	424,363
British East Indies.....	5,797,908
Hong Kong.....	14,560,513
British Possessions in Africa and Islands.....	1,471,909
British Possessions in Austral- asia.....	9,668,435
British Possessions, all other..	473,529

Total to the British Empire \$452,064,733

Total from the United States \$752,108,902
Of which to British Empire is
60 per cent.

These statements will show how far the goods of the United States would crowd out English goods if they were allowed to come into our country duty-free, and I have no doubt it would kill our trade with England. For instance, there is the trade in hats and caps, which is about equal from England and the United States. Would any sane man importing goods for sale in Canada import a quantity of goods from the mother country and pay 25 per cent. duty on them, and expect to compete with his neighbor who was importing the same quality of goods, in which the United States are now dividing the markets, duty-free? It would be ruinous to attempt to compete under such circumstances, and the trade would all go to the United States. I see no way that this large deficiency in our revenue, which would not be less than ten or eleven millions of dollars, could be made up except

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by some such plan as that pursued by the mother country. There the Customs duties are low. They raise £19,000,000 sterling on Customs while under the Excise they raise £25,460,000. Then, what do they fall back on for the rest of the revenue? Out of stamps they raise £11,590,000. Are the people of Canada prepared for a stamp duty? It will fall on the business men, and no doubt they are able to pay it, but I think they will squirm under it. Then there is a land tax and house duty, amounting to £2,890,000. Then there is a property and income tax of £15,160,000. From the post office they raise £8,150,000. There is a profit there. For us there would be no profit in it. We would have to come down to stamp duty, and would have to increase our Excise duties and levy a land tax.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—Direct taxation.

HON. MR. POWER—"Blue ruin"

HON. MR. WARK—I was surprised at one thing, and that is that when the convention of Provincial Premiers met at Quebec they came to the conclusion that the Provinces were entitled to further subsidies, and at the same time they passed a resolution in favor of unrestricted reciprocity. If unrestricted reciprocity were established, as they wish, they might as well give up the subsidy question altogether. The Dominion Government might say to them: "If we have to continue the subsidies, or increase them, and you want unrestricted reciprocity, we will have to raise the revenue by direct taxation, and you may as well raise it yourselves in that way, because you know the circumstances of your own people better than we do." We hear a good deal of talk about the necessity of preserving peace with the United States. We want no war with our neighbors and we give them no cause for war. The trade between the United States and the British Empire is a sufficient guarantee that there will be no war. The statements I have quoted of the trade between the two countries are sufficient to prove that.

HON. MR. READ—I have just made up the figures from the Trade and Navigation Returns of the United States for the last year, and I find that England and her

dependencies buy from the United States \$551,618,972, out of \$683,862,194 that they sell. That is a great deal more than 60 per cent. of the total exports.

Hon. Mr. WARK—In 1882 Great Britain purchased breadstuffs from the United States to the amount of \$136,000,000, and of raw cottons she purchased \$151,000,000. In 1886 she purchased from the United States \$101,000,000 of breadstuffs and \$142,000,000 worth of raw cottons. This I look upon as being the best guarantee for peace. I have shown to some extent the obligations which New Brunswick was under to the mother country, and I suppose that it is the same with every other colony—they feel they are under similar obligations, and I do not think that such obligations ought to be treated lightly. There ought to be such a thing as gratitude. I think it was a heathen who said that ingratitude was a crime so great that human laws were insufficient to punish it. We ought to have some gratitude to the mother country. The United States authorities alter their minds very readily, and might alter them at a time when we would not want them to be altered. My opinion is, it is better to let well enough alone. If our neighbors wish to make a fair treaty we will join with them, but if we are to have unrestricted reciprocity with the United States I believe we should have it with the mother country also. If they were to get such a treaty with the United States, how could they ever go to any other country and ask to make a treaty unless on the same terms? Every other country would ask the same terms as those of the most favored nation, and that would bring around free trade with every other country but England. I feel that I have trespassed too long on the patience of the House, but I have endeavored to condense my remarks as much as possible.

Hon. Mr. POWER—I would like to ask the leader of the House, representing the Government in this House, what his opinion is on the expression of opinion set forth in this resolution?

Hon. Mr. ABBOTT—I presume that like every other member of the House I shall have the right to express my own opinion.

Hon. Mr. POWER—I think it rather an unfortunate thing that a resolution of this kind should be put to the House without an expression of opinion from the hon. gentleman who represents the Government here. As the question is to be put, I propose to say a few words, not that I believe any practical end is to be served by the discussion, but because I think this House should hesitate before placing itself in what might prove hereafter a very embarrassing position, by passing this resolution. The House is under a great obligation to the hon. gentleman for the pains he has taken to collect the statistics which he has placed before the House, but which I regret, I, for one, was unable to follow with any degree of satisfaction, from the fact that the hon. gentleman was laboring under a severe cold, and his utterances could not be heard distinctly, and one could not be expected to answer a speech that he was not able to hear.

Hon. Mr. VIDAL—I would suggest to the hon. gentleman to adjourn the debate until the speech of the hon. gentleman from York is printed.

Hon. GENTLEMEN—Go on.

Hon. Mr. POWER—It occurred to me that three-fourths of the hon. gentleman's speech was a speech on the question of unrestricted reciprocity. On that ground the hon. gentleman's speech is open to the same objection that was taken some days ago to the discussion on the Intercolonial Railway—that the notice the hon. gentleman gave did not indicate that we were to have a general discussion on the question of reciprocity, and of course one would not be prepared to deal with a question that was not indicated in the notice. The earlier part of the hon. gentleman's speech, as far as I was able to make it out, appeared to be rather a plea in favor of the doctrines laid down by the Imperial Federationists. As far as I could gather, the hon. gentleman expressed himself in sympathy with the movement for Imperial Federation; and his resolution was, to a certain extent, an expression of the opinion of the Imperial Federationists. It must be remembered that Imperial Federationists do not stop at the point where the hon. gentleman's

resolution ends. They go further, and say that England should discriminate in favor of her colonies; that England ought to continue the fostering care that she bestowed on her colonies in the days when my hon. friend was a young man. This resolution makes no provision for such a policy at all; in fact, England does not now discriminate in favor of the colonies in any way. She treats the colonies as she treats other nations. When England controlled the tariff of her colonies the tariffs of British North America were as the tariffs of England herself—protection tariffs. But since England has given up protection, and since the colonies have been allowed responsible government, they have made their tariffs to suit themselves, so that I do not think we get very much to guide us from the information that the hon. gentleman has given as to the nature of the English tariffs of a great many years ago. The point is, what does England do for us now to lay us under any special obligation? Not much in the matter of tariffs, at any rate. She treats us exactly as she treats the rest of the world; and one reason why there is no hope that the scheme of Imperial Federation will amount to anything is that one of the conditions is that England shall discriminate in favor of British colonies; and it is generally understood that there is not the slightest probability that England will do anything of the sort. I do not propose to follow the hon. gentleman through that part of his speech which dealt with reciprocity, but I wish to call attention to some figures which do not seem to agree with those he has given. I had previously called attention to them here. They are taken from the Statistical Abstract for 1886, published by the Department of Agriculture, and the figures, as I understand, are those of Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson tells us, at page 219 of the Statistical Abstract, that during the five years previous to the Reciprocity Treaty the imports from the United States into all the British Provinces—that is, the average yearly imports—were \$14,310,000. The exports were \$8,000,000, and the total trade was a little over \$22,000,000.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—What year was that?

HON. MR. POWER.

HON. MR. POWER—That was the yearly average for the five years previous to the coming into force of the Reciprocity Treaty. Then he goes on to say that the average annual trade for the six years after the treaty was: imports, \$25,959,000; exports, \$18,751,000, and the total trade \$44,000,000. So that the average imports had risen from \$14,300,000 to \$26,000,000; the exports had risen from \$8,000,000 to \$18,000,000, and the total trade had risen from \$22,000,000 to \$44,000,000. Now, these figures give a totally different impression from those quoted by the hon. gentleman from York.

HON. MR. WARK—It was Mr. Johnson's figures I took. I was just beginning to search around for the figures I wanted when his book came into my hand.

HON. MR. POWER—I gave Mr. Johnson's figures from the Statistical Abstract.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—For different years, though.

HON. MR. POWER—It does not matter whether those figures were made up in 1886 or 1888.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The hon. gentleman from Halifax gave us the figures before reciprocity; the hon. gentleman from York gave us the figures after we got reciprocity.

HON. MR. WARK—Twelve years of reciprocity.

HON. MR. POWER—As to the last six years of the treaty Mr. Johnson says:

"During the remainder of the period, 1861 to 1866, say six years, the total imports averaged \$27,275,809 per annum, the exports \$23,291,501 per annum, and the total trade \$50,567,310, being a decided increase over the preceding years, the increase in the amount of exports being larger than in that of imports."

I merely read those figures to show that the Government, through their own officers, draw different conclusions from the conclusion drawn by the hon. gentleman from York. I think that the greater portion of his speech would have come more appropriately in connection with the motion made by the hon. gentleman from Midland some days ago. It is inadvisable that this House should pass this resolution, and I propose to show why I think so.

It is well known that it is not improbable that before a very long time this House may be called upon to pronounce upon a measure which will have the effect that the hon. gentleman objects to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman says "No," but then he may say "Yes" in a very short time. It is a way hon. gentlemen have. I am not going to trouble the House with long quotations, but I shall refer to a passage in Todd, to which my attention has been drawn, which gives the thing in a very short space. At page 181 of his work on Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies the late Mr. Todd says:

"But on account of the growing importance of Canada, as well before as since Confederation, exceptional privileges have been conceded to her from time to time in respect to fiscal and commercial matters, wherein the interests of Canada were concerned, with freedom to adopt whatever policy might be approved by the Local Legislature, irrespective of the opinion or policy of the Imperial Parliament.

"In 1859, upon the enactment of a new Canadian tariff, certain manufacturers of Sheffield moved the Colonial Secretary (the Duke of Newcastle) to protest against it. Whereupon His Grace wrote a despatch to the Governor General, dated 13th Aug. 1859, upon the subject. In reply, Mr. (now Sir Alexander) Galt, the Canadian Finance Minister, wrote a memorandum, which was transmitted to the Colonial Office by the Governor General, wherein he asserted it to be his duty 'distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry. Her Majesty cannot be advised to disallow such Acts unless her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of affairs of the colony, irrespective of the views of its inhabitants.' This position, he added 'must be maintained by every Canadian Administration.'

"The Imperial Government did not attempt to question the soundness of this position; and they have ever since evinced a disposition to acquiesce in the exercise by the Canadian Parliament of the utmost freedom in the determination of their commercial policy, without regard to its application or agreement with the ideas embodied in the legislation of the mother country or advocated by the Ministers of the Crown in Great Britain."

I find that in a speech delivered by the late Hon. Mr. Brown here in 1875, referring to negotiations which took place in 1869, he said:

"In 1869 formal negotiations were entered into with the American Government, and the project of a treaty was presented for discussion. The negotiations continued from July, 1869, to March, 1870. The project included the cession for a term of years of our fisheries to the United States, the

enlargement and enjoyment of our canals, the free enjoyment of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, the assimilation of our Customs and Excise duties, and some other propositions."

We find that in 1869 Sir John Rose, being then Minister of Finance, this matter came up again. I shall just refer hon. gentlemen to Sessional Paper No. 47 of the Papers for 1869. There we find that Sir John Rose dealt with the question of reciprocity. He was stating the views of this Government in reply to the Duke of Buckingham, and in doing so he spoke in this way:

"The second point, as stated by His Grace, viz.: 'The exclusive favor which substantially or, at all events, apparently might be conferred on the United States if the clause providing for the admission of certain products of that country, in the event of certain contingencies, should come into operation,' and which His Grace is pleased to say 'he fears could not be acceded to,' raises a question of such deep import to the people of this Dominion that the undersigned deems it in his duty to advert to the course which has hitherto been pursued by Her Majesty's Government with reference to it, in the conviction that further consideration will lead His Grace to withdraw the objections which by anticipation have been advanced."

Then Sir John Rose went on in this memorandum to trace the history of the reciprocity question, and of the right of Canada to discriminate, as it is called, against the mother country. He went on to say that the peculiar position in which Canada and the United States stand with regard to each other shows that it is for their mutual interest to exchange certain articles on reciprocal terms, and he adds:

"The truth of this proposition has never been denied by Her Majesty's Government, but, on the contrary, their influence has been invariably exercised in furtherance of such reciprocal arrangements."

He then goes on to say:

"In 1865 the delegates from Canada who visited England for the purpose of conferring with Her Majesty's Government on various important matters affecting the interests of the Dominion were again assured that Sir Frederick Bruce, Her Majesty's Representative at Washington, had received instructions to negotiate for a renewal of the treaty, and to act in concert with the Government of Canada to that end."

showing that the Imperial Government recognized and approved the principle of establishing special trade relations on reciprocal terms between Canada and the United States since 1848. So we have Conservative authority for doing this thing, which the hon. gentleman thinks is very objectionable now, down as far as 1869.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Not for unrestricted reciprocity.

HON. MR. POWER—That is not the question. I am dealing merely with the hon. gentleman's resolution. What I consider somewhat irrelevant matter that he engrafted on it I am not dealing with; I am speaking to his resolution. Let us see whether that has not been good conservative doctrine later than 1869. In 1878 we find the present Prime Minister laying down a resolution carefully drafted and forming the platform of the party—a resolution borrowed largely from one which the hon. gentleman from Quinté division introduced.

HON. MR. READ—Let me tell the hon. gentleman that the Prime Minister drew that resolution.

HON. MR. POWER—We find that that was the policy of the Conservative party laid down by the present Premier in 1878. After some preliminaries it set forth:

“That such a policy, moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbors, so far as the various interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade.

So that in 1878 the leader of the hon. gentleman opposite was in favor of a policy which would have discriminated against the mother country. The trade returns show that the policy adopted in 1879 by the hon. gentlemen opposite does actually discriminate against Great Britain.

HON. MR. ALMON—What has that to do with Mr. Wark's opinion?

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman from York asks us to pass a resolution which, to my mind, condemns the past conduct of both parties, and which ties the hands of Parliament for the future. We find that the tariff adopted by the leaders of hon. gentlemen opposite and supported by those gentlemen discriminates against England. We find that while we import less goods from Great Britain than from the United States those goods pay more duty than the imports from the United States. There is substantial discrimination.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Will the hon. gentleman tell us in what cases?

HON. MR. POWER—There is the fact that we now discriminate against Great Britain.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Would you give us an instance?

HON. MR. POWER—There is no doubt about it. The total value of imports from Great Britain from 1880 to 1885 amounted to \$224,112,000; the duties paid, to \$43,421,000. The total imports from the United States amounted to \$220,850,000, something over \$3,000,000 less, and the duties paid were \$32,839,000, that is, nearly \$11,000,000 less duty. The average rate per cent. on English goods was \$19.37 per \$100, and on American goods \$14.87 per \$100.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Were the goods identical?

HON. MR. POWER—Different goods, certainly, but it is a sort of distinction without a difference. If you so frame your tariff that the goods coming from England pay more duties the effect is about the same as if you levy at different rates on goods coming from the two countries.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—Are not free goods included in the imports from the United States?

HON. MR. POWER—I presume they are.

HON. MR. MACINNES—We import raw cottons largely, and they pay no duty at all.

HON. MR. POWER—We actually discriminate in favor of the United States by allowing a much larger class of goods to come in duty-free from that country than from England. There is the fact that we import more largely from the United States this year than from England, and the smaller quantity coming from England pays a higher duty, and that has been the rule all along.

HON. MR. MACINNES—It is a very unfair way of putting it.

HON. MR. POWER—England must feel, under the circumstances, that Canada is discriminating against her. I have pointed out that down to 1878 the Con-

servative party were in favor of reciprocity, and necessarily of discriminating against England to some extent. We find that they kept what is called the statutory offer on the Statute Book, offering reciprocity in certain articles to the United States if accepted by them. We find that last year the then Minister of Finance, now High Commissioner to England, agreed with the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Bayard, in considering an extensive measure of reciprocal trade between the two countries as being in the interest of the two countries. We know that hon. gentlemen in the other Chamber, who are ready to condemn anything like reciprocity, hurriedly changed their minds and voted in favor of what they had voted against the week before. I feel that whatever hon. gentlemen opposite may be prepared to do—they may be prepared to vote to-day in favor of a resolution which would in advance condemn reciprocity and to-morrow vote in favor of reciprocity—they ought to take a different position from that. I feel that while it may be said that, if we vote to-day in favor of an abstract proposition, when a concrete proposition comes before us we shall not be bound by that declaration of an abstract principle; still I do not think that is a dignified or moral attitude for this House to take. I say if next year the Government bring down, as I hope they will bring down, a measure in favor of reciprocity, this House should not have its hands in any degree tied by an abstract resolution such as this. There is not only the declaration made by the Finance Minister last year in favor of a large measure of reciprocity, but I find that a member of the Ministry, a son of that hon. gentleman, has been expressing the hope that we shall have something in the shape of reciprocity. That hon. gentleman is reported as saying:

“ We have been waiting to see what attitude the United States would adopt towards us. The President's message and the adoption of Hitt's resolution point to the existence of a better feeling towards this country, and we have decided to assume a similar attitude.”

HON. MR. KAULBACH—We have always been in favor of it.

HON. MR. POWER—Hon. gentlemen say one moment that they are in favor of

reciprocity and the next moment that they are opposed to it. It is not easy to deal with chameleons of that description. You look at them to-day and their color is green; to-morrow their color is blue. I am sorry that I should have taken up the time of the House so long, but I cannot help feeling that this is a most impolitic declaration, a declaration which was not called for in any sense. It is true that it does not come within the purview of the rule which declares that abstract resolutions are not parliamentary, it is not quite abstract enough for that; but it is a resolution which is altogether contrary to English precedent and to our usual parliamentary practice. There is not before Parliament now any proposition for granting to a foreign country the privilege of admitting their goods at a lower rate than the goods imported from the United Kingdom. It is not alleged that any such proposition is about being submitted for our consideration: then what object is there in making a declaration like this upon a matter that is not in any sense before us? When a proposition does come before this Parliament to admit goods imported from foreign countries at a lower rate than goods imported from England it will be our duty to deal with the matter. If, then, looking at all the surrounding circumstances, it is felt by this House that it is not in the best interest of Canada that that thing should be done, this House can condemn it; but to undertake to pass a resolution here to-day for which there is no necessity whatever, and which may seriously hamper the action of the House at some future time, or if it does not, ought to hamper our action (because we may be called upon to declare that a good thing which to-day we are declaring a bad thing), is most objectionable; and for that reason I beg to move the following amendment:—

“ That all the words after ‘ that,’ in the first line of the said Resolution, be stricken out, and the following words be substituted therefor: ‘ Whenever a proposal is submitted to Parliament to admit goods imported from any foreign country into Canada, at a lower rate of duty than is charged upon the like goods imported from the United Kingdom, it will be the duty of this House to seriously consider the propriety of such proposal.’ ”

HON. MR. McMILLAN moved that the debate be adjourned until Monday.

HON. MR. POWER—I object to that. The House insisted that I should go on, and I had not the opportunity of hearing what the hon. gentleman who preceded me said. I think it is unfair, immediately after I have spoken, to adjourn the debate.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I cannot see, as a matter of procedure, that there could be any inconvenience, or that the hon. gentleman could be prejudiced by the adjournment. He has spoken to the original resolution, and he would be quite within his right to speak to the amendment afterwards.

The motion was declared carried on a division.

SUPREME AND EXCHEQUER COURTS BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (105), "An Act further to amend the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Acts." He said: My hon. friend raised a question about a point in this Bill, and I have inquired into it. He is under the impression that the entry of the suggestion of death is an unnecessarily troublesome proceeding, and that some more summary one might be adopted. I find on inquiry (and my authority is my colleague, the Minister of Justice) that there is no intricacy or trouble about the suggestion of death. It is done on an *ex parte* petition, and there is no trouble about it at all. It is very similar to the practice, I believe, which prevails elsewhere, so I think we should leave it as it is.

HON. MR. POWER—It is a rather singular thing that, in the Judicature Act, which is largely adapted from the English Act, which was prepared under the supervision of the Minister of Justice when he was on the Bench of Nova Scotia, this procedure has been abolished there, and a simpler procedure adopted instead of it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I presume the object is to have the practice uniform in the Supreme Court.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It is a very simple process.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

WINDING-UP ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called—"Third reading of (Bill 98), 'The Winding-up Act,' Cap. 129, Revised Statutes, as amended,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: With respect to this Bill there was also a question raised at the discussion of it in the Committee of the Whole House, which I promised to look into. I have done so, and I am prepared to suggest to the House an amendment to clause 8, which I think will meet the objection taken as to the danger of making the impairment of capital to the extent of 25 per cent. alone a sufficient reason for winding up the company. I move that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the Whole House for further consideration.

The motion was agreed to.

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The amendment that I propose to move is to the eighth clause, which provides in what way the *prima facie* case for winding up a company may be set aside and the company relieved from the consequences of it. The amendment which I propose is in the following words—"such impairment does not endanger the capacity of the company to pay its debts in full, or that there is a probability that the lost capital will be restored within a year, or within a reasonable time thereafter." The point is, that a company having a large paid-up capital may lose a portion of that capital without in any respect impairing its position towards the public, which is the great point we have to guard against; and therefore I propose to show that if the impairment of its capital does not prevent it being in a perfectly solvent position it shall not be wound up. The amendment is an improvement, and I have to thank my hon. friend for making the suggestion. I move that the clause be amended by striking out the words after "or" in the fourth line down to "founded," and insert the words that I have read.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. MCKINDSEY, from the committee, reported the Bill as amended.

The amendments were concurred in, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

IMPROPER USE OF FIREARMS BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (S), "An Act to amend Chapter 148 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intituled: 'An Act respecting the Improper use of Firearms and other Weapons.'"

(In the Committee).

On the 1st clause,

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) moved that the blank in line 16 be filled in by inserting after the word "exceeding," \$10.

HON. MR. POWER—I think if a man is found in possession of a revolver under circumstances which indicate that he proposes to use it, \$10 is too small a fine.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—If a man takes a revolver in his hand and goes out into a field to practice shooting, would that be considered as having a revolver on his person in violation of the law? If that would be sufficient to subject him to a fine, I think it is going too far.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The language of the clause is the same as it is in the former Act.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think there should be a large discretion left with the magistrate in imposing the fine.

HON. MR. MCKINNES (B. C.)—I would suggest that it should be left to the discretion of the magistrate to make the fine from \$1 up to \$50.

HON. MR. GIRARD—I would suggest that the words "without reasonable cause to fear an assault or other injury to his person, or his family or property," be struck out of the clause, for a person charged with having upon his person a pistol or air-gun will always find some cause for carrying it. So many accidents are happening every day that the carrying of pistols should be entirely prohibited, except under certificate.

HON. MR. HOWLAN—I would ask the leader of this House, where do those penalties go—to the Provincial or to the Federal Treasury?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Of course the penalties go where the general Act respecting fines and penalties sends them; but I do not understand that a penalty imposed as a punishment of crime is to be treated as a matter of revenue, to exclude a Bill from the jurisdiction of this House. Before the Bill passes I will look into it and see; but at present I do not think we had better let it stop us at this stage. I find that the description of the kind of possession that renders a man amenable to justice is exactly the same in this Bill as it is in the Act on our Statute Book. I think it would be scarcely safe to strike out of this section the words suggested by the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface, because a man may be, on occasions, especially in a distant part of the country, in a position where he may be obliged to defend himself without having time to get a certificate for the carrying of a pistol. Of course, it would be for the judge before whom any complaint is made to say whether the cause which the accused might assign for carrying a revolver was a reasonable cause or not. With reference to the fine, I am afraid that the large amount of \$50 might be considered oppressive, especially as convictions may take place before a magistrate. There are many districts of the country where firearms are more habitually carried than in towns and cities, and two magistrates would be difficult to find. I would ask my hon. friend to amend the clause so that one magistrate may dispose of a case, and \$50 would be too large a fine to give one magistrate power to impose. I think if a man carries a revolver unlawfully \$10 is not too much to fine him. Of course, if he does so with intent to commit an offence it comes within a different category. If he carries it for the purpose of doing an unlawful act the punishment is much more severe.

HON. MR. READ—I would suggest that the penalty be not less than \$5 or more than \$25.

HON. MR. HOWLAN—The fine necessarily belongs to the Department of Justice, coming, as it does, under the criminal

law of the Dominion. I do not rise to oppose the Bill, but I merely call the attention of the leader of the Government to this fact, and would ask whether this is the proper way to bring in a Bill of this kind, and if it does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Government, and particularly within the duty of the Minister of Justice to introduce it?

HON. MR. READ—The Bill is merely an amendment to one clause of the existing Act.

HON. MR. HOWLAN—The point I wish to make is whether a private member of this House has the right to bring in a Bill imposing penalties or dealing with the criminal law of the country?

HON. MR. READ—Possibly it is a matter that the Government should have dealt with, but if they have neglected to do it, it should be within the right of a private member.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am quite prepared to admit that it is the duty of the Government, when they find an evil, to provide legislation for it, and this was a subject that was engaging the attention of the Government, and when my hon. friend proposed this Bill, as it was quite *apropos*, and as he was kind enough to consult myself and the Minister of Justice about it, I do not think there is anything incompatible with his duties as a Senator in bringing in a Bill to amend the law of the country. As he has taken a great deal of trouble to introduce it and prepare it, why should he not have the credit for it?

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Would it not be well to make the punishment fine or imprisonment, or both?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If there is any reason to believe that a person is carrying a revolver with the intent to commit a crime, then the penalty is much more severe.

HON. MR. McINNES—I would like to amend sub-clause 2 in so far as British Columbia is concerned, so that one justice of the peace only is required to grant a certificate. Probably in no part of the

HON. MR. GIRARD.

Dominion is there the same necessity for carrying pistols that there is in that Province—more particularly in the mining, lumbering and hunting sections of the Province. Very often men go out prospecting for mines and timber, and are removed from any habitation, hundreds of miles, and are perhaps out two or three weeks or a whole season, and find it not only necessary to carry rifles of approved pattern, but to take pistols along, for fear they may wound some savage animal and be attacked in return.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Should there not be some uniformity in the practice, and a form of oath provided?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—All the procedure is in the Summary Convictions Act.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I cannot understand how, under the Summary Convictions Act, the form of oath to be administered is to be prescribed.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understood my hon. friend to speak of the oath necessary to be made to have a man convicted. I did not understand him to refer to the form of oath necessary to obtain the certificate. The form of oath is given. In the certificate the magistrate says: "So-and-so, having shown sufficient cause upon oath to my satisfaction, I have, &c., &c., granted to the said so-and-so the certificate of exemption, &c."

HON. MR. POWER—It would be a very difficult matter to give a form of oath, because the cases will be so different.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive that it is possible by supposing a case to find fault with almost any law that human ingenuity has yet devised. The difficulty that was perceived—and this suggestion was made by myself to my hon. friend—is that in a sparsely settled country a man who is travelling and requires a certificate could not be expected to apply to a magistrate in every county that he might pass through, and go perhaps largely out of his way to get a certificate to enable him to carry arms. It is hardly to be supposed that a man would avail himself of the privilege of carrying arms in a mining country and desire to continue it when he

comes to an older and more settled part of the country.

HON. MR. POWER—I withdraw my objection.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Suppose the party is a tramp, and a tramp is the sort of man who is likely to carry a pistol, and he says when he is taken up: "I had a certificate for that in a certain place," is it necessary that he should have his certificate with him?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—He cannot escape unless he produces it.

HON. MR. ALMON—I think the hon. gentleman from Quinté division promised to bring in a clause to punish persons selling revolvers to minors. I have seen a good many accidents happen from toy pistols which are sold to children when detonating powder is used. I have known children's eyes to be put out and severe wounds to be inflicted. There is no doubt that a person selling a revolver to a minor should be punished.

The clause was adopted.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Is any fee allowed the magistrate for making out the certificate?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; there is no provision for that.

HON. MR. GIRARD—I think it would be right to prohibit the sale of revolvers to minors under fifteen years of age. So many accidents happen through boys carrying firearms that we must adopt some measure to prevent the practice.

HON. MR. POWER—It seems a hard thing to ask a magistrate or judge to give a certificate without a fee, but on the other hand, unless the fee is a very small one indeed, some justices of the peace would be disposed to grant certificates without much inquiry. I think the fee should be very small—say 25 cents.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think it would be a very dangerous thing to allow a fee. It might induce many a magistrate to issue certificates without much investigation.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Does the hon. member propose to adopt the amendment

suggested by the junior member from Halifax (Mr. Almon)? From my own knowledge I am satisfied that more accidents occur among boys under 18 years of age than among grown-up people, and I think that the sale of firearms to minors should be prohibited.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There are one or two points in connection with that on which I think legislation might be useful. I think it is the intention of the Minister of Justice to deal with the subject this Session if possible. There are some difficulties about it which I need not go into at present, which require that the clause should be carefully drawn, and some precautions necessary to be taken with regard to dealers in such weapons. The whole question can be taken up and dealt with separately.

HON. MR. REESOR—Every person who sells pistols should keep a register, giving the name of every one to whom a pistol is sold.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is precisely what I had in view when I spoke just now. That and other subjects which have been thought of, and which require care in the preparation of a Bill, should be dealt with separately.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington), from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

MANITOBA AND SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called—
"Consideration of amendments proposed by the Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors to Bill (61), 'Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway Company,'"

HON. MR. DICKEY said: The amendments to the Bill are rendered necessary from the fact that the promoters of it appear to have had no reference at all to the circumstance of power been given by the General Railway Act to build all these bridges. The Bill came to us with half-a-dozen clauses about bridges which were unnecessary, and unless we struck them out we would have to go back to the days

when we had no model Bill at all. The amendments were adopted at the suggestion of the sub-committee, headed by the leader of the House, and were accepted by the promoters of the Bill.

HON. MR. GIRARD moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

NORTH-WESTERN JUNCTION AND LAKE OF THE WOODS RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called—
“Consideration of amendments proposed by the Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors to Bill (73), ‘North-Western Junction and Lake of the Woods Railway Company.’”

HON. MR. DICKEY said: These amendments were made in the same manner and under similar circumstances to the amendments made to the former Bill.

HON. MR. CLEMOW moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

MASSAWIPPI JUNCTION RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being read—“Consideration of amendments proposed by the Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors to Bill (37), ‘Massawippi Junction Railway Company.’”

HON. MR. DICKEY said: The amendments are to the last clause, which asked for an extension of time for commencing and completing the work. The clause as it came from the House of Commons did not answer that purpose at all, because it professed to be an amendment to the original Act. It was to be commenced two years from the passing of the original Act, but the time which the promoters want is two years from the passing of this Bill. The amendment was a necessary one.

HON. MR. STEVENS moved that the amendments be concurred in.

HON. MR. DICKEY.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (114), “An Act to incorporate the Title and Mortgage Guarantee Company of Canada.” (Mr. Dickey.)

The Senate adjourned at 6:07 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 5th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (99), “An Act to incorporate the Three Rivers and Western Railway Company.” (Mr. Clemow).

Bill (107), “An Act respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.” (Mr. Perley).

SASKATCHEWAN RAILWAY AND MINING CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (86), “An Act to incorporate the Saskatchewan Railway and Mining Company,” with an amendment. He said: The amendment occurs in the clause which enables these parties to build piers and docks, and it is for the protection of the public to enact that none of those works shall be such as to cause any obstruction to or impede the free navigation of any navigable water.

HON. MR. REID (Cariboo), moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

MOOSE JAW AND EDMONTON RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. DICKEY, from the Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbors, reported Bill (85), "An Act to incorporate the Moose Jaw and Edmonton Railway Company," with two amendments. He said: The amendments simply relate to the striking out of words containing some provisions with respect to piers, and to the tolls on piers and docks, which are quite unnecessary, inasmuch as they are regulated by the General Railway Act, and they were struck out without any opposition being made to it.

HON. MR. PERLEY moved that the amendments be concurred in.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

SECOND READING.

Bill (114), "An Act to incorporate the Title and Mortgage Guarantee Company of Canada." (Mr. Dickey).

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (80), "An Act to incorporate the Dominion Mineral Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (81), "An Act to incorporate the Canadian Superphosphate Company." (Mr. Scott).

THE FORESTERS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called for the third reading of Bill (74), "An Act to incorporate the Supreme Court of the Independent Order of Foresters,"

HON. MR. REESOR moved that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be amended by inserting after the word "purpose," in line 18 of page 3, the following:—"The property of each branch only shall be liable for the debts and engagements of such branch."

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. REESOR moved the third reading of the Bill, as amended.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

SAFETY OF FISHERMEN BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (T), "An Act for better securing the Safety of certain Fishermen."

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that clause 2 be amended by adding the following: "And it shall be the duty of the owner of such vessel to supply her at the commencement of her voyage with as many serviceable compasses as she carries boats, in addition to the vessel's compass, and also with the necessary utensils for holding water." He said: The clause as it stands imposes a penalty upon the owner for an offence which may be committed by the master. This amendment requires the owner to furnish his vessel with the articles specified.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. POWER moved to amend the first clause by substituting two quarts for one quart of drinking water.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved to amend the second clause by adding the following at the beginning of it: "the owner of any vessel who makes default in the performance of the duty imposed upon him by the last preceding section."

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE, from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

THIRD READING.

Bill (120), "An Act to amend Chap. 11 of the Revised Statutes, intituled, 'An Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons,'" was reported from Committee of the Whole without amendment, read the third time, and passed.

The Senate adjourned at 4:05 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 8th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (T), "An Act for better securing the Safety of certain Fishermen." (Mr. Power).

Bill (79), "An Act to incorporate the Union Railway Company." (Mr. Clemow).

DISCRIMINATING DUTIES AGAINST THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

INQUIRY.

The Order of the Day being called—

Resuming ajourned debate on the Honorable Mr. Wark's motion viz. :—

"To resolve as the opinion of this House. that in view of the fostering care extended by the mother country to her colonies from their infancy, as well as for the favorable terms on which their products have always been admitted into her markets, it would be unjust to the United Kingdom to levy higher duties on goods imported from thence than on goods of the same character imported from any foreign country." And the Honorable Mr. Power's motion in amendment, thereto, viz. : "That all the words after 'that,' in the first line of the said resolution, be stricken out, and the following words substituted therefor: 'Whenever a proposal is submitted to Parliament to admit goods imported from any foreign country into Canada, at a lower rate of duty than is charged upon the like goods imported from the United Kingdom, it will be the duty of this House to seriously consider the propriety of such proposal.'"

HON. MR. POWER said: In my hurry the other evening I omitted to insert three or four words in this amendment. I mentioned the matter to the hon. leader of the House, and he said he would have no objection to my inserting them now. I move to insert after the words "United Kingdom," in the second to last line of my amendment, the following: "then, and not before."

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—With the permission of my hon. friend who has the floor, I should like to say a word on one or two of the propositions advanced by my hon.

friend on Thursday last when this motion was under discussion, in respect of the position that this country has heretofore held towards Great Britain, with regard to differential duties against imports from that country. My hon. friend insisted that the whole of our legislation with regard to reciprocity rested upon the theory that in admitting goods free from the United States we did create differential duties against Great Britain; and moreover, he said that at this moment our general tariff system imposed differential duties against the mother country. Now I just want to make a remark or two upon those two propositions. With regard to the goods which formerly were admitted to reciprocity of trade between the two countries, it is true that under the treaty of 1854 they were goods the growth and produce of the United States, but any hon. gentleman on looking over the list of those goods will perceive that by admitting them free we created no preference as against England in favor of the United States, for the simple reason that these were goods that were not the subjects of importations from England, and that matter received full consideration at the hands of the Government here and the Imperial authorities at the time the measure was passed, and afterwards when the same subject came under discussion in 1868, the period that my hon. friend opposite referred to. The more recent legislation does not even restrict freedom of imports of those goods to the United States. It declares that these goods are absolutely free, without any distinction as to the place where they are raised. The Act passed last Session, which was to some extent a modification of the Act which has been standing on our Statute Book for a long time—51 Vic. cap. 15—declared that these goods might be imported into Canada free of duty, not necessarily goods from the United States, but the same goods coming from any country were imported into Canada free of duty. Under these circumstances, I do not think that any argument could be drawn from those treaties and acts in favor of universal reciprocity which would deal with goods imported from England, and which will constantly be imported from England, unless we practically prohibit their importation

by levying duties on them and admitting free the same goods from other countries, more especially the United States. The other point which my hon. friend made does not, I think, require any argument. It only needs to be pointed out to the House in order that its nature may be appreciated. My hon. friend says we differentiate now against England, because the proportion of duty which we collect on the goods that we import from England, as to their value, is greater than the proportion of duty that we collect on goods imported from the United States, calculated on their value. As these goods are different goods, and the duty on every item is the same, whether the importation is from one country or from the other, I do not see how my hon. friend establishes his argument. A differential duty, as I understand it, is placing a less duty on certain articles imported from one country than the duty imposed on the same articles coming from another country. Now, in this case the same duty is imposed on the same article, whether it comes from the United States or from England, and it is a mere incident of the trade that the goods which we import from England have a larger rate of duty, on the whole, imposed on them than the rate of duty that is paid on the goods that we happen to import from the United States, on the whole. There is, therefore, no question at all of any differential duty under the present system in the relations between Canada and the United States and Canada and Great Britain, respectively. That is all I desire to say on those two points. I have already spoken at much greater length than I ought to speak on this subject of trade relations, and unless something should occur to lead me to address the House again on the subject it is not my intention to do so, at all events at any length. Having said this much on my hon. friend's motion in amendment to the resolution of my hon. friend from York, and not being satisfied with my hon. friend's exposition of the trade theory, I propose to submit to the House, as a sub-amendment to my hon. friend's amendment, a different one, which I trust will meet with the approbation of this House; and, like my hon. friend, I trust that the House will bear with me if at a future

stage I should consider it necessary to trespass on their time in saying something upon the subject. I move:

That all the words in the said amendment be struck out and the following substituted therefor: "Any measure for securing reciprocity of trade with any foreign country, in such of the products of such country as may be freely interchanged with advantage to both, would receive the favorable consideration of this House, but that, in the opinion of this House, it would not be for the interest of this country, nor in consonance with the sentiments of its people, to establish entire reciprocity of trade with any foreign nation upon any conditions that would restrict, with regard to others, entire freedom of action by this country in protecting its own industries, in dealing with its own sources of revenue, and in regulating its own foreign trade, or that would necessitate the adoption of duties discriminating against imports from other nations, and more especially from the mother country."

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The resolution of my hon. friend from Fredericton is one of considerable importance to Canada, and the Senate is much indebted to the hon. gentleman for its introduction, particularly as he is advanced in years in the active political service of his country, and anything he may say to us, from his long experience and his knowledge of public affairs, will be, I am sure, instructive to the younger members of the Senate. At a time like the present, when the questions of commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity are used to decoy the people of this country into the idea that their condition would be improved if they were to enter into more intimate commercial relations with the United States—particularly the farmers of the country—the resolution of my hon. friend deserves the important consideration of this House, and will be deemed worthy of our best attention. I am sure, moreover, that it will be received with pleasure by all loyal and true Canadians. It may be a means of arresting any uneasiness that may exist in the minds of those who are interested in the different industries of the country, because it will give them to understand that amongst the Liberal party there are those who do not sympathize with the platform which some of the leaders of that party are laying down—that is, the policy of unrestricted reciprocity or more intimate trade relations with the United States. My hon. friend from Halifax stated the other day that as there was no proposition for reciprocity before Parlia-

ment at present the resolution of my hon. friend from Fredericton was premature, and should not be considered. I cannot understand how the hon. gentleman has come to that conclusion, for leading newspapers in this country and leaders of public opinion, from their own standpoint, have been agitating the question for a long time, and they made an attempt last year, as well as this year, to place their views before Parliament and were defeated on both occasions. This being the case, I cannot at all agree with my hon. friend that this is a matter that ought not to be considered in this House. If the hon. gentleman who submitted the proposition to the other House had succeeded there it would be in reality now before the Senate, and we would have to discuss it from that standpoint; consequently it is not a dead issue; it is a live issue, and quite as much so as the hon. gentleman who advances the idea can make it. I have been a little anticipated by the leader of the House upon another point, and that is the statement of the hon. gentleman from Halifax that the views which were advanced by the right hon. leader of the Conservative party in 1878 were such as would discriminate against England; but in turning up the Act passed in 1879 we find that the goods that were allowed to come in from the United States free, in case the United States would agree to accept similar articles from us on the same condition, were specified. If I understand the meaning of the word discrimination, it is that we would accept goods from the United States on other terms than we would accept them on from England. The goods that we offered to accept in the Act, 42 Vic., are specified as follows:—

“Animals of all kinds, green fruit, hay, straw, bran, seeds of all kinds, vegetables (including potatoes and other roots), plants, trees and shrubs, coal and coke, salt, hops, wheat, peas and beans, barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, buckwheat and all other grain, flour of wheat and flour of rye, Indian meal and oatmeal, and flour or meal of any other grain, butter, cheese, fish (salted or smoked) and lumber, may be imported into Canada free of duty, or at a less rate of duty than is provided by this Act, upon proclamation of the Governor-in-Council, which may be issued whenever it appears to his satisfaction that similar articles from Canada may be imported into the United States free of duty, or at a rate of duty not exceeding that payable on the same under such proclamation when imported into Canada.”

HON. MR. McMILLAN.

These are the natural products of the country, and in these we cannot discriminate against England, because none of those articles are imported from England into this country.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Are there no animals imported from England?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—There are, but when they are imported it is for breeding purposes, and they are admitted duty free. Then as to anthracite coal, I will tell my hon. friend how much was imported from England in 1888—\$4,292 worth. It cannot be discrimination against England to allow these articles to come into this country free. Hon. gentlemen will notice that there is not a single manufactured article mentioned in the list, and if we were discriminating on manufactures in favor of the United States as against England she would assert her right not to allow any of her colonies to discriminate against her. With regard to the argument of my hon. friend from Halifax, that we are charging 20 per cent. on goods coming from England, while 14½ per cent. is the duty charged against the United States, the leader of the House has answered this much better than I can. It is misleading, because we cannot discriminate in these articles against England. A man is not discriminating against “B” because he buys from “A;” he would be discriminating against “B” if he were to buy without a bounty from “A” and make “B” pay a bounty for the privilege of buying from him. A man has a right to purchase from whom he likes, and so have countries. We have the right to import certain goods from the United States free, but the National Policy tariff imposes the same duty upon all goods coming from the United States, that it does on the same class of goods coming from every other country in the world. It makes no distinction. To ascertain the amount of goods on the free list that comes from the United States as compared with those that come from England, I took the trouble to look over the Trade and Navigation Returns for last year. I did not go back for five years, as the hon. gentleman from Halifax did, but I took last year’s returns as the criterion of the trade with

regard to that country, and I find that from Great Britain we imported last year of free goods only \$8,000,605, and from the United States we imported \$21,364,168 of free goods. These are made up of anthracite coal and cottons, principally. There were \$5,000,000 of coal alone; \$8,000,000 on cotton; tobacco, \$1,500,000; raw hides, \$1,250,000. In this way I can make up \$10,000,000 in these items alone. We do not import these articles from England; we import them from the United States, because our neighbors produce them, and they are convenient, and consequently they swell up the aggregate importation, and thereby apparently reduce the percentage of duty, making it appear 14½ per cent. against the United States as compared with 20 per cent. against England. It is an unfair way of putting it, and I do not think that my hon. friend from Halifax could have seriously considered the question or he would not have laid himself open to be met in that way.

Now, with regard to this question of unrestricted reciprocity, there are various things to be considered. If the United States were honest in their desire to enter into reciprocity with Canada a bargain, if I may use the expression—and an open offer has been upon our Statute Book for years for acceptance by them. And more than that: in 1874, when the late Hon. George Brown offered to make a treaty with the United States, he went further than we ever did before, but they were not willing to accept it. Mr. Hitt comes now and proposes a treaty with Canada. But what does he want? He wants what no true Canadian is willing to give. He wants free trade, not only in the natural products of Canada, but free trade with Canada in every article that we have to dispose of, whether of manufactured or natural products. What does that mean? It means the ultimate destruction of the manufacturing industries of this country, and that is the sole aim and object of Mr. Hitt's proposition. He "hits" the thing here a little bit: although he does not "hit" it in so many words, it is very well implied, and if you read between the lines the meaning is quite plain. He says:

"It is true the present Administration of the Dominion is Tory, and hostile to commercial union with us. Sir John A. Macdonald, the Prime

Minister and real ruler, desires to bind Canada as closely in trade as in political connection with Great Britain, and every appliance of power and appeal to sentiment have been used against this movement."

He knows the Tories are against this movement. He then goes on to tell us what it means.

HON. MR. POWER—It shows how little he knows about Sir John.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—We know a good deal about Sir John, and knowing so much about him we take his opinion on these matters. Mr. Hitt continues:

"What is commercial union with Canada? It means, as set out in this resolution, the adoption by both countries of precisely the same tariff of duties or taxes to be levied upon goods coming from abroad, abolishing altogether our line of Customs houses on the north, by which we collect tariff duties on goods coming from Canada, and leaving intercourse as unrestricted between this country and Canada as it is between the States. The line of Customs houses would follow the sea, and include both countries. The internal revenue systems of taxes on liquors and tobacco in the two countries would also have to be made uniform in both countries. The proceeds of taxation thus collected would be equitably divided, and the fairest way would seem to be in proportion to population."

But he goes a little further, and says:

"Undoubtedly Canadians, in being subjected to the same tariff with us, would in all fairness be consulted as to its provisions; but we, sixty millions would, in all fairness, generally have the prevailing voice in determining what the rates should be."

But, hon. gentlemen, we do not want to give up our present freedom, the freedom which our forefathers for years fought to establish—free and independent institutions in this country under responsible government—to become a partner in a commercial partnership of one in twelve, where the United States would regulate our taxes.

HON. MR. POWER—No one here wants to do that.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Did a good Tory Government ever offer to accommodate itself and its policy in this country to the fiscal policy of the United States, so far as the Inland Revenue taxes were concerned?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I do not know that they did.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I shall undertake to enlighten my hon. friend on that point.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—That is with regard to internal revenue?

HON. MR. SCOTT—The hon. gentleman spoke about tobacco, and whisky, and beer.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—That is what Mr. Hitt says. Now, I will tell you what Mr. Blaine, who is the power behind the throne there, says. Mr. Blaine said (and no one would deny his influence there at present) in one of his addresses during the election campaign for the Presidency:

“We had nothing against Canada. They do as they have a right to do, and we neither disputed their right nor envied their position.”

HON. MR. McCALLUM—They are very kind.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Yes; Blaine continued:

“If they come with us they can have what we have, but it is a wrong against the rights of American citizens that millions of men who owe the United States no allegiance, who are not of us, but choose to be foreign to us, shall have the same privileges of trade under our flag that we have.”

Now, you can easily infer from that upon what conditions Mr. Blaine wants us. If we embrace the American flag Mr. Blaine is willing to accept us to-morrow. Then, what did Senator Sherman say, as reported in the Senate last fall:

“I say, therefore, that anything whatever that would tend to promote free commercial intercourse between these countries—yea, anything that will tend to produce a union of Canada with the United States of America—will meet my most hearty support. * * * Yes, sir, I want Canada to be part of the United States. Within ten years from this time, in my judgment, the Dominion of Canada will be represented in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain or in the Congress of the United States. And I say to Senators on both sides that I hope that that representation will be in the Congress of the United States, and that those countries up there, so interesting to us and bound to us by so many ties, may be part of the great English-speaking Republic of America, dominating this whole continent, with the exception of that part which is peopled by the Spanish and Mexican races.”

HON. MR. McCALLUM—You do not hope that?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—No; I do not hope it. I will go a little further. The Boston *Transcript*, a very important paper,

and one that reflects public opinion there to a very great extent, says:

“It is pretty evident that questions appertaining to the fisheries and the transcontinental trade of the United States cannot long remain unsettled without producing a state of hostility. When they are definitely adjusted it must be on grounds that would, so far as trade and commerce are affected, bring Canada within the American Union.”

The New York *Sun*, another important newspaper in the United States, says:

“But the sure and complete remedy for such a state of things is not reciprocity; it is annexation. Canada cannot stand up in competition with the United States, but must be yoked with us to share our progress and prosperity. This is not Sir Richard’s view, indeed; but it is the view of common sense. * * * It is no wonder that Sir Richard is alarmed for the future of Canada. But he refuses to accept the only possible remedy for the dry rot from which it is suffering. ‘I am no annexationist,’ he says, ‘and I do not propose to become one.’ Therefore, he merely goes to the extent of advocating reciprocity of trade with us, in the vain hope of saving his country from inevitable decay. Canada must come into the American Union, or starve out in the cold.”

A leading public man in the United States, Mr. David A. Wells, says:

“Well, my opinion is that if it (unrestricted reciprocity) were carried out, the relations between the two countries would, before a great while, become so closely interwoven and so identical that gradually the union would glide into a political one. Annexation would follow.”

Now, there are no uncertain sounds about the opinions of these leading newspapers and public men on the other side of the line. They understand very well what is meant by unrestricted reciprocity. As I said before, they could have had reciprocity with Canada ever since Confederation. In the Act of 1867 there is a clause which contains a free list providing for commercial trade relations with the United States, yet they have never accepted it. They do not want to accept free trade relations with us in natural products at all. What they want is unrestricted reciprocity—a reciprocity of such a character that they can send the products of their manufacturing establishments over here and break down ours; then when they have totally destroyed our manufactory they would abrogate the treaty, as they did before, and we would then waken up to the knowledge that we had made a mistake, and would have to begin again at the bottom of the ladder in order to bring this country up

to the position which it occupies to-day. As Canadians we are willing to live along side of the United States and, as good neighbors, are willing to trade with them, as we do with other people, but we are not willing to allow them to get the better of us in any treaty; and this is the reason why we have not been able to effect a great many of the treaties that were undertaken for some years past. The right hon. the leader of the House of Commons, and the Government of which he is the head, have from the very fact that they have specified certain goods that we are willing to admit free, recognized the principle that the admission of other goods than those mentioned in the free list would be discriminating against Great Britain. The Hon. George Brown went almost as far as to enter into negotiations with the United States to admit some of their manufactures free, but he found out that the moment that was done England would interfere, and he was willing that England should send some of her manufactures on the same basis. What did Hon. Mr. Mackenzie say:

"That he and his colleagues were strongly opposed to discrimination against English goods, and took special pains to provide against even the appearance of it."

The Hon. George Brown, in 1875, stated in this House:

"I come now to the objections which have been urged against the treaty from such quarters as entitle them to a formal answer. The first of these is the allegation that the treaty discriminated against Great Britain in favor of the United States. Nothing could be more unfounded than this. It was perfectly understood from the opening of the negotiations that no article could be free from duty in regard to the United States that was not also free with regard to Great Britain, and nothing else was ever contemplated for a moment."

The principle has been well recognized all along that Great Britain cannot allow her colonies to discriminate against her. That is one of the unwritten understandings between herself and her colonies, and it cannot be violated. Now, let us look a little at the history of the United States itself; under the fostering influences of protection that country has rapidly developed its resources. Her tariff has been increased from time to time, as the circumstances of the country required it; she had no free trade relations, either in whole or in part, with any

other country, but raised herself to the pre-eminent position which she occupies to-day by a policy of protection. Why cannot we, with a larger population than the United States contained when it inaugurated that policy, with our natural advantages—with our magnificent railways and water communications and undeveloped wealth—why cannot we build up our Dominion as the United States built up their country?

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—Give us the population and the markets.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—We have as large a population as they had when they commenced. I am willing to take a lesson from our neighbors. I say, let us adopt a fiscal policy similar to that which has proven so successful in their case, and then we will build up a country not second to theirs in importance. We have a large area of country, greater advantages, so far as undeveloped wealth is concerned, than they have, and if we are only true to ourselves we can become a greater nation than they are. We have started in that direction with our National Policy. We are laying the foundation for a great country by means of that policy, and we should see that nothing is done to mar the progress and prosperity which we are realizing under its protecting influence. If we are disposed to change our fiscal policy we cannot attain any great degree of prosperity. Any uncertainty as to the measure of protection which our tariff affords will have its effect upon the capital invested in our industries. If the security of our manufacturing industries is made dependent upon the whim of a party they cannot thrive. Our industries must be protected and guarded in their infancy, as we would guard and protect the mind of a growing child, and if this policy is pursued those who come after us will see the Dominion in a position which will enable us to cope with the United States. Under the National Policy the farming class of our people really received the lion's share of protection. Coming from a rural section of the country, and having, if I may call it, a large farming constituency, I hold that the farmers are receiving the largest benefits from it. Before the National Policy

was introduced we imported in 1874 \$32,000,000 worth of food and drink for home consumption; in 1887 we imported only \$13,000,000 worth, a difference of nearly \$20,000,000, which must have gone to the benefit and advantage of our farming population. More than that: our manufacturing establishments are to be found in every part of the Dominion, nearly at the door of every farmer; they furnish him a market for the rougher products of his farm, which will not bear transportation to a distant market. After disposing of the wheat and other cereals that we consume at home, where is the market that we seek? The English market, I answer, where, with our present facilities of transportation, we can send our products as readily and almost as cheaply as we can to the United States. But deprive our farmers of the advantages which they possess of a home market, by the admission of the farm and manufactured products from the United States, and where will they find their markets? They will be obliged to seek purchasers in an alien market, where they will be met by and have to compete with the producers of the very same articles in that country. The very best proof that we can have of the progress that this country has made since the National Policy was adopted is to be found in the figures, which indicate the increased trade and commerce of this country. The discounts given by the chartered banks in 1879, the first year after the adoption of the National Policy, were \$122,000,000; in 1887 they amounted to \$169,000,000. The percentage of over-due notes in the chartered banks in 1879 was, for every \$100, 4-90; and in 1887 it was only 1-61. Business failures in Canada, another important barometer of trade, were, in 1879, \$29,000,000; in 1887 they amounted to only \$16,000,000. Bank notes in circulation in 1879, \$18,000,000, and \$10,000,000 in Dominion notes. In 1887 there were \$30,000,000 in bank notes and \$15,000,000 in Dominion notes. The deposits by the people in the chartered banks of Canada in 1879 were \$63,000,000; in 1887 they amounted to \$107,000,000. That is what they call "blue ruin." The deposits of the people in the savings banks and loan societies in 1879 were \$9,000,000; in 1887, \$17,000,000.

HON. MR. McMILLAN.

Deposits in the savings banks of Canada amounted to \$14,000,000; in 1887 they were \$51,000,000. I could follow the list, but I do not think it is necessary.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—The country is safe.

HON. MR. McMILLAN — Yes; but apart from these facts, there is another matter that we should consider, and I think that we can establish beyond a doubt that even as we stand to-day the better market for us is England. The following is a careful tabulated list of the exports of products of the farms of Canada (home production), including agricultural products and animals and their products, since Confederation :

YEAR.	Total Exports of Products of Canada's Farms.	Exports of Canada's Farms sent to Great Britain.	Exports of Canada's Farms sent to United States.
	\$	\$	\$
1868	19,764,222	6,780,357	11,930,691
1869	20,952,109	6,963,723	12,924,046
1870	25,813,780	9,723,879	14,927,313
1871	22,462,520	8,083,338	13,213,566
1872	26,084,858	10,529,086	14,117,844
1873	29,238,357	14,701,947	13,000,244
1874	34,269,311	18,364,139	14,450,035
1875	29,958,865	15,459,692	13,097,985
1876	34,754,234	16,281,730	16,641,401
1877	28,909,993	14,765,991	12,630,957
1878	32,027,612	19,147,608	11,460,144
1879	33,729,048	19,168,773	13,144,385
1880	39,901,905	23,746,084	14,103,783
1881	42,628,546	24,818,854	16,178,318
1882	51,492,471	24,609,551	24,783,186
1883	43,102,861	22,632,934	18,556,867
1884	35,343,951	20,044,131	13,870,813
1885	39,855,397	23,482,658	15,181,903
1886	39,718,212	22,543,936	15,495,783
1887	43,073,172	25,753,882	15,257,617
1888	40,155,657	20,863,712	17,902,021

Since 1873, when our exports of these farm products to England became about equal to our exports of the same articles to the United States, the annual average has been about \$20,000,000 to England, and about \$12,500,000 to the United States. Now, what is striking about this list is, that our exports increased from \$6,000,000 to \$20,000,000 and \$25,000,000 since Confederation to Great Britain, while our trade with the United States, which begins with \$11,000,000, has increased but little, and

has fluctuated from year to year. It was even lower than \$11,000,000 since then, but it never increased beyond \$2,000,000.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—There was no duty in one country and there was in the other.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—That is true, but at the same time they (the United States) wanted our natural products only at certain times, as is shown by the fluctuations in the volume of trade. It runs at about \$11,000,000, and only one year it reached \$24,000,000, and one naturally asks why is that? Because the people of the United States only look for our products when there is a shortage in their own country. For instance, in 1887 they bought potatoes from us to the value of \$329,339, while in 1882 they bought \$2,130,000 worth. There had been a failure in the crop, and they could not do without our potatoes. Other years we find they buy more largely of our sheep, or cattle, or hides, or barley. The year in which I find that \$24,000,000 worth of farm products was exported to the United States, no less than \$11,000,000 worth consisted of barley, a large percentage over the average. That accounts for the fluctuations in our exports to that country. It is evident that the markets of the United States are irregular, and that the demand is merely temporary, while the English market is always one of ultimate consumption and certainty. Our neighbors grow everything that we grow, and, after supplying the home markets, they export to England enormous quantities of every article that we produce. England does not grow more than 50 per cent. of what is required for her home consumption, and consequently that country can give us a permanent market for our products. It will not fail under any circumstances, whereas the United States market is simply a temporary one, and cannot, therefore, be depended upon.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I have too much respect for this House to occupy its attention in going over matters that have been so frequently considered. I think we are all indebted to the hon. gentleman from Fredericton (Mr. Wark) for bringing before us in a

a very ingenious manner a number of figures that for reference alone will always be of very great value. I have read his resolutions carefully:

“That in view of the fostering care extended by the mother country to her colonies from their infancy, as well as for the favorable terms on which their products have always been admitted into her markets, it would be unjust to the United Kingdom to levy higher duties on goods imported from thence than on goods of the same character imported from any foreign country.”

Now, in this debate almost every speaker has spoken from the standpoint of unrestricted reciprocity, and as that is entirely irrelevant to the subject matter of the motion, I shall not refer to it at all, beyond simply stating this, that inasmuch as the question has been discussed and re-discussed, and affirmed and re-affirmed, and inasmuch as the Government have had their victory, I am utterly at a loss to know what the object is in dragging this into every matter of debate that comes up, unless it be a determination on their part to add to their victory the humiliation of their opponents.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I want to correct my hon. friend. We did not bring this matter up; it is the motion of the hon. gentleman from Halifax.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I say that the subject of unrestricted reciprocity is entirely irrelevant to the motion before the House.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—That is the motion of the hon. gentleman from Halifax.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I am talking about the motion of the hon. gentleman from Fredericton (Mr. Wark); I am coming to the other by-and-bye. In reference to the motion of that gentleman, in speaking of the fostering care of the mother country of her colonies from their early settlement to the present hour, I have been very much reminded of an occasion, when looking into one of the warehouses in Paris, at some of the fine products of their looms, I was constrained to say: “These goods are very beautiful.” The salesman replied: “They are very beautiful, but you do not buy them.” So, when we speak of the fostering care of the mother

country, and see how we have treated her, I think there is a possibility that our language may by her be either construed as a huge joke or a piece of mockery. I do not think that the hon. gentleman from Fredericton has taken the trouble to look into many of the articles from the mother country on which duties are imposed, for I am prepared to say, that if we start from the standpoint of the tariff as it is to-day if made to discriminate in favor of Great Britain to the extent of 50 per cent. against any other country in the world, would not amount to anything. The tariff prohibits the importation of every piece of grey cotton, every piece of white cotton, every piece of shirting, of ticking, awnings and of blankets, and all that class of goods, and if you were to give to-morrow a discriminating tariff in favor of Great Britain, starting from the present point, as against the United States, it would not make the slightest difference, for notwithstanding all her fostering care we have completely shut her out, and these goods, to the extent of millions of dollars, are utterly precluded from coming to our markets. And if we go on in the way we are doing now the hon. gentleman's resolution will be utterly out of place—there will be no need for it at all, because there will be nothing left that she will be allowed to send us. Now, I come to the amendment of the hon. gentleman from Halifax. I do not find that that interferes with the matter of the original motion. I do not find that it assails the principle at all, but that it simply asserts that when the matter comes before this House we will consider it.

HON. GENTLEMEN—No, no.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—Hon. gentlemen say no, no; but if I am capable of understanding the English language, I am unable to put any other construction on the amendment. I cannot say that it is wisdom for us to be affirming and re-affirming—to be settling one thing to-day and bringing it up again to-morrow. The man who is constantly talking about his wealth and flaunting it before the public will raise a suspicion in the minds of the people that after all he is not possessed of it. Hon. gentlemen, by constantly desiring to have a principle of this kind affirmed, would lead one to believe

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland).

that they are not so confident about their position as they would have this House suppose. Then there is the amendment to the amendment by the leader of the Government. I think I can say with perfect confidence that there is not a single word in the amendment which I cannot support.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—The hon. gentleman is perfectly right in saying "hear hear." I do not hesitate to say that every word of his amendment is a word, from my standpoint—I do not know what others may feel—but with this question I am not confronted to-day. There is no reason that I should vote for it to-day, and I maintain that the language of the amendment, while it does not conflict with the resolution of the hon. gentleman from Fredericton, while it asserts that this House will be prepared calmly to take this matter into consideration when it comes up, that is an amendment that ought to have and will have my support.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Before the question is put, I would like very much to express my cordial approval of the views that have been so very forcibly and ably expressed by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, and that is, that we ought not at the present moment to be tied up by any abstract principle. The amendment which has been moved by the hon. gentleman from Halifax leaves us free to consider the question when the time arrives that it can be considered:

"Whenever a proposal is submitted to Parliament to admit goods imported from any foreign country into Canada at a lower rate of duty than is charged upon the like goods imported from the United Kingdom, it will be the duty of this House to seriously consider the propriety of such proposal."

Such a proposal leaves every gentleman free to draw his own conclusions when the proper time comes. I do not think it is wise, in this age of progress and advancement, for gentlemen to tie up their judgment for even twelve months. I do not mean to say that there is a possibility of this question being within the range of living politics in so short a time as that, or probably for some considerable time longer; I do not desire to be bound in the

future by any abstract principle. I believe that the part of the statesman is to move apace with the age—to live according to the times. Day by day we gather experience from our intercourse with our fellow-men and intercourse with nations abroad; and to lay down any abstract principle that we must be governed by in the future I think would be most unwise and unstatesmanlike. It certainly has not been the policy of the statesmen of the country from which we love to draw our inspiration. I am not now saying what are my own views on the subject, but the very objections urged against reciprocal trade with the United States might have been, with the same propriety, urged in 1853 or 1854, when Canada was so anxious to have the reciprocity treaty that was then adopted, because that was the ultimate result—we struck a blow at once at the mother country. And did the mother country take umbrage at it? Not at all. The statesmen of England were most anxious that we should enter into it, because they knew that Canada was going to increase her wealth, and by increasing her general prosperity it would increase her trade with the mother country. Nevertheless, it was a blow at England by her colony. I turn up the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1853, and I find that our trade in that year with Great Britain amounted to—

Exports.....	£2,866,000
Imports.....	4,622,000

Aggregate trade of the mother country (in round numbers) £7,488,000

Our trade with the United States was—

Imports.....	£2,945,000
Exports.....	2,681,000

Total..... £5,626,000

From this it will be seen that our trade with the United States was about one-third below what it was with England. Now, what was the immediate effect of the reciprocity treaty that was carried out by one of the leading English statesmen of the day—the late Lord Elgin? It did diminish for a time the trade with England. I take only two years after reciprocity began to work, yet our trade with England had decreased to £7,169,000, while our trade with the United States had increased to £10,630,000. It had just doubled in the two years. What was the

effect? The effect naturally was a falling off in the revenue of the country to a very remarkable degree. In 1853 our import duties amounted to £1,028,000; in 1855 they had dropped to £881,000. Then, when Canada began to get the benefit of improved commercial relations with the United States our trade at once revived—not alone the trade with the United States, but the trade with England, strange to say, increased immediately, because we began to get wealthier, and that was the effect. It was only a temporary disturbance for a comparatively short time, although while it lasted, no doubt, the trade continued to increase with the United States rather than with England. But hon. gentlemen seem to lose sight of a most important fact in this discussion; they think that only the English manufacturers are affected. Now, what is the extent of the English manufacturers' interests in Canada? Does it amount to \$8,000,000 a year? I doubt it very much. Our whole imports are in the neighborhood of \$40,000,000, and it is the English manufacturers' profit on that amount of sales. Hon. gentlemen must remember that that is a very small item in our monetary transactions with the mother country. They will recollect the vast sums of money we borrow in England for investment in this country. Those investments return good dividends, just in the ratio of the prosperity of this country. Our railway stocks and other shares move up and down with the prosperity of the country. They are held, the largest portion of them, in England. Our loan societies, that have money all over the country, have their debentures in the English market, and their value goes up and down with the prosperity of Canada. When one begins to calculate the interest of the British manufacturer it is a mere bagatelle as compared with the interest of the British people and the British capitalist. The English manufacturer, under the system which prevails there, can send his goods into the United States and undersell the American manufacturers, because England is a free trade country, and her manufacturers can undersell the Americans in cottons, woollens, iron and other manufactures. Where is England's great trade to-day but with the United States? And the

great trade of the United States is with England.

HON. MR. READ—Does the hon. gentleman forget the remonstrances that came from the manufacturers of Sheffield at the competition of American manufactures?

HON. MR. SCOTT—Sheffield is not England. If the United States manufacturers can make better knives, England will buy from them rather than from Sheffield, just as they buy their sugar abroad. The belief is that every man is worthy of the profits of his own labor. That is not the belief that is attempted to be fastened on the people of this country; it is that one man is to be bonused, and another is to be handicapped; one man is to be shackled and another is to receive a portion of its profits. I say the whole thing is a fallacy; it is dishonest, because it is robbery under an Act of Parliament. I say it is robbery that the mass of the people should be compelled to pay tribute to a comparatively small portion of the community.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Will reciprocity with the United States alter that?

HON. MR. SCOTT—Yes; reciprocity will very soon alter it; they will not live very long under it. This idea that it is striking a blow at England, discussing trade relations with the United States, is not a new one; that found its birth twenty-five years ago. People then believed it was a good thing that another country had advanced enough to enlarge the list of goods in which there should be reciprocal trade; but as far as Canada and England were concerned, we were willing to go very much further than the list of articles in the treaty made by Lord Elgin, and the opinion at that time of British statesmen was that it was a wise one. They did not say it should be in a comparatively few articles that were laid down there. What did Lord Clarendon say in 1854, in the House of Lords, speaking for the Government of the day, when he told the English people it was a good thing for the people of England that Canada should have those trade relations with the United States—that it did not affect a man's loyalty to the mother country?

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HON. MR. OGILVIE—They would not like to see manufactures on the list.

HON. MR. SCOTT—They would not like manufactures, because English manufacturers would be hit. A few English manufacturers, no doubt, would be hit, but the great English people would not be. I will read an extract from Lord Clarendon's speech in discussing this proposition of Lord Elgin for negotiating this treaty:

"It appeared to Her Majesty's Government that the return of Lord Elgin to Canada afforded an opportunity which ought not to be neglected, of endeavoring to settle those numerous questions which for years past have been embarrassing the two Governments. One of those questions, especially that relating to the fisheries, has given rise to annually increasing causes of contention, and has sometimes threatened collisions which, I believe, have only been averted for the last two years by the firmness and moderation of Sir Geo. Seymour and the British and American naval commanders, and by that spirit of friendship and forbearance which has always characterized the officers of both navies. But, my Lords, your Lordships are aware that there are other questions which have given rise to embarrassing discussion between the Governments of the two countries—questions which involve the commercial relations of our North American possessions with the United States, and that those questions, which involve very divergent interests, have become so complicated as to render their solution a matter of extreme difficulty." And, he added, "I trust, therefore, that nothing will occur to mar the completion of this great work, which I firmly believe, more than any other event of recent times, will contribute to remove all differences between two countries, whose similarity of language and affinity of race, whose enterprise and industry, ought to unite them in the bonds of cordial friendship and to perpetuate feelings of mutual confidence and good will."

I will now read a letter from John Bright, after notice had been given to abrogate the treaty by the United States. Bright was an Englishman, if anything. He was no doubt a free-trader, but no one doubts that he was an Englishman in every sense of the term—an English manufacturer, too. On the 10th of June, 1865, when asked to take part in a convention between the two nations, he wrote:

"The project of your convention gives me great pleasure. I hope it will lead to a renewal of commercial intercourse with the British North American Provinces, for it will be a miserable thing if, because they are in connection with the British Crown, and you acknowledge as your chief magistrate your President at Washington, there should not be a commercial intercourse between them and you, as free as if you were one people and living under one Government."

That was John Bright's opinion.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—He was a free trader.

HON. MR. ALMON—He was an annexationist.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Very shortly after that he was asked to join Her Majesty's Government, and he became a member of the Government.

HON. MR. ALMON—He was in favor of the absorption of Canada by the United States.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Nothing of the sort. There has been a good deal said about that—that commercial reciprocity will affect our loyalty. I would like to read a paragraph which I think hon. gentlemen will not dispute the authenticity of. I shall quote from a copy of a report of the committee of the hon. the Executive Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General, on the 19th February, 1865—under a good Tory Government:

"It would be impossible to express in figures, with any approach to accuracy, the extent to which facilities of commercial intercourse created by the Reciprocity Treaty have contributed to the wealth and prosperity of this Province; and it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance which the people of Canada attach to the continued enjoyment of these facilities."

HON. MR. McMILLAN—They will not give us the same thing now.

HON. MR. SCOTT—(continuing)—

"Nor is the subject entirely devoid of political significance. Under the beneficent operation of the system of self-government which the later policy of the mother country has accorded to Canada in common with the other colonies possessing representative institutions, combined with the advantages secured by the Reciprocity Treaty of an unrestricted commerce with our nearest neighbors in the natural productions of the two countries—

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Natural products—that is the whole point.

HON. MR. SCOTT—That is drawing it very fine. Here is the point:

"all agitation for organic changes has ceased—all dissatisfaction with the existing political relations of the Provinces has wholly disappeared."

That is the opinion of the Executive Government of which Sir John Macdonald was head in 1865. The hon. gentleman from Glengarry, amongst other things,

said that it would be a terrible indignity for this country to allow the Americans to have a voice in our internal fiscal policy, and instanced the case of tobacco and spirits.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I did not. Mr' Hitt did.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I do not see a very great distinction as to whether we adopt their Inland Revenue tariff, fixing the duties that each country should derive from its tobacco and whiskey, and all those matters that are the subject of Inland Revenue tax, or their Customs tariff. It is a very fine distinction. It may gratify hon. gentlemen to see a marked distinction, but I fail to appreciate it. Here is a memo. which is signed by Sir A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance:

"The trade between the United States and the British Provinces should, it is believed, under ordinary circumstances, be free, in reference to their natural productions; but as internal taxes exceptionally exist in the United States, it is now proposed that the articles embraced in the free list of the Reciprocity Treaty should continue to be exchanged, subject only to such duties as may be equivalent to that internal taxation. It is suggested that both parties may add certain articles to those now in the said list. With reference to the fisheries and the navigation of the internal waters of the continent, the British Provinces are willing that the existing regulations should continue in effect, but Canada is ready to enter into engagements with a view of improving the means of access to the ocean, provided the assurance be given that the trade of the western States will not be diverted from its natural channel by legislation; if the United States are not prepared at present to consider the general opening of their coasting trade it would appear desirable, as regards the internal waters of the continent, no distinction should be made between the vessels of the two countries.

"If the foregoing points be satisfactorily arranged Canada is willing to adjust her excise duties on spirits, beer and tobacco, upon the best revenue standard, which may be mutually adopted after full consideration of the subject; and if it be desired to treat any other articles in the same way, the disposition of the Canadian Government is to give every facility in their power to prevent illicit trade."

That comes very near commercial union. I grant you it leaves out the duty on cotton, on sugar and clothes; but in everything else we are willing to have commercial union, only save our manufactures. There is the only point where there is any divergence, and if it gives the hon. gentleman any consolation to recognize a very marked difference between holding

the tariff on our manufactures and giving up the tariff on our excise, and giving up all the other points proposed in this memorandum to the United States, then they are easily gratified and pleased. I am reminded by the hon. gentleman from Halifax that an hon. member who spoke on this question said that the farmers would be injured. Now, I would like to go back and take a review of the articles under the reciprocity treaty—and this is a farmer's question—that we bought from the United States. I certainly was surprised on looking at it, because in any treaty we would make with the United States now it shows that all the features of the old reciprocity treaty would be absolutely changed. For instance, after the reciprocity treaty the actual increase in the purchase of animals from the United States; to-day I think the trade would be on the other side; we are selling largely to the United States. It is admitted that our farmers now sell a good many horses to the United States.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—What has that to do with regard to discriminating against Great Britain?

HON. MR. SCOTT—I affirm that the farmers were generally benefited by the old reciprocity treaty.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—What I said was that the farmer was benefited by the National Policy.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I dispute that altogether. Because he has got a home market, I presume? I contend that that fallacy has long since been exploded. There is no such thing as a home market, because as far as natural products are concerned, the value of them depends upon the prices which prevailed in the markets of the world.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—For turnips, cabbages and potatoes, for instance.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The hon. gentleman talks of garden truck.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Yes; they make a lot of money out of it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I grant you that in Montreal and Cornwall and other places where there are large numbers of men

employed the farmers get a benefit from it; but what I say is, that you are in effect bonusing particular sections of this country at the expense of the masses. No man pretends to say that the manufactories established in some of our towns—Almonte, for instance—are not an immense advantage to the farmers; but they are infinitesimal in point of numbers as compared with the rest of the population who do not benefit by them—not more than 1 out of 5. If I had the time I think I could satisfy my hon. friend that not one-fifth of the people of this country are in any way benefited by it, and that the other four-fifths are simply paying tribute to keep up those establishments. I was going to point out that it is a matter for congratulation for our country that a vast number of articles which we imported under reciprocity from the United States we would now be exporting in vast quantities to the United States. Cheese, for instance, is one of our items for export to the extent of about \$9,000,000 a year. The country is largely indebted to my hon. friend from Quinté division for stimulating that industry.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—Before that we were selling to them our cows and buying from them our cheese.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I desire to point out, in the observations that I have made, that hon. gentlemen are mistaken very much indeed in their opinion of the English public on this question. I do not hesitate to say that there is considerable dissatisfaction in sections of this country consequent upon its trade relations with other countries—in other words, that the National Policy is looked upon by a very considerable number of people in this country—I think, myself, the minority—as a fearful incubus upon their industry and upon their labor; and that a feeling of dissatisfaction has arisen in this country, and people are leaving it—that our population has not increased in anything like the ratio that one would naturally expect in a young, vigorous and prosperous country like Canada. (Cries of “no, no”). Do hon. gentlemen mean to express a doubt that our population has left us—that we have lost a large percentage of the natural increase of our people? How many French Canadians are there in the manu-

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facturing towns of the United States? In Dakota and Minnesota you find vast numbers of Canadians. From day to day and month to month our people are going to the United States, and no equivalent number comes from that country into Canada.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—We receive more of their people in our North-West Territories than they get of our people.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It is likely that a good many of their people are going into the North-West because our territory is finer than theirs.

HON. MR. POWER—Since they have a Liberal Government in Manitoba.

HON. MR. SCOTT—But that does not affect my argument, that a considerable number of the people who would naturally be expected to remain in Canada have left this country, and that their departure is due to the National Policy. Therefore, I say we should have closer trade relations with the United States. I will not commit myself to stating what those trade relations should be. There will be time enough for that when the question is before us—when we are called upon to ratify or reject any treaty that may be made with the United States, it will be quite time enough then to discuss the terms, but until that time comes we ought to leave our judgments free, because we might find that we had laid down in the *Debates* some abstract theories that we would prefer should not be there. When the time comes for establishing closer trade relations with the United States we will have the good will of the people of England—they will take a broader view of the question, and they will recognize the fact that it will not affect our loyalty in the slightest degree. The old Reciprocity Treaty did not affect our loyalty; the subsequent offer of improved trade relations did not affect our loyalty. On the contrary, if prosperity was to flow from it, everybody would be very much better pleased. If we had commercial union with the United States—I do not express any opinion as to whether the project is good, bad or indifferent—I do not think it would affect the political relations of the Canadian people with England. Our

people are too proud of their country and of its institutions to seek closer relations. I think if a majority of the people of this country, who consider our institutions are much in advance of those of the United States, were to suppose that the material wealth of Canada would be largely increased and developed by closer trade relations with the neighboring Republic, but that the tie with the mother country would thereby be weakened, the majority would say: "Very well; we will sacrifice our material prosperity and remain a dependency of the British Crown." I believe the people of this country are willing to make such sacrifices, because they highly appreciate the vast advantages that have been vouchsafed to them by the mother country, and it would be base ingratitude on their part, simply for filthy lucre, or advantages of a commercial nature, to abandon their fealty to the mother land. I have too much confidence in the majority of the people of this country to think that they would carry their loyalty in their pockets. But while saying this, I cannot see—and I have given the subject some consideration—how it could affect the loyalty of any man. The mere question of buying and selling cannot surely affect any man's loyalty. We are still proud of the institutions of our country; we feel that Canada under ordinary circumstances is better governed and can be better governed than the United States, and that it would be a very grave mistake, even with all the advantages that might be offered by union with the United States, if we were to change our colors from the Union Jack to the Stars and Stripes. I firmly believe that that is the opinion of the people of Canada; but at the same time, if the material wealth of this country can be increased without affecting our allegiance to the mother land, I am quite sure that every British statesman will favor it. The leading men of England to-day would no doubt endorse the letter of Mr. Bright, which I have read. His opinions would be those of the most advanced men of the mother country. If that be so, if we are honest to ourselves and faithful to the interests of this country we ought not to be afraid of our loyalty to England being in the slightest degree affected if our financial position were improved by

freer trade relations with the people of the United States.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—The hon. member for Ottawa laid great stress on the fact that many of our people are going to the United States. I ask any clear-headed, intelligent man whether, if we had commercial union with the United States, we would not soon have twenty of our people leaving for the United States to one that leaves now, six months after its adoption? There is not a doubt that the emigration from this country would increase. The hon. gentleman read a letter from the late Mr. Bright, who was no doubt an able statesman and a patriotic Englishman, but he was a free trader. It is easy for the English people to talk of free trade. I have had many conversations with some of their leading men, who tell us that we would be so much better off if we had free trade; but they forget that it is not so very easy to maintain such a policy under our circumstances. It is not so long ago since England not only protected her industries by high duties, but absolutely prohibited the importation of certain foreign manufactures. Situated as we are, the free trade theory is wholly impracticable. We are differently situated from any other country in the world. We have a powerful neighbor beside us—a neighbor whose greatness has been developed under a high protective tariff. When the United States adopted that policy they were told by the English papers that they were building up a Chinese wall which would ruin them in a few years. I should like to see that sort of ruin taking place here. Living, as we do, alongside of the United States, our policy must, to a large extent, be governed by theirs. The hon. member from Ottawa spoke of the large trade that would spring up with the United States under freer trade relations. We heard a great deal from Mr. Wiman last spring about the hen and the exports of eggs from Canada to the United States. Perhaps many members of this House may not be aware of the fact that eggs were imported into this country from Iowa and Illinois last year, and sold in this country at a profit. If we had a reciprocity treaty to-day we could not ship a bushel of barley to the United States without losing money on it. It

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would bring as much in Canada as in the United States. Oats would not bring any more, and we know that wheat is dearer in Canada to-day than it is in the United States. The only important trade that we could make money on would be the trade in horses; we can sell horses to the United States to advantage, but I do not know of any other article of commerce on which we could make money in trade with them. The hon. gentleman from Ottawa read extracts from books, showing that Great Britain favors reciprocity or commercial union with the United States, but if we were to allow manufactures from that country into our markets free, while maintaining a tariff of 25 or 30 per cent. on British manufactures, we would soon find out what the opinion of the British people was on the subject. The hon. gentleman also spoke of bonusing certain points in Canada where manufacturing is going on. I think he is mistaken; there are no particular points in Canada which are benefited in that way. Manufactories can be established anywhere in Canada—in Alberta as well as in Montreal, because coal can be had in the North-West, and there is nothing to prevent capitalists investing there as well as in other places. There is no doubt that wherever manufactories are established the farming population receive the benefit. Take Cornwall, for instance. I have been told that the owners of farms within a radius of twenty miles of that town, since manufactories have been established there, find the value of their property increased 100 per cent., and in the immediate vicinity of Cornwall 200 per cent. I ask the hon. gentleman from Glengarry if that is not so?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The property has increased in value very materially.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Wherever you get a manufacturing population there is a ready sale for what the hon. member from Ottawa calls "garden truck." It is easily grown, and more money can be made out of ten acres cultivated in that way than 100 acres of wheat. I am certain that if we had commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity two-thirds of our manufactories would be wiped out within two years. It is true they might come up again in

twenty-five years, but I do not think any of us want to try that experiment at the present time. I do not know any country where manufacturing industries of all kinds have grown up so rapidly as in Canada. Take cotton, for instance, that we thought would prove so ruinous to the years ago, and it was disastrous to the stockholders, as I know to my cost, but it was a splendid thing for this country. Where we manufactured thirty or forty kinds of cottons a few years ago we are now manufacturing 400 kinds. Is not that a benefit to the country? What I cannot understand is, how any intelligent man fails to see plainly that it is better for us to pay out \$100,000 in the country to our own working people than it is to spend that amount abroad, paying it to the working people of a foreign land.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Surely the hon. gentleman must be mistaken when he speaks of 400 kinds of cotton goods being manufactured in this country.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I am not.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I should like to know if there is one-fourth of that number?

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I had my information on Saturday afternoon from a gentleman who understands the subject as well as any man in the country. Wherever those manufacturing establishments exist the country is improving steadily. If we keep on at the same rate of progress for twenty-five years more we will probably be able to cope with our neighbors, but at present we cannot do so, and it would be unreasonable to expect such a thing. Free trade has received a trial in England, and what do we find? Many of the leading men in that country are talking now of putting on protection, and the day is not far distant, if other countries continue to impose duties on her manufactures, when Great Britain will be obliged, in self-defence, to abandon her free-trade theories and protect her own industries.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I think the people of this country ought to be gratified at the motion of the hon. gentleman from Fredericton, because every true man

in this country looks towards Great Britain. If we can make a better trade arrangement with the mother country than we have now, why should we not do it? I should much prefer, if we could deal with Great Britain at a profit, to go there than to find a market in the United States. The hon. member from Halifax (Mr. Power) asks: What has Great Britain done for us? Is not Great Britain doing for us every day of our lives? Have we not got her shield and protection wherever we go, in every part of the world? You may go from sea to sea, and clime to clime, and you have the British flag to protect you.

HON. MR. POWER—What about Behring Sea?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The hon. gentleman even went so far as to quote from Todd to show that Great Britain allows us to do as we please. But if Great Britain allows the Canadian people to frame their own tariff, is that any reason why we should not frame it as far as possible to admit British goods into this country? The hon. gentleman says we are discriminating against Great Britain. I say we are not; I defy him to prove his statement. We give all the world the same advantage in our market. It appears to me no discussion can take place in this House without ending in unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union. But the question that is before us now is, in framing a tariff should we not give any advantage we can to the mother country? The hon. member from Ottawa talks about free trade. I remember when the Government of which he was a member was wedded to a 17½ per cent. tariff. When the Government was changed a policy was adopted to protect the industries of our people, and we were told by the hon. gentleman and his friends that if the policy was successful we would collect no revenue. Has it had that effect? I say it has assisted the industries of the country and yielded us sufficient revenue. The hon. gentleman tells us that the people are leaving the country. I suppose some of them are, but there is not one man leaving now for the three that left under the *regime* of the hon. gentleman and his friends. They talk about reciprocity with the United

States! We have always been ready to establish reciprocal trade with that country, but not unrestricted reciprocity. If we were to adopt commercial union for twenty years we would all be in the United States, long before the end of that period. It is said by some that farmers would have the advantage in reciprocity with the United States. Formerly, it is true, it was an advantage to the farmers of both countries, but that was in 1854. The conditions have greatly changed since then. As far as the agricultural interests are concerned, I do not see how reciprocity would be advantageous to the farmers of Canada. The markets of the United States are full to overflowing. The surplus products of the United States go to England, as ours do. If we can make an arrangement with the mother country, by which the colonies will be given an advantage, we can afford to give the mother country an advantage in our markets. That is the sort of reciprocity we should look for. My hon. friend read from a Minute of Council of the year 1865. That was all very well at that time, but is the hon. gentleman going to lay down the rule that what was regarded as a benefit twenty-five years ago will be beneficial to us now. I should not like to say that. This is an age of progress. We have a National Policy, under which we collect a revenue. It is so arranged that those who consume luxuries pay the bulk of the revenue and the poor man pays but a small proportion. The hon. gentleman from Midland says the British people do not care anything about it.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I never said anything of the kind.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I took it that way.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—You took it wrong.

HON. MR. POWER—It was the hon. gentleman from Ottawa who said that, I think.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—What did he say about the fostering care of the mother country? Did he not say that England did not care much about our trade, it was so small?

HON. MR. McCALLUM.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I did not say anything of the kind.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—If the hon. gentleman did not say it, I will say this—whether the mother country cares about our trade or not, we should care for it, as a colony of the Empire—we should do all in our power to cultivate closer trade relations with Great Britain than with the United States. The hon. member from Ottawa says it does not matter what we do, that it will not affect the mother country. We are allowed to do very much as we please; but at the same time, when hon. gentlemen in this country, self-constituted public leaders, are looking for commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, I think it would be much better to look to negotiating a treaty with the mother country. When this question is put before the people the advocates of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity will get their quietus, because the great majority of our people are patriotic and anxious to maintain this country as a portion of the British Empire. I am glad that this question has been brought up, because it enables us to express our sentiments towards the mother land, and I think we should endeavor to secure improved trade relations with England. Suppose we could induce them to put a small duty on American products while admitting ours free, as they are doing to-day, could we not give them an advantage on their goods coming to this country without destroying the manufacturing industries of Canada? I hope the leaders of public opinion in this country will look in that direction, and abandon all thoughts of looking to Washington to redress any grievances they say we have. I am not aware of any myself; I think there is no people in the world more prosperous or better contented than our own. None enjoy a larger measure of liberty, and the future prospects of the Dominion are bright indeed. There can be no doubt of the future of the country if we are only true to ourselves. But if we are carried away with this "fad" of commercial union, and the sugar-coated pills that are offered to us—if we swallow them and we come to the bosom of the United States, I do not know what may

become of us. Let us be true to ourselves, true to Canada, true to Great Britain, and the day is coming when we are to be, in my opinion, the strongest power on this continent.

HON. MR. REESOR moved that the debate be adjourned until Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (54), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chap. 77, respecting the Safety of Ships." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (128), "An Act to provide for the Conveyance of certain Lands to British Columbia." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (127), "An Act with reference to the Western Counties Railway." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (150), "An Act further to amend the Steamboat Inspection Act, Cap. 78 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (116), "An Act respecting the Harbor of Belleville, in the Province of Ontario." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 6:05 p. m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 9th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (67), "An Act to incorporate the Assiniboine Water-power Company." (Mr. Scott).

IMPROPER USE OF FIREARMS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The Order of the Day being called—Second reading Bill (S), "An Act to amend Chapter 148 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intituled, 'An Act respecting the Improper use of Firearms and other Weapons.'"

HON. MR. READ said: I understand that the leader of the Government has some additional clause to add to this Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—In accordance with what I stated to the House yesterday, I have prepared a short clause prohibiting the sale of pistols or air-guns to minors under fifteen years of age, and as it is very simple I propose to move it now as a rider to the Bill. I move that the following clause be added as a rider:—

"No person shall sell or give any pistol or air-gun to a minor under the age of fifteen years; and any person violating this prohibition shall incur a penalty not exceeding \$50 for each offence; provided always, that he shall be relieved from such penalty if he establishes, to the satisfaction of the magistrate before whom he is charged, that he used reasonable diligence in endeavoring to ascertain the age of the minor before making such sale or gift."

HON. MR. SCOTT—It is a very good amendment, but would it not be better to make it sixteen years of age?

HON. MR. POWER—Sixteen is the usual age.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am not particular about the age. The impression in fixing fifteen was that after that age a young man might be moving about on his own responsibility, away from his parents, and it might be desirable that he should have protection as well as an older person; but if the House wishes it, I am willing to change it to sixteen.

The motion was amended accordingly.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I should like to know, before the House finally accepts the clause, what would be the position with regard to a minor of that age being found in possession of a pistol. In order to get protection from the dreadful consequences which follow from young people carrying such a weapon, it would be necessary to prove that they have been sold or given to them. A boy may be found with a pistol in his possession, putting the lives of others, as well as his own, in peril, and unless there is a provision in the Act to meet the case he would escape punishment.

HON. MR. READ—I think the general provisions of the Act apply to that.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Do they apply to minors?

HON. MR. READ—Yes.

HON. MR. DICKEY—If it provides for minors, I should be prepared to support any amendment of the clause which should make the parents liable for the acts of young people. Unfortunately, the tie that binds the parent to the child in this country is being, perhaps, rather too much impaired, and the parent no longer considers himself responsible for the conduct of the child, and the child no longer pays any deference to the authority of the father.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive that the Bill as it stands makes no distinction as to age. It creates an offence, and therefore any person who is old enough to know what the offence is will be subject to its provisions. As to making the parent liable, that would seem to be rather an extension of the law on that subject that might go further than, perhaps, my hon friend intends. Of course, under the civil law the parent is liable civilly for any damage caused by his minor child, but to make him responsible criminally for an offence committed by his minor child against the law is, I think, going a step too far.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. READ moved the third reading of the Bill, as amended.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

SAFETY OF SHIPS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (54), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 77, respecting the Safety of Ships." He said: This is a Bill framed for the purpose of endeavoring to prevent, or to take reasonable precautions against accidents at sea from improper stowage, the unseaworthy character of the vessel, or in respect of its hull, or its loading or manning, and it contains a variety of regulations as to stowage of cargo and other points, which, of course, it will be necessary to examine in committee. It is in line with the legislation of England on the subject, and I hope the House, when they come to look into the particulars of it, will agree with the Government that it should become law.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Anything to protect life and property at sea is very important, and a step in the right direction; but this Bill, it seems to me, does not say how the result is to be obtained. I do not see any provision, in case of a vessel being in an unseaworthy condition, for detaining it in harbor and not permitting it to leave. Then, also, with regard to the person who is to inspect the vessel: if it is left to a Custom house officer, those officers in minor ports are scarcely qualified to judge of the condition of the vessel. Port wardens are generally employed for such purposes, and in small ports there is no such officer. These are matters that may come up for consideration in committee.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

CONVEYANCE OF LANDS TO BRITISH COLUMBIA BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (128), "An Act to provide for the Conveyance of certain Lands to British Columbia." He said: This is a short Bill, for the purpose of enabling the Government to re-convey to the Province of British Columbia a tract of 45,000 acres of land, which were conveyed to the Government of Canada as part of the railway belt by mistake. The intention was not to convey to the Dominion any lands which had been previously disposed of, and there was a tract of 200,000 acres which had been set apart for a certain purpose, from which these 45,000 acres were selected. It is claimed, and I believe it is understood with justice, by a person to whom the land was promised by the British Columbia Government, and this is to enable the Provincial Government to fulfil its agreement.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Was it by statutory enactment that they were conveyed to the Dominion?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Where are these lands situated?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I cannot say exactly, but I can give the hon. gentleman some clue to the district.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—They are in the Chilliwack and Sumas districts.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Arrangements had been made with a Mr. Doran, by which he was to receive from the British Columbia Government 45,000 acres in the Sumas district.

HON. MR. POWER—Is not this Bill the result of a recent decision of the Privy Council?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is quite possible, but I cannot say.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

WESTERN COUNTIES RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (127), "An Act in reference to the Western Counties Railway." He said: This is a matter which I must confess I do not entirely understand, and I rather think I am not singular in my absence of apprehension of all the details of it; but in point of fact it appears that Parliament voted \$500,000 towards completing the portion of this railway lying between Annapolis and Digby, and it was understood the Government should take control of the expenditure and the construction of this link. This Act is for the purpose of giving proper authority to do what was contemplated by that grant, and to give necessary powers of expropriation, and cause the Railway Act to bear upon it.

HON. MR. POWER—I am sorry that the hon. gentleman has not been able to give the House a little further explanation because this is a very important Bill. It is a Bill that deserves something more than a word. The object of the measure is to enable the Government to fill in what is known as the "missing link" in the Western Railway system of Nova Scotia. The Government own the road running from Halifax to Windsor. The Windsor and Annapolis Company have running powers over that portion of the Intercolonial Railway, and they own a railway themselves from Windsor to Annapolis.

This Bill authorizes the Government to build some nineteen miles of road from Annapolis to Digby, and that road will connect the Windsor and Annapolis Railway, owned by an English company, with the Western Counties Railway, running from Digby to Yarmouth, and owned partly by people in Nova Scotia, and partly, I think, by people in England. It will be apparent to the House that serious difficulties are likely to arise on account of the way in which the Government are doing this work. The Government will own this link of railway, and will be in a great measure at the mercy of the two corporations at both ends of it. Some years ago the Local Government of Nova Scotia succeeded in preparing a scheme which would have placed this whole chain of railway from Yarmouth to Halifax under one control and management, and they found an English company, who were prepared to undertake the work; and owing to what I think the very unfortunate interference of the Dominion Government at that time, the agreement entered into by the Local Government, and the scheme adopted by the Local Legislature, came to naught; so that that part of the country has remained without this railway some two years longer than it should; and when the road is constructed matters will not be in nearly as satisfactory a condition as they would have been if this whole line of railway were under one management. Hopes were expressed by friends of the hon. gentleman opposite that the Dominion Government would have acquired the rights of one or both of these railway companies—certainly of the Windsor and Annapolis Company—so that the road would be under the control of the Government and under one management. While I venture to make these rather hurried remarks, I must at the same time express my gratification that the Government have at length, after an unwarranted delay of a great many years, undertaken to construct this most necessary link in that railway.

HON. MR. WARK—I do not think that the Government are to blame. I do not offer to defend the Government, but this was part of the contract with the Western Counties Railway. When they first entered on the undertaking they did not

complete it. A difficulty arose, and three years ago the Western Counties Railway Company entered into an agreement or contract with the Government, that for \$500,000 they would finish this link, and would withdraw the action that they had against the Dominion Government. I would like if the hon. gentleman from Halifax would tell us why this contract was not carried out? Why the Western Counties Railway Company did not build this link, take the \$500,000 and withdraw their action? I would like the leader of the Government to tell us whether the company have dropped their action against the Government before this link is to be built?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand that this road is about to be built in consequence of the failure of the Western Counties Railway Company to carry out the agreement they made of the 31st January, 1887, which was confirmed by an Act of this Parliament in the first Session after that, and became law about the 23rd June, 1887. By that agreement they undertook to construct this link, and the reason, I imagine, why they have not done it is this: That the plan which they had devised for carrying out the agreement involved a large and complicated financial operation, and they failed in this operation. There is no doubt, at all events, that they failed to raise the money, and consequently this line has not been built. It is not so very long ago—not two years since the contract under which they undertook to build this line was put in force, and I think the Government are now, at a fairly early moment, taking up the work and doing it with the fund which was appropriated in 1887 for that purpose. My hon. friend is quite correct in his statement of the details of what was intended, but hardly correct in blaming the Government for unnecessary delay. This Act is merely for the purpose of giving the Government the ordinary powers of expropriation, and the like, to enable them to finish the road.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman has correctly explained, as far as he has gone, the position of the railway in that part of Nova Scotia. I do not think this Government can be censured for any

interference with the operators of this road. The Local Government had it a long time in their hands and failed to secure the completion of this road from Annapolis to Yarmouth. There is no interference by this Government, that I am aware of, with the Local Government having it done, but the Local Government entirely failed, and it was for years lying in that state, to the great dissatisfaction of that part of Nova Scotia, and I believe that the action of the Government now is quite in consonance with the general wish of that part of the Province.

HON. MR. BOTSFORD—It must be a very difficult road to construct.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not think the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg could very well have compressed within a shorter space a greater number of inaccuracies. The fact is, that the Local Government of Nova Scotia, some considerable time before this first Act of 1887 was passed, entered into an arrangement with a company made up largely of Englishmen, and to some extent of Nova Scotians, by which that company undertook to buy out the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company and the Western Counties Railway Company, and undertook to construct this missing link, and to operate the whole line from Annapolis to Yarmouth as a single line. Everyone can see that that was much more desirable than to have the road under three different managements. I know that the newspapers belonging to the party of which my hon. friend from Lunenburg is so distinguished a member did abuse the Local Government for the scheme that they had framed; but the scheme was one which was in every way workable, and English capitalists were prepared to put their money into it, and the road would have been finished two years ago if the Dominion Government had only agreed to do for that company, which was ready with the money to begin the work, what they have for years been offering to do for the Western Counties Railway Company. The Government agreed to give the Western Counties Railway Company rights in the Windsor Branch. They refused to give those rights to the company formed under the auspices of the Local Government of Nova

HON. MR. WARK.

Scotia, and on account of that refusal the company was unable to proceed with the work. The Dominion Government practically took the work out of the hands of the Local Government, and undertook to hand this line over to parties supposed to represent the Western Counties Railway Company. Those people professed to be in a position to go on with the work forthwith. Instead of that, two years have elapsed and they have not spent \$20 on that work, and those two years have been wasted. Now we are obliged, in consequence of the action of the Dominion Government, to fall back on an infinitely worse scheme than that which was ready to go into operation in 1886 under the auspices of the Local Government.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I know as much about the road as the hon. gentleman does. I know that the Local Government had that project dangling before the people for a long time for electioneering purposes, leading the public to believe that something would be done, when I believe they had no sincere intention of completing that link. It was only on the perfect failure of the Government to complete that road that the Dominion Government took it in hand.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

STEAMBOAT INSPECTION BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (130), "An Act further to amend 'The Steamboat Inspection Act,' Chap. 78 of the Revised Statutes." He said: The main object of this Bill is to extend the operation of the Steamboat Inspection Act to vessels which trade to Canadian ports, but which are not registered in Canada under the Canadian Act. Under the Act as it stands it is only vessels registered in our own country that are subject to this inspection. It exempts expressly steamboats belonging to foreign countries trading to ports of the Dominion. It is thought desirable that such vessels should be under the same regulations respecting the inspection of their boilers as vessels registered under our own jurisdiction. There are several minor details

in the Bill which do not refer to that subject—such, for instance, as the power to make rules and regulations, instead of being obliged to come to Parliament in case of a modification; the right of giving duplicate certificates, and other matters of that description, which are provided for in the Bill.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think this Bill is to bring under the operation of our General Inspection Act steamboats not registered in Canada and plying between our ports and ports outside of the Dominion. Our General Inspection Act says: That steam-boats registered outside of Canada, but plying between ports in Canada, are subject to inspection. The intention of this Bill, as I understand, is to make the provisions of the General Inspection Act apply to all vessels, whether registered in Canada or not, plying between Canadian and foreign ports.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

HARBOR OF BELLEVILLE BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (116), "An Act respecting the Harbor of Belleville, in the Province of Ontario." He said: This is a Bill to transfer to commissioners the harbor of Belleville, and the further improvement of it, in the same way that has been done in a variety of other cases. It is merely applying to the harbor of Belleville a principle which has been generally adopted in dealing with other harbors.

HON. MR. FLINT—I wish to call the attention of the leader of the House to the schedule which provides that the dues collected shall be: on flour and oatmeal, per brl., 1 cent; on cornmeal, per 100 lbs., 2 cents. That seems to be wrong. Why should such a distinction be made? Then, again, salt is 2 cents per brl., and plaster and water lime 4 cents per brl. I think instead of 2 cents per 100 lbs. on cornmeal the rate should be the same as on flour and oatmeal—1 cent per brl.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am obliged to my hon. friend for calling my attention to the matter. It seems to be a discrep-

ancy, but I cannot say why the difference is made. I will inquire into it, and be prepared with an explanation when the Bill comes before a Committee of the Whole House.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (V), "An Act to amend the Act respecting Escapes and Rescues, Chapter 155 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (68), "An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Scott).

The Senate adjourned at 4:10 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 10th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READING.

Bill (114), "An Act to incorporate the Title and Mortgage Guarantee Company of Canada." (Mr. Dickey).

FLOODS IN THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER.

MOTION.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND moved:

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General; praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House, a copy of the report made to the Minister of Public Works, by the Commissioners, on the floods in the St. Lawrence River.

He said: The report to which this motion refers was made by a commission at the instance of the Government, and has cost a great deal of money. From personal perusal I am satisfied that it is a report of wide general interest. It deals not only with the local conditions, but with physical conditions which are applicable to a great many other localities on the St. Lawrence River besides Montreal.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

I am aware that interim reports, which had been, during the course of the investigation, presented by the engineers in charge of it, were printed from time to time in the daily press, but these interim reports did not convey even a large part of the information which had been so laboriously and with so much cost collected by the commission. I trust that there will be no dissentient voices, for I can assure this hon. House that the report is a very valuable one, not only to Montreal, but to the whole Dominion. If printed simply as a Blue Book, without maps and illustrations, it would be comparatively valueless. I have no means of estimating what the cost of publication would be, but, probably, illustrated with maps and plans, at the widest estimate it would not cost more than one-sixth or one-seventh of the amount which has already been spent in acquiring the information contained in the report. There are a great many reasons why the Senate should make itself active in such matters. We have comparatively little printing of matter which is interesting to the public generally, and this would be a very interesting report. It would be a thousand pities if the information which has been collected should be practically buried or lost forever, as it certainly will be if it is not printed. I trust I have said enough to convey to the Senate my idea that the printing of the report is well worthy the recommendation of this hon. body.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—The House is indebted to the hon. member from Kennebec for bringing this matter before it. It is important in the public interests that the information gathered from actual experience, such as that contained in the report of the commissioners, should be disseminated as much as possible.

I understand from what the hon. gentleman has stated that the report deals with other places besides Montreal.

I am myself aware, from personal experience, that places west of Montreal, where the water-power furnished by the canals along the River St. Lawrence has induced the establishment of manufacturing industries, have at times suffered most severely by the flooding of the river.

The floods at Montreal occur regularly

every spring; but, at places west of it they occur at irregular periods in mid-winter. The ice begins to form westward about the month of November; then, between alternate thaws and frosts large bodies of ice are formed, and coming down the river a jam is created. Then what is called a "shove" takes place, and the ice is sometimes in such enormous masses that when it strikes any point of land it sinks to the bottom. It has the effect of damming the river. Hon gentlemen can imagine the floods which the damming of the St. Lawrence, even in a short period of time, can create. It is in the public interest that the information contained in the report, which has been attained at considerable trouble, should be widely circulated.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—I have no doubt that the information called for by the address will be exceedingly interesting and valuable. As to the printing of it for general circulation, it strikes me that that would be more the prerogative of the Joint Committee on Printing, and the desirability of the publication of the report could be discussed more appropriately and with much more freedom after the Address is brought down, and the House is in a position to know what it really contains.

The motion was agreed to.

ADULTERATION ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

AMENDMENTS CONCURRED IN.

The Order of the Day being called, for consideration of the amendments proposed by the Select Committee to Bill (16), "An Act to provide against Frauds in the Supplying of Milk to Cheese and Butter Manufactories,"

HON. MR. READ (Quinté), said: Since this Bill was printed I have given a number of copies of it to the gentlemen composing the Dairymen's Convention, which is now in session in this building. They are from all parts of Canada nearly, and they have given it a careful perusal, and they see no reason for amending it in any particular. They think it is a Bill that will be of very great advantage to them, and they heartily concur in it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The amendments with reference to the description of frauds to which this Bill is to apply, I presume, are in every respect to be commended, but there is a matter of form about the Bill which requires consideration, and which I thought I had mentioned to my hon. friend on a previous occasion. I suppose I omitted to do so. A portion of the Bill is devoted to establishing the procedure by which penalties may be enforced, and my attention was called to it by the Minister of Justice, who tells me that the Summary Convictions Act makes provision for all these things, with reference to frauds on milk as well as to other things. Therefore, it will not be expedient to repeat it in this Bill.

I will not say anything with reference to the motion of my hon. friend for concurrence in the amendments, and if he postpones the third reading until to-morrow I will consult the Minister of Justice, and see how far we can strike out some of those clauses about procedure.

HON. MR. POWER—Before the hon. gentleman takes any steps towards striking out the conviction clauses of the Bill, it would be well to consult the introducer of the Bill also. It will be remembered by members of the special committee that when the Bill was before the committee I made the same objection that is now taken by the leader of the House; and the promoter of the Bill gave some reasons why the procedure of the Summary Convictions Act should not apply. In order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, I think the hon. leader of the House should consult the promoter of the Bill in respect to those clauses.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I must congratulate my hon. friend who has charge of this Bill on the improvement that has been made in it by the special committee since it was before us on its second reading. In clause 13 of this Bill I would suggest an amendment. I find that one-half of the fine is to be given to the informant and the other half to the president, for the use of the manufactory. It is rather unusual, when you are imposing a fine like this. There are a great many factories where the man who manufactures the cheese is himself the owner of the factory.

HON. MR. ROSS—Then he will get the fine in that case.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—He is more than that; he will be the principal witness—the expert witness at the trial. He would be the informant, and would be the party to receive half the fine as his share as complainant, and would receive the other half as the owner of the factory.

HON. MR. ROSS—He cannot get more than the whole amount.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I do not think that the farmer should be so much at the mercy of any one man, who would be at the same time the informant, the witness and the recipient of the two halves of the fine. I would suggest that instead of giving one-half the fine to the owner of the factory it should go to the treasurer of the municipality in which the factory is situated, or to the clerk of the peace.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I do not see why it should go to the treasurer of the municipality, for if a farmer commits a fraud on the factory it is a loss to the owners of the factory. As far as the Bill is concerned, I don't think it will be much used anyway—particularly in Ontario. It will be more of a scare-crow than anything else. The fact of the law being on the Statute Book will make people more careful how they send their milk to cheese or butter factories. I know that the statute passed by the Ontario Legislature had that effect in this Province. In some instances parties were convicted and fined under the Act, and they paid the fine. Some came forward and confessed that they had been diluting their milk with water, and so on. When this Bill was considered in committee it was admitted to be a fair and honest measure. As to the suggestion of the leader of the House, I do not say anything about that, but as far as the rest of the Bill is concerned, I think it will be a benefit to the whole Dominion.

The motion was agreed to, and the amendments were concurred in.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. SCOTT moved the second reading of Bill (68), "An Act respecting

the Canadian Pacific Railway Company." He said: The Canadian Pacific Railway Company ask by this Bill the authority of Parliament to issue consolidated debenture stock, in order that they may substitute it for the mortgage bonds that are now running on the line and its branches. It is found that in the financial markets of the world this debenture stock—that is, non-terminal—is a favorite security as compared with the terminable securities, and this Bill authorizes a substitution of stock for the bonds as soon as the holders are willing to relinquish them. It gives no compulsory power to substitute one stock for the other, and even the movement for substitution can only be undertaken when three-fourths of the shareholders at any meeting concur in it. The debenture stock is limited in the rate of interest, and it is also limited in the substitution to the present charges on the road, not to exceed the present actual fixed charges on the road. There is this further provision: The company ask authority, from time to time, to issue debenture stock to the extent of £500 sterling per mile, for the purposes of the railway—for double track, sidings, bridges, warehouses, elevators, etc.

HON. MR. TURNER—As second security.

HON. MR. SCOTT—No; it will be debenture stock, and it does not disturb the priorities of the present stock as they now exist.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The charges that are interfered with do not relate to the interest guaranteed by the Dominion.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It does not touch that question at all. The Dominion hold security on the lands of the company, and this does not disturb or in any way relate to the securities; it only relates to the railway, its plant and rolling stock, and those articles included in the mortgage on the railway proper and its branches. In order to remove any doubt on that point, a clause was introduced in the other House negating any such presumption. It in no way disturbs the position of the Government or the people of this country in reference to the company. It also asks that the amount of \$330,000 be

authorized as debenture stock for the completion of the branch line of eleven miles, from a point in British Columbia to a point south of the international boundary. The issue of the £500 sterling per mile is not intended to be made at present, but only from time to time as the circumstances and the earning power of the road warrant it. Of course, until that time arrives it would not be prudent for the company to offer that stock on the market.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

DISCRIMINATING DUTIES AGAINST THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

DEBATE CONTINUED.

The Order of the Day having been called—

Resuming the adjourned debate on the Hon. Mr. Wark's motion, viz.:—"To resolve as the opinion of this House, that in view of the fostering care extended by the mother country to her colonies from their infancy, as well as for the favorable terms on which their products have always been admitted into her markets, it would be unjust to the United Kingdom to levy higher duties on goods imported from thence than on goods of the same character imported from any foreign country."

The Hon. Mr. Power's motion in amendment thereto, viz.:—"That all the words after 'that,' in the first line of the said resolution, be stricken out, and the following words substituted therefor: 'Whenever a proposal is submitted to Parliament to admit goods imported from any foreign country into Canada at a lower rate of duty than is charged upon the like goods imported from the United Kingdom, then, and not before, it will be the duty of this House to seriously consider the propriety of such proposal.'"

And the Honorable Mr. Abbott's motion in amendment to the amendment:—"That all the words in the said amendment be struck out, and the following substituted therefor: 'Any measure for securing reciprocity of trade with any foreign country, in such of the products of such country as may be freely interchanged with advantage to both, would receive the favorable consideration of this House; but that, in the opinion of this House, it would not be for the interest of this country, nor in consonance with the sentiments of its people, to establish entire reciprocity of trade with any foreign nation upon any conditions that would restrict, with regard to others, entire freedom of action by this country in protecting its own industries, in dealing with its sources of revenue, and in regulating its own foreign trade, or that would necessitate the adoption of duties discriminating against imports from other nations, and more especially from the mother country.'"

Hon. Mr. POWER—Before the debate is resumed, I wish to give the leader of House, mover of the second amendment,

notice that I propose to object to his amendment as not being in order. The amendment which I proposed was substantially that it would be our duty to consider the questions suggested by the original resolution when a measure was submitted to Parliament with a view to admitting goods imported from any foreign country into Canada at a lower rate of duty than on like goods charged to the United Kingdom. The hon. gentleman's amendment does not touch that; it does not say that that declaration is incorrect, but it deals with something totally different. It steps over the amendment and goes back to the original motion, which it proposes to modify or amend in some way that I must own I am not very clear about. As an amendment it is defective, because it is not really germane to the resolution which it proposes to amend, and because it is not necessarily inconsistent. An amendment should be inconsistent with the resolution which it proposes to amend. This amendment is not inconsistent. One may admit all that is stated in the hon. gentleman's amendment, and still hold the view laid down in my amendment, and for these two reasons I submit it is out of order.

HON. MR. REESOR—I look upon this motion as being so very far-reaching and important in its relation to the development of trade and intercourse between Canada and the United States that it deserves our most serious attention. The amendment of my hon. friend from Halifax seems to be a very legitimate one, and I agree with the hon. gentleman that the amendment to the amendment is a sort of round-about way of getting at the first proposition, and I think it would be better to leave the question between the first amendment and the original resolution.

The original question and the second amendment, it seems to me, might prove of material disadvantage to the prospect of the Government obtaining any improved trade relations with the United States beyond those that we possess already. That would be a state of things not at all desirable. I know it may be said that we have had for a long time on the Statute Book an offer of free trade in all the natural products of the two countries. Let us take into account the several

reasons which interfered with the acceptance of that offer. There was a great deal of irritation between Canada and the United States at the time of the war, owing partly to those who represented the South making a sort of rendezvous in Canada and purchasing supplies to fight their battles with, and even making raids on the banks along the border. These, coupled with the influence they exercised on a portion of the press of Canada, continued to irritate our neighbors while they were struggling for their existence and the permanency of the Republic. If the case had been reversed, and anything of the kind had been perpetrated by them towards Canada or Great Britain, the same feeling would probably have been aroused on our part. In addition to that, the United States incurred a very large debt during the war, and they had a very reasonable excuse to tax all imports of goods from every country to a large extent. They have now so far succeeded in reducing their debt, and they have lived down that feeling of irritation which existed at an earlier period to such an extent that there is a fairly good feeling arising on both sides of the line, and the time seems opportune for negotiating a treaty by which the trade of the two countries may be very much increased, to the advantage of both. It is true that our neighbors make an excuse that much of the produce that we wish to sell them is of such a character that they are not obliged to purchase—that they have the natural resources within themselves to produce everything in the line of breadstuffs that we can produce, only there may be some few varieties that we can produce a little better. That is all the difference that exists in regard to the articles that we have to offer them at present. Then, on the other hand, they say that the profit would be slight that they would make in buying our products and re-shipping them—that there would be only the commission and the freight on the railways and the handling of them in re-shipping at Boston, Portland and New York. They export a great deal more than they would buy from us, and they would simply handle and ship our goods with their own. They think that under all the circumstances there ought to be a wider margin of trade—that an arrangement should be

made for us to allow their manufactured goods to come into this country. Here, then, seems to arise the most difficult point to get over and the most difficult matter in which to reconcile the people of Canada to any measure of reciprocity beyond that of natural products. Looking at it from, I think, a reasonably fair standpoint, the wealth and capacity of the people of this country and the capital they can command would enable them to manufacture as cheaply and as well as their neighbors, and their manufactures could find their way into the markets of the United States as well as the manufactured products of that country could find their way into the markets of Canada. For some years the cost of labor has been higher in the United States than in Canada. The fact that the cost of labor is lower in Canada would give us an advantage to start with. Of course it might be said that they have a large population, large factories, and manufacture extensively, and would be able to flood our markets. I do not remember, and I have watched the course of events very closely, that we have suffered much from their presence in our markets; but I do know that Canadians engaged in certain lines of manufactures in Canada carried them along for many years, before the duties in Canada were raised above what was required for revenue purposes. That objection cannot apply to an industry that could grow up under such circumstances, and compete with the Americans, with their larger capital and more extensive business. Of course, I don't mean to say that we have as much capital as they have, but we have all that we can use. In fact, we have so much capital in Canada for the population that we have had a great deal of it taken down to New York and to Chicago to supply the American merchants, shippers and manufacturers. For the last twenty or thirty years the Bank of Montreal has been in the habit of sending a great deal of capital down to New York and other points. The Bank of British North America has done the same thing, and the Bank of Toronto has done something in the same line; so that, so far as capital is concerned, if a good legitimate business can be offered for a bank in Canada to perform, they are ready to furnish the money, and with

those facilities and the indomitable industry, energy and frugality of our people, I do not see why we should fear to enter into competition with those upon the other side. Notwithstanding the fact that there are certain lines that we could not work profitably, I know that there are factories to-day that are only too anxious to have reciprocity in trade, and have the Custom houses abolished between Canada and United States. There are some that have been in existence for years, and are thoroughly established, and they feel that the market has become too small in Canada. The adoption of the National Policy gave rise to the establishment of a great many factories; there is no doubt about that—probably too many of them in certain lines to supply the legitimate wants of this country. It is in those lines that the manufacturers of Canada begin to feel the necessity for a larger market. The fact is, there is no better protection than the manufacturer can secure than extended markets where his goods are wanted. That is the best protection he can have; that is what the people of Canada are beginning to feel the want of, and that is what, in my opinion, they are able to maintain, and would maintain if they had the opportunity. It is not long since I saw a letter from a party representing a firm of woollen manufacturers in Quebec, in which he said that he would be ready at any moment, without any extended notice, to compete with the manufacturers of the United States with regard to woollen goods—that he would be only too glad to embrace the opportunity.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—Perhaps the hon. gentleman has overlooked the fact that here, in Canada, wool is duty free, whereas in the United States a very high duty is imposed upon it. Therefore, the woollen manufacturers in this country are in a much better position than the woollen manufacturers in the United States in that respect.

HON. MR. REESOR—It is very true that there is a duty upon wool there, but on the other hand that will work in another direction. If the duty on wool was also included in Canada we would necessarily have a higher price for our

manufactured goods; besides it would lead to the establishment of large sheep ranches in the North-West of Canada, such as are now being established in the north-western States. At the present time sheep-raising is going very largely out of use, particularly in the old Provinces. I know it is so in Ontario. There are hundreds of farmers who do not keep a sheep at all, simply because the price of wool has gone down from 30 and 32 cents to 18 cents a pound. The duty on wool going to the United States makes the difference, and if it required some modification of the rate of duty the Americans might agree to a reduction of the duty on wool in some lines—no doubt they would be willing to do so; it is a matter for treaty between the two countries—and still leave enough margin, so that the sheep farmer in Canada would be upon an equal footing with the sheep farmer in the United States. The amount of wool produced in the neighboring country is nothing like the amount they consume in manufacturing. They buy immense quantities of wool in South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, and our own manufacturers get the greater part of their wool from those places. They manufacture very little of our long Canadian wools. They are mostly sold to go to the United States, where they are wanted for combing. A great many goods are made from a comparatively small quantity of combing wools, and you require a large market to make it pay, to establish first class factories and the best of machinery, so that I think there is nothing that would, on the whole, be lost if we had free trade in manufactures. The question then arises as to how England would take the matter. I fully sympathise with all who are anxious to do what would be to the advantage and interest of the mother country, as far as possible; but I am sure, upon the whole, it would not be to the interest of England to place Canada at a disadvantage in the race by the side of the United States. Our colonial position has always tended—at least, from an early period until lately—to rather discourage manufacturing. My hon. friend who introduced this resolution stated to the House the other day the instructions that were given to the Govern-

nors that were sent out to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. These instructions were that the colonists were at liberty to raise duties for the expenses of the Government, but they were not to impose duties for the purposes of protection, and the colonies were thus placed at a great disadvantage. It was done less to help the struggling and hard-working colonies, or the struggling and hard-working artizans of England, than to enrich the manufacturers, who even then possessed large capital. The further instructions were, as my hon. friend reminded the House, that the East India Company claimed as a special privilege to have tea admitted into the colonies duty free. They probably knew that if it came in free there would be more of it consumed, but they did not stop to consider what the effect upon the colonies might be. We were left, as my hon. friend the leader of the Government in this House said the other day we would be left if we joined in a commercial treaty with the United States. He apprehended, notwithstanding our high tariff and their high tariff, and notwithstanding the capacity of Canadians to work side by side with them, and to adopt the most improved machinery to be had, and to obtain raw material at the same rate, that we would be ruined, and would become hewers of wood and drawers of water to our neighbors. I think he labored under a great mistake. I am satisfied we would have the same chance to increase in prosperity that our neighbors have—that we could occupy as favorable a position before the world, that we could extend our commerce and develop our natural resources as fully as our neighbors can. The only difference would be in the Government of the country. Our Government and our other institutions would be entirely apart from theirs. If our commercial relations were on equal terms and all our other relations towards each other were the same as they are now, we would have the advantage of what we love very much, because we have struggled to secure and to maintain the free institutions that we now enjoy. I can remember the time, when we were struggling for responsible government, the effort that was made to secure it and the resistance that was offered to it. Good men are sometimes

more conservative than wise. Among the men who opposed the introduction of responsible government were some of our most intelligent and in many respects ablest statesmen. Some of the men that opposed it, and their followers, lived to see in a few years the advantage of responsible government. They saw that it produced most satisfactory results—that it produced contentment—that there was no uneasiness. At first, when we were agitating for responsible government, we were called annexationists, and all sorts of hard names. We were charged with being disloyal, but there was no disloyalty after we secured responsible government, and there has never been any disloyalty down to the present day. Now when we want to make another step in the path of progress the same feeling arises. Our opponents are inclined to say now that we are disloyal because we want to establish closer trade relations with our neighbors. But if we had those closer trade relations, and could show to the countries of Europe that we have the same commercial advantages and the same means of attaining a high degree of prosperity that our neighbors possess, the same rapid growth and development would be experienced here that we have witnessed in the United States. Within twenty years our neighbors have doubled their population. They have increased from 30,000,000 to 60,000,000, while our population in the same time increased perhaps less than a million, while probably fully a million of the best of our population have during the same period gone to the United States where they are very much appreciated. They can get positions where some of their own people would be refused. Now, if we can occupy a position that would afford all the inviting prospects and all the temptations to capital and to immigrants, particularly of the better class, to come to Canada, instead of joining in the stream that flows continually into the neighboring country, would it not be to our advantage? Would it not increase the wealth, the prosperity and the population of the Dominion? That is what we want. I believe there are British statesmen to-day who see that that would be the final result, and that is why others as

well as Bright, who was an ornament to his country while he lived, and whose loss is universally regretted, have come to the conclusion that it would benefit England herself, as well as this country, to see Canada growing in prosperity and wealth, and becoming thereby a larger consumer of her products. Their large interests would induce them to take such a view of the question, and to withhold any objections that they might otherwise have to the development of Canadian interests. In former times Englishmen looked upon such questions in a very different light. They were inclined to impose upon the colonies and to keep them in a sort of vassalage—to keep them in such a condition that they could not attain to any large measure of prosperity or draw to the colonies any considerable population; while the independent Republic, taking a different course, entered into all the enterprises which a country with such great resources has a right to undertake. As to resources, there is no country in the world, perhaps, which possesses better advantages for making a great future than Canada. But another objector says England would not care about keeping Canada if we had free trade with the United States—that it would check to such an extent the importation and consumption of British goods that the mother country would not care about maintaining the existing relations with the Dominion. Now, let us examine that. In regard to the trade itself—in regard to the articles that we import and consume—there is something like \$600,000,000 or \$700,000,000 worth of produce shipped from the United States to the various countries of the world. Out of that large shipment about five-sixths is shipped to Great Britain and her colonies, and notwithstanding the high duties imposed by the United States upon all foreign goods, and notwithstanding the high tariff in this country, which is very similar to that of the United States, the shipments from England to this country and the neighboring Republic continues almost as large, and sometimes are quite as large as the shipments from the United States to Great Britain and her colonies. The exchange goes on, notwithstanding the high duties. Notwithstanding the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, the trade between the

United States and Canada continues. There are high duties collected on the produce that we export to the United States, and we collect about seven millions of dollars a year on American goods imported into Canada. Now, if these duties were removed in Canada and the United States both countries would participate in the benefit of that removal. As to certain articles that a nation may buy, it will make little difference, perhaps, to the vendor whether the duty imposed upon them stands in the way or not. An article that we are obliged to have we will buy even at a high cost; but there are certain articles that we are not of necessity obliged to purchase, and if there is a high duty imposed on them we will not pay as much for them by the amount of that duty as we otherwise would. Take, for example, lumber, horses and cattle shipped from this country to the United States. Duties are imposed upon them, but they are classes of articles that our neighbors are not obliged to take, because they have a very good supply of their own. Many of these articles they purchase from us for their own consumption, and they export some of their own. Our sheep are specially adapted for mutton, and theirs for wool and breeding purposes, and theirs are sold to other countries to improve the stock. So that, so far as our goods are concerned, it is a matter of great importance to Canada that the duties in the United States should be removed. The duties that are paid there, furthermore, remember, do not go into our pockets, but into the Treasury of the United States. The same may be said with regard to the articles of barley, wheat, oats, potatoes and fish. We realize less on them by nearly the amount of the duty imposed by the United States than we would otherwise receive. On the other hand, the duty that we pay upon goods imported from the United States amounts to a considerable sum. The question next arises: how would we make up the loss of that duty? Upon a careful reference to the customs duties and the duties of excise imposed by each country, we find that we are taxed *per capita* within a fraction of the same amount that the people of the United States are taxed. We are already taxing British goods to such an extent, as my

hon. friend from Midland said the other day, that it is impossible to import them. Many of these goods are already fenced out, but however distasteful it may be to have a tariff in Canada so high as to encourage home industries, you must remember this fact, that the people have so declared it. It was so declared, not only in 1878, but also again in 1882, and in 1886 and 1887—it was declared that these duties should be imposed, because it was thought desirable to encourage and maintain manufacturing industries in Canada. The argument was that our American neighbors had prospered under that system, and why could not Canada do the same? The reasoning was so strong that it took with the people; they adopted that view, and have maintained the same Government in power ever since the election in 1878. That being the case, we are protectionists to-day, and our duties on British goods are nearly as high as those imported by the United States. I know that some of my free trade friends think we ought to have a change, and that the tariff ought to be lowered very much; but I do not myself believe that it would be right to do so. I am so far a protectionist that when the country has been pledged to give certain encouragement to an industry, and when that pledge has been repeated twice and thrice, I believe it would be breaking faith with the people who put their money into manufactories to take that duty off suddenly, without giving them a chance to work them, and such notice that it could be done without producing ruin amongst them. There is another reason: we have involved ourselves in a large debt, building railways, public works, and perhaps by being a little extravagant, and we cannot do without a revenue. As we must have a revenue, I do not see that it is not just as cheap to collect it from goods such as we may be manufacturing ourselves as collect it from other things—tea, coffee, and that class of imports. We cannot manufacture tea or coffee, but if there is anything we can manufacture, as we have entered upon the principle of encouraging manufactures, and since the country has sanctioned it, why not levy the duty upon such articles as come into competition with our own? A good deal has been said with regard to the views of the American press on this proposition. It must be remem-

bered that there are two political parties in the United States, each one trying to trip up the other, just as parties do in Canada. They are no more honest—no better. The Democratic party were defeated in their efforts to enter into terms with Canada, and get a settlement of some important international matters. The Senate of the United States were Republican, and they were not going to give the honor to the Democratic party of settling a great trade question like that between Canada and the United States. They succeeded by a small majority in preventing their opponents from carrying out anything in that direction. The Democrats felt sore over the matter, and as the proposition was made by Mr. Hitt in Congress, they say it is an abominable proposition—England would never consent to it—it would be placing Canada under the feet of the Republic. They want to discourage it, because they say it is not fair to induce us to come under an arrangement by which Congress could control our revenue and determine the rate of duty which would be put on our imports, as they would have a greater influence in arranging the tariff. I do not know about that. We had a big arbitration with our American cousins not long ago, and I do not know that they got the better of us. We have just as clever men in proportion to the number of our population as they have, and are capable of looking after our own interests in these matters of detail, and in arranging the character of and adjusting the tariff Canada would have the same interest that the United States would have; and now that they hold out the olive branch, and show a disposition to act kindly towards us in negotiating a treaty, I think we would be unwise if we did not accept their offer, in so far as to enter into negotiations, whether they ever terminated in any agreement that would be satisfactory or not. Whatever agreement would be entered into by commissioners on both sides would have to be submitted to Congress and to the Parliament of Canada, and no change of any importance could be made—in fact, no change at all need be made without the concurrence of both Governments. Congressman Hitt, in the speech introducing his resolution in the Senate of the United States, sug-

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gested a mode by which the terms could be arranged that would be just and fair to both parties. I will read an extract from his speech, and if hon. gentlemen will follow it closely, and free from prejudice, they will find nothing unreasonable about it. Mr. Hitt said :

"In the year 1887 we sold to Canada \$44,802,732 of goods. Of this amount \$30,578,332 consisted of articles on which they levied duties, the average rate being 23.76 per cent., amounting to \$7,265,135.73."

This large amount of duty was levied upon American goods, yet their goods came into our market. He goes on to say :

"The assimilation of the Canadian tariff to our own would not be a violent change. An elaborate computation made at my request by the Bureau of Statistics, issued May 31, 1888, giving the rates of duty imposed by Canada upon each article making up the \$30,000,000 of dutiable articles which were sold to that country in the last year, averaged 23.76 per cent. The duty estimated under our own tariff, which would have been collected had it been applied, would have amounted to 26.49 per cent., being a difference of only 2.73 per cent.

So that in regard to the duties on outside products the difference is very trifling.

"The difference between our internal-revenue taxation (which like that of Canada falls upon spirits, beer, and tobacco) and that of Canada is also not wide, and like the slight difference in the respective tariffs, could be assimilated into one revenue system without any violent change.

"The division of receipts from tariff and internal revenue, if based upon the respective populations, would make scarce any change at all. We collected last year by tariff and internal revenue together \$6.70 *per capita* of our population, while Canada collected from tariff and excise \$6.65. Let me give the precise facts in detail from the official reports. During the year ending June 30, 1887, our Government collected by the tariff \$217,286,896, and from internal revenue \$118,823,391, making altogether \$336,110,287 from a population, according to the census of 1881, of 50,155,783 persons, making \$6.70 from every person in the United States.

That is upon Excise and Customs :

"During the same year the Canadian Government collected by its tariff \$22,378,801, and from internal revenue, or excise as they term it, \$6,308,201, making together \$28,687,002 which was collected from the population of Canada, that according to the census of 1881 numbered 4,324,810, or a fraction above \$6.60 from every person. As the amounts collected from the respective peoples are almost exactly identical *per capita*, differing by a decimal scarcely appreciable, would it not be the simplest and the fairest way, when the revenues are to be all collected under a common tariff and a uniform internal-revenue system, to divide the proceeds by population? This would leave the revenues of each Government derived from tariff and internal revenue exactly as they stand now, and each

treasury would receive next year from these sources the same sums proportionally for the support of the Governments that they received in 1887. I do not mention receipts from other sources, such as public lands, post office, public works, etc. Each Government would manage them to suit itself. Undoubtedly the receipts from duties at Canadian ports might change, because the market of Canada being largely supplied with goods from the United States, the large sums they now collect upon importations from across the sea might be decreased, but the equitable division of revenue by population would maintain the Canadian Government in undiminished financial resources."

This meets, according to his view, and it seems a reasonable one, the objection that has been raised—what would we do if we lost these seven millions of revenue from goods imported from the United States? Although we would not have to pay duties on goods imported from the United States, yet our receipts *per capita* tax, in the shape of Customs and Excise, would be the same under the pooling arrangement as it is now increasing as the population of the country increased, and if the population of the two countries continued to increase, it would be rather to our advantage, because it would increase the consumption and a necessarily greater importation of goods from abroad. The United States are getting into a position that they will not require quite so much revenue; and if we preferred it, I have no doubt they would lower their tariff to the level of ours, still leaving the revenue ample to pay off their large debt and for us to meet our large liabilities which we have already incurred. Then, further, in regard to the dislike that hon. gentlemen feel—and I fully participate in that feeling—to do any thing that could injure the position of the mother country in connection with Canada: I should regret very much to see anything of the kind done, and I cannot believe that the operation of any trade arrangement we might secure between Canada and the United States, keeping our revenues about as they are, and producing about the same amount that we are realizing now, although collected in a different way, and divided in a different way, would be a disadvantage to Canada or to the mother country. I believe this country would be more prosperous. I am satisfied that we would realize more upon all our natural products and that we would maintain the position of our manufacturers. It is only a few days ago I

received a letter from a friend up west who is running a large button manufactory in Berlin. He complained that the market is getting too small for him in Canada, and he took a considerable quantity of his goods over to Buffalo and found a profitable market there for them. But he had to pay a high duty on his goods, and his Buffalo customers advised him to pull up stakes and move over to Buffalo. He is a Canadian, doing a good business here, yet he contemplates seriously opening up a large branch of his business in Buffalo, in order to get the advantage of the American trade without incurring the heavy duties. If these duties were abolished those people who fear that the money invested in our manufacturing establishments would be lost would find, in course of time, that their fears were groundless. No great change is ever accomplished without those fears arising in the minds of people. I remember conversing with one of our wealthiest families of Toronto, the Taylors—paper manufacturers. They had emigrated from England to New York State, intending to make their home there. But when the Government of the State of New York proposed to have the Erie Canal constructed our English friend, who was very conservative in his opinions, thought it would ruin the country. "Why," said he, "if the canal is constructed from Buffalo to New York the settlers in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois would flood the city of New York with corn and wheat, and thus ruin the New York farmers and get almost as much for their produce as the settlers down in New York, and the people of New York would have that immense public work to pay for;" and he became so disgusted with the agitation of that question that when he found it had carried he sold out and came to Canada. Had he remained there and held the property he acquired close to the city of New York he would to-day be worth many millions of dollars, but he took that gloomy view of the project. I am satisfied that many members of this Senate have taken an active interest in getting railways built in Ontario. We know it is not so in the eastern Provinces; they can always get the Government to build a railway through Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, particularly before an

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election, but in Ontario we have to build our railways ourselves. I remember taking the stump when the Nipissing road was built—now the Midland Railway—and addressing meetings in different townships, and we succeeded in getting bonuses from townships that lay within four miles of the city of Toronto. They were willing, for the prospective advantage of seeing the city built up more rapidly than it otherwise would be, and to have the advantage of a larger local market, to bonus those roads. They could also understand that it might be an advantage in the future, as their timber lands were cleared off, to have a road passing through the township upon which they could get lumber from the back regions of the country. So we got bonuses of \$10,000 to \$50,000 from each township or municipality on that line of road. We have now some ten railways running into the city of Toronto. They have given an immense impetus to the growth of the city. Notwithstanding what people may say—of course, I give them credit for sincerity on both sides—that the National Policy has done nothing to give an impetus to the growth of cities or towns, I am sure it has helped Toronto; but whether it has cost too much or not is another question. However, Toronto has increased its population in twenty years from 45,000 up to 165,000 to-day.

HON. MR. SMITH—One hundred and seventy thousand.

HON. MR. REESOR—These things are more or less gratifying, and all this has been done by the exertions of the people of Ontario. We did not come to the Dominion Government for help. But in securing these railway improvements we were met with the objection made by the farmers of the frontier townships, that to bonus railroads to run back into the interior would glut the Toronto market with back country produce, and thus by competition spoil the market they already had, just as some of our manufacturers are now afraid to compete with their American neighbors. But we carried the majority and built the railway, and to-day not a man would consent to be without those roads on any terms. So it would be if we had free trade with our neighbors;

our manufacturers as well as our farmers would appreciate the advantage, and would not be anxious to lose the trade of 70,000,000 of people. Of course, the decline in prices would not have been quite so great if we could have had free trade with the United States. They would have been better, almost to the extent of the duty. At the same time, there was a general decline in values throughout the world, and we, in common with all other producing countries, suffered more or less from that fact. I have no fear, however, that we will be enabled to wipe off our local debt—that the farmers will pay off all their mortgages and we will be on our feet again. All I ask is, that the Government will take such steps as will secure by friendly negotiation with the United States a larger share of trade than we have at present, and I am not at all afraid of unrestricted reciprocity. That is my conviction of what is right, and I venture to say before another election is carried throughout the Dominion we will find that the members elected will be, by a large majority, in favor of such a treaty.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I would like to ask my hon. friend a question on one point: from Mr. Hitt's speech it appears that there is nothing to be collected from Customs between the two countries? If the Custom houses between the two countries are abolished, how then would these moneys for revenue be obtained by the Government? What means of collection would you suggest if they were abolished?

HON. MR. REESOR—The collection would go just as it goes on now. Canada would collect all the Custom duties paid into our ports. We would require to have Custom warehouses for goods coming from all outside countries to the ports of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, and other cities west, and the moneys pooled to form its part of the *per capita* division.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Then there would be no change in the line of Custom houses?

HON. MR. REESOR—We would not give up the control of our Custom houses, but we would arrange our tariff upon an

agreement to be entered into, and if we could not enter into a fair agreement we would not enter into any. I do not believe in annexation, and I do not think there is any danger of it. The affection of the people for the mother land is too strong, and I believe in the 30,000,000 that have been added to the population of the United States within the last twenty years a large proportion would be found who would like our institutions quite as well as the American institutions. The Americans framed their constitution 100 years ago, and it could hardly be expected, with the short experience that they had of liberal institutions at that time, that they could frame a constitution as perfect as our own. We have responsible government on a principle that has been worked out satisfactorily in England, and it took years and years to accomplish it—years of war, revolution and bloodshed. They have now an established constitution, on a satisfactory basis, and to-day the English and the American systems are the two best systems of government in the world. England and her colonies, and the American Republic, are the most prosperous people in the world. Now, in regard to the danger of England giving up all connection with Canada, I do not entertain any fear of the kind. England would have an interest in Canada all the time, and would derive as great returns after commercial union with the United States as she derives from Canada to-day, and I believe in five or ten years that their profits on goods sold to Canada would be greater than they will be if we remain tied back and kept in the background, as we are at present. I believe there is sufficient statesmanship in England to see and understand this, and to say that if Canada wishes to enter into such close relations we are at liberty to do so. I have said that England would always have a highway in Canada amongst friends from ocean to ocean. If they had any trouble in the East in holding their own—in China, India or Australia, they would have free access to those countries over land, you may say, belonging to themselves. At each end of this railway communication, on each side of the continent, they would have stations where they

could supply their steamers with coal cheaper than anywhere else in the American Republic, even if they had the privilege of crossing that country. In California there is no coal, but in British Columbia we have abundance of coal. I venture to say that England would on no consideration give up the privileges which she enjoys—privileges that are being developed mainly at Canada's cost. We are doing just as much for the mother country as she is doing for us, considering the means that we have at our disposal. I think that we are doing splendidly, and that England may well be proud of, Canada and that she will ever continue to be proud of her great colony. I have no idea whatever that there is the remotest chance of a political union of this country with the United States. I believe that the Americans have given up the idea. Only the other day Mr. Wiman, in advocating freer trade relations between the two countries at a meeting of the Board of Trade in Portland, where a dinner had been tendered him, said that they must disabuse their minds of the idea that Canada was in favor of annexation or was likely to be for fifty years to come. He advised them strongly not to think of anything of the kind, because Canadians are attached to their own country, and the commercial advantages would be enough for the Americans and Canadians to enjoy, leaving each country to maintain its own form of government and deal with each other in an equitable spirit. The strongest bond we could ever have would be the bond of commerce.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I should like to ask the hon. gentleman to explain if, from any unforeseen event, we wanted an increase over the amounts which we would receive from this pooling of our receipts, how we are to obtain it?

HON. MR. REESOR—It could be done by increasing some of the means of internal taxation—that is, the Excise; but by managing our affairs with economy it would be many years before we would require an increase.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The proposition is to have a uniform tariff for the

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two countries. Now, if we want to increase the amount of our revenue from the common treasury, how could we obtain it? Suppose, from any unforeseen event, such as a rebellion in the North-West, we wanted two or three millions of dollars, where would we obtain it?

HON. MR. REESOR—That is a matter of detail which could be left to the high contracting parties. Of course, whether we work alone or in harmony with another country these things have to be arranged and provided for. Taking our great resources—our fisheries, agriculture, the mines and the forests—Canada occupies a position which, if properly developed, and if immigrants can be induced to settle in the country, will make it as prosperous as the neighboring Republic.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I congratulate my hon. friend on his endeavor to prove that this country has so developed under the National Policy that we are in a position to compete on equal terms with the United States. That is a position which I thought was thoroughly denied by the party to which he belongs. His leader alongside of him (Mr. Scott) has told us that our manufacturing industries are mere mushroom growths, bounty-fed institutions, sustained by the tax-payers of this country for the benefit of a few monopolists. That is the position which the hon. member from Ottawa took on all occasions when this subject was under discussion, and the position which he holds to-day; yet my hon. friend from York admits that we have, under our National Policy, attained such a position that we can put ourselves in amicable competition with the great nation beside us. I doubt that. I believe that no country on the face of the globe has attained such prosperity in every branch of trade and industry as Canada has experienced since the National Policy was established; and we have hopes in the future, if we continue to foster our industries on the true principles on which we started ten years ago, that we will become a great country, independent entirely of the United States. But my hon. friend tells us that the United States would not enter into reciprocal trade relations with us in natural products, though we have offered to do so

ever since we adopted the National Policy. We have offered to give them reciprocal trade in the products of the farm, the forests, the mines and the fisheries, and he states that the reason why the United States has not accepted our offer is because the Republic was so depressed by a war debt that it was not in a position to compete with us. But my hon. friend has not followed the current of events in the United States. Do we not find that the last Democratic President was hurled from power because he proposed to reduce the tariff? Have we not found that in the United States, though they have such a large revenue that they do not know what to do with it, when it was proposed to reduce the tariff the people hurled the Democratic party from power?

HON. MR. POWER—Mr. Cleveland had a majority of the popular vote.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—He had a majority of the Southern vote with him, but not a majority in the manufacturing districts. Those who were interested in the manufacturing industries of the country were the men who opposed and defeated him.

HON. MR. POWER—In New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, Mr. Cleveland did better in the manufacturing districts than he had done before.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—In all this controversy, what seems to me very strange is the fact that when we are dealing with all the world on equal terms the Opposition call it restriction, and when they would bring us into commercial subjugation to the neighboring Republic, with the highest possible tariff, they call it free trade. I do not believe that a majority of the people of this country are so lost to all right sentiment as to say that they are prepared to discriminate against Great Britain—that they are prepared to join the Americans in raising a barrier against the mother country while admitting the products of the United States into our markets free. Those who are base enough to do that would be prepared to go further and pull down the British flag. The sense of loyalty to our country is too strong to

allow such a policy to prevail; it was a sentiment of loyalty which led the United Empire Loyalists to become refugees from the United States in order that they might live under the British flag. A man is good, noble and pure in proportion to the strength of that sentiment. We would be a mean people, such as we are not, if we could be inspired by a feeling that we should be more closely united to the neighboring Republic, who have always manifested a spirit of hostility towards us, and whose great object is to carry out the Monroe doctrine, than to the mother country. The whole tendency of our neighbors has been to absorb this country. Every overture that has been made to us from Washington has been based upon that sentiment. Senator Morgan, a leading Democrat in the Senate at Washington, in September last expressed the opinion that Canada could be annexed by a coercive policy; Senator Sherman, who represented the Republic sentiment, thought we could be won by seductive influences. The Democratic Senator threatened to coerce us into a union by a policy of non-intercourse; the Republican Senator thought we could be won into the union by kindly and liberal treatment. But I do not think that either policy could produce such an effect upon the Canadian people. What has been the character of the nation to the south of us? Have they not invariably treated us in an unfair and hostile spirit? They cannot keep a treaty with us, or with any other country. What have they done with the Treaty of 1818, which was so much in their favor? They have disregarded it constantly. Even after coming to an agreement with them, which was admitted to be mutually satisfactory, and which was recommended to Congress by the President as a fair, just and honorable settlement of the difficulties and disputes between the two countries, it was thrown aside, and the same President who had pronounced it a just and equitable settlement had the audacity to threaten us with raising a barrier of non-intercourse between the two countries because the United States Senate had refused to ratify the treaty. It was quite in keeping with the manner in which they robbed this country of Maine, by means of false maps, and quite in keeping with the policy which they are pursuing in Behring Sea to-day

HON. MR. MCINNIS (B.C.)—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman says "hear, hear," yet he and the hon. gentleman from York (Mr. Reesor) are the only members of this House who would advocate commercial union with the United States. My hon. friend from British Columbia has gone astray on this new fad of the party with which he has so lately identified himself. The party has abandoned it, and has taken up the more seductive and deceptive idea of unrestricted reciprocity; but it means the same thing—it means annexation. The party has abandoned commercial union, but my hon. friend from British Columbia sticks to it. I have referred to the spirit manifested by politicians belonging to both of the great parties in the United States in the debate which took place in the United States Senate in September last, just on the eve of the late great election. Senator Sherman, opposing the President's retaliatory programme, said.

"All the considerations that entered into the acquisition of Florida, Louisiana and the Pacific coast and Texas, apply to Canada, greatly strengthened by the changed conditions of commercial relations and matters of transportation. These intensify not only the propriety but the absolute necessity of both a commercial and political union between Canada and the United States. * * * I prefer a kind and generous policy to Canada rather than one of retaliation and force. Nor will commercial arrangements, in their nature temporary, like the reciprocity treaty of 1854 and of 1871, liable to be set aside by the shifting exigencies of the political situation, meet or solve the problem we have before us. They only tend to emphasize our separation. The way to union with Canada is not by hostile legislation; not by acts of retaliation, but by friendly overtures. This union is one of the events that must inevitably come in the future; it will come by the logic of the situation, and no politician or combination of politicians can prevent it. The true policy of this Government is to tender freedom in trade and intercourse, and to make this tender in such a fraternal way that it shall be an overture to the Canadian people to become a part of this Republic."

His policy was to win Canada by seductive influences which he would hold out to us.

HON. MR. POWER—Your virtue would be proof against those seductive influences.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think it would, but I believe there are men in this country who are lost to all patriotic feelings, who would be prepared to adopt any

policy which would bring them into power. It is the case with the party to which my hon. friend belongs. They have tried to attain power by running down the country; at one time commenting upon the abundance of grasshoppers in the North-West; at another time upon early frosts, and now, as a last resort, when they find the country prosperous, they ask us to adopt a policy which would have the effect of compelling us to change our allegiance. In the debate in the United States Senate, to which I have referred, Senator Morgan, speaking on behalf of the Democratic party:

"Declared the President's suggestion to be a masterly stroke of policy. It would have more to do with the coming of Canada within the political affiliation of the United States than any other argument which any human being could name, because it brought before the eyes of Canada the great practical idea that their material interests were so bound up with those of the American people that a common government was necessary."

Both Senator Sherman and Senator Morgan had the one object in view—the annexation of Canada. That is the policy and object of all political parties in the United States. Let me now commend to my hon. friend from Halifax the remarks made by Archbishop O'Brien at an Imperial Federation meeting in Halifax:

"Let them, if it so pleases, wring their hands in cowardly despair. But are we, the descendants of mighty races, the inheritors of a vast patrimony, the heirs of noble traditions, so poor in resources, or so degenerate, as to know no form of action save the tears and hand-wringings of dismal forebodings? It is an insult, and should be resented as such, to be told that annexation is our destiny."

I believe that with the exception of one or two gentlemen in this House the sentiments of Archbishop O'Brien will be universally endorsed. I was surprised to hear the utterances of two hon. gentlemen on this subject; yet, however they may vote on this resolution, I do not believe that they would favor any such commercial connection between this country and the United States as would lead to a political union.

HON. MR. DEVER—Is the question up at all?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—No; I do not believe it is; but since it has been introduced in this House we must meet and discuss it. The only Senator who spoke

strongly on the subject was the hon. member from York (Mr. Reesor), who spoke to-day. I would just refer to one remark which he made. He said :

"The larger cities of the Atlantic States are the medium for the distribution of our produce over the world. They sell a great many more of the products they buy from us than they consume. We cannot do without middlemen. We have them coming over from St. Louis, from Philadelphia and even from Baltimore, to buy our produce. They all say that they would pay us so much more for it if we would pay the duty."

Now, this is what we are contending against. We do not believe that we should have middlemen in the United States. We do not believe that they should do our work for us; we believe that we are quite able to do it for ourselves. If these people can come from the United States and purchase our goods for export, making commissions, and freights and profits on the transaction, why can we not do it ourselves? If this trade is so profitable, why should we allow United States middlemen to do it for us? My hon. friend would aid them in carrying on our trade, and would have us brought back to the simple position of tillers of the soil, hewers of wood and drawers of water for our neighbors. It would be much better to do the work for ourselves, and make any profit that is to be derived from it. I would prefer to put up the barriers as high as you please under our National Policy, and as friendly as I desire to be with the United States, as eager as I would be to reciprocate with them in the natural products of the country, the products of the forests and the mines, I have no idea of allowing the Americans to come over here and enter into a competition that must be ruinous to the men who have invested their capital in the manufactures of this country. It is only a short time since a threat of non-intercourse was issued against us; the result of that threat was an increase in our carrying trade to the extent of \$3,500,000. What an enormous advantage it would be to our railways and our canals to retain all this vast trade in our own country. My hon. friend who introduced this resolution called our attention to the effect of the threat of non-intercourse. It is easily seen what a benefit we would derive from the keeping of this trade in our own channels, instead of asking the middlemen of the United States to do the

trade for us. The whole desire of my hon. friend from Halifax seems to be to allow the Americans to do the work for us that we can do for ourselves. Where would our merchant marine, of which we are so proud, be, in the course of a few years, if the ideas of my hon. friend should be sustained. It is only one instance that I could advance to illustrate how such a policy as my hon. friend advocates would leave us in a helpless state of poverty and depression. I will now comment for a short time upon the remarks of the hon. gentleman from York. I believe that all who favor reciprocity with the United States on a basis that would be equitable to both countries will be thankful to my hon. friend for bringing this resolution before the House, because the determination that will be come to by this House will let the people of the United States know that we cannot entertain such a proposal as Mr. Hitt has submitted to Congress. We must let them understand once and forever that they can have no hope of this country being seduced from her allegiance to the British flag, that they can have no commercial union, and when they come to their senses and find that the Canadian Parliament has so declared, we may be in a better position than we now are to obtain a treaty on terms that will be fair to both countries. But as long as we have this "fad" paraded before us—as long as our neighbors are led to believe by the utterances of hon. gentlemen that there is a prospect of commercial union, so long will we be in the position we now are. Therefore, I am thankful to my hon. friend for having brought this question before us, that it may be decided, for—

HON. MR. MCINNES (B. C.)—Until the next general elections.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I tell my hon. friend from British Columbia that the people of this country are wedded to protection.

HON. MR. MCINNES—Never.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; they have declared it over and over again at the polls. They see the prosperity of the country; they have hopes of the future of the country; they have confidence that the manufactures of this country will be

placed on such a basis that in a few years they can compete without fear or favor with the manufactures of the United States. Under such circumstances, is any hon. gentleman prepared to tell me that the people of Canada will abandon a policy that has afforded employment to our industrial population and brought millions of dollars into the country? What is the position of the United States to day? Half the machinery in their factories is shut down, because of over-production every where. We find that since the emancipation of the slaves the Southerners have gone into manufacturing, and are not only supplying their own requirements, but are competing with the manufacturers in the North.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Does the hon. gentleman wish the House and the country to understand that Canadians are inferior to the slaves of the South, and that we are not able to compete with factories run by emancipated slaves?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Before the Rebellion the Southern States supplied the factories in the North with the raw material, and the North supplied the South with manufactured goods. But manufacturing is increasing so largely in the South since the emancipation of the slaves that United States manufacturers cannot find a market for their surplus productions at home, and they would like to launch them upon us, and make a slaughter market of Canada, as they did before the introduction of the National Policy. The change under the National Policy has been so beneficial, and before the last general election the leader of the Opposition found the people so wedded to a protective policy that he told them that it would be madness and folly to make any change that would tend to disturb or crush out the manufacturers. I say, therefore, not only has the Government, but the party in opposition have affirmed that they would not do anything that would destroy our manufacturing industries or endanger their prosperity. The hon. gentleman from York has shown that while reciprocity in the natural products of the country was favorable to Canada under the old treaty, it was still more favorable to the United States, and during the

twelve years it was in existence the balance of trade was in favor of the United States over \$100,000,000, which balance we had to make up in cash. While it is a good thing to be on friendly terms with our neighbors, and reciprocate with them, every one must admit that since the abrogation of the treaty we have prospered more than we did while it was in force. During the war they thought we were receiving too many benefits from reciprocity, and they believed that if it were abrogated we would be starved into annexation; but they have found that instead of starving us into annexation the withdrawal of the treaty stimulated inter-provincial trade and increased our prosperity as a Dominion. During the period from 1854 to 1862 the average foreign trade of Canada was \$114,000,000 a year. In 1865 it sprung up to \$142,000,000; in 1869 it was \$145,000,000; in 1870 it was \$165,000,000; in 1871 it was \$200,000,000; in 1872 it was \$214,000,000; in 1873 it had reached the large sum of \$240,000,000. We had the same experience with regard to the lumber trade. During the years of the Reciprocity Treaty, from 1854 to 1856, the Americans took \$3,000,000 annually of our lumber; in 1873 we sold them \$11,250,000. These figures show that the Reciprocity Treaty was not so great a boon to us as my hon. friend would make it appear during that period. I would ask the hon. gentleman what would be the position to-morrow of our farmers if we had unrestricted reciprocity? We have now the advantage in the English market to the extent of some \$20 on every head of cattle sent from this country, as compared with those exported to the same market from the United States. But throw down the barriers between the two countries, and allow cattle to pass from one country to the other, without proper quarantine regulations, and where would our farmers be? Would they be allowed to send their cattle to the English market on the same conditions as now? Thanks to the fact of our having an able High Commissioner in England to carefully look after Canadian interests, our cattle can be taken there alive, and kept there alive as long as it is to the interest of the owner to do so, while American cattle have to be slaughtered immediately on landing. But let us once adopt commercial union or

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unrestricted reciprocity and our cattle will be scheduled, the same as those of the United States, and our farmers will suffer, no matter what other advantages we might have from such an arrangement. We would have to surrender our territorial rights; our fisheries would be invaded; illegal fishing would be resorted to by the Americans in our fishing grounds, and they would destroy ours in the same way that they destroyed their own. Any Government that would grant reciprocity in anything beyond the products of the forest and the mines would meet with a rebuke from the people of the lower Provinces. Our fisheries are of inestimable value, and although the hon. gentleman from York looks upon them as not being of much importance, they are a heritage the value of which cannot be counted by dollars. Where would our merchant marine be but for our fisheries? See the value the United States places upon them! In 1852 they had 205,000 tons of shipping engaged in the St. Lawrence, and 28,000 seamen. They valued the returns of their cargoes at \$15,000,000. There were annually drawn from that fishing industry 5,000 sailors to man their merchant marine. In 1859, after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the tonnage fell from 205,000 tons down to 62,000 tons. Again, after we had the Washington Treaty the American tonnage in the St. Lawrence increased until it trebled what it was in 1879. It shows of what vast importance the fishing industry is to us. Even though the United States asked us to-morrow to go into a reciprocity treaty they would have to take it less the fisheries. The hon. gentleman from Halifax told us that we discriminate against England in our treaties. It is true, in 1854 we allowed certain products of both countries to come in free, but in no treaty was any attempt made to discriminate against England. In 1874 we find the late Hon. Geo. Brown, whose loss we deplore, telling us that the offer he made at Washington for a renewal of the treaty was based on the principle that there should be no discrimination against England. Even before Confederation, when it was proposed to have another treaty, he said he was not in favor of asking the United States to enter upon any treaty that discriminated against England. He left the coalition

Government in 1865, though President of the Executive Council, because he would be no party to a negotiation or to asking any favors from the United States under another treaty. Hon. gentlemen know that throughout the whole of the negotiations with the United States, by Sir Alexander Galt, and subsequently by the late Mr. Brown, it was clearly understood and clearly expressed that there would be no discrimination against England. Mr. Brown himself said, as reported in our official *Debates* in 1875:

"I now come, hon. gentlemen, to the objections which have been urged against the treaty, from such quarters as entitle them to a formal answer. The first of these is the allegation that the treaty discriminated against Great Britain in favor of the United States. Nothing could be more unfounded than this. It was perfectly understood from the opening of these negotiations that no article could be free from duty in regard to the United States that was not also free with regard to Great Britain, and nothing else was ever contemplated for a moment."

That is what Hon. George Brown said at the time, and we find through all these negotiations that the expression of opinion, both in England and in this country, was that there should be no discrimination against the mother country. He failed to negotiate that treaty, but in order to get reciprocal trade with the United States he offered to surrender everything that was of value in our fisheries over and above the value of the United States fisheries for the advantage of their markets. He was willing at the time to surrender not only that, but to surrender our territorial rights, in order to get reciprocity with our neighbors. But what was he not willing to do? He was not willing to surrender the rights which we owed to Great Britain, he was not willing that we should discriminate against the mother country. He went as far as he could go in surrendering territorial rights and the privileges of our fisheries, but when it came to the question of discrimination he said: No; that the whole basis of the understanding must be that nothing should enter into the arrangement that would discriminate against England, and nothing was to come in from the United States free of duty that should be taxed when coming from England. From that day down to the present, in all the negotiations for a treaty, there has never been an effort made by any party, either on the

Government side of the House or on the Opposition side, to secure a treaty on any basis that would discriminate against Great Britain, and I hope the day will never come when we will do anything of the kind.

It being now 6 o'clock, I move the adjournment of the Debate.

The motion was agreed to.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (129), "An Act to amend the Fisheries Act, Chapter 95 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 6 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 11th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

TORONTO BOARD OF TRADE BILL.

FIRST READING.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland) moved:

That the rules of the House, Nos. 18, 49, 51 and 57, which relate to the introduction of Bills, be suspended so far as they relate to "An Act further to amend the several Acts relating to the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto."

He said: I trust that upon making an explanation the House will see good reason for granting this request. I am aware that it is irregular, but the Board have very suddenly discovered that they have only power to hold property to the extent of a quarter of a million of dollars. Their tenders are out for their new building, and the amount subscribed for it will amount to \$400,000, and unless this relief is immediately granted, a whole year will elapse, to their very great inconvenience and loss, and inasmuch as it will affect no interest but their own, it is hoped that the House will grant the suspension of these rules.

HON. MR. SMITH—I will just say in the absence of the leader of the House, that he is fully prepared to do all he can in relation to this matter.

HON. MR. KAULBACH.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—I may add that I present the matter after having consulted the hon. leader of the House and having his concurrence.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The object of the Bill is simply to increase the capital stock of the company. It is a private matter, and will not in any way affect the interests of the public. No doubt the House will afford my hon. friend every facility to get his Bill through this Session.

HON. MR. MACDONALD—The object of the Bill is not to increase the capital stock, but to enable the Board to hold land to an extent which is impossible under the existing Act.

The motion was agreed to and the Bill was introduced and read the first time.

SAFETY OF SHIPS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself in a Committee of the Whole on Bill (54), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 77, respecting the Safety of Ships."

(In the Committee).

On the 3rd clause, sub-section 2,

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE asked how it was proposed to define the sufficiency of a crew?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is a question which is always left to a jury, where trial by jury prevails, and to the court, where the jury system does not prevail. Of course, it is impossible to state in an Act how many men constitute sufficient manning of a vessel; it would depend on so many circumstances, the nature of the voyage, the size of the vessel, the way in which it was rigged—all these would have to be considered in determining what would constitute insufficient manning, and there is no way that I know of to get over that difficulty but to leave it to the discretion of the tribunal that tries the case. That is what is always done.

HON. MR. POWER—Does the hon. gentleman think it wise to retain sub-

section 3? I think one of the effects of retaining it will be to render this clause almost nugatory. The only way in which a prosecution would be likely to be tried would be on complaint to the Minister. The Minister himself would not be very sure to know the way in which a vessel was sent to sea, and I think the better plan would be to allow the prosecution to be brought by anyone.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The prosecution may be brought by anyone, but this is a matter that would be open to a good deal of abuse unless the prosecution could be instituted only with the consent of the Minister. It is not productive of any difficulty, because there is always someone representing the Crown who acts for the Minister in giving such consent. I am aware, for instance, that in places where I have been practising there has always been a Crown prosecutor who gives the Minister's consent when he considers a prosecution a proper one. There is no special hurry for these proceedings. Other machinery is provided in the Bill, as suggested by the hon. member from Lunenburg, to meet the case of a ship attempting to go to sea in an unseaworthy state. Proceedings under such circumstances must be summary, but in this case summary proceedings are not necessary, and I do not think the inconvenience of having the consent of the Minister is any greater than the inconvenience of allowing anybody to prosecute at pleasure in cases where there might be malicious intention.

HON. MR. POWER—Take the case of Halifax, where there are two members for the county, both of them merchants, and both, the Conservative member particularly, largely interested in shipping. I can understand someone in Halifax making application to the Minister to be allowed under this Act to proceed against the Liberal member for Halifax; and I can imagine the Minister, while only wishing to do what is fair, not seeing the same objection to allowing the prosecution to be brought in that case, as he would if the prosecution was sought to be brought against the other member.

HON. MR. THIBAudeau, from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

The Bill was then read the third time and passed.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were reported from Committee of the Whole, read the third time, and passed without debate:

Bill (128), "An Act to provide for the Conveyance of certain Lands in British Columbia." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (130), "An Act further to amend the Steamboat Inspection Act, Chapter 78 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

WESTERN COUNTIES RAILWAY BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (127), "An Act in reference to the Western Counties Railway."

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. WARK—I see that the Minister of Railways is empowered to build this road, and to appropriate land for it, but what is to be done with it afterwards? Is it not necessary that there should be some provision made to run it and support it?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think my hon. friend is quite right, that there ought to be some understanding to that effect, but I understand from the agreement that this piece of road will belong to the company. It was originally agreed by the Government that they would pay to the company \$500,000 for building this piece of road, and the alternative is provided for in the agreement that if they did not construct it within a certain time the Government would do it; but as I understand, the road will belong to the company, and will be worked by the company after the Government build it. On the other point to which my hon. friend referred the other day, I may say that all the litigation and disputes between the company and the Government are settled, and the petition of right is withdrawn.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Suppose this bit of road costs more than the \$500,000 provided for, how will the balance be made up?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is calculated that the road will not cost \$500,000, and the Government have no power to spend any more. There is no reason to doubt that the sum will be sufficient for the purpose, and it is probable there will be a margin left.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—It seems strange that the company have not gone on with the work, if there was plenty of money provided for it.

HON. MR. GLAZIER from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

HARBOR OF BELLEVILLE BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (116), "An Act respecting the Harbor of Belleville, in the Province of Ontario."

(In the Committee).

On the 7th clause,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I propose to amend the 7th clause. The hon. gentleman from Belleville pointed out on the second reading of the Bill that there were some discrepancies in the tariff which he thought should be amended; but as this House is not competent to amend it, I am going to propose when we arrive at the tariff to strike it out altogether and give the Harbor Commissioners power to make a tariff subject to the approval of the Governor in Council. Therefore in this clause I should like to strike out the word "mentioned" in the second line and insert the words "provided for."

The clause was agreed to.

On clause 8, sub-section 2,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I propose to strike out all the words after the word "commissioners" in the first line, and insert in place of the remainder of the clause, the following:—

"May from time to time make a tariff of rates and dues applicable to traffic within said harbor, but no such tariff shall have any force or effect until it has been approved by the Governor in Council, and published in the *Canada Gazette*."

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I move that the schedule be struck out.

HON. MR. FLINT—I think it is but right that the schedule should be struck out, there is such a discrepancy in the rates. For instance, cornmeal is put down at 2 cents per 100 lbs., while flour is put down at 1 cent. Then there is fruit, in baskets and boxes, 2 cents, while butter and lard per firkin is half a cent, though it is much heavier and fully as large. Then buggies, waggons, etc., 25 cents. I think 10 cents would be fully enough. Then for horses 25 cents each; I think 10 cents would be sufficient. Cattle, 12½ cents, should be 5 cents. It is my intention to call the attention of the City Council to this amendment. Such a tariff would prevent the farmers of Prince Edward county from coming over to our city to sell their wares, because they come generally with a two-horse team and wagon, and that would be 75 cents they would have to pay for landing, besides the ferry. It would completely drive them from the market.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. ROSS, from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments, which were concurred in, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

ESCAPES AND RESCUES BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (V), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting Escapes and Rescues."

He said: This is a short Bill intended to remedy a difficulty that has occurred in the management of industrial schools. In these institutions, as in others of a similar character, there are often *mauvaise sujets* who do not assimilate to the regulations of the school, and who manage sometimes to escape. It is thought better, for the successful management of the school, that such lads should not be allowed to come back when captured—that they should be sent to some other place. This Bill is to permit the sending of a lad who escapes from an industrial school to the reformatory.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Is it compulsory that the magistrate shall send the boy to the reformatory prison, or is it optional with him to send him back to the same school?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is made optional with the magistrate to do either. It will depend on the character of the boy and the nature of the offence.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not think there is any objection to the principle of the Bill, but it occurs to me that the power given to the magistrate is rather sweeping. I take the schools which I happen to know something about. There are two industrial schools in Halifax, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, and in addition to those there is what is sometimes called the reformatory, in connection with the city prison, but it is not in any true sense of the word a reformatory at all, and the juveniles who are sent to the city prison are brought in contact with old offenders, and their going there is calculated to do them a great deal more harm than good. To allow the magistrate the option of sending a boy who, perhaps, within six months of the end of his term in the industrial school, runs away—of sending him to a reformatory prison, where he will be brought in contact with prisoners of mature years, is giving the magistrate too much power. The original provision which this Bill proposes to amend authorizes the magistrate to remand him to such prison or school, there to serve the remainder of his original sentence. Now, if it is not proper to send him back to the industrial school he might be sent to the reformatory for the balance of his original sentence and, for an additional term not exceeding one year. That would not be quite so bad, but to allow the magistrate to send a boy to prison for five years would be simply to render it certain that that boy was to be a criminal for the rest of his life.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Five years is the maximum.

HON. MR. POWER—The magistrate is not allowed to sentence for more than two years under any other circumstances, and I do not see why he should be allowed to sentence in this case for a term longer than the original sentence.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—No doubt the magistrate would confer with the person who had charge of the school with regard to the character and habits of the lad and the amount of punishment he should receive.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

DISCRIMINATING DUTIES AGAINST THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

MOTION.

The Order of the Day being called :

Resuming the adjourned debate on the Hon. Mr. Wark's motion, viz. :—"To resolve as the opinion of this House, that in view of the fostering care extended by the mother country to her colonies from their infancy, as well as for the favorable terms on which their products have always been admitted into her markets, it would be unjust to the United Kingdom to levy higher duties on goods imported from thence than on goods of the same character imported from any foreign country."

The Hon. Mr. Power's motion in amendment thereto, viz. :—"That all the words after 'that,' in the first line of the said resolution, be stricken out, and the following words substituted therefor: 'Whenever a proposal is submitted to Parliament to admit goods imported from any foreign country into Canada at a lower rate of duty than is charged upon the like goods imported from the United Kingdom, then, and not before, it will be the duty of this House to seriously consider the propriety of such proposal.'"

And the Honorable Mr. Abbott's motion in amendment to the amendment:—"That all the words after 'therefore,' in the said amendment, be struck out, and the following substituted therefor: 'Any measure for securing reciprocity of trade with any foreign country, in such of the products of such country as may be freely interchanged with advantage to both, would receive the favorable consideration of this House, but that, in the opinion of this House, it would not be for the interest of this country, nor in consonance with the sentiments of its people, to establish entire reciprocity of trade with any foreign nation upon any conditions that would restrict, with regard to others, entire freedom of action by this country in protecting its own industries, in dealing with its own sources of revenue, and in regulating its own foreign trade, or that would necessitate the adoption of duties discriminating against imports from other nations, and more especially from the mother country.'"

HON. MR. KAULBACH said: I find that I have not got before me the remarks of my hon. friend from Halifax on this subject, but I remember his declaring that this Parliament had frequently discriminated against Great Britain in framing our tariffs, and he instanced particularly the National Policy of 1879. I failed to see any discrimination in that

tariff, because it deals with importations from all countries in the same way. The hon. gentleman referred to the figures for certain years, taking the years which best suited his argument, but even those figures failed to show that there was any discrimination against Great Britain. I contend that the effect was the opposite, because they showed that we purchase more goods from Great Britain and less from the United States. My hon. friend's contention was, that the percentage of revenue on English goods was larger than the percentage on American goods; but as my hon. friend from Glengary explained, the goods imported from the United States are chiefly raw material. He gave the details, showing that some \$11,000,000 worth of raw cottons, raw hides and other articles, such as unmanufactured tobacco and anthracite coal, represent articles which we could not get from Great Britain. Taking these raw materials, which are imported for the benefit of our operatives, from the total imports from the United States, my hon. friend will find that the rate is lower on our importations from England than on our paying imports from the United States. The hon. gentleman spoke of the higher grade of goods being taxed, but in my opinion that only shows the prosperity of our country. It shows that the wealth of our people is increasing, and that they are able to purchase a higher class of goods than they could before. It does not establish in any way that our tariff discriminates against the mother country. The duty in such cases falls, not upon the laboring classes, but upon those classes of the population that can afford to pay for luxuries. Almost everything that enters into the consumption of the working classes is admitted either duty-free or at a low rate of duty. Reference has been made to alleged attempts to discriminate against England in our commercial arrangements with the neighboring country. I assert, and I challenge contradiction, that we never negotiated or sought the sanction of Great Britain to negotiate with any foreign country to introduce the goods of that country into Canada on better terms than we offer to Great Britain. Notwithstanding the extracts read to this House by the leader of the Opposition, I challenge him to show where we have ever dis-

criminated against the mother country! The one instance to which he referred, the Reciprocity Treaty, specified certain natural products which were admitted free; but we knew when that treaty was negotiated that no discrimination could result against the mother country, because these were raw materials, which we could not procure from Great Britain. It seems to me that when the hon. member from Ottawa approaches this question he is afflicted with a kind of obliquity for which it is difficult to account. I do not think that he is naturally blind when he says that he cannot see what is so plain to everyone else, but he is perversely blind when he fails to see evidences of prosperity in this country. He must be wilfully blind when he says that our people cannot find employment at home and are moving out of the country. He would make out that the manufacturing industries which have been established under the National Policy are injurious to a majority of the people, but he has brought no proof in support of the allegation. I contend that the prosperity of any one branch of trade beneficially affects other trades and industries, and that no one industry thrives at the expense of any other industry. The hon. gentleman always brings into his speeches on this subject the lumbering and the farming industries. No doubt agriculture is the basis of all industries, but if we want to prosper we cannot remain in the position that we occupied fifty years ago, hewing down the forests and reclaiming the fields. If we are to develop our resources and remain independent of our neighbors across the line we must foster and develop manufacturing industries in the Dominion. The hon. member from Ottawa quoted statements of Lord Elgin and others to show that England recognizes our right to discriminate against British manufactures, but he has only partially looked into the matter; if he will examine more carefully he will find that throughout there are only certain articles so treated, articles which England cannot supply us, and that there is nowhere laid down the principle that we can discriminate in favor of one country and against another, and especially against Great Britain. My hon. friend referred to the Tory Government of 1865, members of

which recognized the right of this country to discriminate against the mother land. In the first place, I contend there was nothing of the kind done—that there was no discrimination intended, but that they had in view certain products of the United States which could be advantageously admitted free of duty; but he made a mistake even there, because the Government of 1865 was not a Tory Government, but a Government of which the late George Brown was President of the Executive Council. The hon. gentleman was inaccurate in that instance. When he deals with this trade question he cannot refrain from disparaging the country. He seemed to writhe when he was called unpatriotic and anti-Canadian, but his utterances, when he comes to speak on this question, cannot be properly characterized in any other way. When he speaks of an exodus from the country and denies that the Dominion is making progress he is unpatriotic. You do not find members of Congress in the United States speaking of their country in that way, although there is a larger exodus from Dakota and Minnesota into our north-western country than there is from Canada to the United States. The hon. member from Ottawa has evidently shut his eyes to the signs of the times since the Government, of which he was a member, was driven from power; and, as the country was at that time suffering from depression he thinks that no progress has been made since then. The scales have never fallen from his eyes, and he recalls the days when the artisans and laborers in this country sought for work in vain. He speaks of vast numbers of Canadians having gone to Minnesota and Dakota, but that was at a time when he and his colleagues were in power, and when they represented those States as promising fields for settlement. No wonder many of our people went there under such circumstances, but since the adoption of the National Policy in this country many of them have returned to their native land, and others would gladly return if they could. It is now clearly demonstrated that we have a more productive country than any of the north-western States, and that the climate is more certain and agreeable. The hon. gentleman says that people are leaving Canada because of the high taxation, but it has been proved that

Canada is less taxed than most countries, and it seems improbable that our people would leave this comparatively lightly taxed country to make their homes in one where the taxation is much higher. The leader of the Opposition talks about commercial union, but declines to express an opinion upon it. He thinks, however, that it could not affect our allegiance. It must be meanness, selfishness or fear, that would prompt anyone to look at it in that light. I do not believe that the British flag would wave in this country if we were to be so regardless of all we owe to the mother land as to set up a barrier between Canada and the mother country, while accepting a commercial union with the United States. I believe that the flag would follow the trade. If we were mean enough to trade with the United States solely, in opposition to England and her colonies—if we were to be such abject and miserable creatures as to pursue such a policy, we would be ready to go a little farther, and be false to the flag which has so long sheltered us. The treatment that we have at all times received from the United States is familiar to all of us. We know the wars that we have had with the neighboring country; we have heard them as nursery tales in our childhood, and I do not believe that our people are prepared to surrender the control of their own country to a nation which has constantly shown a hostile spirit towards us. We should let the United States know at once and forever that Canada is not for sale. Much as I am in favor of reciprocity such as we had under the Reciprocity Treaty, or any improvement upon that, I believe that we are to-day in a prosperous condition. We have a certain self-reliance now which we had not in those days when the United States endeavored to pauperize us and force us into annexation. I believe that by going on in the line we have been following for ten years past Canada will become a great and powerful country. We are already first and foremost among the colonies of Great Britain, and if we continue to pursue the same course, regardless of what our neighbors may do, we will prosper. If it were not for the friendly sentiment which I believe this country entertains for the United States I would say: Let them raise the wall between us as high as they please; the

higher they raise it the better for Canada, from a pecuniary point of view. In 1882-83 the average transit trade through the United States—that is the trade carried through the United States from one part of Canada to another, was \$18,500,000. In 1886-87 it was only \$4,500,000. To what was that due? To our opening up our country—to the construction of our canals and railways, which made us independent of the United States for the transportation of our products. In 1888, after the non-intercourse resolution was moved in Congress, the transit trade dropped to \$3,000,000, showing that we can be independent of the United States; and although some of our goods have gone that way, and could go that way probably as conveniently as any other way, yet the threat of non-intercourse has had a beneficial effect already. It has shown our people that we can send our goods to market without depending in the slightest degree upon the United States for means of communication. In 1876 the tonnage which arrived and departed from Canadian ports was 4,500,000 tons. That was while the Government of Mr. Mackenzie was in power. In 1888 it had increased to 8,000,000 tons, a difference of 3,500,000 tons. Now, consider the profit that that increase represents. Fancy the transportation of freight through the country and the loading and unloading of those vessels. The item is too large for me to estimate. But look at the disbursements of these vessels in port. Put them at \$1 a ton—the loading and unloading, the repairing and the supplying of these vessels, and the private expenses of the crews—at \$1 per ton that increased tonnage would represent \$3,500,000 of disbursements in our ports. Now, if the country was making no progress would we have that increased tonnage in our ports? But my hon. friend from York (Mr. Reesor) would no doubt have all this trade go down to the United States—he would have our railways torn up, our canals abandoned, our ships idle; he wishes to have United States middlemen conduct our business; he wishes our neighbors to be traders for us, and to convert this country into a plantation of the United States. That is the conclusion that I am justified in drawing from his remarks of

yesterday. He would have our neighbors build up their railways and canals and their large towns by carrying our products to market. Such a proposition is unpatriotic. It is not one which should emanate from a gentleman who has the welfare of his country at heart. We have three propositions before the House: I approve of the original one as introduced by the hon. member from Fredericton. I certainly could not accept the amendment proposed by the hon. member from Halifax, because it says that when this matter comes up before us we should consider it, but not till then. But the question has been brought before us in the most prominent manner that it could be submitted, and if my hon. friend really means what his amendment contains, now is the time to consider it. I hold in my hand the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, introduced by Mr. Hitt, asking us to remove the barrier between the United States and this country and to confine our trade entirely to the United States. That is the meaning of it. The House of Commons has considered the matter, and with the largest majority given this Session, and probably the largest during the present Parliament, it has pronounced emphatically against the project. It is, therefore, wise for us to take up the question and deal with it, because our friends across the border may think that this opposition to unrestricted reciprocity is only temporary, that another election will show a decided change in public opinion; but when they get the decision of the House of Commons, emphatically endorsed by the Senate, they will see that it is useless to ask this country to discriminate against Great Britain. They will come to their senses, and instead of asking us, as they do by Mr. Hitt's resolution, to transfer our allegiance from the mother country to the United States, they will be obliged to modify their proposal to something which will be more acceptable to our people. But suppose we should adopt this chimerical scheme, what would be the result? Where would we get the \$7,000,000 that we now derive from duties collected on goods imported from the United States? That would be gone, and with it a large portion of the revenue which we now derive from import duties on English goods. The United States

manufacturers would supply our markets, because our neighbors, outnumbering us twelve to one, would be able to regulate the tariff to suit themselves, and we cannot doubt that they would exclude the products of Great Britain from our markets if possible. We would have to look for our supplies to the United States, and our revenue would doubtless be diminished by one-half. How would that deficit be made up? There is only one way, and that is by direct taxation. We would have to tax our buildings, our incomes, and everything taxable in the country. That would be the inevitable result. The hon. gentleman from York (Mr. Reesor) was asked yesterday how this loss of revenue could be made up, and he made no reply. Any increase on the higher grades of goods would shut them out, and there would be no source of revenue left but the necessaries of life, and the raw materials which are now utilized in our manufacturing establishments. Mr. Hitt in his speech remarked:

"But good care has been taken to never admit the goods produced by our manufacturers to the great market of Canada. That market, if opened to us by commercial union on terms of perfect freedom, would be to the business interests of this country of enormous value."

No doubt it would be of enormous value to them to have us supplying them with cheap food and raw materials for the use of the operatives in their manufacturing establishments, while they, in return, would supply us with manufactured goods at higher prices than we have to pay for them at present. That would be the result. There could not be anything else. This goes on to say again:

"I have faith that the capital and labor of the United States, 60,000,000 strong, can easily take care of themselves in the opening of the market with 5,000,000 of Canadians."

I do not deny anything said by Mr. Hitt in submitting his resolution. I believe every word said by Mr. Hitt in that connection is true.

HON. MR. REESOR—You do?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do. I believe they would have complete control, as far as our market is concerned—that we could not, with our infant manufactures, compete with the long-established manufactures of the United States, backed

with the enormous capital of that country, and with experience and skill gathered from every country in the world. After a space of ten years of protection, the manufacturers in this country could not stand against the competition that would be brought against them from the United States, where manufacturing implements are brought to the highest possible perfection, and where capital is almost unlimited. We know what they did to us before the adoption of the National Policy, and we know they could do it again with impunity, and after they had so pauperised us, and destroyed every feeling of nationality and self-dependence, as they would do under this proposition, they would do as they have done under all former treaties, treat us unfairly in regard to the carrying out of its provisions. Under Mr. Hitt's resolution the United States would frame the common tariff and have complete control of our fiscal arrangements. He says on that point:

"Undoubtedly they (the Canadians), in being subjected to the same tariff with us, would in all fairness be consulted as to its provisions; but we, 60,000,000, would in all fairness generally have the prevailing voice in determining what the rates should be."

There may be some Hittites in this country amongst the friends of hon. gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House, but I believe that the bulk of the Liberal party in this country are not in favor of any such doctrine. In 1874, when the late lamented Hon. George Brown went to Washington to negotiate a treaty, what did the then Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, say? In the official report of his speech he says, that they had no idea of discriminating against England in any negotiation—that he was opposed to any semblance of discrimination against the mother country. We have it on record as the policy of all parties that we would not countenance anything of the kind, and it seems to me that any party must be driven to great straits when they so far forget what they owe to the mother country—when they so forget Canada itself as to attempt to lower our people by entertaining any such proposition as that contained in Mr. Hitt's resolution. It is evident to my mind that having signally failed in all their efforts to attain power they are so desperate as regards their prospects of

getting on the Treasury benches that they grasp at anything that may possibly have a tendency to bring them back to power. I would ask seriously whether we ought not unanimously to adopt the resolution proposed in amendment by the hon. leader of the House. It commits us to nothing. It says we cannot enter into entire reciprocal negotiations with any country without due consideration with regard to our tariff arrangements and our financial conditions. It expresses the view that we should do nothing of such a sweeping character as would cripple us in our trade with other countries. It is for this amendment we should vote. The result of this vote would be to let the United States know, and those who hold the Monroe doctrine, that it is the destiny of this country that this continent, from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole, must be under one republic, that the British flag still waves over us, and will continue to wave over us, and that Canada is not for sale.

HON. MR. POWER—We all stand by the flag.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Yes; we will stand by the flag, as we have always done. Composed, as we are, of different races, of different creeds and different languages, yet we all respect our flag, and I do not believe that you will find half a dozen men in Parliament to-day who would wish to tear it down. But should there be any approach to what is proposed by members of the United States Congress—should we adopt unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, instead of being, as we now are, protected by England, mistress of the sea; instead of feeling that wherever our flag goes, into whatever port we enter, the ships carrying our flag are safe, that our persons and our property are protected under the flag of old England, let us once throw aside our allegiance to that flag and I believe that our prosperity will depart. The moment we suppress those sentiments of patriotism and loyalty, the strongest sentiment in the human breast, a sentiment that every man having a proper regard for himself must entertain, that moment we forfeit our self-dependence and our self-respect as a people. But I firmly believe that the sentiments which animated the breasts of the United

Empire Loyalist settlers of old still pervades the people of this country, and their descendants will stand by the flag, and this House will record such a vote on this resolution as will be a declaration to the United States that we are not for sale—that we intend to remain under our flag, and while we are Canadian we are yet British subjects, and will do nothing that will in any way tend to retard the progress which we are making under the policy which this country adopted twelve or fourteen years ago.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—Although this subject of free or unrestricted trade with the United States has been under discussion for a long time, and the subject has been threshed out pretty thoroughly, yet I feel I would scarcely be doing justice to myself and to the views that I entertain on this important subject were I to give a silent vote on the resolution now before the House. When this discussion began it was my intention to take no part whatever in it, but as the debate progressed several highly misleading statements have been made by the leader of the Government in this House, and many of his followers who have spoken and hold similar views, that I cannot allow these statements to go unchallenged. I shall, therefore, as briefly as I possibly can, endeavor to convince the House that the statements made by these hon. gentlemen are not in accordance with facts—but that the true and emphatic statement of the senior member from Halifax, that the present tariff discriminated against Great Britain is correct, that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 to 1866 discriminated against Great Britain, and that the negotiations that were entered into by the late Hon. George Brown and British Minister Thornton, at Washington, would still more discriminate against Great Britain had the proposed treaty been adopted by the United States. In the first place, I think I can show that pretty conclusively from the correspondence that took place during the negotiations in 1874. They will be found in the Sessional Papers of 1875, in vol. 8. On that subject I find in a report to the Privy Council of Canada, that was transmitted by the Governor General to the Under Secretary, the following:—

HON. MR. KAULBACH.

"Sir Edward Thornton's despatch to His Excellency the Governor General of a late date indicates a desire on the part of the United States to extend the list of articles named in the treaty of 1854, so as to embrace articles of the manufacture of the two countries. The Government of Canada will be willing to agree to such reciprocity—to include manufactures in wood—such as sashes, doors, blinds, pails, tubs, barrels, matches, and various other articles of a like nature—agricultural implements, bath-bricks, bricks for building purposes, calcined gypsum or plaster lime, earth arches, ground or unground, and generally all manufactured articles not produced in or exported from Great Britain to this country, together with such articles as the Imperial and Dominion Governments may naturally agree upon, or as may by mutual arrangement be entered at a fixed duty to be specified in the treaty. It is, however, understood that no proposition affecting the introduction of manufactured goods shall be finally determined upon prior to reference to the Imperial and Dominion Governments. As a natural production, salt may be added to the former free list."

This was the report made by the Privy Council of Canada on the 27th day of March, 1874, and I find on the 23rd day of April of the same year, a copy of a despatch sent by the Earl Carnarvon to the Earl Dufferin the following, as the negotiations were progressing it developed this state of affairs:

"With reference to the negotiations for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the Government of the United States, I have the honor to inform you that a telegram was lately received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Sir E. Thornton, dated 19th inst., communicating the substance of a paper which he and Mr. Brown proposed to communicate to Mr. Fish, of which the following was to be the purport."

I need not read the dispatch in full, but will confine myself to the portions having a direct bearing on my subject. It goes on to state that—

"The Reciprocity Treaty should be renewed for twenty-one years, including the fisheries, with addition of free admission of salt, manufactures of wood, iron or steel, or of those jointly, agricultural implements and a few other articles."

I find in the same despatch, further on, that Sir Edward Thornton stated that a paper to the above effect would be submitted to the Government of Canada. After consultation with this Department Lord Derby sent a telegram to Sir Edward Thornton, informing him that the papers were prepared. Now, what I wish to specially draw the attention of the House to is this: That the late Mr. Brown, representative of the Dominion Government, refused to make any proposition to the American Government that would have a tendency to discriminate against the

mother country; but as the negotiations went on it appears that the Imperial authorities were more liberal in their views than their representatives, and they extended the list of articles so as to include wood and all its manufactures, and articles of iron and steel.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Not all—articles enumerated.

HON. MR. McINNES—In order to follow that idea out further I would refer hon. gentlemen to Paper No. 125, the Earl of Derby to Sir Edward Thornton, dated from the Foreign Office on the 21st April, 1874, in which the precise proposition is made to admit iron and steel and the various articles manufactured from iron and steel into this country free of duty, from the United States, thus discriminating against Great Britain. Hon. gentlemen may think that was only a small concession on the part of Great Britain, but I find, according to a table I have here prepared very carefully by Mr. Johnson, the Dominion statistician, for the year 1877—that the total value of steel and iron in different forms imported from Great Britain in 1877 amounted to \$6,494,303.

HON. MR. REESOR—Imported from where?

HON. MR. McINNES—Imported from Great Britain. The following table shows the amount under the different items:—

IMPORTS. IRON AND STEEL, INTO CANADA FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

	Great Britain.	United States.
—	\$	\$
1877.		
Interchangeable mechanism.	58,418	386,677
Hardware, cuttlery and edge tools.....	1,062,657	2,146,851
Machinery.....	130,739	496,522
Castings and forgings.....	187,112	48,416
Rails and railway supplies...	1,741,991	224,125
Other forms of iron.....	2,773,174	714,863
Pig iron.....	540,612	137,323
1886	6,494,703	4,154,777
Interchangeable mechanism..	57,905	972,419
Hardware, cuttlery and edge tools.....	890,156	1,506,798
Machinery.....	136,406	998,380
Castings and forgings.....	215,660	268,416
Rails and railway supplies....	1,428,447	145,949
Other forms of iron.....	3,346,972	611,982
Pig iron.....	387,052	199,450
	6,462,597	4,703,394

It will be observed that in the nine years that I have given, from 1877 to 1886, practically speaking we imported about the same value of iron and steel from Great Britain; but what was the position of the people to the south of us, the people that our National Policy was going to debar from coming in and making a slaughter market of our country? We find that we imported nearly \$600,000 more from the United States in 1886 into Canada than we did in 1877. The point is this, that the National Policy was a delusion, a snare and a fraud, and our people have at last discovered it.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The country does not say it.

HON. MR. McINNES—The country has said it, and will repeat it just as opportunities offer, and I believe if you give the country an opportunity to express their opinion now on that question it will be unmistakable.

HON. MR. SMITH—When do you want the opportunity?

HON. MR. McINNES—Now—immediately after prorogation of Parliament. The sooner the better in the interests of the country. I find that in 1877, when we imported \$6,500,000 worth of iron and steel from Great Britain, the entire imports from Great Britain in free and dutiable goods only amounted to \$37,431,180? So that considerably more than one-sixth of the entire importations from Great Britain into this country was iron and steel. In order to remove any friction or cause of irritation with the United States, and to increase our general prosperity, England was willing to forego our market for one-sixth of their entire exports to this country. Will any hon. gentleman in this House, in the face of these undeniable facts, attempt to say that the Parliament of England was not willing that we should discriminate against them and in favor of the United States? It is as plain as noon day to me, and if hon. gentlemen are not satisfied with that, I will refer them to further evidence of the disposition of the British Government and people to allow us to do just about as we please in connection with our fiscal policy so long as it can be shown that it is in the general

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)

interests of Canada. Mr. Hitt's speech has been quoted very liberally here by nearly every speaker in this House; and I must remark, before I go on to refer to a particular part of his speech to which I desire to call the particular attention of the House. I was somewhat amazed at my hon. friend from Glengarry when he read paragraph after paragraph of Mr. Hitt's speech that suited his views, and the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg was also guilty of the same sin, they said: "Gentlemen, here is what Mr. Hitt, a member of Congress in the United States, says: he says that if we enter into a commercial union, or anything of that nature, they have a preponderance of twelve to one against us in framing any tariff." Now, who is Mr. Hitt? He is evidently a very able man, a very honorable man, a clear-headed man, but is he a Canadian—is he speaking as a Canadian? I ask hon. gentlemen to point to one Canadian who has ever taken up the question of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States and has uttered sentiments that could be fairly construed to mean that we would be at the mercy and dictation of the United States with regard to our tariff. I challenge hon. gentlemen to give one instance.

HON. MR. DEVER—Mr. Wiman did.

HON. MR. McINNES—Mr. Wiman did nothing of the kind, and I am only sorry that we have not more such men as Mr. Wiman to represent our view. Mr. Hitt is an American representative, and speaks for Americans in Congress, speaking not as an individual, but as a representative of that great nation. And what does he say? He says in substance that if a Commercial Union or Unrestricted Reciprocity treaty is entered into, that they (United States) being twelve to one in numbers—wealth and influence—would be fairly intitled to a larger preponderance in any negotiations entered into. But it takes two to make a bargain, and no tariff could be framed that would be satisfactory to both parties unless it was a compromise, and agreed to by representatives of both Canada and the United States.

HON. MR. McMILLAN — Twelve to one against us.

HON. MR. McINNES—We are as free and independent as the United States, and cannot be coerced by any people or power into any bargain other than that we desire or believe to be to our advantage. Unrestricted trade with our southern neighbors would be mutually beneficial.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—Why, then, are you advocating Mr. Hitt's proposition?

HON. MR. McINNES—I am strongly opposed to any commercial proposition that would deprive us of equal rights with the United States in regulating our tariff. With the balance of Mr. Hitt's proposition I am in full accord. The hon. gentleman from Glengarry and Lunenburg have only referred to such portions of Mr. Hitt's speech as suited them and studiously avoided mentioning those that conflicted with their peculiarly restrictive and inconsistent views. He says in his speech, referring to Canada discriminating against the mother country :

"Will it be said that England will not consent to any arrangement which would give a preference in one of her colonies to American goods over British goods? Her Government, in a noted instance, did this very thing not many years ago. In 1874, when the Reciprocity Treaty was being negotiated by Minister Thornton, the English Government instructed him to modify it at the suggestion of the Canadian Ministry, and make such additions to the list of American goods to be admitted free into Canada as the Canadians desired. He did so, and made out a long list of American articles to be admitted free of duty, so long that it was almost free trade. Not one of these articles coming from England was to be admitted free of duty. This draft of a treaty was sent to Lord Derby, who answered that the whole proceeding was approved, and the English Government assented to the arrangement admitting American goods free to a British colony, where a tariff of 20 to 40 per cent. was to be laid upon the same kind of goods coming from England or any other country than the United States.

"Commercial union is not hostility to England. She has no better customer than the United States, and the entrance of Canada into our commercial system and our business activities would stimulate her prosperity and make her trade in all directions more valuable. The five hundred millions of English capital invested in Canada would be immediately enhanced in value to English owners."

Now, taking this statement of Mr. Hitt, in conjunction with what I have read here of the despatch from Lord Derby, is it not evidence to every unprejudiced mind that the British people, the British

representatives, were willing at that time, in order to remove all friction between Canada and the United States, to allow us to discriminate against herself and in favor of the United States, and she hoped, no doubt, by so doing, that the enhanced prosperity that would almost immediately accrue to this country would more than compensate her for the small loss that she would sustain by a direct importation of these articles upon which she would have to pay duty.

HON. MR. READ—Yes; but the Parliament of Canada never agreed to that. They never agreed to Mr. Brown's proposition, and would not have done it at the time.

HON. MR. POWER—But England would have been willing.

HON. MR. McINNES—I am rather inclined to think that any negotiations that would be entered into and approved by the Imperial Parliament and by Mr. Brown, as representative of the Canadian Government, and Sir Edward Thornton as representative of Britain at Washington, would have carried by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons and in the Senate of Canada, and no doubt the hon. gentleman from Quinté would have voted for it.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—I am quite certain, for I have a very good recollection of the circumstances, though it might have been carried in the House of Commons it would not have carried in the Senate, and I would not have voted for it.

HON. MR. McINNES—The Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the late plenipotentiary to Washington to negotiate the abortive Fishery treaty of 1888, recently stated in a speech delivered by him, I think on the occasion when he was banquetted in Birmingham, after his return.

"The arrangement between the colonies and Great Britain is essentially a temporary one. It can not remain as it is. * * * Already you have in Canada, the greatest of all the colonies, an agitation for what is called commercial union with the United States. Commercial union with the United States means unrestricted trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, and a protective tariff against the mother country. If Canada desires that, Canada can have it."

HON. MR. READ—That is the question, "If Canada desires it."

HON. MR. MCINNES—Canada wants it now—the vast majority is demanding it and we will have it whenever there is a general appeal to the electorate of our country.

HON. GENTLEMEN—No—never.

HON. MR. MCINNES—(continuing)—And of the relation of Canada to the United States and Great Britain, on a subsequent occasion the right hon. gentleman further said that :

“Commercial union with the United States meant that Canada was to give preference to every article of manufacture from the United States over manufactures from Great Britain. If the people of Great Britain desired an arrangement of that kind he did not doubt that they would be able to secure it.”

Then he refers to what took place in Quebec, where all the Premiers of the different Provinces met. He went on to say :

“Within a few weeks a conference was held at Quebec of the Prime Ministers of all the Provinces constituting the Dominion of Canada, and after a very full exchange of views these representatives of the Executive powers of all portions of the Dominion unanimously adopted the following declaration :

“This conference, comprising all political parties, is of the opinion that a fair measure, provided under proper conditions, for unrestricted trade relations between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, would be of advantage to all the Provinces of the Dominion, and would, in connection with an adjustment of the fishery dispute, tend to happily settle the grave difficulties which have from time to time arisen between Great Britain and the United States.”

“The chambers of commerce and boards of trade of the leading cities of Canada, and more than fifty farmers’ institutes and conventions, have adopted resolutions declaring in favor of commercial union or unrestricted trade between the two countries.

“The answer made by their opponents and those most closely attached to English trade and English rule has been that the United States has given no indication that it would receive or even consider any proposal, however friendly in spirit or however favorable to us in its terms it might be.

“The joint resolution now submitted does not contemplate any action on our part at present ; but whenever the Dominion of Canada shall have declared a desire for commercial union, with a common tariff, like internal revenue taxes, like duties on articles imported into either country from abroad, and no duties on trade between the United States and Canada, then the President is authorized to appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be designated to represent Canada, in order to prepare a plan for commercial union, by assimilating the tariffs and internal revenue taxes of the two countries, now not very widely different, and an equitable method of dividing the receipts, which they shall report to the President,

who shall lay it before Congress. The whole subject of our relations with Canada is kept under the control of Congress.

“It is not deemed necessary to here discuss the great merits of commercial union or the details of arrangements that will be necessary. Your committee believe that the power herein conferred upon the President can do no harm, that it will be wisely used, and will lead to beneficent results, promoting the independence, prosperity and peace of two great peoples.”

As the senior member from Halifax stated in moving his amendment to the motion, our present tariff discriminates against Great Britain in charging a higher rate of duty on such articles as we almost exclusively import from Great Britain than on articles we import from other countries. He was quite correct, and the evidence that I have given out of the Sessional Papers, and from Mr. Hitt himself, is, I think, quite sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind that Great Britain is willing at any time to allow the Dominion of Canada to discriminate against the mother country in favor of the United States in anything that is for the general advantage of the Dominion. It will be remembered, when we adopted the so-called “National Policy” in 1879, that a few manufacturers in England raised a hue-and-cry about it. The matter was brought before the notice of the Imperial Parliament, but they declared that they had no right to interfere—that it was a matter of tariff which had been handed over exclusively to the Dominion, and she could do as she pleased in that regard. But when the question was brought up here, what did we find ? We found that the present leader of the Government inspired his then leading organ to say that if the so-called “National Policy” interfered with British connection so much the worse for British connection. That was the reply of the leader of the Government and his obedient followers in 1879, that if it interfered with the loyalty of the people of Canada so much the worse for British connection. Yet, hon. gentlemen will rise here one after the other and parade their loyalty, which I am persuaded is only lip-loyalty—35 per cent. loyalty—a loyalty that is building up monopolies and combines, which is enriching the few at the expense of the many. These constant declarations of loyalty ; their fulsome praise of everything English ; their cringing servility to

English statesmen, are nauseating to the truly loyal. The person whose loyalty is effected by the free exchange of commodities is, in my opinion, utterly devoid of such a virtue as loyalty, and is not entitled to the slightest consideration. This question of free trade with the United States is not a matter of loyalty or disloyalty, but purely a matter of business, and ought to be treated as such. The appeal to sentiments of loyalty is a false issue—a false cry raised by our opponents because they have no arguments to offer against our policy of Continental free trade. Whenever broad and liberal commercial views are expressed—especially by independent members—the Government and the restrictionists who support them immediately brand them as disloyal and unworthy subjects of Her Majesty. I hope such nonsense will be avoided in future in debates in this House. Mr. Hitt very properly refers to the enormous amount of English capital invested in this country—\$7,000,000, invested in railways, canals, manufactures, trust and loan companies, and otherwise. To say nothing of the \$300,000,000 that the Government of this country have borrowed from England. I believe that the total amount which we owe England to-day is not less than \$1,000,000,000. \$700,000,000 of English capital is invested in Canada in different enterprises, and I contend that it would be very much more in the interest of the British public, the great masses of England, if we discriminated against every article coming from England, if by so doing we could put this country in a more prosperous condition and enable the people to make the same rapid progress that is so noticeable in the country to the south of us. The venerable patriarch who brought on this discussion, speaks in his resolution of “the fostering care extended by the mother country to her colonies.” I wish to make a few remarks on the so-called fostering care which the mother country has shown to her colonies, and especially to Canada, and in making those remarks I wish to say that there is no member of the Senate for whom I have greater respect and veneration than the hon. gentleman who has introduced this question; that it is foreign to my intentions to say one word that would even tend to wound his super-

loyal feelings; yet I do not think that the assertion contained in his resolution can be supported, especially when we review the treatment which Canada has received from the mother country during the last twenty-five years.

HON. MR. POWER—Farther back than that.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—I might go back to 1818, in the first place, and then refer to the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, by which the Provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec were deprived of over 8,000,000 acres of land, and of our natural and legitimate seaboard. In making that treaty England did not show any particular fostering care for the interests of this colony. Then we come to the Fenian Raid of 1866: for months, yes, I may say years, a lawless, ungovernable element in the population of the United States openly organized and drilled for the avowed purpose of invading Canada. It was done with the full cognizance of the Government of the United States, and in June, 1866, the threats of the marauders were carried into execution. A number of citizen soldiers of this country were shot down; a large quantity of property destroyed, and the Government spent millions of money to prevent those scoundrels invading our country—and what did the mother country do? Did she remonstrate with the United States, and demand reparation for those outrages? I think not. I must now refer to letters that were sent to the Imperial Government by two of the greatest and noblest of our public men—statesmen whose names are endeared to every Canadian. To the memory of one of them the Parliament of Canada has erected a statue which now stands at the west end of this building; the other gentleman still lives, the Hon. Wm. McDougall. This is what they wrote to the Under Secretary in 1869:

“We avail ourselves of this opportunity to state that the Dominion of Canada and the Provinces comprised in it have had to expend several millions of dollars in making the necessary preparations to resist the murderous attacks of the Fenians, and in expelling them from those portions of Her Majesty's territory which they had actually invaded; that several of Her Majesty's subjects lost their lives, a large amount of property was des-

troyed, and heavy losses and damages were sustained directly or indirectly by a great number of Her Majesty's subjects in consequence of these attacks and invasions of the so-called Fenians.

"We therefore respectfully beg that if the claims of the Government of the United States of America and of the citizens of that Republic should be referred for investigation and adjustment to some tribunal, authority and instructions be given to that tribunal to consider, investigate and adjust the claims of the Dominion of Canada, of the several Provinces comprised in it, and of any subject of Her Majesty, arising out of the unlawful proceedings of the Fenian organization.

"We further beg that opportunity be afforded hereafter to the Government of Canada and to all parties who may have sustained losses to state respectively the particulars of their claims, and to adduce evidence in support of them.

"We have the honor, my Lord, of subscribing ourselves your Lordship's most obedient and very humble servants,

"(Signed), GEO. ET. CARTIER,
"WM. McDOUGALL."

The reply from the Under Secretary is as follows:—

"I am directed by the Earl of Granville to acquaint you that he referred for the consideration of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a copy of your letter of the 28th ultimo, respecting the claims of the Canadian Government on the United States, arising out of the unlawful proceedings of the Fenian organization in that country, and I am desired to state that Lord Clarendon has informed his Lordship, in reply, that if a mixed commission is constituted for the settlement of British and American claims due notice will be given, so that all parties may present claims."

The late Sir George Cartier and the Hon. Mr. McDougall, who were acting jointly on that occasion, insisted upon the claims of Canada being presented before the mixed commission appointed to settle the Alabama claims. So far as I know, nothing has been heard of those claims from that day to this.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The Americans have got over a million dollars of our money.

HON. MR. McINNES—England paid all the claims that the Americans could formulate or substantiate, and there is still a surplus of over \$8,000,000 of English money in the Treasury at Washington, yet our citizens were allowed to be shot down like dogs by a marauding band, and our property was allowed to be destroyed, without the slightest consideration being bestowed upon our claims by England or the United States.

HON. MR. DEVER—What do you want done? Do you want war?

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)

HON. MR. McINNES—I ask, does that show that there has been any fostering care of Canada on the part of the mother country? The invasion of Canada was to punish Great Britain, and not to punish Canadians. The Fenians had no quarrel with Canada, but they had, and still have, a quarrel with Great Britain, and they thought they could punish the mother country by invading her colony. So thus it will be seen we are frequently punished by being a dependency of Britain instead of being benefited and protected by her.

HON. MR. SMITH—Why do they not pay up that money?

HON. MR. McINNES—Because the Government of the hon. gentleman is too much occupied in providing ways and means by which they can retain power instead of pressing our just claims be paid. The next case to which I would call the attention of the House is the loss of San Juan Island.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman has omitted altogether the surrender of the country north of Columbia River, which is now Washington Territory.

HON. MR. McINNES—I gave the House the benefit of that last year. I showed that a large portion of the British territory on this continent was given to the United States by the crass stupidity and utter disregard of our interests by English diplomats. I will read the remonstrance that Sir George Cartier and Hon. Wm. McDougall sent to the English Secretary about San Juan Island:

"We avail ourselves of the present opportunity to represent to our Lordship that in our humble opinion it is of vital importance to British colonies, and prospectively to all British North America, that an island which commands the passage by sea to the principal cities, ports and harbors of Her Majesty's possessions on the Pacific coast should not be surrendered to a foreign power.

"We think it is clear that the treaty of 1846, which established the 'boundary through the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island' intended, by these words, the channel nearest the continent, the only one then generally known and used by navigators. It is the first channel, and therefore, pre-eminently the one which 'separates' the continent from Vancouver Island.

"The American Government, by contending for the third channel, or that which is farthest from the continent (the very existence of which appears

to have been unknown to the British Commissioners), shows to the world that their object is not to secure possession of a few rocky islets in the Gulf, of no commercial or agricultural value, but of the important military position of San Juan, where they may build a fortress that would lock up the Straits of Fuca and overawe British Colonies, as effectually as Fort Montgomery, built on Canadian territory, which was surrendered to the United States by the treaty of 1842, now locks up Lake Champlain, and threatens, by its proximity and its magnitude, the chief city of the New Dominion.

"Our experience of past diplomacy in the settlement of boundaries in North America, in which the disposition on one side to concede, and on the other to encroach, was always present and always resulted disastrously to Canada, admonishes us that a similar disposition and similar results may be feared in the future. A territorial compromise in British colonies may be deemed by some of little moment in the settlement of the other questions now pending between the two Governments, but we respectfully submit that every resource of diplomacy, and every argument derived from the practice and policy of coterminous nations, from the geographical position and maritime requirements of the respective countries in the Gulf, as well as from the language of the treaty, should be exhausted before a strategic position is given up, which further generations of loyal subjects may have occasion to regret as bitterly, and as unavailingly as the people of New Brunswick, Quebec and all Canada now regret the unfortunate concessions of the Ashburton Treaty.

"We crave your Lordship's pardon if we have pressed our views too strongly on what may be thought rather an Imperial than a Canadian question. We do not doubt that the importance of the issue is already sufficiently impressed upon your Lordship's mind, but we cannot help feeling, when we look at the map of Canada, and observe that on our eastern frontier the State of Maine, by recent treaty, has been thrust like a wedge between the Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick, intercepting, by direct communication, and covering some 8,000,000 acres, previously regarded as British territory and occupied by thousands of British subjects; and that on the west, through ignorance of the natural features of the country, in 1773, and under a spirit of concession in 1818, a vast territory was surrendered, and the boundary carried so far north that communication between Canada and the great valleys and plains of the North-western Territory is through a region of lakes and mountains instead of a level plain—we say, we cannot help feeling, when we recall these unhappy, and as we now find, costly blunders of the past, that we are only discharging a solemn duty when we add our earnest warning to the arguments your Lordship, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, will use, to prevent a similar, and in some respects a worse blunder, in reference to our position on the Pacific coast.

"We have the honor to be
Your Lordship's obedient servants,

(Signed) GEO. ET. CARTIER,
WM. McDOUGALL."

The Right Honorable
Earl GRANVILLE,
Principal Secretary of State of Her
Majesty for the Colonies, London.

It will be seen from this exceedingly strong and patriotic remonstrance that these statesmen had the interest and the future of their country at heart, and understood the position of the question a great deal better than the English diplomats that have been sent over to arrange treaties for us especially with respect to our boundaries. They were not afraid to speak their minds, and they clearly explained their views to the Imperial Government on a matter of vital importance to Canada. The Island of San Juan, as you are all aware, passed into the hands of the United States in 1872. In those days the idea prevailed in Great Britain that all matters of international dispute should be referred to arbitration, and they left the settlement of this very important question as to the ownership of the island to the late Emperor William of Germany. Any person acquainted with the relations that then existed between the English Court and the German Court and between the Government at Washington and the Government at Berlin would have known that the decision was practically given in advance in favor of the United States.

At 6 o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

AFTER RECESS.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (W), "An Act further to amend the Dominion Lands Act." (Mr. Abbott).

DISCRIMINATING DUTIES AGAINST THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

DEBATE CONTINUED.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—When the Speaker left the Chair at six o'clock I had just concluded my third indictment against the British Government for their utter neglect and indifference of everything Canadian, and instead of the fostering care the venerable mover of the resolution speaks of, her treatment of her most important possession has been everything but of a fostering character. The surrender of the important island of San Juan, in the Strait of Georgia, was another reason why the statement set forth in the resolution of the hon. gentleman from Fredericton, that the mother country was extending her foster-

ing care to the Dominion of Canada, was not in accordance with the facts. There is another statement I wish to make in the same direction, and that is with reference to Behring Sea. As many hon. gentlemen are doubtless aware, over two years ago several of our fishing vessels were seized in the open sea, from fifty to seventy-five miles from any land, by United States revenue cutters. They were taken possession of by an armed vessel of the United States and escorted to the capital of Alaska, and the officers tried for the offence of fishing for seals in Behring Sea, which, as hon. gentlemen well know, is a body of water 800 miles wide and over 1,200 miles long. The officers and crews of those vessels were imprisoned, the cargoes and ships were confiscated, and last week, according to the reports in the Pacific coast newspapers, those vessels were actually sold by the United States officials. It is almost needless for me to say that if a British vessel from Liverpool, London, Glasgow or any port in the British islands had been taken by an American revenue cutter or a warship of any other country fifty or 100 miles from land such a remonstrance would be made by England that those vessels would be immediately delivered up, an humble apology would be made and all damages would be at once settled by the United States or any other country. Instead of that, nothing has been done, as far as I am aware, in connection with the losses sustained by the confiscation of these Canadian vessels and their cargoes and the imprisonment of the officers and men. I have brought this matter twice before the notice of this House, and I on each occasion urged upon the Government, even before the late negotiations were entered into for the fishery treaty which was rejected by the Senate of the United States last spring, to see that our claims and our rights on the Pacific coast were adjusted and respected in the same way as our rights on our Atlantic coast. I thought it was rather anomalous that we should have one law in force on the Pacific in respect of our neighbors and another on the Atlantic. On the Atlantic all bays over ten miles wide are open seas, into which American vessels are entitled to enter and fish, but on the Pacific coast an ocean,

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the entrance to which is over 700 miles wide, is claimed by the Americans to be a closed sea, over which they hold exclusive jurisdiction. I do not know that I should attach too much blame to the Imperial authorities in this matter. I am forced to the conclusion that our Government here are more to blame than the British Government were the truth known. I strongly suspect it would be found that our Government have done absolutely nothing towards impressing on the Imperial Government the necessity of settling this Behring Sea difficulty, and establishing our undoubted right to the free use of those waters. Taking all these things into consideration, I do not think that the fostering care of the mother country for the last seventy-five years has not been anything like what it should have been. I am inclined to think that Canada has made herself independent of the so-called "fostering care," and instead of being a protection to us, that England has merely allowed us to drift along and do the best we can for ourselves. We have done that satisfactorily, and I have no fear for the future. Canada will maintain her rights here, more particularly if she is not interfered with by the mother country; and she will continue to prosper and progress more in the future than she has done in the past. During the course of this debate the question has been asked by my hon. friend on my left and by several others: If we enter into commercial union with the United States how would the \$7,000,000 that we would lose by doing away with Customs houses along the frontier, and the revenue derived from goods coming from the United States, be made up? Those hon. gentlemen appear to forget that on goods of one description and another that we export to the United States the Americans pay \$5,000,000, so that the difference would be actually only two millions instead of seven millions.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Do they pay it to us?

HON. MR. McINNES—I claim that the Americans pay \$5,000,000 in duties on the goods they get from the people of Canada; we pay \$7,000,000 on goods shipped into this country, so that practically the amount

we would have to make up in consequence of the abolition of the Customs houses is the difference of two millions. I do not think it would be very difficult for the Government of the day to exercise a little more economy than they now do, and reduce, without impairing the efficiency of any national undertaking or enterprise, the expenditure of the Dominion could easily be reduced by \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000. Prior to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 there was a general commercial depression over this country, if we are to believe what we hear and read of those times. But almost immediately after the adoption of that treaty, according to the correspondence relating to the negotiations for a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States in 1874, the following condition of affairs existed:—

"I find that the main fact remains that under the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 the aggregate interchange of commodities between the Republic and the Province of Canada, to promote which a treaty was concluded, rose from an annual average of \$14,230,703, in the previous eight years, to \$33,492,754 the very next year after that treaty was entered into. In the second year it bounded up to \$42,942,754, and in the third year to \$50,339,770."

And in the thirteenth year, the year that the treaty was abrogated, it reached the enormous sum of \$84,070,955. Before that time, if we are also to believe what we read, there was discontent and a general depression, which caused much uneasiness throughout Canada. I find that the following sentiments were expressed in those days:—

"The reversal of the ancient policy of Great Britain, whereby she withdrew from the colonies their wonted protection in her markets, has produced the most disastrous effects upon Canada. In surveying the actual condition of the country, what but ruin or rapid decay meets the eye? Our Provincial Government and civic corporations embarrassed; our banking and other securities greatly depreciated; our mercantile and agricultural interest alike unprosperous; real estate scarcely saleable upon any terms; our unrivalled rivers, lakes and canals almost unused; whilst commerce abandons our shores, the circulating capital amassed under a more favorable system is dissipated, with none from any quarter to replace it. Thus, without available capital, unable to effect a loan with foreign States or with the mother country, although offering security greatly superior to that which readily obtains money both for the United States and Great Britain when other than colonies are the applicants, crippled therefore, and checked in the full career of private and public enterprise, this possession of the

British Crown—our country—stands before the world in humiliating contrast with its immediate neighbors, exhibiting every symptom of a nation fast sinking into decay."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—From what is the hon. gentleman reading?

HON. MR. McINNES—I am reading from a document that was published in the city of Montreal, from the headquarters of the Annexation League.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—What year?

HON. MR. McINNES—1849. I am reading this to show what gave rise to the spirit of discontent and disloyalty that prevailed at that time. After I have got through the hon. gentleman can make such comments as he thinks proper.

HON. MR. POWER—It is a very ably-written document.

HON. MR. McINNES—It is; but I do not subscribe to all the sentiments it expresses. A little further on I read:

"Among the statesmen of the mother country—among the sagacious observers of the neighboring Republic—in Canada, and in all British North America—amongst all classes there is a strong pervading conviction that a political revolution in this country is at hand. Such forebodings cannot readily be dispelled; and they have, moreover, a tendency to realize the events to which they point. In the meantime, serious injury results to Canada from the effects of this anticipation upon the more desirable class of settlers, who naturally prefer a country under fixed and permanent forms of Government to one in a state of transition.

"Having thus averted to some of the causes of our present evils, we would consider how far the remedies ordinarily proposed possess sound and rational inducements to justify their adoption:

"1. The revival of protection in the markets of the United Kingdom.

"This, if attainable in a sufficient degree, and guaranteed for a long period of years, would ameliorate the condition of many of our chief interests, but the policy of the Empire forbids the anticipation; besides, it would be but a partial remedy. The millions of the mother country demand cheap food; and a second change from protection to free trade would complete that ruin which the first has done much to achieve.

"2. The protection of home manufactures.

"Although this might encourage the growth of a manufacturing interest in Canada, yet, without access to the United States market there would not be a sufficient expansion of that interest, from the want of consumers, to work any result that could be admitted as a 'remedy' for the numerous evils of which we complain.

"3. A federal union of the British American Provinces.

"The advantages claimed for that arrangement are free trade between the different Provinces, and a diminished governmental expenditure. The attainment of the latter object would be problem-

atical, and the benefits anticipated from the former might be secured by legislation under our existing system. The markets of the sister Provinces would not benefit our trade in timber, for they have a surplus of that article in their own forests; and their demands for agricultural products would be too limited to absorb our means of supply, nor could Canada expect any encouragement to her manufacturing industry from those quarters. A federal union, therefore, would be no remedy.

"4. The independence of the British North American colonies as a Federal Republic.

"The consolidation of its new institutions from elements hitherto so discordant—the formation of treaties with foreign powers, the requirement of a name and character among the nations—would, we fear, prove an overmatch for the strength of the new republic. And having regard to the powerful confederacy of States conterminous with itself, the needful military defences would be too costly to render independence a boon, whilst it would not, any more than a federal union, remove those obstacles which retard our material prosperity.

"5. Reciprocal free trade with the United States, as regards the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine.

"If obtained, this would yield an instalment of the many advantages which might be otherwise secured; the free interchange of such products would not introduce manufactures to our country. It would not give us the North American continent for our market. It would neither so amend our institutions as to confer stability, nor ensure confidence in their permanence, nor would it allay the violence of parties, or in the slightest degree remedy many of our prominent evils.

"6. Of all the remedies that have been suggested for the acknowledged and insufferable ills with which our country is afflicted, there remains but one to be considered. It propounds a sweeping and important change in our political and social condition, involving considerations which demand our most serious examination. THIS REMEDY CONSISTS IN A FRIENDLY AND PEACEFUL SEPARATION FROM BRITISH CONNECTION. AND A UNION UPON EQUITABLE TERMS WITH THE GREAT NORTH AMERICAN CONFEDERACY OF SOVEREIGN STATES.

"We would premise that towards Great Britain we entertain none other than sentiments of kindness and respect. Without her we consider separation as neither practicable nor desirable. But the colonial policy of the parent State, the avowals of her leading statesmen, the public sentiments of the Empire, present unmistakable and significant indications of the depreciation of colonial connection. That it is the resolve of England to invest us with the attributes and compel us to assume the burdens of independence is no longer problematical. The threatened withdrawal of her troops from other colonies, the continuance of her military protection to ourselves only on the condition that we shall defray the attendant expenditure, betoken an intention towards our country against which it is weakness in us not to provide. An overruling then, of its necessity, and a high sense of the duty we owe to our country, a duty we can neither disregard nor postpone, impels us to entertain the idea of separation; and whatever negotiations may eventuate with Great Britain, a grateful liberality on the part of Canada should mark every proceeding."

I might quote several other passages to the same effect, but I will not weary the

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House with them. In referring to this, as I said on a former occasion, I do so not in an offensive manner, because I do not wish to wound the feelings of any one present, but simply to show that prior to that treaty there was general depression throughout Canada, which led to this manifesto in favor of annexation to the United States. After that treaty was entered into and trade and commerce increased—when prosperity prevailed generally throughout the length and breadth of the land, then, and not until then, did this feeling of discontent, this desire for political change, cease. I am very sorry that I could not lay my hands on a despatch sent by the Conservative Government of Canada, in 1865, to the Imperial Government, making almost precisely the same statement—that it was owing to the Reciprocity Treaty that peace, contentment and harmony prevailed throughout Canada.

HON. MR. READ—I think the gentleman has forgotten that we were fighting over the Rebellion Losses Bill at the time that the annexation manifesto was issued and the Parliament buildings were burnt down.

HON. MR. McINNES—I am quite aware of that; and I would like to ask by whom were the Parliament buildings burnt?

HON. MR. READ—That is apart from the question.

HON. MR. McINNES—They were burnt down by the so called good, loyal Conservative party. Tories are loyal as long as they have their own way, but the moment they are thwarted they pay no respect to Governors General or Parliament buildings. That is something that cannot be charged against the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—If annexation was bad then, is it not still bad?

HON. MR. McINNES—That state of affairs, the burning down of the Parliament buildings and the incidents attending it, would never have occurred if Canada had possessed what she secured a few years later—free trade with the United States.

HON. MR. READ—That had nothing to do with it at all.

HON. MR. McINNES—In my opinion it had. It is our bounden duty to be true to ourselves, and if we are loyal to ourselves we will be true to the mother country; if we are true to ourselves we will be loyal to England; if we enhance our own prosperity by means of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States I claim that instead of lessening our loyalty and attachment to the mother country it will intensify the sentiment, because no people that is prosperous and contented ever dreams of being disloyal to the country under which it enjoys that prosperity. I believe that it is prosperity and prosperity alone that will produce any degree of genuine loyalty—not the loyalty we hear so much spoken of for party purposes—but loyalty to all that is good and great in the mother country and her institutions. We have in Canada institutions superior to those of any other country in the world, and I for one would be the last to wish for any political change which would deprive us of those institutions which we enjoy; but I claim that unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, instead of weakening the bond which attaches us to the mother country, would bind us more closely to the Empire. Since the adoption of unrestricted reciprocity by the Opposition in this country four elections have been held, two in Ontario and two in Quebec, where that great question was made the issue, and in each case the people pronounced decidedly in favor of it. If it has made such progress in a little over a year, can we not reasonably expect that it will triumph when the question is more fully discussed? I have not a shadow of a doubt, notwithstanding all the appeals to sentiment and to the self-interest of those who desire and advocate the maintenance of the National Policy, that at the next election the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity will triumph. Notwithstanding the iniquitous gerrymander Act, and that monstrosity, the Franchise Bill, which has deprived the people of this country of the right of representing their views as they should, according to constituencies, the people are aroused and are proclaiming day by day that when a dissolution of Parliament occurs unrestricted reciprocity will sweep this country from one end of it to the other.

HON. MR. SULLIVAN—I would shrink from making any remarks on this occasion, were it not that in the section of the country that I represent a large majority of its inhabitants would consider me derelict of duty did I not give expression to what I believe to be their opinions on this question. No objection can be taken to the resolution; no more worthy theme could occupy the attention of this Senate. The colonial empire of Great Britain challenges the admiration of the world. No country, ancient or modern, has attained to such a pitch of greatness. Its growth is marvellous, and the problem of governing an empire containing 9,000,000 square miles and 321,000,000 of inhabitants is engaging the attention of the greatest statesmen of Great Britain, and I could not help thinking that the learning and experience of this hon. body could not be better engaged than it has been in aiding them in the solution of this problem. Unfortunately, the discussion has not been confined to the resolution or the amendment. It has wandered off, and been made the occasion of an attack of an audacious character on the National Policy. It has been led on by the member from Ottawa, and sustained with all the force of his *confrère*, the member from Halifax. The former of these I was astonished to hear. I do not know so much about Halifax, but I should think if the hon. member from Ottawa had looked around him and witnessed the marvellous growth of his own city it should have prevented him from speaking of one of the principal causes of this growth and prosperity as a fearful incubus on the industry and labors of its inhabitants.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman is giving me credit for something I do not deserve. I did not say much about the National Policy at all.

HON. MR. SULLIVAN—I think the hon. gentleman aided and abetted his leader. However, if it is an incubus it is one that this country has voluntarily put on, and which it has refused to part with on two subsequent occasions when the opportunity was presented—an incubus which it cherishes, with which it is satisfied and which, probably, it will continue

to bear. Surely, the hon. member forgot the circumstances attending the inception of this policy—the general depression that prevailed, the paralyzed industries of the country and the lack of employment for laboring men. The few manufactures of the country were in a crippled condition, an Egyptian darkness prevailed over the land; and this municipality was obliged, for the first time in the history of this country, to provide means for giving public charity. The Government, in this crisis of affairs, when appealed to, said that they were perfectly powerless. The observation, now become very trite, was used, that they had no more power to improve the condition of affairs than the fly on a wheel had power to turn the wheel. Fortunately there were those in this country who thought differently, and I say on this occasion all honor to the political sagacity and the statesmanship of those whose prophetic vision pierced through the clouds and foresaw the splendid realizations which we have to-day. They said that the State could aid the people—that they would devise a policy which would, without making the rich richer and the poor poorer, shed its beneficent influence over all alike. Manufacturing industries were established. I need not detail them—why should I weary this House with a long array of figures, showing the rapid progress that this country has made in the development of its resources, distancing all that had previously been done in that line? Instead of looking into Blue Books and quoting figures, I think it would be better to look into the homes of the people and see what is to be found there. We find the people happy and prosperous; we find that enterprise has been stimulated, and that a spirit of self-reliance prevails among the people. I know that the city where I live, in a locality not looked upon as manifesting any great enterprise, very soon after the adoption of the National Policy commenced to feel its beneficent influences, and property now is nearly double the value that it possessed at that time. Cotton and woollen mills were established, and the locomotive works were revived. But why did not the hon. member for Toronto rise in his place and denounce in indignant terms

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any one who could for a moment question the marvellous growth and prosperity of the section from which he comes? He, above all other members of this House, could have shown the wonderful growth and prosperity of his city; he could have spoken of the magnificence of its buildings, of the extent of its immense warehouses and stores, filled with all the products of every clime. He could have pointed to the magnificent palatial residences, the abodes of culture and refinement, and all brought into existence within a very short period of time. The hon. gentleman from Ottawa also spoke of the National Policy benefiting only a few, only those who are engaged in manufactures, and that it did so at the expense of the rest of the community. I do not think that that is so. The nature of my profession leads me to see how people live in their homes, and travelling, as I do, over a very extensive locality, probably the least fertile section of any part of the Province of Ontario, the condition of the people presents a picture to which I would fail to do justice if I attempted to describe it to you. There is quite a difference now since the National Policy has been in force; the people present every appearance of increasing prosperity, and the evidences of growing wealth and comfort are extraordinary. Then again, reference has been made to our people expatriating themselves. I fail to see any evidence of it. Living, as we do, alongside of a great nation, whose progress is phenomenal, and beside which any other country would appear at a disadvantage, there will always be a large number of people passing from the smaller to the greater field of labor, furnishing, as it does, an attraction for their talents and industry. Probably many will foolishly leave a more certain livelihood at home to run their chances there, but if this policy has done anything it has retarded this movement, it has prevented many from going who would have gone but for its existence. Any that have gone have left us in spite of that policy, and not because of it. Take the sugar industry as an illustration of what has been accomplished. In 1878 no men were employed in the industry; in 1882 over 3,500 workmen were employed in connection with the refineries. Similar figures

could be brought forward to show what the cotton industry and other industries have attained under the National Policy. I need not follow up the argument. It will flash on your own intelligence how much trade and how much employment result from the establishment of a single industry. At all events, the population has kept pace with the trade, and the percentage of increase is most flattering. We are also receiving large accessions to our population by immigration into the country. We find that the stream of immigration is pouring into our North-West, and that already this year over 6,000 immigrants have gone into those vast territories. Yet, after all these evidences of prosperity, in view of the success which has followed its adoption, after the experience of eleven years, we are asked to destroy the source of our prosperity, and all simply because the United States, influenced by their cupidity, have conceived the idea of acquiring this country. What else could have tempted their ambition but the great growth and the extraordinary development of our wonderful and varied resources? Nothing else could have prompted them to take notice of it. I do not know that they have our interest so much at heart or that they so earnestly desire our welfare as to make overtures to us, or that they think of us otherwise than as a means of advancing their own ends. We know what their policy has been, and we know, or ought to know, that when we are well off is no time to propose a change. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations: they should not change when they are prosperous and everything is moving smoothly and satisfactorily. The apostles of the movement propose three modes of attaching Canada to the United States—one is war, another rebellion, and a third unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, as it is called. What do you think the newspapers in the United States head their articles on this subject?—"The means to capture Canada,"—and they propose to bring us into their union by this policy. As a Canadian, I feel proud of my country, and I think it is within our power to build up a great nation. The scattered Provinces, now bound together, are in a position to enter on a career of undiminished prosperity and to take their place among the

nations of the earth. That man would be very degenerate, who, for any reason, when the country is prosperous and satisfied, would by his vote or his voice tend to produce discontent in the minds of the people. At all events, there is a party in this country who have faith in its future. They have nailed their colors to the mast; they challenge their opponents to take up the issue, and on that issue, when the appeal is made to the electors of this country, when the time arrives that this Parliament shall have come to an end, the people will be called upon to decide between the two parties. What the result may be of course I cannot say, not being gifted with prophetic knowledge; but I am satisfied that the verdict will be on the side of those who have shown such signal capacity and energy in the management of our public affairs, who have infused into the people a spirit of self-reliance, and who have evinced such a determination to advance the interests of their country and elevate it to the highest plane of national prosperity. I will leave to others the task of answering my hon. friend who preceded me. I doubt not it will be an easy matter, because it took him a whole hour to argue that Great Britain had not shown any fostering care of her colonies. In my opinion, he brought forward instances where Great Britain had shown a most intense desire to foster us. As an example, he mentioned one period when Great Britain gave way and relaxed her policy, not to serve her own interests, but for the purpose of benefiting Canada, for the purpose of making an arrangement with the United States that would be salutary and beneficial to the trade of this country. In the same way, when he speaks of the losses sustained through the Fenian invasion, does he wish that Canada should be deluged with blood in order that our claims should be pushed to the extremity? No; England wisely gave up those claims in order that this country might not be made a battle ground and its people given to slaughter, its treasures exhausted and the Dominion thrown back in the scale of progress for at least half-a century.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—Being an Englishman by birth, and having had forty-five or rather more years' experience in British North America, I consider it

incumbent on me to express my opinion on this occasion. I did intend to offer some remarks on the motion of the hon. member from Fredericton, and on his idea of what fostering care was, but the remarks of the hon. gentleman from British Columbia were so incisive on the country of my birth, a country for which I entertain feelings of the greatest affection and loyalty, that I think it is becoming for me, an Englishman born, and for anyone who has the honor and reputation of this Dominion at heart, to offer some explanation of those events which the hon. gentleman has retailed to the House this evening. I would just point out that the hon. member from Kingston made a few remarks at the end of his speech which seemed to tend in the same direction. It must be remembered that during that period, between the Ashburton Treaty, when the present Maine boundary was adopted, and the period when the San Juan Island was made a subject of arbitration by the British and United States Governments, that Great Britain herself passed through not one ordeal only, but many ordeals of a most dangerous character, ordeals which would have destroyed any nation in Europe excepting herself, in all probability. For instance, in 1842, when the Ashburton treaty yielded up the American claim to the Maine boundary she was in a period of great internal trouble. She had scarcely emerged from her great difficulties with the Reform Bill. The Catholics of Ireland had only recently been relieved from their disabilities and the country was in an agitated state. It was the period of the demand made on William IV by his Ministers for power to create peers to save the Reform Bill from being thrown out in the House of Lords and the country from breaking into insurrection. What wonder then if Great Britain was slow to embark the whole of her Empire and all her resources in a war for the defence of the Maine boundary! I admit that it is a galling thing for any inhabitant of this Dominion to think of that outline and understand all the inconvenience and loss of money which have resulted to this country by that boundary, but when we admit that England made a very poor bargain for New Brunswick and Canada on that occasion, I think it cannot be said that she had not trouble enough of her

own at that particular time to account for it. I may refer slightly to this subject again after speaking of the Oregon boundary. That question was agitated some years later, during the presidency, I think, of President Polk. Peel was the British Minister; a brave, bold Englishman he was, and he, I think, advocated the rights of Great Britain to that boundary more fearlessly than any other Minister who had charge of British North American affairs at any time. Peel, if I remember rightly stated that he had made all the concessions that he felt he could possibly make with honor or justice to his country, and that he would make no more. He said he would take his stand on that boundary, and if the Americans would not consent to it he was prepared to take the alternative of war; and yet at that time Great Britain was not in the state she is in now, she was not the Britain of free trade. She was the Britain of discontent, of Chartist agitations everywhere, and as for her foreign affairs, that disastrous period was very near, if not actually at hand, when Great Britain suffered those extremities of hardships in the Cabul campaign, when a single medical officer rode into Candahar the sole survivor of a British detachment. Those were very hard periods for a country to pass through, and although it is a sad reflection that all this should have occurred and led to the losses which we sustained in the settlement of the boundary questions, yet I think we ought to take a different view of those periods to that which has been taken by the hon. gentleman from British Columbia. There is yet another instance where I think the conduct of Great Britain is more blameable. She acted on a different principle with regard to the island of San Juan. The mind of Gladstone is apparent in that matter. As everybody knows, he is emphatically a man of peace. He had expressed himself repeatedly in public as unwilling to extend the colonial empire of Great Britain, and for that reason he was willing to submit this question to arbitration, and in that way this valuable island was lost to Canada, which we also much regret; but once having agreed to that, it was impossible that any honest, honorable British statesman could draw back from an arbitration which he had agreed to

abide by. But let me look at it from this point of view: Just suppose that the British Ministers of those several times—the period of the Ashburton Treaty, of the Maine boundary and of the San Juan difficulties—suppose each and every one of those British statesmen, forgetting their responsibility to the Empire at large, had determined to go to war on those points, what kind of feeling would subsist between us and the Americans? Would those old grudges which used to cause so much trouble between us have died out, or would they have become more bitter? Would our chances have been better if we had fought out every one of those difficulties to the bitter end? While I regret that we should have been the losers upon each one of those occasions, at the same time I think that if any hon. gentleman, even the hon. member from British Columbia, could for a moment, in imagination, place himself in the position of the British Ministers who swayed the rod of empire in England at that time, he would not have acted differently. Of course, it could have been done, perhaps, at the time of the Maine boundary difficulty, but if any one will read the contemporary history of our country at that time I think he will see reasons enough for not caring to embark in a war with the United States at that period in defence of a boundary which, perhaps, England understood very imperfectly the real value and importance of to Canada. Therefore, while I think the hon. gentleman from British Columbia has made some strong points, there are sufficient reasons to be assigned for the action taken by the Imperial Government. I intended to have made some remarks on the resolution of the hon. gentleman from York, with regard to the fostering care of the mother country in the early history of Canada. It seems to me that in the history of those times we might find something more calculated to develop the loyalty of the people of British North America than those comparatively trifling details which he laid stress on. He referred to the fact that timber and lumber from Canada were introduced into the British market upon more favorable terms than the plank and timber of the Baltic. I think Great Britain served her own interests in that.

In that period of the century the Baltic was more of a closed sea to every nation than it is now. The great battle of the Baltic was fought to detach the fleet of Denmark from her European combination against Great Britain, and there was this difficulty with regard to procuring timber from Denmark, whether the disposition there was friendly or not, the waters of the Baltic were sure to be closed against England every winter, whereas from the Province of New Brunswick there was always an open port from which timber or anything else, if necessary, could be obtained. England therefore had her own reasons for these things, and was justified in doing as she did. She wanted to find employment for her own sawyers and dockmen, and acted accordingly. She wanted to secure a good home market for her home-grown corn and cattle. The object was not to protect manufacturers but to protect the cultivators of the soil—the farmers. Those were the parties in England who received the benefits of protection. It was to enable them to pay higher rents and to contribute to the support of armies and subsidies to foreign powers which prevented the empire from falling in the earlier part of the century. It was to do these things that corn and agricultural products were protected in England; but I think there were higher things than those which contributed to the growth of loyalty to the empire in these scattered Provinces, uncombined as yet in any greater confederation than Upper and Lower Canada: These were, that Great Britain, in establishing all these colonies of hers, established them with all the rights and privileges which she herself possessed. It must be remembered that in that early period the British constitution was but imperfectly developed. England could not give to the Provinces what she did not possess herself. She herself had a constitution which had enabled her to preserve the liberty of the subject, to preserve the power of taxation and to control and preserve the power of making the laws under which the people consented to live, but beyond this the Crown and the aristocracy were the prevalent powers in Europe, and it was not until after the passing of the Reform Bill, which took place about the year 1834, that the power of the people came to overbalance the

power of the aristocracy in Parliament, and from that date England began to act a different part towards her colonies. She began to endow them as they became of age, we might say, with the same privileges that she enjoyed herself. She found that her Government was different from what it had been a few years previously. It was not the government of the Crown, which a king could arbitrarily dismiss at pleasure, but it was government by Parliament, and it was to improve this system that she began to direct her attention to her colonies in British North America and elsewhere, and these were the great boons which the Home Government conferred upon her no longer infant, but, I might say, matured colonies. So important do I regard the constitutions with which she endowed them that I consider it is to those days we must look for the planting and for the growth of that strong feeling of loyalty in this great British North America which we now call the Dominion. But now Britain herself began to see her own fiscal heresy. She began to see that with an enormous list of dutiable articles and a vast army of Customs officers she had very little revenue. The time came when her Prime Minister abandoned his old ideas concerning protection to native agriculture, and he swept away some 500 articles from the dutiable list in one Session, and from that day a change came over the spirit of England's dream. She found herself with a marvelously small tariff, which a celebrated writer said could be written on one page of foolscap; she found herself with more revenue, a richer people and more prosperous times than she ever had before. She found, every year after balancing her accounts, that she was mistress of a vast sum of money, which was actually the profits of the year. What did she do with those profits? She, in the course of time, renewed and restored her mercantile navy. That navy which was so inferior in speed and carrying power to that of her great rival, the United States, was reconstructed out of her annual savings, with a substance dug from the bowels of the earth. No longer was the timber which grew on its surface used for the construction of ships; they were constructed out of apparently the most unsuitable material that could

be found, and the skill of her work-people rendered the shipping of England what we find it to-day. With her increased revenue she was enabled to treat her war navy in the same way, and re-model her ships, and build them first with iron and then with steel and replace the old-fashioned muzzle-loading iron guns with steel ordnance of vastly improved strength and power. And was that all? Besides that she covered her own country with steel railways, upon which journeys, which a century and a-half ago would have occupied three weeks, are now performed between night and morning. But another claim which I think she has a right to make upon the loyalty and regard of her colonies is that she did not confine all those advantages to herself; she held out her hand liberally to her colonies, and said: "See the improvements I have made within our borders." She invited them to take stock of her improvements, and offered to lend them money to carry out similar undertakings on their own account. They accepted her offer, and they have managed with her help and with their own indomitable pluck and courage—I do not want to belittle them at all—to traverse the continent with steel rails, and upon those steel rails we can now accomplish a journey from ocean to ocean in a marvellously short time. She has also helped us to establish lines of steamships, and with those we traverse the ocean in a period of time that used to be calculated by weeks and months, but is now reckoned by days and hours. These are all matters which I think more worthy to be called indications of the care displayed by the mother country to her colonies than some of those things which the hon. gentleman alluded to in his opening address. But I may say this with reference to the question now before us: I do not see that any man can fairly be called upon to state what he would do under a set of circumstances which do not at present exist. Hon. gentlemen may perhaps recollect a certain Tory of England—a Tory of the Tories—Disraeli. He said that on one occasion the Tories had caught the Whigs bathing, and had walked off with their clothes. I do not see that on this occasion we should announce to the public what we will do under certain circumstances if

the present Government were removed and another Government, with a different set of leaders, were placed in power. It would be quite enough for us to state our intentions when that time arrives. I may not see it, for I am an old man, and do not expect to see the day—but we cannot be fairly called upon to state what we will do under such circumstances as that until they are before us. If I were called upon to vote upon each of the three resolutions before the House I should vote against two of them, in favor of that moved by the hon. gentleman from Halifax. That would, I think, meet my views on the case at present; but for all that, I am not ashamed to say what my own views on this question are. I candidly admit that I am not in favor of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, and would not give it a second thought if I had any available alternative; but the reason I tolerate it at all is because I have no alternative. Hon. gentlemen who have built up this National Policy, of which they are so proud, and the effects of which they boast so proudly, forget that they have deprived us of our liberty in this regard. We can no longer deal with Great Britain. We are debarred from doing so. The time was, and not so long ago, when every one of the Maritime Provinces could send its own vessels, with its own produce, to England, and bring them back loaded with the articles that they required. They could levy their own duties, and they commenced with 10 per cent. But in the period when the present Conservative party superseded Mr. Mackenzie's Government they raised those duties and did it in a very astute manner. They knew that the people of the Maritime Provinces were not disposed to pay more taxes than they were paying at that particular time, and they were told that it was not an increase of taxation that was intended by the National Policy but simply a shifting or readjustment of the burden—it was changing the incidence of taxation. If a man were carrying a weight on one shoulder he might find it a relief to divide it between the two, and this was the plea put forward in favor of protecting native industries. Hon. gentlemen who are so proud of the recent spurt of prosperity, which is due, perhaps, to circumstances which have favored them, have been

enabled to send a considerable quantity of those 400 different kinds of cotton which the hon. gentleman from Montreal described as being the products of the cotton mills of Canada, established under the National Policy, to Japan; but we have not been told at whose expense that market was obtained. We may believe that the goods have likely been slaughtered there, but if the contrary is the case, and they have been sold at a profit, if justice were done, every one of the farming class whose industry is taxed to help to support men who work in mills deserves his share in the speculation. He has helped to support the spinners, and now that the spinners have made a hit they decidedly ought to hand out part of their earnings in favor of their co-partners; but we hear no word of that at all. Again, I have this to say to you, manufacturers; Although you are prosperous now, you have not always been so since the commencement of the National Policy era. There were times when the cotton stocks were very much depressed. Some of the companies failed altogether, others became so depressed that they were obliged to work on short time, and some, I fear, went into liquidation. This is a sad state of things and it may occur again, and then what becomes of the existing industries which have been so lovingly described as surrounding the cotton mills in Glengarry? What would those farmers whose property has been so enhanced in value do with their hundred acres of truck? They would still have to pay their little bills, and should it unhappily occur that another period of depression and distress arose, and these prosperous mills were once more obliged to work on short time, and stockholders to do without dividends, and some of them, perhaps, to sacrifice their capital, I fear that the National Policy will not help them—I hope such a thing will not happen—but many men believe that the spurt of prosperity we have to-day is not going to last, and that is the spirit which should operate in the mind of every prudent man in calculating for the future. So, in taking action upon this question, were it not for the National Policy debarring me from the access I used to have to the markets of England for purchasing and selling (because the National Policy cuts both ways), I would not be entirely dependent

on a home market. There is no use now in sending out such a cargo as we used to send from the Maritime Provinces unless we get the prospect of a return cargo; but we cannot get that while the National Policy is in existence. We cannot bring in goods to compete under the heavy duties you have imposed upon us; consequently, we are not free agents, as we were once. That is one thing I have to say against you; and another is against the alternative you offer us. We have been invited, in most courteous terms, to join in an Imperial Confederation. Now, let any man of mark in this community or in Great Britain show me the manner in which Imperial Confederation can be made to work and I will join him, and we will talk no more of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, or anything of that sort. But will any gentleman on the other side of the House pretend to say that there is a ghost of a chance of the British people consenting to impose a differential duty of 5 or 10 per cent. in favor of the colonies to the exclusion of the United States? I do not think there is a man who will be found to do it, yet that is the basis of the proposed Imperial Confederation. Then, what is the use of tendering us such an alternative, which is entirely visionary? I have no alternative, therefore, except the one that was spoken of to-night, and reluctant, as I am, to be obliged to accept it, I must do so. Some hon. gentlemen tell us to ship our horses to Great Britain, where they are in demand and the supply is short. But the horses we send from Prince Edward Island in such numbers are not, for the most part, suited to the British market. They are generally of mature age, weigh generally from 1,100 to 1,300 pounds, a sort of horse for which there is considerable demand in the United States, and they are brought there in large numbers and pay a heavy duty; but how can we be expected to go on paying these heavy duties when the difficulties of the farming population could be met so easily? If you wish us to give up our ideas about unrestricted reciprocity you must, I say, give up your ideas with regard to protection, put down the duty upon imports to 17½ per cent., or reduce it to a rate that will raise a revenue and not do more than

incidentally protect your spinning industry. Then, I think, we shall be able to say that it is not essential we should undertake to adopt American views in place of British. The Americans with whom we are chiefly brought into contact have not proved themselves a very agreeable people to deal with. Those periodical passions of theirs, which come on with the recurrence of presidential, senatorial and congressional elections, seem to unhinge their whole system. They cannot do anything as they did it before. That is all very well as long as the inconvenience applies to their own people, but when it comes to be applied to a friendly people who have no special interest in their elections, we cannot enter into it with the same spirit as they do, and for that reason they are not an agreeable people to deal with. Apart from those engaged in political pursuits there may be people in the United States of a more practical turn of mind, but they are too quiet. When occasions of this kind occur, and Congress and the Senate and the President begin to talk about retaliation, that, I think, is the time when these right-minded men ought to lift up their voices and say: "You are not doing your neighbors justice. They are friendly to you, and have shown it to you in a hundred ways. They have offered you privileges which you have rejected too readily." These men, holding opinions of that sort—good, every-day men of the world—have been far too quiet in this matter. They should have expressed their opinions more decidedly and strongly than they have done, and then these periodical excitements would be less acute and less important than they have been in the past. I had intended to refer to a few things which fell from the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg. I listened as well as I could to his address, and I must say that I felt shocked that he should state—I presume he stated it seriously—that any members of either House forming a party in the Parliament at Ottawa were disloyal to the Crown—that they could be guilty of such folly as to wish to accept some other fealty than that of Britain. I do not think there is any ground for it. I think the hon. gentleman was carried away by his zeal. We see sometimes that animals are so carried away, and there is no controlling them when

in that state, and I am afraid that the hon. gentleman's imagination obtained control of him while he was making his speech; for certainly, though I listened attentively, there was only one point that he made that impressed me very seriously. But I have thought that matter over, and it was to my mind until I came to Ottawa a very serious objection to unrestricted reciprocity or to any commercial arrangement with the United States. It was this: that there might be some danger that the millionaires of New York having more money, and, to some extent, greater facilities than the merchants of Montreal and Toronto, might treat Canada as a field for the disposal of their surplus stocks. I do not speak of commercial union, for I do not believe that Canadians think anything of it; but under unrestricted reciprocity a similar state of things might happen to that which has happened in the Province whence I come. There, instead of being importers of goods, as we used to be when we sent a number of vessels to England and brought home goods for our own market, at the present time we largely draw our supplies from Montreal.

HON. MR. ALMON—And from Halifax.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—If that sort of thing were to occur, New York, taking the same position towards the Dominion that Montreal and Toronto take towards Prince Edward Island, I think that would be a very great evil; but since I came here I have felt reassured, from the confident tone which I have heard adopted by men of experience and position in the mercantile world. I think these men are able to forecast what the result would be if such a thing would happen, and they do not express any fears for the result. Then, if you come down to the cotton spinning and manufacturing industry, even amongst the most considerable manufacturers of the Dominion—Mr. Gibson, of New Brunswick, for instance—he has no fear with regard to the result should closer trade relations be adopted with the United States. In fact, we do not at all fear the result. The only parties I know who are likely perhaps to be somewhat intimidated by it are the *nouveaux riches*, who have done so well the last few years, and have

established those arrangements which we recognize under the name of combines. Those combines are one of the obstacles to success which I believe have induced many people to declare in favor of reciprocity. They see their only resource against the difficulties of the times is by going into closer commercial arrangements with the United States. These combines are wrong—all wrong. It is a remarkable fact that when the National Policy was under discussion in this House, and in the other branch of Parliament, it was urged by gentlemen who occupied a position in the Opposition that this result would ensue, that these protected manufactures would raise prices by combination amongst themselves, and that the country would be forced to pay higher prices than ever before. We were answered that there need be no apprehension of that; that the natural competition between the different firms and companies would secure us against anything of the kind. Has it done so? I think we may safely say it has not, and there is one of the causes which has brought about this result which I, for one, regret so much. There may be others more far-seeing than I am, younger in years and with a greater possibility of seeing the result than I can have, who hold different language, but who think that unrestricted reciprocity will be an unrestricted benefit to Canada. It may be so; but all I can say is, that I do not want to be driven into any such arrangement as that by the force of circumstances which are altogether artificial, and which are altogether the result of the National Policy and its inevitable consequences. These are the things that have done evil to Canada. Hon. gentlemen may talk about the evil that is done in foreign countries by giving rise to bad reports of our finances and bad reports of our stability, but I ask them to recollect that greater men than any public man now living in Canada have been taxed with similar crimes. I am not sure but one gentleman referred to the case of the elder Pitt in this debate, but the case of Pitt was this; that having the spirit of liberty in his breast he could not but feel glad when he saw the first or oldest colonies of England as keen and as devoted to the spirit of constitutional liberty as he was himself—he

could not but feel glad at that, and when he expressed his views the colonists applauded him. What did the English Ministry retort upon him? That he was supporting the rebellious spirit of the American colonists. Pitt was blamed for keeping up this spirit of opposition to the British Government, and only for him the rebellious spirit, it was affirmed, would have been trodden out long before. That is what many of us have been charged with—not myself, as far as I know. All I can say is, if any blame attaches to any party on this floor I am prepared to take my share of it, only let the truth be told, and let it be ventilated in the press and on the platform. Some hon. gentlemen quoted Mr. Bright: Mr. Bright said that there was nothing like public meetings, nothing like public discussions of grievances to heal them. That was the dictum of a statesman who died full of years and of honors so lately as two or three weeks ago. I remember the case of even a greater man, in one way—for Mr. Bright, great as a statesman, was a man of peace; but the other, a statesman also, was chiefly celebrated as a man of war. Between the years 1814 and 1815, when Napoleon had been exiled to Elba, word was circulated that he would escape before long, and that Corporal Nolet might be expected in France towards spring. Those who knew the secret expected him: it was not confined to a few Frenchmen; others knew of it, and it was thought desirable to make preparations accordingly. It was said of two men, one a Prussian and the other an Englishman, that they were ready to accept peace at any price. Who were these? I forget who the Prussian was; it was not the old Field Marshal Blucher, but the Englishman was the Duke of Wellington. If such men can be charged with a desire to betray or traduce their country we can afford to be spoken of in the same way. I do not, myself, believe that these discussions can do harm. They may produce a spirit of inquiry, and that is a useful thing. When I rose to-night I really did not intend to detain the House for any length of time. In fact, I have not said much that I intended to say, but perhaps I have said too much already. I do not wish to be understood in this way, that in supporting such a measure as unre-

stricted reciprocity with the United States I am doing it out of love for the Republic. I am doing it because my hands are tied, because the National Policy compels me to abandon trade with my mother country, and because, if we cannot have trade with England we must have it with some other country, or starve. What am I to do? Let gentlemen who are profiting by the National Policy say that themselves; but we know that temporary prosperity does not make men rich. We have had some experience of dull times and great distress even during the short period the National Policy has been in operation; we may have this experience again. What are we to do in that case with unemployed operatives or operatives working half time? If hon. gentlemen had lived as long as I have, and witnessed poor times in England, as I witnessed them before I saw the continent of America—if they could have seen the misery which protection caused in England—they can read it, if they will, and it is a pity that more of them do not employ their time in studying the history of those periods. I have here an extract which I made from McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times." I know that hon. gentlemen do not like to listen to anything that has a savor of free trade in it. Some of them said the other day, when Mr. Bright's views were quoted, that he was a free-trader, and that therefore his views go for nothing. Justin McCarthy refers to free trade in these words—

HON. MR. ALMON—Justin McCarthy is one of the most prejudiced writers of history that has existed since the time of Macaulay.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—In the following extract from Justin McCarthy all you have to do is just to substitute "manufactures" for "agriculture," which was the protected interest in England, and it is quite applicable to the condition of affairs in this country:

"But it is easy now, when we have almost forgotten the days of protection, to see that the corn-grower is not likely either to recognize or admit this conflict of interests between his protection and the public welfare.

"Apart from the tendency of every man to think that that which does him good must do good to the community, there was undoubtedly something very fascinating in the theory of protection; it had a charming give-and-take, live-and-let-live,

air about it. 'You give me a little more than the market price for my corn, and, don't you see, I shall be able to buy all the more of your cloth, and tea and sugar, or to pay you a higher rent for your land.'

"Such a compact seems reasonable and tempting. Almost up to our own times the legislation of the country was in the hands of the classes who had more to do with the growing of corn than the making of cotton and the working of machinery.

"The great object of legislation and of social compacts, of whatever kinds, seemed to be to keep the rents of the landlords and the prices of the farmers up to a comfortable standard."

I think this, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the state of things in Canada to-day. I must now close, thanking the House for their patient hearing, although I have not said what I intended to say, having been led to adapt my remarks to the incidents of the debate.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I am very glad to hear from my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island that his remarks were not what he intended. I do not know what they might have been if he had delivered the remarks which he intended to make. We who know him are aware that he is an Englishman and a gentleman, and he cannot, as such, dissent from the remarks made by my hon. friend from Fredericton. It is not possible, because being a loyal British subject he cannot take a different position. I only rise to say that my hon. friend has got in the wrong swim, and he has to drift with the hon. gentlemen in this House who go against the prosperity of the country and oppose the National Policy. My hon. friend from Fredericton has not gone in that way to the extent which will please his friends, and I am perfectly satisfied that when the vote is taken on this question to-night he will be found with us.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—I may be pardoned for rising at this late hour to say a few words with reference to this subject, which has engaged the attention of the Senate for such considerable length of time. When the hon. gentleman from Fredericton introduced his resolution I did not expect that it would raise a discussion, because the very tone of that resolution, couched as it was in patriotic terms, and breathing, as I believe it does, the sentiments of a great majority of the people of Canada, is one which should

meet with unanimous endorsement. But unfortunately in this, as in other cases, there are certain gentlemen in this House who are not willing to allow any resolution of this sort to be passed upon, except they bring forth some vague idea of their own—I allude especially now to the hon. member from Ottawa. You are all aware how he disposes of every question of this kind. He thinks that he is the personification of everything that should predominate in this House, and that every assertion that he makes should receive the cordial assent of every member of the Senate; but I have known the hon. gentleman one day to make a speech on one side of the question and a few days afterwards, if he found it necessary to reverse the picture, to take the opposite side. I have no great confidence in that hon. gentleman. I have known him for many years. I knew him when he was as great a Tory as any member of this House.

HON. MR. POWER—Those observations would be more appropriate if the hon. member from Ottawa were here.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—I would speak in precisely the same way if he were present.

HON. MR. POWER—It would be only fair to give him an opportunity to answer.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—If he is not here, attending to his duties, it is not my fault. I say that upon all occasions that hon. gentleman brings forward matters that are quite beyond the question for the purpose of vindicating what he thinks is the right course of action—he tries to impress upon the House that he can dispose of all these questions like a wizard, with his wand, as he thinks proper. Therefore, as far as he is concerned, he of all others is to blame if we have those prolonged discussions. It seems that no question can be raised here, however decidedly the people may have expressed their views upon it, without a certain number of gentlemen dissenting from the proposition, be it right or wrong. That is not the spirit, in my humble judgment, in which a question of the sort should be approached and discussed. I think in the Senate we should deal with every question upon its merits, and should judge, as business men, the character of a policy by its

effects upon the country. We have had here this evening musty documents unearthed, old documents from England and the United States, and even a manifesto issued in 1849, when a very different state of things existed from those which prevail to-day. We have had all these unearthed—and for what reason? To show that the policy of this Government has been injurious to the best interests of the country. But what are the facts? Everyone knows—it is needless to dilate upon it—that the country has been prosperous to a degree unparalleled in the history of Canada. No greater libel could be uttered on any people than to say that this country is not prosperous. The hon. gentleman from British Columbia endeavors to show that everything in the Dominion is in a state of chaos and confusion. His remarks sounded to me very much like the speech of a disappointed man. Probably he has not obtained all that he desired, and he thinks the best thing he can do is to abuse the country and everyone concerned in the administration of its public affairs. I believe that that is the sole motive that the hon. gentleman has in view on every occasion when he rises in this House to belittle and decry the interests of this country. I consider such a course unpatriotic. He expressed the wish that the people could have an opportunity of passing an opinion on this question. Well, they have had three opportunities at three different periods, and what has been the verdict of the people? What has been their verdict in by-elections? The proposition is so simple in itself that it is hardly worth while to make any reply to it. I do hope in future, when these questions are taken up, that hon. gentlemen will discard from their minds the idea that they are bound to oppose any measure which may emanate from the Government. I hope that they will look at public questions in the future in a broad and statesmanlike way and discuss them on their merits. The hon. gentleman from New Westminster alluded in very feeling terms to the position of this country during the Fenian raids, and blamed the people of England because those raids had taken place; yet, it is with the very people who brought this trouble upon Canada that my hon. friend would have this country allied. To enable himself to

get out of a dilemma, he does not blame the Imperial authorities, but he tries to blame the Colonial authorities. Now, that is very inconsistent: either the British Government have been doing what is right or what is wrong—they are either deserving of blame, or no one is to be blamed. I think the British Government have been taking every care of this country, and that they deserve well at the hands of the people of Canada. They have done everything that men could possibly do for us, and they are willing even yet to aid and foster this country. But there is a set of people in Canada who are always dissatisfied, and desirous of making trouble under all circumstances. Fortunately, they are a small minority, without influence. They never will have influence, and so long as they continue in their present course they will never represent anybody but themselves. We have heard a good deal, too, about the effects of this National Policy—that it is making the few rich at the expense of the many. I cannot see that; but even supposing the assertion were true it would be very well indeed if even a portion of our people could make fortunes. I am very glad to know that some of our people are prospering under the National Policy. Prior to the adoption of that policy we know what the state of the country was. Allusion has been made to the events of 1865. We know what occurred at that time. Those who are familiar with the facts can draw their own conclusions. Go to any village or hamlet in the country, and ask the people whether they would return to the state affairs which prevailed then or at any time prior to the adoption of the National Policy, and they will promptly answer: No; that they prefer the present condition of affairs. It would be impossible to find a house whose inhabitants would desire to return to the former condition of affairs. Every one admits that the country is prosperous, that the working classes find employment, that the population is increasing in wealth and comfort. A great many statistical statements have been submitted to the House in this debate. They all show unmistakeably that Canada is progressing to an extent unparalleled in any other country on the face of the globe. We are told that Eng-

land would be satisfied to have us get this panacea for all our evils. Some hon. gentlemen want commercial union; others call it unrestricted reciprocity; but there is a class of men in this country who are honest, and who do not deny that what they want is annexation, pure and simple. Those are the honest men, and I would much rather have to deal with people who say exactly what they mean. I think they are very few in numbers—hardly a baker's dozen—but notwithstanding all that, they are honest. We are told that the Americans are so anxious that we should succeed that they are willing to take us under their protection; but those who take that view lose sight altogether of the fact that the object of our neighbors is to get possession of a country which they are beginning to discover is of immense value. Do you think the Americans would care a straw for the Dominion, if it did not possess advantages which would be of enormous benefit to their country? They find us with a magnificent railway system, with canals and large public improvements, and our vast resources developed to some extent, and they say to us: "Gentlemen, if you think proper to come in with us, under commercial union or otherwise, disguise it as you may, you must make it a compact that will give us the advantage." I heard one gentleman say to-day very glibly that if this arrangement were to go into force to-morrow our five millions of people would have an equal voice with the sixty millions in the Republic. I never could understand a mathematical problem that way. I think that five would have a very small chance of getting what they required against the will of sixty. On no account will the Americans give us what these gentlemen think we could get. It is all very well to talk of reciprocity in natural products, but what is the use of trying to get a measure that they will not give us? They say clearly that they will not do it. I believe there are a great many people in this country who would favor a treaty similar to the one that they enjoyed some years ago; I am satisfied that a majority of our people would prefer that, but their numbers are decreasing every day. If I were to express my own sentiments and feelings, I would prefer no reciprocity of any kind.

If we remain quiet, progressing as we are now, in the course of ten years we would be much better off, more independent and prosperous than if we had commercial union or any other union with the United States. Those are my own private sentiments, but I believe that the people here, and the Government of this country, are inclined to favor a limited reciprocity. Of course, if they obtain it, all very well; but I am very much afraid that the Americans would never consent to anything of the kind, or to any arrangement in which they would not have the best of the bargain. They had the best of the last treaty all through. They promised to give us the use of their canals in exchange for the use of ours, but they never did it. They got the use of our canals, although the Government of this country had no more right to give them that privilege, under the circumstances, than I had to give it myself. It just shows that no matter what concessions we may make they are not satisfied. They have abrogated every treaty themselves, and therefore I say that we should not attempt to make any arrangement with them. Our policy is to continue the even tenor of our way, until they find it is to their advantage to have a treaty with us, such as would be fair and equitable to both countries. We will never get anything by asking them for concessions, and leading them to believe that we cannot live without them. I repeat that I am averse, personally, to any arrangement whereby we would have any intercourse with the American people. Let us go on as we have been doing, and let them take whatever course they please. They threatened retaliation last year, and what was the effect? The very moment that measure was proposed the business on our railways increased to a very large extent. I believe that some 200,000 tons additional freight was carried on our railways as the effect of that threat of retaliation. We have had enough of these discussions, and in the future, when this matter is brought up, I hope that it will be viewed from a national standpoint, and irrespective of any other than patriotic considerations. I am glad that the hon. member from Fredericton introduced the resolution. I think he is entitled to the best thanks of this country, because it is a

resolution so patriotic, so just and so fair, that it deserves to be favorably received. It recognizes the fostering care of the mother country towards Canada in the past, a policy which I am satisfied we are willing to continue in the future to any extent that may be necessary for our protection and for developing this colony into a great and powerful people.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—After the very vehement speech of the hon. gentleman from Rideau, I may be pardoned for making a few observations. (Cries of "Louder"). It is impossible for me to speak as loud as the hon. gentleman; his voice is louder than mine, and he is in a position to speak loud—he possibly feels that he is deriving great personal benefits from the policy he so strongly advocates. I felt when he was indulging in some of his recriminatory remarks, in which he accused some of us who do not share his views of being dishonest men, that we should point to him and say: "Mark the perfect man and behold the upright!" The hon. gentleman spoke with warmth, and why he should be excited I cannot say, because his views are undoubtedly shared by a large majority of the Senate, or at all events they will record their votes that way. His audience is appreciative, and has a fellow-feeling with the hon. gentleman. If I were addressing this evening hon. gentlemen selected by myself, as this audience has been by the Government, from all parts of the Dominion, I would feel less embarrassment in presenting my views. I know there are very few in this House who are in accord with my views on this question, or in accord with the sentiments expressed so nobly by the hon. gentleman from Marshfield; but I think it ill-becomes any member of the Senate to dub as dishonest gentlemen unwilling to coincide with the restrictionists. The hon. gentleman remarked that the three questions of unrestricted reciprocity, commercial union and annexation were really one, and that the only honest men among these were those who advocate annexation to the United States. Now, I do not advocate annexation—though an advocate of reciprocity. I do not know how I might have been had I been in Montreal in 1849, when that manifesto was issued,

when those resolutions were formulated, and when those speeches—able ones they were—were made in favor of annexation to the United States. I do not know how it might have been under such circumstances, but we know what has been the result since that time. In a dispatch sent to the Home authorities in 1865 we find that notwithstanding the discontent which then prevailed, a discontent not confined to Montreal and the Eastern Townships, but which may have been spread by the views so ably expressed in that manifesto to New Brunswick—that this feeling of discontent was allayed by the adoption of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, and from that date until 1866 no such sentiments prevailed in Canada. The hon. gentleman from Rideau (Mr. Clemow) spoke about taking a national position. I wonder what he calls the protective system? Is it a national system—is it an Imperial policy, or one that England has taught us? Not by any means. The policy which he advocates here to-night, and which he is pleased to tell us has produced so much prosperity to his own certain personal knowledge, is not a national policy—it is an anti-national policy, entirely in subversion of everything we have learned from mother England. But my hon. friend accused his colleague in his absence of bringing up this question. The hon. gentleman accused him wrongly. When the proposition moved by my hon. friend from Fredericton was submitted to the House that hon. member discussed it on its merits; then my hon. friend, the senior member from Halifax, moved an amendment. He on that occasion disclaimed any notion or any intention of discussing reciprocity or the National Policy, but he discussed the question of discrimination to which his amendment referred. Then followed my hon. friend from Glengarry, who, strange to say, launched into the whole question of the National Policy, unrestricted reciprocity, and all those questions which had been thoroughly threshed out on a former occasion, an occasion when the hon. gentleman who leads this House made an unanswerable speech, only so, however, because he resorted to the rules of the House to prevent any answer. With regard to the sub-amendment moved the other day, I might say a word or two touching the support given to that amendment by the

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hon. gentleman who moved it. I think he did not do justice to my hon. friend the senior member for Halifax, in stating that he laid it down as an absolute truth in stating that the difference in the duty paid on goods from England and on goods from the United States was imposing discrimination in the ordinary sense. He said, in point of fact, it practically had that effect; but I did not understand him to say that it was a discriminating duty, although in the observations made by the leader of the House in moving the sub-amendment he put it forward that the hon. member had so absolutely stated it, and consequently he set himself to controvert it. It is always easy to make a point in that way. Then the hon. leader of the Government, in moving his amendment, enunciated another principle in refutation of the remarks of my hon. friend from Halifax. He said that the admission of certain articles to the United States last year was not based upon the discrimination principle, because they were made free from all countries; but the hon. member must forget that last year, after a very singular sort of somersault on the part of the Government, they decided to admit the articles under the statutory regulations which the United States had made free for some three or four years before; that they publicly proclaimed in the *Canada Gazette* of that day the free admission from the United States only. In that way they did discriminate against England. It is very true that subsequently a change was made in the proclamation, a change which was pointed out as being desirable to be made by a member of the Opposition in another place, for the reason that the proclamation was issued under the Act of 1879, which made it, in order to be legal and proper, absolutely necessary that it should admit the articles from all countries on equal terms. It would appear as if the Government were inclined, so far as they could on that occasion, to make the admission of those articles free only from the United States, and impose duties on similar articles coming from England, or, in other words, discriminate against all other countries. Therefore, the observations which were made by the hon. leader of the Government as against the amendment of my hon. friend from Halifax do not seem to

have very much force, but I have no doubt that before the discussion ends the hon. gentleman will be able to supply more explanations as to his motion. Adverting to my hon. friend from Rideau, I do not see how he can very well support the sub-amendment, inasmuch as it admits that it is proper to consider the advantage which we would receive from an exchange of natural products. If I understand him rightly, he is opposed to all manner of reciprocity—to every kind of exchange—and therefore this sub-amendment scarcely suits his notions.

HON. MR. POWER—He said that if the Government approved, it was all right.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Since the hon. member from Glengarry has chosen to divert this debate into a discussion on the trade question, and as many speeches have been made in support of the National Policy, to which I am opposed, it may not be inappropriate to refer briefly to some of the statements made. Before I read that, however, I shall make some reference to the concessions made by the Home Government to Canada in the matter of discriminating duties. Sir A. T. Galt and other Canadian statesmen, as has been pretty clearly shown, have labored successfully in the extension of our powers in this direction. The vigorous correspondence carried on by Sir John Rose with the Imperial Government also shows the past policy in this regard. Again, in 1879, in the Imperial Parliament, it was distinctly affirmed, in answer to a question by the late John Bright, whose recent death is deplored universally, wherever his great name was known, having reference to correspondence which had taken place with regard to the anti-British policy which had been inaugurated in this country—that is to say, the protective policy—that Canada was allowed to do what she pleased in these matters and, in this instance, so much the worse for Canada. The question and the answer as reported in *Hansard* are as follows:—

“Mr. JOHN BRIGHT asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the new tariff now before the Canadian Parliament; if any communication has taken place between Her Majesty's Government and the Governor General or Government of Canada on the subject of the proposed increased Customs and protected duties in Canada; whether

it is intended to represent to the Canadian Government the impolicy of a war of tariffs between different portions of the Empire; and, whether it is true that the 'instructions' to Lord Lorne omitted, for the first time, the clause requiring that Bills imposing differential duties should be reserved for Her Majesty's approval?

"Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, a summary of the proposed tariff has been received by telegraph, but not such a complete statement of it as I could lay before Parliament as correct. The summary reached me on the 11th of March, this being the first communication I had received of the details of the scheme; and on the following day I was informed by the Governor General that his Government proposed to bring it before the Dominion Parliament on the 14th of March. There was no time evidently then for any detailed examination of the proposal, and I therefore telegraphed that—

"Her Majesty's Government regretted to observe that the general effect of the tariff was to increase duties already high, but deemed that the fiscal policy of Canada rested, subject to treaty obligations, with the Dominion legislation."

"The Canadian Government fully understands the fiscal policy of this country; and I may add that I believe, though I could not positively say so at present, until I have seen the actual tariff itself, and there is nothing in the present proposal which has not been previously sanctioned, at least in principle, by Canadian legislation. In 1876-77, as the result of much correspondence between my predecessor and the Dominion Government, the instructions to be issued to Lord Dufferin's successor were thoroughly revised, and in that revision the clause specifying certain classes of Bills—among them Bills imposing differential duties—as those which should be reserved for Her Majesty's approval were omitted. This was done without any reference to a protectionist policy, the Dominion Government, as the right hon. gentleman is aware, then in office being free traders. The alterations of the instructions, however, of course in no way interfere with the power of reservation and of disallowance, those powers being fully set forth in the British North America Act of 1867."

The whole course of that debate indicates that the Imperial Government were not making this a matter of any great importance to them. They felt that Canada being 40 per cent. in area of the whole British Empire, forming a most important integral portion of that Empire, should be allowed, although very much against the wishes of English statesmen that they should inflict such a dangerous policy as they had inflicted—yet, if it would be for the interest of Canada it would be for the interest of the Empire. Feeling it was for the interest of Canada that we should have an interchange of natural products with the United States it would be also in the interests of the Empire. It is well known and has been alluded to during this discussion, the amount of capital that Great Britain has invested in Canada; and the difference between the amount of

manufactured goods sold in Canada now and what free trade England would be able to sell no matter what sort of a wall we might build against her, would be a mere bagatelle in the estimation of British statesmen, and not at all comparable in their eyes to the benefits which would accrue by having closer relations with the 60,000,000 people to the south. I am quite convinced that this would be the feeling that would be manifested by the mother country in case any trade arrangement could be made to remedy the discontent which prevailed; because discontent, notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Rideau division, does prevail. It may not prevail within the scope of his vision or near the seat of Government, where there is so large an amount of public moneys expended. It may not prevail, perhaps, in the minds of rich contractors, who usually are not dissatisfied when their pockets are filled out of the public moneys, but with other classes and in other sections dissatisfaction does prevail. A few favored centres are not the whole of Canada. The trade combines do not include their enforced customers. There are, and have been, large rural populations of discontented people. They are not so numerous as they were. They are continually moving off to the United States. They are not going to the Republic because they prefer that system of government or that flag; they are going from a feeling that the enormous debt of the country is certain to increase taxation, their trade is so interrupted, and every commercial interest with which they are connected so impaired, that their remaining in the country would be a mistake, and it is heartrending to find so many people in some section of the country leaving for the American Republic. I saw only to-day in a newspaper an account of the census taken in the State of Massachusetts in 1885, showing that 145,000 people of the population of Massachusetts were natives of Canada, and Massachusetts is not the only State to which our population go. Canada is being well represented in every State of the Union. It was only the other day that I came up here after the recess. I found on the same train thirty-six people, men, women and children, part of them from the district of

the Province I come from, some of them going to California and others to Oregon. This is an instance, taken by itself, that does not amount to much, but it is of very frequent occurrence. These things ought not to be. There is no evidence to prove that under the policy of high protection, except the general abstract statement, unsupported by facts, the population of the Dominion is keeping up to even what it should be from the natural increase. We all know that a very large expenditure was made in the North-West, reputed one of the finest wheat-growing countries in the world, and what predictions were made in this Chamber when the Pacific Railway charter was granted, not one of which has been fulfilled. It has been a most serious disappointment, and why it is so hon. gentlemen fail to explain. My impression at that time, and I stated it to the House, was that the high duties and the monopoly that that railway system created would be a very serious difficulty in the way of inducing people to go in there and settle. The colonization companies and the bad land regulations subsequently enacted indicated that the Government were disposed to favor the classes very much more than the masses, and the blocking-up system, I presume, has had largely the disastrous effect which is said to exist with regard to the non-settlement of the North-West. It is true, it is said, that a better state of things prevail in Manitoba since the Liberal Government there had secured improved railway facilities. I was told this evening by a gentleman from one of the Ontario constituencies that such is the case, and I trust it is correct. If the people, when they leave their old homes, would go to the North-West it would be far better for Canada than to go, as they are doing, from the eastern Provinces to the United States. This is decrying the country, in the eyes of the hon. gentleman from Rideau; yet we must exercise our opinion, and knowing, as I do, these to be the facts, it strikes me that I am only discharging my duty as a member of this Senate in so stating them. These are the facts so far as many districts in the Province of New Brunswick are concerned. The best manifestation of loyalty would be to make the people contented, as they were made contented by the treaty of 1854. They were discontented before that.

I think the discontented ones of forty years ago, the rebellious, as they were termed, were made up of all classes and all shades of politics, but with the improved trade that sprang up under the treaty they became contented and loyal. You cannot have a loyal people without having a contented people. But the great trouble is, we are not getting the people at all. The number of them is not at all what was anticipated ten years ago. We heard hon. gentlemen talking of the millions of people that would be in the North-West and the 50,000,000 of bushels of wheat that would be exported from there inside a decade. Unfortunately their anticipations have not been verified, and we would like to do something that would bring about a better state of things. But I was somewhat struck, and I may say amused, with the arguments brought forward in support of the protective system with which this country is, in my judgment, cursed at present. The National Policy was inaugurated under very favorable circumstances. The country had gone through a decade almost of depression. It was very fortunate for gentlemen on the Tory side of politics that it did so, for they take that as a criterion in comparing success they have had since the inauguration of the new system. It came in under favorable circumstances, and what has it done for us? The hon. gentleman from Quinté claimed at one time to have been the progenitor of it. He said there was no other protectionist in the Senate at that time, and he could not find a seconder for his resolution. He eventually did get one from my own Province, New Brunswick, to assist him in placing his plan before the House, and I have been under the impression that the hon. gentleman had the honor of being the inventor of it, like a patent medicine; but to my astonishment he told me the other day that he was not after all the father—that he only acted as a very useful assistant at the birth. Since the time of the inauguration of the National Policy what has been done for its protection and favor? It has been in charge of a very strong Government; the fathers of it and promoters of it, however, have always been jealous of the child and fearful of its destiny. They have taxed the people of this country enormously to protect it and nurture it,

to make it useful and strong. I remember a few years ago seeing in the Joint Committee on Printing, the evidence taken before the Agricultural Committee. We all know what it was about—a collection of evidence largely got up and manipulated with a view to convince the farmers of Canada that they were really gainers by the system, and we all know the amount of money that was expended in publishing it in French and English, to extend its circulation. The same thing has been done, no doubt, with speeches of hon. gentlemen, got up in pamphlet form, all done at public expense. Subsequently to that the Government, fearing that some disaster would happen to this pet scheme, appointed a commission. It is a very convenient thing to appoint commissions. It enables the Government to provide employment for some faithful supporters and it enables them also to increase the public debt, which appears to be one part of the policy of the Government. These commissioners traversed the country and reported upon the industries. What was the need of that if it was such a useful policy and if the people were deriving the advantages that were claimed for it? It strikes me people were not so ignorant as not to see the profits they were deriving from it, without having a commissioner appointed to go around and tell them so. The report of those commissioners did not seem exactly to please the Government. Then little difficulties began to spring up between labor and capital, and there were "strikes." Some of the factories have shut down, and the men have been idle, and difficulties have arisen, such as have been pretty well indicated by the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island, and hence a necessity arose for a Labor Commission. The expenses of that Labor Commission alone, I venture to say, will not be less than \$100,000, all to bolster up the great National Policy, an anti-British policy. Then it is not only an anti-British and disloyal affair in itself, but the Government had to introduce into this country a device from the United States in order to assist them in carrying the elections—the gerrymander. They were afraid at that time to trust the matter to the fair expression of opinion of

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the people of Canada. Then, again, the electoral franchise has been another device by which the popular approval has been ostensibly gained the second time for the National Policy. Millions have been expended fruitlessly on immigration experiments. So you see it has not been without expense. A great deal has been expended in order to maintain the existence of that policy in this country, and I am quite of the opinion of some hon. gentlemen that upon a fair reference of this question of trade policy to the people of Canada it will be found that there are many living beyond the radius of those great factories of which we have heard, and a majority would declare itself against the continuance of such a heavy and oppressive tariff. I now come to some of the arguments of the hon. gentleman from Glengarry. I think they are not original with him. Some were used by the Finance Minister, and some are the stock arguments which it seems necessary to repeat on all those occasions when the trade policy is discussed before Parliament. The hon. gentleman refers to the large amount put into the savings banks. Now, I have been rather surprised that hon. gentlemen would estimate that as an evidence of good times or prosperous trade resulting from a high tariff. Twenty-five years ago, in the city of St. John, there were fifteen or twenty large ships built. Freights were fairly good. Real estate was at least twice as high as it is now. People who had money would then naturally find no difficulty in investing it where in their opinion it would be paying them good interest, and the result was they put very little into the savings bank. If the argument of the hon. gentleman from Glengarry was a good one, that the city of St. John must have prospered since the inauguration of the National Policy, I would like to have the opinion of either of the members from that city as to the relative value of property in that city now as compared with ten or twelve years ago. I think both of those hon. gentlemen would be willing to say that it certainly would not sell on the market to-day for anything like the old rates.

HON. MR. DEVER—I think it is possible that real estate fell off in value in St.

John in consequence of the falling off of the ship-building interest. That has nothing at all to do with the National Policy.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—I am speaking of it as a fact; and as regards the deposits in the savings banks in St. John, if they have increased rapidly while ship building was depressed, trade and values had fallen off, and the numbers of people have decreased, we must draw this conclusion, that the large aggregate of the savings in the banks is no indication whatever of prosperity or of any advantage under the National Policy. I might refer to an article in the *London Times* of a few years ago, which I cited once before with reference to savings banks in Ireland:

“The total increase of deposits in the savings banks in Ireland for the year ending 31st December, 1880, over the previous year, was £1,732,503. The increase in Ireland just now (1881) has a peculiar significance, the amounts exceeding by £138,500 the total of the previous year placed in the savings bank. Ten thousand new depositors were also enrolled, every county in Ireland contributing its quota, and the increase in the eight counties scheduled as distress amounted to £84,448, over and above the growth of the previous year, viz., £33,866, against £25,618. Not bad for a starving country.”

I have no doubt that is a correct statement of the savings in the Irish Bank at that time, indicating that it is not any argument whatever to prove the state of the country. I do not pretend that it is any conclusive argument on the other side. It depends very much on the demand for and the interest paid on money; and, so far as my experience goes, many people—not of the poorer classes at all—have invested in the savings bank for the reason I gave a moment ago—that the feeling has come over them that it is unsafe to invest in the kind of property that they had been investing in formerly, an evidence that the trade policy of the Government has not been useful. Then, again, the same remark will apply to the argument of the hon. gentleman from Glengarry, with regard to the deposits in the ordinary banks, and also to the discounts. If a country has good borrowing powers and good credit, and the Government exercise that credit and bring in one hundred millions of dollars of money in a few years, and expend it in the country, it will have a considerable influence on the finances, and the altered conditions of the banks under these cir-

cumstances are not the result of a high tariff. It will hardly be possible for a Government, with all the credit which Canada has, to go on spending so lavishly, in the way of subsidizing local railways, and in other ways distributing money so as to necessitate still further borrowing. So hard driven are hon. gentlemen to get an argument in favor of their pet policy, which is so anti-British and disloyal, they adduce the fact that there are more letters written and sent through the mails than there were before the National Policy was inaugurated. Certainly that is no great argument. It is well known that the Government is going to a great deal of expense to extend the post office system—a very laudable thing for them to do. It is more a result of the free schools established all over the country, in which every child is taught to read and write, and, naturally enough, there are more letters written as the people become more generally educated; and it would be just as strong a reason to give in favor of the National Policy to say that the hens laid more eggs since we had it—and perhaps they do. Another argument which I have heard adduced—it is hardly worth while to let those things pass without contradiction, though I have contradicted them before—is that our shipping would be injured by unrestricted reciprocity with the United States; and the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg said that without maintaining our allegiance to the protective system our mercantile marine would go to the dogs. If we turn to the report of the Minister of Marine for 1887 we find that it shows the following returns:—

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

Showing the number of vessels and number of tons on the registry books of the Dominion of Canada on the 31st December in each year, from 1873 to 1887:—

Year	Tonnage
1873.....	1,073,718
1874.....	1,158,368
1875.....	1,205,565
1876.....	1,260,893
1877.....	1,310,468
1878.....	1,333,015
1879.....	1,322,094
1880.....	1,311,218
1881.....	1,310,896
1882.....	1,260,777
1883.....	1,276,440
1884.....	1,253,747
1885.....	1,231,856
1886.....	1,217,766
1887.....	1,130,247

I notice from the same table, from which I have taken the total tonnage for the several years mentioned, that in 1873 the Province of New Brunswick built 1,147 vessels, and in 1887 the number constructed had declined to 71 vessels. It is somewhat significant that the shipping of the Dominion gradually increased, even during the period of depression. There were years that the depression existed the world over, even in the United States and in England, and notwithstanding that, during the five years prior to 1878 the registered tonnage of the Dominion gradually increased, and from that time since it has been gradually reduced.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—How much?

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Some two hundred and three thousand tons—a very considerable reduction.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Iron ships have replaced them.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—We have done our share in protecting the iron industry, and it should begin to show some signs of being useful. But if that has been the reason, it is rather a singular thing that in the United States, from which the Government have copied this high protective system, for some thirty-six years the same effect has been produced. It is well known that during the whole period of the high protective tariff in the United States, while that country, with its vast and varied resources has progressed in spite of the policy, it has ruined their external trade; it has destroyed their shipping and has driven them out of the carrying trade almost altogether. I will read an extract from a speech made by Colonel Dickinson before a meeting of the National Shipping and Industrial League at New York, in which, speaking of the shipping trade of the United States, he says:

“A nation with more surplus products to carry on the ocean than any other; with more coal, iron and timber for the building of ships; with able financiers, yet with no ships, and paying out \$150,000,000 a year for freight on its carrying trade, is a national condition which presents a spectacle that may well fill every American heart with humiliation and gloomy forebodings for the welfare of his country. Said a great student of this subject who has recently passed away: ‘Our people throughout this broad and productive land,

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imbued with an unselfish idea, entirely dissociated, I believe, from mere commercial considerations, have desired to see the bounteous productions with which nature and human ingenuity have blessed us distributed throughout the world, to diffuse contentment, happiness and plenty. And how have their desires in this laudable purpose been met? They have seen our merchant ships, which they hoped to see the couriers of good will to other lands, blessing those who supply and those who receive, swept from the sea like the Spanish Armada, as if they were messengers of evil and ruin rather than the agents of a beneficent and humane design.”

“According to the statistics of the New York Produce Exchange, there were 44,205,000 bushels of grain in that city in 1883 awaiting shipment abroad. Of the 1,190 steam vessels which entered that port, eager to reap the benefits accruing from our bountiful productions, and the necessity of finding a market for them outside our own domains, and the necessary transportation to markets where they were needed, 786 of them were owned by England, and English ship-owners carried away 29,441,951 bushels; 93 Belgian ships carried 5,734,018, and 170 German steamers carried away 4,284,485 bushels; the remainder was carried to foreign markets by merchant vessels from Holland, France, Denmark and Italy. Not one vessel flying the American flag participated in the work of transporting the abundant harvests of our fields to foreign markets.

“Our maritime fleet in the foreign trade to-day has not more tonnage nor so high a trade-balancing power as 80 years ago, notwithstanding we have eight times the population and twice the *per capita* of foreign freighting to do. Before * * * the war we were the second nation on the sea, carrying 84 per cent. of our own commerce, and now we have become so reduced in merchant naval property that we are only able to carry 14 per cent. of what we produce.”

It is well known to hon. gentlemen in this House that of the enormous export trade of the United States of the natural productions of that country 86 per cent. of them were at one time carried on American bottoms sailing under the American flag; but at the present time only 14 per cent. of all their exports are carried by their own vessels. The greater part of the trade in the principal harbors of the United States is carried by the ships of England, a mercantile navy which has been created largely as the result of that free trade system which the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island has pictured so well. The hon. gentleman from Amherst says that the falling off in the ship-building industry is on account of iron ships coming into vogue. It is a fact that every year, up to 1878, the shipping trade increased, and since then it has gradually decreased. It is also a fact that in the United States, under a high protective tariff, it has gradually

gone down, until it is almost nothing. I think I need not say anything more as to the effect of the National Policy on the shipping industry of Canada. It must be admitted that the shipping interest of this country is an interest that should not be overlooked. It is an interest that employs labor, a kind of labor that is very hard to divert to anything else. The workmen do not readily engage in other industries, and the value of a ship is largely made up from the labor bestowed upon it, from the woods with which our forests abound, and a comparatively small portion of it requires to be paid for with money. It is an industry that keeps our people employed, that keeps our ships on the sea, and provides a hardy training for our boys, to fit them for sailors and mariners, capable of taking charge of shipping in any part of the world. It has been of immense service to the Lower Provinces in times gone by. My hon. friend from Fredericton, from whom I seldom differ (I think for thirty-five years we have been sailing in the one boat politically, and I have always sat at his feet for information on political questions), is anxious that our people should be kept in line with the Imperial policy and should remain loyal to the Crown. I am also anxious for that, only we differ a little in the road we should take to reach that goal, starting out with the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which he and I had the honor of voting for—I remember it was the first vote on a trade question that I ever gave in Parliament. The result has been as he indicated: that the treaty did not come up to his expectations. I voted for it with great reluctance, but I must admit it surpassed my expectations. Perhaps living near the coast, the advantages were more apparent in my case. By renewing that treaty great advantages would now be gained, although I would not object to unrestricted reciprocity, so far as I understand it. If we had it the value of real estate would be increased, our people would not leave the country, they would be a more loyal and a more contented people than they have shown themselves to be in the past. One would think, from the expressions that have fallen from hon. gentlemen, that everything would be in a state of depression were it

not for the high protective duties, and it is urged that all the prosperity which exists has emanated from that source. Many industries for which I think Canada is suited have developed largely. For instance, the cheese industry. Starting about twenty years ago, that industry has grown up from an insignificant one to an export of \$9,000,000. Well, there is an industry alone which is an evidence of prosperity. An hon. member might be impressed here with the idea that the country would stand still if it was not for the National Policy, but the figures are certainly based on a fallacy in that way. There would be an improvement, there is an improvement, in spite of any restrictive laws that could be passed in certain lines. The improvement in that industry has been very great, yet I am not aware of any advantage that a high protection has been in improving the cheese industry. On the contrary, I think it has been hampered by the duty on some of the appliances used in manufacturing it; yet we are manufacturing cheese for our own use and exporting it largely to the United States. We are able to scale their wall of protection, and last year we exported to the United States 83,000 pounds of cheese, netting \$750,000.

HON. MR. READ—We do not sell the cheese and pay the 3 cents a pound duty; the cheese goes through the United States in bond from the west to Europe.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—It is put down in the returns as 83,000 pounds exported to the United States.

HON. MR. READ—It is a question of transportation entirely—the cheapest way of sending the cheese to Europe. That industry was established and doing well before the National Policy was adopted.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—I have no doubt, if hon. gentlemen will look around they will find a great many industries that have been like this, successful without the aid of a protective tariff, and that they will find a great many that have been injured and hampered by the operation of the high tariff. My hon. friend from Quinté told the House in one of his speeches that when he first brought in his

resolution in favor of a National Policy he could not find a seconder in the Senate. They were all free traders; now they are prepared to denounce anyone who supports that policy and to say that they can hardly be honest men because they cannot approve of the high tariff. But what did we find before the introduction of the National Policy? What did the right hon. gentleman who was then leader of the Opposition announce to the people? In order to attain power he told the people:

"We have no manufactures here. We have no work-people; our work-people have gone off to the United States. They are to be found employed in the western States, in Pittsburg, and, in fact, in every place where manufactures are going on. These Canadian artisans are adding to the strength, to the power and to the wealth of a foreign nation instead of adding to ours. Our work-people in this country, on the other hand, are suffering for want of employment. Have not their cries reached to heaven?"

That was the burden of his song then. So far as decrying the country in this way is concerned, there was more of it done then than now, and with very much less reason. Those who opposed the anti-British policy of protection are denounced as disloyal, and we hear very much said about that; but so far as I have been able to discern from the remarks which have fallen from hon. gentlemen opposite, I discover that all, even including the hon. member from Rideau division, would not object—certainly not, if they favor this sub-amendment—to a fair consideration of a proposal for reciprocity in natural products. My hon. friend from Lunenburg argued against reciprocity, regarding it as a disloyal sentiment, yet he says that he would be willing to have reciprocity in natural products. His loyalty would stand that. He would be willing to exchange sheep, and that would not affect his loyalty to the Queen; but if he admitted the fleece from the sheep's back that would at once begin to develop disloyalty, and any exchange of manufactured wool would completely upset him. His patriotism would not stand that. He would admit horned cattle free and preserve his placidity, but if the leather made from the hides of those cattle was to come in free, then my hon. friend would topple over. He could not stand that at all; the "old flag" would be in danger. Then, again, he would allow horses to be exchanged all right, but the

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rugs for keeping them warm in this cold climate would never do—it would be disloyal even to discuss that. There seems great danger of the loyalty of hon. gentlemen oozing from their finger ends, like Bob Acres' courage. It has been shown that English statesmen are willing to concede unrestricted reciprocity between this country and the United States whenever we wish for it. My hon. friend from Midland, in the few remarks that he made—and probably they would have been longer if he had known that the discussion was to last so long—indicated his feeling on that very forcibly. He reminded us that it was all very well in this Parliament to express loyalty and undying attachment to the British Crown, but the British manufacturer might say to us: "Your compliments are good; we like your compliments, but we prefer your trade." They say: "You have imposed such an enormous duty on British goods that we cannot deal with you, and, therefore, please defer your compliments; we will take your loyalty on trust." Then, again, my hon. friend from Glen-garry is opposed to reciprocity. He is in favor of manufacturing cotton, and as long as the farmers in the vicinity of the cotton mills can get good prices for their produce it is a fine state of things for them; yet he admitted in his remarks that he would be willing to have reciprocity in natural products with the United States. Which is he in favor of—the restricted system, which he so much praises, or the other alternative, which he also favors?

HON. MR. OGILVIE—And which is impracticable.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—If the present policy is one that meets with his approval, and the farmers are well supplied with markets, why does he wish to depart from it at all? At this late hour of the night I should be imposing on the House to proceed any further. I do not think that those of us who take a different view of loyalty from others should be branded with being disloyal to the Empire. I believe that true loyalty consists, not so much in proclaiming it from the housetops or on the corners of the streets, or on every occasion to be expressing our filial affection for the mother country, as in a more reasonable

and less demonstrative way seeking the adoption of proper methods to bring our people throughout the length and breadth of this country, those engaged in the shipping, the agricultural and the lumbering industries, the ship-builders and the artisans generally, into that state of contentment which always constitutes the basis of the most genuine kind of loyalty.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I did not intend to say a word on this question, and at this late hour I will make only one or two remarks on the speeches to which we have listened to-night. When the resolution which was proposed by the hon. member from Fredericton was first placed before the House I must confess I thought that while it did great credit to the hon. gentleman's sentiment and heart it was one of those hypothetical resolutions to which, probably, it was wise that this House should not commit itself; but I confess that that opinion was to some degree modified when I took into consideration the persistent attempts on the part of outside agitators to introduce feelings of disloyalty, and bring about a commercial or a political union with a nation with which we have no desire to have either the one or the other. It strikes me in listening, as I have listened to-night, to the speeches delivered by the hon. member from Prince Edward Island and to that of the hon. gentleman from Hopewell, that both of them evince the same feeling which I had previously noted—a spirit of fault-finding, a desire to have nothing right, to minimize everything Canadian. It seems to be the only policy on which they are all agreed. Unfortunately, the speeches of these gentlemen do not exactly coincide. The hon. member from Prince Edward Island says that the present flood of prosperity which the country is enjoying is certainly one which we may expect to find an ending to sooner or later; but the hon. gentleman from Hopewell can see nothing in the way of prosperity at all—nothing but ruin and backwardness. I listened, certainly with some warming of the heart, while the hon. member from Prince Edward Island defended the mother country from the aspersions of the hon. member from British Columbia; but when he got beyond that, and went into the reasons which induced him to

believe that unrestricted reciprocity was an alternative from which he had no escape, I certainly found in those reasons some very remarkable non-sequiturs. He said that in previous years the merchants of Prince Edward Island could load a ship with commodities in Great Britain, bring them out, sell them and take a return cargo, and he wanted to emphasize that particular need—he wanted as an alternative to unite himself, at least commercially, with the United States, where there is a higher tariff than we have at present. If unrestricted reciprocity means anything, it means almost a total exclusion of British trade, for I have never yet found a true explanation of the necessary consequences of unrestricted reciprocity. If it means anything, it means really to have a union with the United States, which, to the extent of the American tariff, and to an increasing extent absolutely excludes British trade. The hon. gentleman went further, and gave another reason why he was driven, as a sole alternative, to this unrestricted reciprocity, that there were combines in Canada which influenced him in arriving at that decision. Perhaps this House is not aware that nine-tenths of this talk about combines is a reflection of what is taking place in the United States, England and other countries, and has nothing whatever to do with any grievances in this country. The grievances which are in the thought when combines are spoken of are in other countries, not here. We have in the United States the Standard Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, and a multitude of other trusts and combines of which we know nothing in Canada. We have in England the Salt Trust, and in France the recent collapse of the great Copper Syndicate. All the objections which have been published in reference to these combines have been reflected into Canada, and one would think we had been the originators and the sufferers from these combines ourselves. Nothing of the kind exists. The evidence which was brought before the Committee on Trade Combines, in the House of Commons last year, did not prove to my satisfaction that there was any grievance in this country of such sufficient moment as to call for legislation or the extreme of driving the hon. member from Prince Edward Island into commercial

union with the United States. I confess there is no combine in this country that I entertain for one moment so far as my personal interests are concerned. This continual talking of combines as a serious argument in a debate of this kind seems to be worse than futile. But the hon- gentleman went further, and adduced the National Policy as the ground for his desire to escape from the present state of things. Surely he cannot be ignorant of the fact that if this policy, which is called the National Policy, exists at all, it exists in its perfection south of the line, among the people whom he proposes to join commercially. Free trade has done a great deal for England. She prospered under it for many years; but no one, I think, can calmly look at the course of events without arriving at the conclusion that a protective policy has done everything for the United States. It has built up their manufactures, it has lowered the prices of all manufactured goods within their borders, and precisely as I would vindicate free trade if I were an Englishman of the time of Cobden and Bright, I would have advocated the theory of protection in the United States if I had been a citizen of that country; but as is not uncommon in the disciples of doctrines which have been reflected from other countries, the free trader who exists in this country is a class of thinker which does not, to my experience, exist now in England at all, or at least to a very modified degree. The same is the case in some religious matters. I remember an instance in which a church had to send to England for a parson. We had been brought up in what is called a very low church school, and anything of the nature of high church doctrine was repulsive to the vast majority of that church; but when they went to England they found that the particular stripe of clergyman which we so urgently required was not to be found—he no longer existed—the English church had moved on and we had been standing still. Now I take it that it is beyond all question that in England there is a strong undercurrent of opinion in favor of some protective policy, I take it that the very movement for Imperialism connected with the colonies is an evidence that that exists, that some sacrifices are prepared to be made, sacri-

fices as they would appear to Englishmen of the free trade school, in order to attain it. I take one evidence, and the old adage—that a straw will show which way the currents flow—applies. I will take evidence which has just been put into the shape of practical legislation on the other side, as a proof that free trade doctrines, pure and simple, are not the rule in England. Hon. members may not know that there has been a change, and I am sorry that it turns on a question of sugar, but still it is so, and I may as well explain what it is. You are all aware that England has been deluged with cheap sugar from the continent of Europe by aid of bounties paid by all continental powers producing sugar. Now, the argument has been—the pure and unmitigated free trade argument in England—that this was a distinct advantage, that if one, or two, or more industries were extinguished on account of those bounties the general population obtained their sugar at a cheaper rate, and the country as a whole was benefited by it. What has been the solemn decision of the English Government on this point? They have entered into a convention with the German, Belgium, Prussian and other Governments, with the exception of France, which has only withheld its consent for specific reasons, that unless those Governments withdraw the bounties, and in consequence increase the price of sugar to the English people, they will take measures to compel them to do so, by keeping out the sugars of those other nations: that is to say, that if the Government of any country does not consent to discontinue the bounties they will have, no doubt, to put a countervailing duty on their sugars imported from that country. Now, while it is true that we could righteously bring against England, at some period of its history, a charge of indifference to the colonies, I take it that all recent events prove that she is awakening to a sense of the value of the colonies, and that she will sooner or later adopt some measures to bind them closer to her. That, I think with the hon. member from Fredericton, is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. I would have desired to go still further in my remarks, but it seems to me that all I can do at this hour is to point out one or two inconsistencies, and

leave the natural inferences to be drawn by this House, forbearing any further intrusion upon them. It does seem to me that the inconsistencies are as numerous, almost, as the sentences. The last speaker was good enough to express his opinion that affairs in the North-West, in Manitoba especially, were prospering, and to his view that was in consequence of the advent of the Liberal Government. In the very next sentence he pointed to the exodus, as he termed it, from the Eastern Townships.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman spoke of New Brunswick.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—If I mistake not there is a Liberal Government in New Brunswick as well as in Manitoba. As I understood his argument, it was that the prosperity which he understood to exist in Manitoba was the consequence of the advent of the Liberal Government, and in the next sentence he declared that a depression in New Brunswick prevailed throughout the Province. I simply point out that there is a Liberal Government in New Brunswick.

HON. MR. POWER—It is a coalition Government.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—The question whether I shall support the original motion of the hon. member from Fredericton or the amendment of the hon. leader of this House has caused me some reflection. I think upon the whole that I lean to the latter, and will vote for it, but it will be from a reflection that it is not wise altogether to commit one's self irretrievably, as would be the case in this instance, although it might have good consequences, to a hypothetical proposition of that kind. For myself, I would say this: I have the most intimate relations with our neighbors to the south of us. I can number amongst its citizens my nearest and most intimate friends and acquaintances. I desire to see with that great country the most friendly relations maintained, but I stop there. I cannot swallow this panacea which has been urged upon us so intrusively from the other side, and for my part I lean most strongly, not only sentimentally, but from a deep conviction that it is our true and wisest policy, to retaining, and I trust we

long will retain, our connection with the dear old mother country.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not propose to say anything on the merits of the question; and I would not do so if the hon. gentleman from Kennebec had not spoken; and as he has acted as the spokesman for the Government on two or three occasions, I propose to reply briefly. The hon. gentleman referred to certain disloyal people outside. We hear such references continually from hon. gentlemen who support the Government. Who are the disloyal people outside? I never meet any of them or hear of any of them, except through hon. gentlemen and their friends. These disloyal people are simply the Mrs. Harries that serve to eke out the stories of hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. member from Kennebec undertook to comment on the speech of my hon. friend from Marshfield (Mr. Haythorne), and he thought that that hon. gentleman was very inconsistent because he spoke of his being in a dilemma—that he had to choose between no trade and trade with the United States—that he was shut out from trading with England, and therefore he wished to trade with the United States. The hon. gentleman from Kennebec said that that was very inconsistent, because they had a high tariff in the United States, and under unrestricted reciprocity Prince Edward Island would trade no more with England than she does now. He seems to have misapprehended completely the position of the hon. gentleman from Marshfield. That hon. gentleman said, as an Englishman and a lover of England, he would sooner trade with England, but that the protective policy which we have had shut his island out from trading with England, and as he wished the island to trade with some country, he wished to fall back on trade with the United States. There is no inconsistency in that. It is as plain as anything can be. If the hon. gentleman has no more destructive criticism than that to make on the able speech of the hon. gentleman from Marshfield it would be almost as well not to comment on it at all. Then the hon. gentleman talked of combines, and asked why should one fly to unrestricted reciprocity with a view to escaping from combines, because they have those combines in the United States.

That is perfectly true, but the combines in the United States are not the combines which are troubling us just now. I do not understand that the Bill introduced by Mr. Clarke Wallace is intended to do away with combines in the United States, but it is intended to do away with the combines of which the hon. gentleman who has just sat down knows a great deal more than he is willing to tell us. The hon. gentleman also told us, repeating the thing that we hear very often, what protection had done for the United States. One would imagine that the United States had been a very wretched and far from prosperous country before the days of protection. Now, anyone who is familiar with the history of the United States will know that before the war broke out in that country they were really, taking the population through and through—mechanics, farmers, merchants, manufacturers and all—a much more prosperous people than they are to-day, more uniformly prosperous. To-day there are numbers of immensely rich men there, but there are also large numbers of wretchedly poor people.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—No.

HON. MR. POWER—Does the hon. gentleman dispute that?

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I say they were not as prosperous then as they are to-day.

HON. MR. POWER—If the hon. gentleman says the population of the United States were not more uniformly prosperous in 1860 than they are to-day he only shows that he is not familiar with the history of the country. There are now more rich men, and there are a great many more poor men. I do not think that that indicates the existence of a better system. I think the better way is to have the wealth distributed. The hon. gentleman also referred to an imaginary sentiment in favor of protection which is growing up in England. During the depression in England, four or five years ago, there was a sentiment in favor of what was called fair trade. That was raised by the party then out of power, the Conservative party, who are now in power; and we hear nothing more

about it. They are in power, and England happens just now to be prosperous, and we do not hear of any of those remedies which are clutched at in times of distress, as drowning men clutch at straws. I do not propose to enter into the question of free trade and protection. It should never have been discussed in connection with these resolutions at all; but hon. gentlemen speak as though Canada never had any existence before 1877—as if the history of Canada began with 1877, and did not extend further back than that. There was a protective tariff some years ago: was Canada prosperous under that tariff? On the contrary, she was infinitely worse off than she was in 1877-78. Some hon. gentlemen are old enough to remember that, but they conveniently forget it. They forget also that we had a revenue tariff in 1872-73, and that Canada was prosperous, that her trade was greater than it is to-day; but they choose to go no further back in history than 1877-78. The depression of that day was a depression, as the hon. member from Hopewell said, that was world wide: it was not confined to Canada. The hon. gentleman also made some remarks with respect to the speech of the hon. gentleman from Hopewell. The latter gentleman said, more in jest than in earnest, that the improved condition of things in Manitoba and the greater flow of immigration into that Province were probably due in a great degree to the fact that they have got rid of the Conservative Government, which had acted as a nightmare on their energies, and that they have now a Liberal Government. The two things coincide. That is exactly the argument that hon. gentlemen opposite make; there was a depression in 1877-78; things got better in 1880, and it was due to the National Policy. The argument used by the hon. gentleman from Hopewell is exactly the sort of argument that hon. gentlemen opposite are continually using. There is just this fact with respect to Manitoba: that the Liberal Government got rid of the railway monopoly, which was, justly or not, held to be injurious to Manitoba, and the existence of which, no doubt, did help to keep immigrants from coming into that country. Then as to New Brunswick, one might use the same argument. The Government of that

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Province is not a Liberal Government; it is only a coalition. The hon. gentleman from Hopewell spoke of what he knew of; he saw this exodus going on from New Brunswick, notwithstanding the National Policy, and he stated the fact, as he had a perfect right to do. I can readily understand that no matter how a man endeavors to leave his own interests out of sight his views on all questions, even religious questions, are apt to be modified by his personal interests; and there is no doubt whatever that the personal interests of the hon. gentleman from Kennebec would be very seriously interfered with if the sugars from Scotch and American refineries were allowed to come in here and compete with the sugar manufactured in his refinery; and there are other interests of his which would suffer in the same way. Unrestricted reciprocity may be a very good thing for 999 people, but would be a bad thing for the one-thousandth person. The hon. gentleman happens to be the thousandth person in this case. It is with great regret that I feel myself obliged to say no more about this trade question. We had the hon. gentleman from the Alma division (Mr. Ogilvie), whom I am sorry not to see here, and who is one of the pre-eminently loyal men in this House, declaring in his speech the other day that he would like to see in Canada a little of the ruin that exists in the United States. That was a disloyal statement.

HON. MR. DICKEY—That was sarcastic.

HON. MR. POWER—No; it was spoken in solemn earnest.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—He referred to what your side call ruin.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It was an ironical remark.

HON. MR. POWER—I have some sense of humor, and I am fairly well able to judge when an hon. member is jesting and when he is in earnest. The principal reason why I thought it well to rise this evening is this: I think it is only fair that the hon. gentleman who moved this amendment should vouchsafe some reason for submitting it. I have devoted a reasonable amount of attention to it, and I find myself puzzled to know exactly what it means. It

may be, if the hon. gentleman explains it in a satisfactory way, that I shall be able to vote for it myself; but as it is, I do not care about committing myself to a policy which I do not understand. I shall just read the resolution:

“Any measure for securing reciprocity of trade with any foreign country in such of the products of such country as may be freely interchanged with advantage to both would receive the favorable consideration of this House, but that, in the opinion of this House, it would not be for the interest of this country, nor in consonance with the sentiments of its people, to establish entire reciprocity of trade with any foreign nation upon any conditions that would restrict, with regard to others, entire freedom of action by this country in protecting its own industries, in dealing with its own sources of revenue, and in regulating its own foreign trade, or that would necessitate the adoption of duties discriminating against imports from other nations, and more especially from the mother country.”

The first part of it I can understand, but the latter does not seem plain. If we made an arrangement for entire reciprocity of trade with the United States—if we agreed to exchange our natural products and manufactures duty-free—I do not think that would oblige us, for instance, to allow the natural products and the manufactures of France and Spain into this country free of duty if those countries made no reciprocal arrangements with us. I do not know whether I apprehend the position correctly or not; “In dealing with its own sources of revenue;” I do not see that unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would interfere with us, up to this point, “and in regulating its own foreign trade,” certainly reciprocity could not interfere with that; “or that would necessitate the adoption of duties discriminating against imports from other nations, and more especially from the mother country.” This is the part of the resolution which completely bothers me. How we could admit goods from the United States—manufactures and natural products—duty-free without discriminating against goods from other countries I cannot understand, unless we were to abolish Customs duties altogether. I do not know whether that is what the hon. gentleman proposes to do, or not. If we let goods from the United States in here free of duty we must discriminate against other countries or we must abolish our tariff altogether. That is the portion of the hon. gentleman’s resolution which completely dazes me.

HON. MR. CARVELL—Flabbergasts you.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes; that is a good word. The hon. gentleman from Charlottetown undertook to instruct my hon. friend from Marshfield, a while ago, as to what his opinions ought to be, and how he ought to vote, if he only knew what was in his own mind. As the hon. gentleman undertook to lecture a gentleman of the age and experience of my hon. friend from Marshfield, I may naturally expect a little lecture myself. I think that, at least, the hon. gentleman who has moved this sub-amendment should explain it before he asks us to accept it. I cannot help thinking, perhaps because one naturally has a kindly feeling towards his own productions, that my resolution, which declines to express an opinion on the matter before us, would be the best to adopt; but I could hardly expect that under the present circumstances. I may, after the lucid explanation to be made by the leader of the House, be able to vote for his resolution.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am afraid that the arduous labors of this Session have produced an injurious effect on my hon. friend's mental faculties, since he professes himself unable to apprehend the plain position which I would ask the House to adopt. But probably, like the joke of the hon. gentleman from Montreal—

HON. MR. POWER—I referred to a serious statement made by the hon. gentleman from Alma division the other day.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is the hon. gentleman to whom I refer. He resides in Montreal; I did not remember the name of his division; and therefore spoke of him as the hon. gentleman from Montreal. I hope it is not another proof that my hon. friend's labors have been too much for him, that he did not understand to what hon. gentleman I referred. But really I think there is no great difficulty in understanding the position of these motions. My hon. friend from Fredericton moved a resolution which I think would have been carried by a large majority in this House—

HON. MR. POWER—If the Government approved.

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HON. MR. ABBOTT—if it had been put. It was in accordance with my own expressed and strong opinions, and with what I think would have been the opinion of the majority of this House, against imposing discriminatory duties upon English goods. But my hon. friend was not content with that, and with a very great degree of ingenuity, which cannot be accounted for on the theory I just now suggested, he proposed a motion in amendment, which, while it appeared innocently to negative the motion of the hon. gentleman from Fredericton, really was nothing more or less than a standing offer to the United States, to be placed of record on the Journals of this House, of universal reciprocity. Under those circumstances, as my hon. friend had defined his policy very clearly, I thought it might be well perhaps to explain precisely what I, for my part, should mean by voting against his motion, and I endeavored to do that in the sub-amendment which I presented to the House. I did not quite catch what particular clause in it had puzzled my hon. friend.

HON. MR. DICKEY—The last one

HON. MR. POWER—More especially from the mother country.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not see any very great difficulty about that. The substance of the motion states this proposition: that we are perfectly willing to have reciprocity with the United States in such products or effects or articles as may be mutually agreed upon as being just to both; but that we do not propose to extend that kind of invitation to the United States which my hon. friend's motion extended to them, to enter into an universal reciprocity treaty with them, which would involve the abandonment of our right to deal with our own industries, the abandonment of the right to protect our own revenues, the abandonment of our right to deal with our own foreign trade, and which would necessitate imposing discriminatory duties upon imports from other countries, especially from England.

That proposition seems to be a very clear one, and I repeat, my hon. friend must have suffered from his labors of this Session if he did not gather that from the language of the motion itself. I have

done what my hon. friend asked me to do, although the request was like the joke of the hon. gentleman from Alma—his request was a little ironical—at all events I have done it in good faith. This is the meaning of my motion; I take it that what my hon. friends opposite have been arguing for is nothing more or less than this idea of unrestricted reciprocity—that is to say, that is the conclusion they would all reach. But the way by which they reach it seems to be very curious, very devious, and, moreover, no two of them seem to seek it in the same direction. The burden, I think, of the argumentation on that side of the House has been in favor of free trade. This has been the principle which appeared to underlie most of the arguments of hon. gentlemen opposite—that they were in favor of free trade. How consistent that idea is with the idea of a permanent and irretrievable commercial alliance with the United States, I leave it to the hon. gentlemen themselves to explain. How is it free trade to shut out every nation in the world from our markets except the United States? Free trade, I understand, is a doctrine which leads to the purchase of goods in the cheapest market, and to the sale of them in the dearest; but my hon. friends opposite, while arguing for free trade, reached the conclusion that in order to obtain it we must go to a country which does not countenance free trade—which is more highly protected than our own, and must shut out every other country on the face of the globe.

HON. MR. POWER—That is commercial union, not reciprocity.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Again, we get this shadowy distinction between unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union as soon as we find fault with the views of hon. gentlemen opposite. Unrestricted reciprocity, as I understand it, would consist in the free interchange of the products of both countries. Now, both countries at this moment produce almost everything that can be manufactured, except what it is impossible to manufacture or grow except in a tropical climate—and even some of that. Almost every article in common use by a man in a civilized country is manufactured in the United States,

and a great many, I am happy to say, are manufactured in Canada, and shortly will be manufactured in Canada to a greater degree, unless the union which hon. gentlemen opposite are so anxious for should take place, when I should despair of seeing any manufactories in this country at all. I at one time could not see any manufactures in Canada. I now see a large number, and a large variety; but if reciprocity should come, I think I shall live again to see a time when we shall have no manufactures in Canada. The argument in favor of free trade is one of the roads by which my hon. friends opposite endeavor to reach reciprocity. Another of the roads has been exposed by my hon. friend behind me. We are going to the United States to escape from the combines that exist in this country, which are driving the people of Canada into seeking universal reciprocity. As my hon. friend pointed out the absurdity of such a position, I will not say any more on the subject than refer to what he said himself on it. As he pointed out, where is the country in the world that produces combines in such perfection as the United States? It is the birthplace of combines; it is the home of combines; it is there they practically reached their maturity, while, if we have any, they are merely in their infancy. Yet, in order to escape from those infant productions we are to rush to a country where they are in maturity, spreading their influence, and it is in many respects a baneful influence, over everything that country produces. It is to such a country we are driven, we are told, to escape from combines. That is another road by which they seek universal reciprocity—a road which is to take us to a country where there are no combines—but that is not the United States. There are other points and other theories that are to lead us there which are different from those, and very little better. One hon. gentleman tells us that we ought to go there because in point of fact our manufacturers will have a larger field, and they do not fear competition—that our manufacturers are not opposed to universal reciprocity. Now, I mean to say, even in the absence of that hon. gentleman, who I am sorry to see is not in his place, that he cannot be aware of the state of the country; he cannot be

aware of the exertions which were made within the last couple of years or so by all the manufacturers in the country, to oppose that party which was talking of universal reciprocity as the universal panacea for all our difficulties and evils. He surely cannot be aware that it is but a very short time since this very question was submitted to the people as the principal question upon which the elections turned, and what was the result? Hon. gentlemen know it. But hon. gentlemen claim that the opinion of the people is with them; and we were told a little while ago that if we would only give the people an opportunity to speak they would issue a proclamation, and that proclamation would have the effect at the next general election of shunting all the members who favor protection. This subject was discussed before the last general election; the leaders of their party at the last general election were so much afraid of this free trade question, that they were willing to say that we should continue to have protection; and they endeavored to carry the elections on the theory, that they were as good protectionists as the Conservatives are. But the people did not trust the hon. gentleman's professions, and the result of two years shows that they were right in not trusting them. Hon. gentlemen are not only demanding free trade, but are demanding anything to get away from the doctrine which the people at the last election supported, and which they authorized the Government to support, by electing its friends. One hon. gentleman takes another ground, in which it is strange that I should possess the means so perfectly to refute his pretensions. He told us we were going to have a general boom if this reciprocity prevailed; that our farmers—because the hon. gentleman was more particularly interested for that class than any other—that the farmers would get better prices for their produce; that they would become contented, and that we would have immigration flowing in upon us from the ends of the earth. Does any hon. gentleman seriously pretend that the peasantry that come from Sweden and Iceland and Russia, and other portions of the world, to make a living in this country, have ever heard of these numerous nostrums, or if they

had, could distinguish between these undistinguishable things so readily and completely, and appreciate the distinction so highly, that the very moment hon. gentlemen opposite can get universal reciprocity with the United States the whole of that population are going to pour across the Atlantic into this country? The thing is too ridiculous for argument. As to the better prices farmers would get, I am fortunate in having the means of rebutting the statement of my hon. friend, and my authority is the hon. gentleman himself. It is only the other day that the hon. gentleman from Midland made an enquiry of the Government which produced a discussion about foreign trade, and he told us about a ship that was sent to the West Indies with a cargo of assorted goods, to see if a profitable trade could not be built up in such articles and others in the West Indies. But the hon. gentleman from York did not think that could be done; because he says, in the first place, there was some flour in that cargo. Well, he did not think flour could be sent there, because we could not produce the kind of flour useful for a tropical climate. At all events, he said we could not compete with the West Indies in flour, because flour is cheaper in New York than it is here, and if that be so I do not see that the farmers will be benefited very much by having a market in New York for flour. But there was also some pork in this cargo, and the hon. gentleman from York says: Our farmers could not compete with the United States in pork, for our farmers get a better price here, in this country, for pork than the Americans can give. That seems to be a conclusion arrived at by the hon. gentleman very different from what he told us to-day. Again, we were told that there were some oats in this cargo, and, said the hon. gentleman, there is no hope of doing anything in oats in the United States, for oats are worth more in Canada than they are in New York, and they can carry on business in them with the West Indies better than we can. Lard and bran, I see, he speaks of also. He says these are all in the same position with pork—that there is a better market for them in Canada than in the United States. For cheese, he says, we have a better market in Canada than there is in the United States; and so

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with tallow, beef and oatmeal—we can get a better price for them here than in the United States. Yet the hon. gentleman, in seeking some road leading to reciprocity, says: Farmers will get better prices for them in the United States than here.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Wheat is worth 4 cents a bushel more in Canada to-day than it is in the United States.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Then comes the arguments taken out of the mouths of Mr. Hitt and Mr. Wiman. I do not think, speaking seriously, that this House deserves to have the speeches of an obscure politician in the United States inflicted upon them to the extent that it has been done in this debate. We have had arguments read out of Mr. Hitt's speech *ad nauseam* some weeks ago, and especially to-day, and he is praised for his moderation and his ability, and is appealed to on every subject. It is not to our own books that hon. gentlemen referred in order to find out what our duties are, or what difference there is between our duties and United States duties. No; it is to Mr. Hitt they go for all those things. They take Mr. Hitt's word as to the difference between our duties and the United States duties, and as to all the other portions of the debatable points between them and us. Mr. Hitt's words are quoted authoritatively. We are told what an honorable man, what a noble man he is, and in consequence of that opinion of his honor and his nobility, we have had pages upon pages of his speech placed among our Senate *Debates* as inflicted on this House. I protest against that infliction. Undoubtedly, gentlemen have the right to read pamphlets and quote speeches if they like, but I think hon. gentlemen might take a better mode of instructing us than to read pages upon pages of the arguments of Mr. Congressman Hitt.

HON. MR. POWER—Mr. Hitt was introduced to the House by the hon. gentleman from the Quinté division, and he was given to an unlimited extent by the hon. gentleman from Glengarry; so that the hon. gentleman is hitting his own friends.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend is entirely mistaken. The use made of Mr.

Hitt was simply, in the first instance, to quote what he had proposed—that had been alluded to approvingly by hon. gentlemen opposite—and it was quoted by my hon. friend from Quinté in order to show what he really had proposed. It was in consequence of the remarks made about that that my hon. friend and I were obliged to quote Mr. Hitt's speech to the extent of a few lines only, in order to show what his real views were; and I will have occasion to do that yet, since Mr. Hitt has been made the mouthpiece of the policy of the party. In fact, we have had nothing but the gospel according to Hitt the whole day long.

It is too late for me to follow hon. gentlemen opposite through what has been said on that side, but there is one point to which I would allude, and I will endeavor to wind up, as I am sure everybody is tired of this debate. It has been said as an argument against the theory that we ought not to adopt discriminatory duties against England that England has sanctioned it, that we have always been acting under discriminatory duties; that we proposed it in 1874, and pressed it, and got the consent of England to it; and there were certain extracts read from the Sessional Papers of that day to endeavor to show that this was the fact. It was stated, I think positively, that the Privy Council had approved of that doctrine, and that it had been approved of in England. The discussion in 1874, to which allusion was made, really contained no such doctrine—that is to say, no doctrine inconsistent with the old reciprocity treaty—inasmuch as it was confined, so far as the report of the Privy Council was concerned, to products of the United States which were not imported from England. And throughout the whole document to which allusion has been made the principle was laid down and carefully guarded, that this treaty or reciprocal agreement should not extend to articles produced in or exported from Great Britain to this country. Let me read two or three lines to show that:

“The Government of Canada will be willing to agree to such reciprocity—to include manufactures in wood, such as sashes, doors, blinds, pails, tubs, barrels, matches, and various other articles of a like nature—agricultural implements, bath-brick, bricks for building purposes, calcined gypsum or plaster lime, earth arches, ground or

unground, and, generally, all manufactured articles not produced in or exported from Great Britain to this country, together with such other articles as the Imperial and Dominion Governments may mutually agree upon."

Now, I do not see anything in that analogous to the proposition that we shall exchange all the products and manufactures of this country with the United States free, without reference to the question whether these are articles which are imported from Great Britain or not. I see nothing here to justify that proposition, yet that is the proposition which my hon. friends opposite insist has been sanctioned by the Privy Council in 1874, and by the British Government. Then in this Minute of Council it is further stated that :

"Mr. Brown will communicate this view to Sir Edward Thornton, accompanied with the representation that the Government of Canada do not propose any modification in matters of trade and commerce which would in any way injuriously affect Imperial interests."

That is the position taken by the Privy Council, and that is the position taken by my motion, and that is the position which the Government have held from that day to this. In the letter written by Lord Carnarvon there is a slight variation in the description of the articles in which there shall be reciprocity; but it is perfectly plain, and he makes it plain by saying distinctly and clearly, that the Government do not pledge themselves to accept this list of articles as those which are intended to be the subjects of reciprocal trade; that they are to consider them after they receive the particulars of what the parties interested are willing to agree to. They are to reconsider this, and make up their minds then, whether they will consent to their being traded in reciprocally and freely after they have ascertained what they are. I just wish to show that this Minute of Council, and this correspondence, which have been quoted at such great length by my hon. friend from British Columbia, and by the hon. gentleman from Ottawa, do not convey the idea that we proposed to have reciprocal trade at that time with the United States in articles which were imported from Great Britain, and that there was no intention to impose any discriminative duty upon anything which we were likely to receive

from the mother country. That was precisely our position under the old reciprocity treaty, and that is the position which I think we may properly occupy.

Now, I would just like to state, in two or three words, what are the objections we feel to this theory of universal reciprocity. In the first place, we think that it will destroy the manufacturing industries of this country, and that it will indirectly injure the remainder of the population of the Dominion. And as I remarked on a former occasion, this is not a mere opinion; it is an experience. That was our experience under a tariff which did not materially obstruct the importation of manufactured goods from the United States. This objection is one which has been so frequently discussed—it has been so frequently asserted on the one side and denied on the other, that I do not think it necessary to go very deeply into that; but there is no doubt whatever that the advocates of this system of universal reciprocity in the United States, share the opinion which we hold here on that subject. It is with the deliberate intention of seizing on this country as a market for their manufactures that they are pressing for universal reciprocity with the United States. A little more of the gospel according to Hitt would prove this without the slightest difficulty. I will not take it from that apostle, however, but from another, who is looked upon with equal reverence by hon. gentlemen opposite. He has been making a speech, and he has taken the trouble to send to most of us copies of the report of it, and he develops in his speech, as Mr. Hitt does, what the intention and object of this movement are. Mr. Hitt tells us with perfect frankness that they expected to buy the produce of the country, and they expected to furnish us with eighty millions of dollars of their manufactures, and he said that the mechanics and laborers and farmers would benefit exceedingly by the adoption of universal reciprocity, while the manufacturers of the United States will have a great additional market and will increase their exports to Canada by \$80,000,000. That is his theory: the same doctrine pervades the speech of Mr. Wiman. Mr. Wiman says :

"The truth is beginning to be realized that the northern half of the continent contains sources of

wealth and areas of cultivable land of great possible importance to the United States.

"The chief effect of the resolution would be to open a market in the United States for the products of Canada, on the one hand, while it is equally important in opening a market in Canada for the products and manufactures of the United States on the other."

So that they are going to take our products—that is, our fish, our grain and our vegetables, if they can pay us a decent price for them, which they do not now, and they are going to furnish us with such of their products as we want to buy, and with their manufactures. Well, the same doctrine pervades all his speech. He says:

"Our Customs duties now prevent this; but, as he said, 'their removal would result in doubling the area of the trade of the United States.' They would thus have the run of 'a country fifteen times as big as the German Empire, and forty times as large as England, Wales and Scotland, full of the potentialities of profit.'"

What does that mean? "Full of potentialities of profit" in the manufactures with which they propose to crush out our industries. These are the potentialities of profit to which the hon. gentleman refers.

"New England," which is the great manufacturing section of the United States, was to—

"rely upon the Maritime Provinces as sources of supply of necessary raw material and cheapened food."

Thus the Maritime Provinces are going to be utilized, and New Brunswick, notwithstanding its Liberal Government, may have a chance of prospering again. For he goes on to say:

"But more important than cheap food are the mineral resources of the Maritime Provinces."

And then he goes on to show how much money the Americans are going to make out of the coal of the Maritime Provinces. So with the North-West; he says:

"It was beyond question that these areas would in time be great contributors to the food supply of the world. It was the truest wisdom that by the pursuit of a sagacious commercial policy American railroad systems, American tonnage and commission merchants should handle that product. Meantime, the people who produced it should be consumers of American manufactures."

Now we could not have anything more charmingly frank and candid than this. It is perfectly plain and clear, the gentleman is so confident in the power he would acquire, that he is going to take possession

of our carrying trade. He will not leave us use even the railroads that we have built at such cost, and in which we take so much pride. The American railways and commission merchants are going to "handle" this produce, and the people who produce the wheat are to be consumers of American manufactures. It is an admirable scheme in the view of the United States; it is a wonder to me that it finds so many advocates on this side of the line. Then he sums up:

"The vast mineral resources of Canada, her unlimited fishing wealth, the coal on two oceans, and great areas of lumber lands, were continental possessions which could be made as much contributory to the United States as to Canada herself. The people of the United States would make a great mistake if they did not take advantage of the time and of circumstances now so opportune to shape the future commercial policy of the continent."

I do not suppose, as far as regards the intention of the movers in this scheme, that this House or any intelligent man wants any further explanation of what their designs are. Hon. gentlemen opposite do not think that these are their aims; we were told yesterday that they had not the slightest idea of annexation, that they had given up that idea, and that all they wanted was this commercial reciprocity. In the meantime, as a temporary expedient, probably, commercial reciprocity would serve their purposes as well as annexation, more especially as they are aware and say here, that commercial reciprocity would infallibly lead to annexation. If my hon. friends attach so much importance to what politicians say on the other side of the line, so much so as to quote them in support of their theories, without to my mind any other very strong arguments in support of them; if they doubt what I say, and if they still maintain that the Americans have given up the idea of uniting this country to theirs, let me quote one or two expressions of opinion by leading newspapers. It may be that hon. gentlemen have seen these before; I have no doubt they have.

HON. MR. POWER—Is not the hon. gentleman doing what he found fault with us for doing—giving unlimited quotations from American sources?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is a difference between the course that I condemned

and the course that I follow. I condemn citing as authoritative in this House the arguments of an American politician, who has made it his particular business to bring about commercial union. I say we do not want to have inflicted on us at such length the arguments of any hostile politician in favor of a scheme which we wish to discuss from our point of view, and not from the American point of view. One of the points of view that we wish to take of this particular subject is this—the object of this movement. What is it going to lead to? Where shall we find its object more clearly defined than in the expressions of those who are leading it? When they tell us what their objects are in seeking it, I think it is legitimate to quote to this House what they say. Their own declaration of what they are trying to do, is a legitimate source of information to this House. I do not propose to use their arguments; I do not propose to read what these gentlemen say in order to prove that we ought to do what they desire; but when we are considering what is to be the effect of this reciprocity treaty, we are intitled to enquire first what is the object of those who seek to promote it—what do they seek to do? That is naturally the first question to ask, and we can afterwards consider what it will probably lead to. Now, here is a statement of the object for which they do it. Mr. Butterworth, says a leading paper in Syracuse—

HON. MR. POWER—Who is Mr. Butterworth?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Mr. Butterworth is a gentleman who has made himself very prominent in advocating commercial union, and his doctrines have been held up to admiration and quoted a good deal by hon. gentlemen opposite. Here is another description of him which will enable them to identify him:

“Mr. Butterworth (a fellow-laborer with Mr. Wiman and Mr. Hitt) scorns the idea that commercial union means political union. It means nothing else. We want no commercial union without political union.”

Let us see what they say of it in Buffalo:

“Since the Canadians show so much favor to the project of commercial union, it seems reasonable to assume that the idea of political union will soon cease to be obnoxious to them.”

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Another Buffalo opinion is as follows:

“The Tories are in control of the Government of Canada, and the keeping up of a close British connection is one of the prime articles of their faith. Between that and their dread of political annexation (which, in the opinion of many, commercial union would lead up to) to the United States they will find it very hard to adopt Mr. Wiman's views.”

The New York opinion is as follows:

“If Canada agrees, by statute, to a general union, she must face probable abandonment by Great Britain, and then annexation with the United States, so that it is really annexation which is involved in this commercial union discussion; and, while there is a strong party in Canada favoring annexation, we fancy that the majority outside of the Maritime Provinces are not yet converted to the plan.”

Here is a Philadelphia opinion:

“No scheme which would give to Canada an equal voice in the determination of federal taxation could be considered. She would have to accept the position of a State in the Union, with only such power in the determination of the tax rate as her comparative population would entitle her to. How this could be effected without representation to Congress is a matter hard to determine.”

We find another Buffalo paper holding similar views:

“By commercial union United States tariff regulations will be shut out, and, so far as all practical trade relations are concerned, Canada would become a State of the American Union.”

In Cleveland they perfectly understand this question:

“We would swamp their (Canadian) markets with manufactured goods, and wipe out their manufactures in many branches in one stroke. To save these industries they have adopted a protective tariff against even the mother country, Great Britain, which is their greatest source of revenue. The idea that they will give us better than they do Great Britain would be foolish to entertain. Great Britain would not tolerate any such invidious distinction.”

So also in Detroit:

“No real friend, however, of the political union of the continent can intelligently and honestly oppose commercial union, for a very slight consideration of the certain and speedy results of commercial union must show that it would be followed in a very short time by political union.”

I have a number more of these extracts, but I will not quote any more of them. I know what my hon. friend will say in reply to them: “We are not going for commercial union, but for unrestricted reciprocity.” My contention is that there is no material difference between those two propositions. The distinction which the hon. gentleman opposite claim for them is this: that under commercial union we

should be obliged to subject ourselves, in the regulation of our tariff, to the United States; while under universal reciprocity we would be perfectly free to deal with our tariff as we thought proper. I am glad to hear hon. gentlemen opposite disclaim commercial union. But when they claim a difference between that and universal reciprocity, I say it is a fallacy of the grossest kind. I exposed it the other day, and I have not heard an attempt to answer the questions I put to my hon. friends opposite, as to the effect of this universal reciprocity. If we are to have free trade with the United States in the products of this country, which include its natural products, and manufactures, which is the idea of universal reciprocity; is it possible to conceive that the United States will not claim, and insist upon, before they grant any such reciprocity, such a revision of our tariff as will put our manufacturers on the same footing as their manufacturers? I suggested some instances to this House on a former occasion to which this question is applicable. Will they allow us to import free iron and make steel rails along the border, and ship them into the United States free of duty, when they themselves pay duty in so far as they do not produce the iron themselves? Will they allow us to establish manufactures of woollen goods along the frontier, while we have free wool; and allow us to export those manufactures into their country free of duty, to compete with the manufacturers of the United States, who make their woollen goods out of taxed wool? My hon. friend from York admitted that that was impossible, but he says: "We will have a duty on wool, too, and it will be for the advantage of our farmers." This is one of the hon. gentlemen who advocated free trade. In order to get reciprocity with the United States, we are to abandon that wholesome system by which we admit, duty free, the raw material; and we are to adopt the system of the United States, under which most raw material is taxed as well as manufactured goods. It is perfectly plain that the instances might be extended almost indefinitely. There is nothing that we could produce in this country, into which free material enters—and the articles that we manufacture from free materials are

very numerous indeed—there is not one of them in which we would not be compelled immediately, as a condition of such a reciprocity as hon. gentlemen seek for, and before the United States would grant it, to place upon the materials for manufactures the same duties that they impose themselves. I ask if it is possible to answer that? I judge that it is not, because no attempt has been made to answer that. But the reiteration goes on that we could have universal reciprocity and at the same time have complete control of our trade relations. Now, if it be the case that this universal reciprocity, not in quite so great a degree but in the same way, will place us under the control of our neighbors as respects our tariff, what is the great difference between that and commercial union? They can, whenever they choose, say: "You must put on more duty on this raw material," and if we refuse, what then? They would re-establish their Custom houses and shut us off from universal reciprocity. We would already, by the adoption of it, have destroyed our connection with other nations. What would be the result? We should be forced into annexation. There would be no other possible outlet for us, more especially as the permission to introduce manufactured goods from the United States into this country free of duty would immediately carry out the aspirations of Mr. Hitt and Mr. Wiman, and produce the same result that we witnessed in 1877-78—it would crush out the entire manufactures of this country, by making Canada a slaughter ground for their products. There would not be a manufactory two years from the day that the new policy was adopted. They could at any moment stop our intercourse with them; and where would we be? We would have no manufacturing industries. Could we ask Great Britain to make war with the United States to compel them to carry out a restrictive and discriminating policy as against the mother country? We should be laughed at, if our connection lasted long enough to enable us to make an application at the foot of the throne, which it would not.

Another objection which we have to this project is that it would reduce our revenues and drive us to direct taxation. The question as to the effect on our

revenue has been asked once or twice in this debate, and I have been rather amused at the answers received. The hon. member from York was asked, but he did not give any direct answer—at least, I do not understand that he gave any answer, and all my friends about me take the same view. My hon. friend from British Columbia was asked the same question—how are you going to replace the \$8,000,000 revenue which we derive on importations from the United States? And it might also be asked, how are you going to replace the revenue which you will lose by a much larger proportion of your importations coming from the United States than heretofore? He answered, "We pay five millions of dollars taxes to the United States; we would save that, and we could apply that five millions of dollars to carrying on our Government, and we should only lose the difference between the two amounts in revenue." That was not satisfactory to me, nor I imagine to anyone else, and I see no possible resource we could have—and some advocates of universal reciprocity approve of that as the result, and say that it would be a good thing for the country—I can see no other resource but direct taxation. We are not disposed as a people to submit to direct taxation. We derive a sufficient revenue under our present system to carry on our government, and we should not like to see the tax-gatherer at our doors, inquiring into the amount of our incomes, and levying a tax on every man, woman and child in the country for the purpose of raising money to carry on the government. Moreover, that would not appear so equitable a mode, as has been shown in the last debate here, as the one which we have adopted. Upon whom at present does the burden of taxation fall? It is not upon the poor man; it is upon the wealthy, who drink expensive wines, who use expensive luxuries and wear expensive clothes; and not upon the poor man to any extent. So I say universal reciprocity, would cause the loss of our revenue and lead us to direct taxation; and by that means would constitute a greater burden upon the poor than the present system imposes on them. And I venture to say, that if it produced the result to which I have already alluded, the poor would be less able to pay

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the most infinitesimal taxation than, they are under our existing system to bear the burden they do at present. These are the objections which we take to this universal reciprocity. We think it would destroy our industries. We think it would diminish our revenues. We think it would drive us to direct taxation. We think it would destroy our independence, and destroy our control over our foreign trade. And it will destroy our connection with our mother country. For these reasons, if any system of reciprocity is proposed with the United States which would lead to such consequences, which would lead to their controlling our fiscal and trade policy, to the diminution of our revenue, to interference with the control of our foreign trade, and to discriminative duties against England, I say that I am against it, and I venture to say that this House will be opposed to it. We are prospering now, and are increasing our prosperity.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté)—And have been for a number of years.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The proposition that we are now in a prosperous condition—that our trade, both foreign and internal, has been increasing—has been supported at great length in this House a short time ago, and I have not heard it controverted. I heard one hon. gentleman from New Brunswick, to-day, attack two or three of the points made, as if they stood by themselves. He said that the number of letters passing through our mails does not prove that Canada is prosperous. People who desire to prove that Canada is prosperous must, he tells us, be driven to great straits when they endeavor to prove it by the number of letters written. If that were the only symptom of progress and prosperity which could be shown by advocates of our policy it would be feeble enough by itself; but, taken in connection with other branches of the public business, it can be shown that the same increase exists in every department of trade and commerce that can be imagined, and that there has been a complete and satisfactory and, in fact, enormous progress since 1878.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—Why should there not?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The hon. gentleman is the only gentleman on his side of the argument who admits that we are in a prosperous condition, and I was about to quote him in support of my pretension that we are in a prosperous condition. But my hon. friend qualifies it by saying it is not going to last. When he says we are prosperous he puts himself in the position of a sensible man, who sees what is going on around him, and does not hesitate to say it, boldly and frankly like an honorable man, and I agree with him. But when he comes to prophecy, and gets beyond the region of fact, I am not bound to give the same faith to his prophecies as I am to those assertions of fact, in which I agree with him. When he prophesies that we are not going to continue to be prosperous, I take leave to doubt that he is a true prophet. But my hon. friend must recollect that while he admits we are prosperous, a good many other hon. gentlemen on his side say we are not prosperous. The hon. gentleman who sits next him (Mr. McClellan) has told us that the people are leaving the country—that our population is diminishing; and he mentioned a good many other ways, in which he attempted to show that decadence, which is so strong an argument by hon. friends opposite for reciprocity. Without going into the details by which the hon. gentleman from New Brunswick attempted to minimize the evidence which is to be derived from the prosperity of every industrial and commercial enterprise in the Dominion, I must say that that attempt was not, to my mind, at all successful. My hon. friend says that the enormous increase in the deposits in the savings banks is not proof that the people are more prosperous than they were before, because he says that in St. John the savings banks have increased their deposits, while he claims that the prosperity of the trade there, and of the city itself, is not so great as it was. That is perhaps the Liberal Government again, but it certainly is an anomaly if the people have lost more money and are worse off, when they make large deposits in the savings banks, than when they make small deposits. My hon. friend does not put it in that way, but it is certainly the proposition he contends for. I think I am tolerably safe in saying that people

generally are more wealthy, when they have a large amount of money in the savings banks, than when they have only a little. If the hon. gentleman himself had more money in 1888 than he had in 1878, I think he would consider himself more prosperous in 1888 than he was in 1878, and I think the argument as applied to him applies to the whole people, that if they have more money they are more prosperous. But everything else corroborates the deduction which any one would naturally draw from these facts; the trade returns of the country; the discounts in the banks; the diminution in dishonored paper, notwithstanding the increase in discounts;—these and a dozen other similar proofs of increased prosperity; which are to be found in the statistics of this country, and which have been laid before the House at great length; and the total absence of any indication of diminished prosperity;—this entire uniformity of evidences of progress convinces me, and must convince very one who is not prejudiced against it, that the country is prospering; and my hon. friend's prophesy of the future has not commenced to develop itself, because those evidences of prosperity have gone on increasing ever since the establishment of the National Policy. I take this, therefore, as incontrovertible, that we are prospering in a very large ratio; and that we have been continuing to prosper ever since this policy was introduced, and I for one am not disposed to run the risk of turning the tide of prosperity by adopting changes of which neither I nor any other man can tell the result. I am still less desirous of adopting such a change as my hon. friends advocate, when by doing that I should practically abandon my nationality; practically abandon my country; all my interest in it, my pride in its present, and my ambition for its future; place it and myself under the feet of an alien nation. I think when we abandon our tariff to the United States, when we allow them to do what their politicians say we must do—hand over to them our right of saying what we shall charge on the importation of goods into our country, when we allow them to put their Customs officers in charge of our frontier Custom houses, and agree with them to shut ourselves out from the markets of the world, and place them

before the great country to which we are proud to owe allegiance; when we do those things, Canada will be no place for a true Canadian, and my Province, I am proud to say, will be the last to fall into that position. But I am not afraid of Quebec, nor of any part of Canada throwing away its advantages, abandoning the swelling tide of prosperity of which it has been availing itself, and which will carry it forward and upward if it refuses to be diverted from it, and allow itself to be wrecked on some theory which may be called commercial union, or universal reciprocity, or the next fad which hon. gentlemen opposite may take up for a political object. They all mean the same thing—the abandonment of the policy under which we have prospered, and may continue to prosper, and a return to the policy under which we suffered before, and which would result in the loss of our autonomy as a country.

HON. MR. WARK—I introduced three propositions on this subject, in which I had taken every pains to satisfy myself of their truth before I did introduce them. The hon. gentleman from Halifax moves an amendment, implying that it is time enough to take up this subject when a measure of this nature is introduced in Parliament. That would have defeated my object altogether. I found the country was agitated from one end to the other on the subject of unrestricted reciprocity. I found those who were advocating this from the platform and through the press were basing their arguments upon the principle that the repeal of the reciprocity treaty was the cause of the depression that had followed it, or rather that the last years of the reciprocity treaty proved the benefits that the country would have derived from that treaty if it had remained in force, and the benefits that would be derived if another treaty were to take its place. I went carefully into the subject, and I think I proved to this House that during the three last years of the treaty the prosperity which was so marked was due almost exclusively to the war that was being carried on in the United States and the manner in which the resources of that country had suffered. I showed this by the extent of the trade that took place—that it rose

by leaps and bounds during those three years. I instanced some particular items. I took, for instance, horses, and showed that where they had been buying only 8,000 per annum, they suddenly increased to 18,000 and 27,000, and I was satisfied that this demand for horses could only be on account of the demand for horses in the cavalry and field artillery and in the transportation service for their armies. I pointed out that the increase in the consumption of cattle and sheep increased in the same way and from the same cause. I submitted, after very careful investigation of the subject, three propositions: one, that the prosperity that existed in the country during those last three years of the reciprocity treaty was not due to the treaty. Has any one attempted to examine and refute my arguments on that subject? Not one. The arguments I made use of could not be disputed, I proved them so clearly. I then took up the second proposition—that there was no decrease of trade after the reciprocity treaty was abolished. I showed that during the first nine years after the reciprocity treaty the purchases of the Americans were greater than during the first nine years of the treaty. I showed that, taking the average of those nine years, it was \$16,000,000 a year less than the average in the twenty-one years that succeeded the reciprocity treaty. That proposition of mine has not been touched—it has not been replied to. I showed what the hon. leader of the House had confirmed, that if we resorted to unrestricted reciprocity, instead of buying £1 12s. worth of goods we would not buy £1 worth or 16s. worth, and the whole duty that would be sacrificed by shutting out those manufactures must be added to the duty lost on American imports, and I showed that it must be \$11,000,000, which we would have to make up by direct taxation, or some such system as I pointed out was resorted to in England to supplement their Customs and Excise duties. There is one matter to which I ought to refer. The hon. member from Halifax has spoken of the ideas I expressed with respect to Imperial Federation. It is a subject I took a great deal of interest in, and he and my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island both assume that I hold the same opinions as those who are

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

seeking for protection in the mother country. I never thought of such a thing. I think it would be a great mistake to introduce such a subject. I can find no country where communities have to come together under a tariff that were not first forced together for their own protection or for the purposes of war, and I think that that is the first step that ought to be taken. I will not go into the subject now, but I have looked forward to the time when some influential persons would move in the matter. I got documents from home which led me to prepare a paper which is the subject of a good deal of consideration, and which will show what my opinions were on the subject, and this paper I now submit to the House, as follows:—

"FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

"A Paper contributed by Hon. DAVID WARK, Senator of the Dominion of Canada, to the Conference of the Imperial Federation League, July, 1886.

"The Federation of the Empire has been discussed for some time without—so far as I have heard—any proposition being made as to where the work should begin. There seems, however, to be an impression among the advocates of the measure that an Imperial Council or governing body should be constituted for the whole Empire. It is to be feared that a long time must elapse before the details of such a scheme, if at all practicable, can be arranged; and it may be worth while to consider whether some preliminary and very necessary steps might not at once be undertaken. Among the most pressing, a military organization of the whole Empire is worthy of consideration, especially when we look at the vast armies of the great continental powers as compared with that of the United Kingdom, and contrast them with their relations to each other at the beginning of the century. Wars now are short and decisive, and the country best prepared has an overwhelming advantage. It may therefore be well to consider whether our condition is a safe one as regards ourselves, or such as entitles us to the respect we ought to have from the other great powers.

"In discussing the subject, it may be of some service to look back a hundred years and review the course of events during that period. After a protracted struggle in attempting to subdue the revolted American colonies the military power of England had proved insufficient; and when the French Revolution broke out she was not well prepared for the twenty years' war which followed, and had no colonies from which aid could be expected. In the vast territory now known as the Dominion of Canada there were then about 150,000 French in what is now the Province of Quebec, and about an equal number of English scattered over the present Maritime Provinces and Ontario.

"With the exception of a small penal settlement, the Australasian colonies were unborn. The East India Company had gained a large footing in India, but instead of affording any strength to Great Britain at the beginning of the period mentioned, it required a military force to garrison it. The two islands had

therefore to enter on the war depending entirely on their own resources; yet at its close, notwithstanding the enormous expenditure of blood and treasure during the twenty years' struggle, the naval and military power of the country aggregated above one million of men; while, in the last struggles, the continental powers had become so exhausted that, to enable them to bring a very moderate force into the field, our Government had on two occasions to distribute subsidies among them, amounting each to over eleven millions sterling, besides large supplies of arms and clothing.

"Not the least extraordinary consideration connected with this protracted war is, that it was entered on when the population of the two islands did not exceed fourteen millions, and ended when it was considerably under twenty millions. If we contrast how our military strength compared with that of the other great powers then, and how it compares with them now, the contemplation is by no means gratifying. But from another point of view the contrast is still greater. During the last seventy years the population of the United Kingdom has doubled, and the wealth of the country has increased in a greater proportion. The mother country is surrounded by a vast colonial empire, populous and wealthy; and India, instead of being a cause of weakness, has become a source of great strength. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent the Empire from organizing a military force so powerful that though some powers may feel a degree of jealousy more will seek our friendship, while none will care to provoke our hostility. An Empire that contains three hundred millions of people, and raises annually for ordinary purposes a revenue of £200,000,000 sterling, can be at no loss for either men or money.

"When considering this subject some years ago, I thought, as the undertaking would involve some expenditure of money, Imperial statesmen might feel a degree of delicacy in proposing it to the colonies, and, therefore, that the overture had better come from Canada, as the oldest and most populous of the colonial possessions; but when a conference is to meet it may be discussed without appearing to originate in any other quarter. Let it not be thought that when I speak of the expenditure of money I propose the raising of standing armies in the colonies. We in Canada have satisfied ourselves, and given proof to others, that we can make good soldiers without withdrawing our young men to any considerable extent, away from their ordinary occupations. The late rebellion in the North-West, so successfully quelled by our militia, has proved this. When our young men were so suddenly and unexpectedly called out, thoughtful people—who knew that many of them had never experienced the difficulties of a long march, over bad roads, at an inclement season of the year, and that at its termination they would have to cope with a hardy race, who, as prairie hunters, were inured to toil and expert riflemen—could not fail to have some misgivings as to the success of the expedition; but when, after some preliminary fighting, they at last came face to face with the enemy in a well-chosen position, entrenched in rifle-pits and sheltered by trees, and after failing in three days, with both artillery and the rifle, to dislodge them, at length received orders to charge, they, without faltering, dashed in on the unseen foe, and at the point of the bayonet drove them from tree to tree and from rifle-pit to rifle-pit, till they completely expelled them from their strong position, the anxiety

was all removed, and it was felt that had our militia been at Tel-el-Kiber, side by side with the regulars, they would not have been the last to scale the earthworks and cross bayonets with the Egyptians. I have referred to this to show that a colony on undertaking to contribute to the military strength of the Empire need not necessarily form a standing army.

Without referring to the smaller possessions of the Empire, I think it is time for the Dominion of Canada and the Australasian Colonies to consider whether they have not reached a stage of progress when they ought no longer to be considered as mere dependencies, but ought rather to claim to take their place as important members of the Empire, and to declare their willingness to assume the responsibilities of such a position. Assuming their readiness to contribute to the military strength of the Empire, I have no doubt that the great western colonies (west from Canada), although less populous than Canada, from what we know of their wealth, enterprise and loyalty, would manifest a commendable rivalry with the older colony. Judging from the readiness with which the Government of the Cape of Good Hope responded to Lord Carnarvon's appeal, in his despatch of 30th January, 1878, for the organization of a force for the defence of the colony, I have no doubt the Cape would contribute its full quota; and that colony's importance is not to be measured so much by its wealth and population as by its geographical position and its proximity to India. I shall not refer to the other colonies individually, but assume their willingness faithfully to discharge their duty to the Empire.

"The Canada Militia Law might perhaps, to some extent, serve as a pattern to other colonies. Under it all males capable of serving are constituted a reserve, excepting a force embodied for three years, which is termed the active militia. It numbers at present nearly 37,000. Besides frequent meetings in drill sheds, and for local rifle practice, the city militia meet at their headquarters, and the rural in camp, annually for twelve days' drill and exercise. The General at present in command thinks the time too short, and recommends that it should be extended. The importance of so altering the law as to provide that after serving three years in the active militia the men should be enrolled for an additional term of three or four years as an effective reserve, was recently discussed in the Dominion Senate, and the House was informed that the Government have the matter under consideration. By adopting this course the force might be doubled should a necessity arise. In the event of a war with any of the European powers, one of the most important services this force could render to the Empire would be the protection of coaling ports for the Royal Navy on both oceans. As long as the fleet can be guaranteed an ample supply of coal at Nova Scotia and Vancouver's Island so long will it command both oceans, for the protection of our own commerce and the destruction of an enemy's. As soon as the leading colonies can be brought into such an arrangement I would suggest the annual publication of a Blue Book containing, among other matter, the extent and population of the different portions of the Empire, the annual revenue raised by each, the strength of the navy, the whole military force, including the regular army, army reserve, militia, volunteers, Indian army, and the quota of each of the colonies, which would doubtless increase as they increased in population. If thought desirable, the whole

force could be further augmented by forming a reserve to the army of India as well as by contingents from the best disciplined of the armies of the native princes. Detachments of our militia, both infantry and artillery, have frequently gone from Canada to compete at Wimbledon and Shoeburyness, and their opportunity of associating with the military of the mother country must have an excellent effect. But similar meetings of a much more practical character might be held at some suitable point in north-west India; near the Afghan frontier, where occasional competition might take place between the British troops, the Indian army, and some of the militia from the Australian Colonies and the Cape, who could be brought at little expense by some of her Majesty's ships stationed in those seas. Ample publicity being given of the time required to assemble such a force, it would operate advantageously in different ways. It would afford an opportunity for the Indian troops and the colonists to become acquainted. It would show the former, if their country were threatened with an invasion, how rapidly aid could be drawn from various quarters, and it might serve to convince Russia that if she ever attempted a descent on India a force could be got ready to crush any army she could assemble in Central Asia. The number of men collected on these occasions would not be of so much moment as the various forces they represented and the brief time required to bring them together.

"The Blue Book to which I have referred would have an excellent effect on our militia. Placed in every drill-shed and camp, its perusal would cause them to realize the fact that they are not merely members of the company or the battalion to which they belong, but that they form part of the most powerful military organization in the world. In foreign countries it would not be perused with less interest.

"How to deal with India as a part of the confederated Empire is a question of the gravest character, but in connection with the present subject I may suggest that occasionally a detachment of men from the native army might, as a reward for good conduct, be favored with a visit to Britain, where they might meet their fellow-soldiers at Wimbledon; and also to be given an opportunity of seeing the vast arsenals, ironclads on the stocks and afloat, the large fleets of merchant shipping in the docks, the great factories, and, in fact, everything calculated to send them home deeply impressed with a sense of the greatness of the centre of the empire of which their country forms a part. The knowledge thus acquired would be extensively circulated among their countrymen, and doubtless with the best result.

"Having thus called attention to what I think ought to be considered one of the strongest ties to bind the colonies to the parent state and to each other, I shall now refer to another which, may be made equally strong, and if possible of still more importance—I mean the *commercial tie*. If we are to become one people, a united Empire, we cannot too soon set about revising our revenue laws and removing the restrictions on the trade between the different parts of the Empire. This will require time, but it may be brought about much more speedily than many would think possible. It has only to be gone about energetically and judiciously, and men will gradually see its advantages and consent to the tariff changes. Different modes of raising revenue will be adopted, which, while unshackling commerce, will not add in the

slightest degree to the burthens of the people; and the ultimate result will be that every producer will be able to choose, out of a population of three hundred millions, the best market in which to dispose of his goods, and every consumer will have a like privilege to choose the cheapest market from which to supply his wants. Thus, the best interests of every individual, and of the whole population, will be promoted, and the result, general prosperity.

"If sixty millions of people in the American Republic, divided into such a number of States, can freely interchange their products, why may not five times the number of people, all under the same Government, do so? The Empire could then treat the hostile tariffs of other States with indifference, as their influence on the general prosperity would scarcely be perceptible. Such States would soon begin to seek to form liberal commercial treaties. With the freedom of trade would come more equal distribution of capital. Instead of money being pent up at some points where it cannot find profitable investment it would find its way to where a demand for it existed, and thus add to the general prosperity.

"I shall now refer briefly to a third subject, which, in any scheme for the federation of the Empire, should claim the particular attention of both the Imperial and Colonial Governments—a judicious system of emigration.

"How to control the overflow of population from the parent State and direct it to the colonies has never yet received sufficient consideration. Intending immigrants should have more care taken to direct them to the colonies, and, when there, to get them suitably settled. The subject is too large to enter on its discussion here, but there is no doubt that the population in many parts of the United Kingdom, both cities and country, requires thinning out; and, if accomplished, it would add to the prosperity of both those who leave and those who remain behind.

"By possessing a powerful military organization the Empire may pursue a peaceful policy of extending the blessings of liberty and civilization, not only among its own numerous populations, but throughout the world, without interference from any other power. By removing the restrictions from trade the commercial prosperity of the whole Empire will be greatly increased, and by removing the unemployed able-bodied to the colonies, instead of being a burthen to others they may enjoy all the necessaries and comforts of life as the fruits of their own industry.

"The above suggestions are the result of a good deal of consideration, and I trust they will not be thought undeserving of the attention of others who take an interest in the subjects to which they refer."

The Senate divided on the amendment to the amendment, which was adopted by the following vote:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| Abbott, | McKay, |
| Almon, | McKindsay, |
| Boucherville, de, | McMillan, |
| Carvell, | Macdonald (Victoria), |
| Casgrain, | Macfarlane, |
| Clemow, | MacInnes (Burlington), |
| Cochrane, | Merner, |

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| DeBlois, | Ogilvie, |
| Dever, | Poirier, |
| Dickey, | Read (Quinté), |
| Drummond, | Reid (Cariboo), |
| Flint, | Ross, |
| Girard, | Sanford, |
| Glazier, | Smith, |
| Kaulbach, | Sullivan, |
| Lacoste, | Sutherland, |
| McCallum, | Turner, |
| McDonald (C.B.), | Wark—36. |

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Chaffers, | O'Donohoe, |
| Haythorne, | Pâquet, |
| Leonard, | Pelletier, |
| Lewin, | Power, |
| McClelan, | Stevens—11. |
| Macdonald (Midland), | |

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 1:05 a.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 12th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THIRD READINGS.

Bill (68), "An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company." (Mr. Scott).

Bill (16), "An Act to provide against Frauds in the supplying of Milk to Cheese and Butter Manufactories." (Mr. Read).

SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

Bill (W), "An Act further to amend the several Acts relating to the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto" (Mr. Macdonald), was read the second and third times, under suspension of the Rules, and passed.

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, April 15th, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine business.

THE EXPERIMENTAL FARM IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. MCINNES rose to

Ask the Government why the erection of the necessary buildings, and farming operations in connection with the proposed British Columbia Experimental Farm, have been delayed?

He said: In 1886 an Act was passed providing for the establishment of an Experimental Farm in the Maritime Provinces, one here at the city of Ottawa, one in Manitoba, one or more in the North-West Territories, and one for the Province of British Columbia. A few weeks after the Act was passed Professor Saunders paid a visit to the Province of British Columbia and the North-West Territories, for the purpose of making selections of sites for those farms. No action was taken, however, by the Government that year. The following year the same gentleman paid a second visit to British Columbia, and seven or eight months afterwards, as the Government did not appear to take any action, I placed a notice on the Paper, on the 15th April last, asking the Government if the site had been selected for the Experimental Farm in British Columbia. I received the following reply from the leader of the Government—that a portion of the Agassiz estate had been selected for that purpose and that preparatory work would commence on the farm as soon as practicable. I asked the leader of the Government if he meant by that statement that operations would begin on the farm that same year, and the answer was: "I suppose so." Now, another year has elapsed and nothing has been done, whereas in Manitoba, I believe the Experimental Farm at Brandon is in full operation. The one in the Territories, situated at Medicine Hat, is also in full operation, and I want to know why there is this discrimination against British Columbia.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—That is a good word.

HON. MR. MCINNES—It is discriminating against British Columbia. I do not see why operations should not commence there at as early a date as in the North-West Territories or in Manitoba.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The actual reason why there has been delay in putting up these buildings has been that the title has not been completed yet. There are some difficulties to be cleared up still about it, although the Government are sanguine that they will now be able to get these difficulties removed. They are so confident on that subject that they propose to commence the farming operations this spring. The buildings they do not propose to put up until those difficulties are cleared away, but they will erect this spring the necessary sheds for sheltering cattle, and probably any small buildings required for employes, and they will proceed with the regular farming operations as if the buildings were there. The erection of the buildings themselves will have to be postponed until next year.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—Then these farming operations will proceed this spring?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; that is what I understand from the Minister of Agriculture.

FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (129), "An Act to amend the Fisheries Act, Chapter 95, of the Revised Statutes." He said: This Bill is intended to exclude from the law an exception which was made in the Fisheries Act in favor of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Under the general law of the country with regard to the salmon fisheries, nets are not permitted in rivers above tide water, but in the Fisheries Act an exception was made in favor of those two Provinces. The object of the Bill is to remove that exception, so that those Provinces may be placed in the same position as other portions of the Dominion.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I should like to know whether the Government by this amendment consider that they have no right over the rivers above tidal water for the protection of our fish. I know there is a conflict of authority between the Local and Dominion Governments with regard to the rights to protect the fisheries or to exercise authority above tidal water. It is unfortunate if there is such a conflict of authority, and it should terminate, so that we should know who has the protection of the fisheries in those waters. I should like to know whether this Bill is introduced in consequence of the present state of things with regard to this question?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend alludes to a question which no doubt is one of great difficulty. The decision of the courts in the Maritime Provinces, and of one or two courts elsewhere, has been to the effect, as my hon. friend knows better than I do, that the right of fishing belongs to the riparian proprietor in streams that are not navigable, and I suppose that is the generally accepted rule now throughout the Dominion. But the Government do not think that that deprives them of the right, in the interest of public order, and of the Dominion, and of the tidal fisheries, of prohibiting practices in the rivers which are injurious to fishing interests. And it is on that principle that they propose to pass this law, excluding the use in the rivers of nets, which interrupt the fish on their way to the spawning grounds, and of course destroy the tidal as well as the river fisheries.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman might perhaps deal with a question which was discussed at some length in the other House, as to the probable effect on the fisheries in the St. John and Miramichi Rivers, in New Brunswick, and the St. Mary's River, in Nova Scotia. It appears that there is a large stretch of water in the St. John River above the actual rise of the tide where the river is both wide and deep, and where fishing by nets has been carried on for a great many years. There was a very warm discussion over the subject in the House of Commons, and I thought that possibly the hon. gentleman would have alluded to that. I have not been able to find the place in the Act

where the Governor in Council have the right to extend the limit of tide water so as to meet the views of the fishermen to some extent. I understand that although the tide does not actually rise in the St. John River, so as to cover the territory I have just referred to, the fresh water is backed up by the tide rising from below, and that there has been a decision in one of the courts that that water is held to be tidal water. If my hon. friend's attention has not been called to it, he can give us some information on the subject when the Bill is in Committee of the Whole. I may say I am in favor of passing the Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That point struck me, and I asked the question, and I am informed by the Minister of Fisheries that there is a provision in the Fisheries Act enabling the point to be fixed to which tide water extends, and there is even power granted to him, as I am informed, to relax the rule with regard to nets to some small extent. Under these powers it was considered that any injury which might be done by a too strict interpretation of this clause might be removed. My hon. friend agrees with me in thinking that the object of this prohibition is an excellent one, and a step that ought to have been taken long ago, and one which, if not taken, would lead to the entire depopulation of those rivers, and leave them in the same position as many of the American rivers, in which there is not a salmon to be found, except where the waters have been re-stocked. I will look further into the matter before the Bill is referred to a Committee of the Whole House.

HON. MR. POWER—With regard to the question raised by the hon. member from Lunenburg, I think it is dealt with in the decision in *Robertson vs. the Queen*, a case decided in the Supreme Court in 1882. It was affirmed by the Exchequer Court, first, "that the general power of regulating and protecting the fisheries under the British North America Act, 1867, sec. 91, is in the Parliament of Canada."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is the doctrine I stated.

HON. MR. POWER—It goes on to say:

“But that the license granted by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries of the *locus in quo* was void, because said Act only authorizes the granting of leases ‘where the exclusive right of fishing does not already exist by law.’ and in this case the exclusive right of fishing belonged to the owners of the land through which that portion of the Miramichi River flows.”

So that, though the riparian owner owns the fish, the court holds that we have the power to regulate the fishing.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is the position I took.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—That riparian owners cannot be deprived of their right, which has existed from time immemorial, of fishing from the banks of the streams.

HON. MR. POWER—They will have to fish with rod and fly; that is all.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

ADULTERATION ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

WITHDRAWN.

The Order of the Day being called—Second Reading Bill (U), “Adulteration Act further amendment,”

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: With regard to this Bill, since I introduced it into this House the Minister has been considering the question of increased facilities for the prosecution of persons guilty of adulteration, and he is satisfied that a much more extensive measure is absolutely required, more especially, I think, in consideration of representations made to him at the time of the Dairy Convention, not long ago. It will, therefore, be absolutely necessary to take some steps in the direction of facilitating the trial and punishment of offences against the Adulteration Act on a much larger scale than this Act reaches. A measure of that description is in course of preparation, though I fear it will not be ready for this Session, but it will be quite useless to proceed with this Bill. It deals with only one question, and therefore I ask leave to withdraw the Bill.

The Bill was withdrawn.

ESCAPES AND RESCUES BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (V), “An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting Escapes and Rescues.”

(In the Committee).’

HON. MR. POWER asked: Has the hon. gentleman considered the objection to the length of term for which an offender may be detained in a reformatory prison?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have talked with my colleague about it, and he seems to think it would be better to leave the discretion in this form, without any special direction as to how it should be exercised. Some hon. gentlemen present have taken some interest in the Bill, and know more on the subject than I do, or perhaps the Minister either.

THE SPEAKER—The Industrial School that this Bill will affect is one which was established for the purpose of training up young boys in habits of industry, but the intention was not to take those who should be sent to reformatories. It has happened at times that *mauvais sujets* have been sent there and have made their escape. The magistrate has no power to send to a reformatory any boy who escapes from the institution, and this Bill is intended to enable him to do so when a boy has been guilty of insubordinate conduct, and would do great mischief if sent back again to the school. This Bill gives the magistrate discretion to sentence such an offender to imprisonment for any period up to five years in the reformatory. It does not necessarily follow that he will be sentenced for the whole term, but it gives the magistrate that discretion. It is in the interest of the school and of the training of these young people that this Bill has been asked for.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not take objection to that portion of the Bill which allows the *mauvais sujet* to be sent to a reformatory prison, but I rather objected to the length of time for which a magistrate could sentence him. The provision in the existing law is that a boy who runs away may be sentenced to serve the

remainder of his unexpired term and a year in addition. Now, if we allowed the magistrate the discretion of sending him to a reformatory prison, instead of the school from which he escapes, it would be enough. After a boy has spent five years in prison, as I said at the second reading of this Bill, his future is pretty well ruined, and I doubt the wisdom of giving a magistrate the option of sending a boy to prison for such a long term.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Minister was of the opinion that it was better not to limit the discretion of the magistrate, because it might be that the boy deserved a greater punishment than imprisonment for one year.

HON. MR. POWER—Make it the balance of his unexpired term, and one year besides.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It would limit the punishment for running away from the school, an offence which might be attended with a great many aggravating circumstances, to one year, which might not be a sufficient punishment for the escape and attendant circumstances. It was for that reason that it was thought best to leave a certain discretion to the magistrate, which I do not think we ought to presume he would abuse in any way. If the boy who had run away had been an exceedingly turbulent, bad boy, it might be that a year would by no means be a sufficient punishment for his running away and his other misconduct.

THE SPEAKER — I think there are circumstances under which it might be advisable to imprison a boy in a reformatory for the period mentioned here. I do not think it would often occur that a boy who had served any length of time in the industrial schools would break out in this way. A thing of this kind would more likely occur by a magistrate sending a boy there who was not a fit subject for an industrial school, and who, immediately after being sent there, was guilty of gross insubordination and misconduct. In that case he would simply receive the same term of punishment to which he would have been sentenced if he had been sent to the reformatory originally. I think

we might trust to the discretion of the magistrate that he would not send the boy to the reformatory for an undue length of time.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment, and it was then read the third time, and passed.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (X), "An Act further to amend the Dominion Lands Act." He said: This Bill is introduced for the purpose of amending two or three minor details in the Dominion Lands Act. The first clauses have reference to the surveys. Under the law as it stands, the surveys next the 49th parallel are commenced from that parallel and run northward. The 49th parallel is not an absolutely straight line, it appears, and in consequence of its divergence, as it is subject to the inflections of any astronomical line, there is a considerable disturbance in the side lines further north. There is a corrected line drawn from at the rear of the first range of townships, and it is proposed to enable the surveys of the side lines to be governed from this as a base line, instead of from the astronomical line, which constitutes the 49th parallel. It is a mere detail of surveying with which I do not myself profess to be acquainted, but it seems to me to be an improvement to adopt the first corrected line as the base from which side lines are to be run, instead of the 49th parallel of latitude, which is subject to astronomical inflections. Then there are some changes with reference to assignments and transfers of homesteads. There is one in particular, I should rather say the only one of any importance, which affects the land that was granted to the Mennonites. Advances were made to those Mennonites by a society in Ontario, called the Waterloo Society, and mortgages were taken for these advances. In addition to that there were rules connected with the issuing of patents which had to be relaxed in some degree in some few instances, with reference to these mort-

gages, and now that the Torrens system is being extended to these lands it is necessary to clear up these irregularities, which amount to nothing in reality. They are slight difficulties, which are intended to be removed by this Act, in order that the lands may be placed under the *regime* of the Torrens Act. Then there is another clause, which is intended to remedy a difficulty that has occurred with regard to the settlement of immigrants on lands under one of the arrangements made by the Government, which contemplated that they should not be called upon to commence to pay back the advances on those lands until five years after their occupation of them. In a good many instances these tenants agreed to commence to pay back in four years, and it has been found in the Department that practically it is better to have it four years than five years. That is the subject of another clause. There are one or two minor points which are regulated by this Bill, which perhaps it is not necessary to go into now. I will explain them when the Bill goes before a Committee of the Whole House.

HON. MR. POWER—I should like to call the attention of the hon. gentleman to the fact that the draughtsman, throughout the Bill has used the term clause instead of section, which is a departure from the general form, and I should also call his attention to the rather unusual language used in the third clause of the Bill. The provision seems a very proper one, but the language might be improved:

“As respects every assignment or transfer of a homestead or a pre-emption right held or acquired under the said Act, in whole or in part, and every agreement to make any such assignment or transfer, made or entered into before the issue of patent and previous to the date of the passing of this Act, no such assignment, or transfer, or agreement shall be null and void, nor shall forfeiture accrue in respect thereof.”

That is an absolute and a universal statement, and then the clause goes on:

“But the Minister of the Interior may declare any such assignment, or transfer, or agreement to be null and void, and such forfeiture to have accrued, or either, and such declaration shall have force and effect as if herein enacted.”

I think it is an awkward expression to say that a certain thing shall not accrue, and then to declare that it shall accrue.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

I think the wording of the clause might be improved.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (Y), “An Act to amend Cap. 45 of the Revised Statutes respecting the North-West Mounted Police Force.” (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 4 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 16th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (129), “An Act to amend ‘The Fisheries Act,’ Chapter 95, of the Revised Statutes.”

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—What construction is to be placed on tidal waters in the Bill? The reason why I ask is, that in the Fraser River, where all our principal salmon canneries are, the tide backs up the fresh water for a distance of about 50 or 60 miles. Of course, if it would interfere with netting the salmon along those waters it would destroy our industry on the Fraser.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand that the meaning which has been attached to the phrase is, the extent of the river on which the tide impresses itself by raising the river. Tidal water may extend higher up than the salt water reaches, from the cause that my hon. friend speaks of—the backing up of the fresh water. The department, where there is a doubt, fixes the boundary of the tidal water.

HON. MR. POWER—Would the hon. gentleman be kind enough to indicate the section of the Act under which the Minister has power to do that?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Perhaps it would be better, if my hon. friend wishes to examine the powers which the Minister possesses, to postpone the further consideration of the Bill until to-morrow.

HON. MR. BOLDUC, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

HON. MR. POWER—The authority is the sub-section of section 8, and is as follows:—

“The Minister, or any fishery officer authorized to such effect, shall have power to define the tidal boundary of estuary fishing for the purpose of this Act.”

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Bill be read the third time.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

The House was adjourned during pleasure.

BILLS ASSENTED TO.

At four o'clock, the HON. SAMUEL HENRY STRONG, a Puisné Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, Deputy Governor, proceeded to the Senate Chamber, and took his seat upon the Throne. The members of the Senate being assembled, the Deputy Governor was pleased to command the attendance of the House of Commons, and that House being present, the following Bills were assented to, in Her Majesty's name, by His Honor the Deputy of His Excellency the Governor General on His behalf, viz. :—

- An Act respecting the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Junction Railway Company.
- An Act further to amend the Act incorporating the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company.
- An Act to incorporate the Cobourg, Northumberland and Pacific Railway Company.
- An Act respecting the Bay of Quinté Bridge Company.
- An Act respecting the Berlin and Canadian Pacific Junction Railway Company.
- An Act to ratify an exchange of Land between the Ontario and Quebec Railway Company and the Land Security Company.
- An Act respecting the incorporation of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company.
- An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company.
- An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Prescott County Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to “The Central Counties Railway Company.”
- An Act to incorporate the Canadian General Trusts Company.

- An Act to consolidate the borrowing powers of the Ontario Loan and Debenture Company, and to authorize them to issue Debenture Stock.
- An Act to incorporate the Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society.
- An Act to amend the Act respecting Queen's College, at Kingston.
- An Act to amend the Charter of Incorporation of the Great North-West Central Railway Company.
- An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Quebec Board of Trade.
- An Act respecting the Atlantic and North-West Railway Company
- An Act to amend the law respecting the Exchequer Court of Canada.
- An Act further to amend the Act thirty-sixth Victoria, Chapter sixty-one, respecting the Trinity House and Harbor Commissioners of Montreal.
- An Act to amend Chapter thirteen of the Revised Statutes, intituled: “An Act respecting the House of Commons.”
- An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company, and the Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec Railway Company.
- An Act respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company.
- An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and North Pacific Railway Company.
- An Act to revive and amend the Acts relating to the Saint Gabriel Levee and Railway Company.
- An Act to incorporate the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Railway Company.
- An Act to enable the City of Winnipeg to utilize the Assiniboine River Water-power.
- An Act to incorporate the Three Rivers and Western Railway Company.
- An Act respecting the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company.
- An Act to incorporate the Dominion Mineral Company.
- An Act to incorporate the Canadian Superphosphate Company.
- An Act to amend Chapter eleven of the Revised Statutes, intituled: “An Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.”
- An Act to amend the Act respecting Certificates to Masters and Mates of Ships, Chapter seventy-three of the Revised Statutes.
- An Act respecting Rules of Court in relation to Criminal Matters.
- An Act respecting the Alberta and Athabasca Railway Company, and to change the name of the Company to “The Great North-Western Railway Company.”
- An Act to incorporate the Assiniboine Water-power Company.
- An Act further to amend “The Civil Service Act,” Chapter seventeen, of the Revised Statutes.
- An Act to amend “The Winding-up Act,” Chapter one hundred and twenty-nine of the Revised Statutes.
- An Act further to amend the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act.
- An Act respecting the Collection of certain Tolls and Dues therein mentioned.
- An Act to incorporate the Tile and Mortgage Guarantee Company of Canada.
- An Act to incorporate the Assets and Debenture Company of Canada.
- An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Mississippi Junction Railway Company.
- An Act to incorporate the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company.

An Act to incorporate the Moose Jaw and Edmonton Railway Company.

An Act to incorporate the Saskatchewan Railway and Mining Company.

An Act to provide for the conveyance of certain Lands to British Columbia.

An Act in reference to the Western Counties Railway.

An Act further to amend "The Steamboat Inspection Act," Chapter seventy-eight of the Revised Statutes.

An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

An Act to make further provision respecting the Speedy Trial of certain Indictable Offences.

The members of the House of Commons then withdrew, and the House was resumed.

The Senate adjourned at 4:20 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 17th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

RAILWAY BRIDGES IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. WARK rose to make the following inquiry :

That in view of the large Government expenditure now going on in railway construction in Nova Scotia, whether the Government will not consider the claim of New Brunswick to have the railway bridges on the Saint John River made free, a reasonable one; and if so, whether they intend to arrange with the bridge companies to take over said bridges and make them free to all the New Brunswick railways connected with them?

He said: It is not necessary for me to make any extended remarks on this subject, further than to state that the River St. John divides the population of the Province of New Brunswick about equally. There are two bridges on it, constructed chiefly with moneys loaned by the Government to companies, and the question that I am about to put is whether the Govern-

ment would think it an unreasonable request from the people of New Brunswick to ask the Government to make those bridges free. It is not necessary for me to state what moneys have been expended by the Government in Nova Scotia; they know that better than I do. They know that the expenditure which is going on there is very extensive, and that very little is being spent in New Brunswick. The traffic between the population living on both side of the river is very much hampered by the tolls imposed on these bridges. All that comes from the East and arrives at St. John on its way to the United States has to pay toll over the bridge at St. John, or it has to pay toll over the bridge at Fredericton. The mails and passengers, and the traffic from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island on the way to the United States, I may say, passing over this bridge, show that the New Brunswickers are not the only people that are interested in having the bridge made free. On the other hand, all the traffic from the United States, not only to the city of St. John but also to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, to all the eastern coast of New Brunswick, must pass over this bridge and pay toll. The hon. member from St. John informed me that on a carload of oats the charge for crossing the bridge was \$6, and it was found cheaper to truck it over than to take it in the car across the bridge. If the Government think the request an unreasonable one, the people of New Brunswick expect them to show why it is so, and if they think it is not unreasonable, then the application ought to be granted.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There has been no application made to the Government on this subject, and the matter has never been brought under their notice, until it was done by the question which my hon. friend has just put in this House. There are a good many questions of fact which would have to be investigated before the Government could come to any decision on the matter. I can assure my hon. friend that the subject will be thoroughly enquired into during the coming vacation, and will be very carefully considered, with every desire on the part of the Government to do what the people of New Brunswick may desire, and which may be reasonable in the matter.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (X), "An Act further to amend the Dominion Lands Act."

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: My hon. friend called my attention to the language of section 3. I think myself it is not exactly what it ought to be, although it fairly conveys the meaning; but the insertion of the words "*ipso facto*" after the words "shall be," in the second line, will make the clause read perfectly well. I move that the clause be amended as I have suggested.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—This section will give a great deal of relief in the North-West. It gives men who have been there an opportunity of not losing their improvements through any irregularity.

The motion was agreed to, and the clause as amended was adopted.

HON. MR. PERLEY, from the committee, reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

MANITOBA AND SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

COMMONS AMENDMENT REJECTED

The Order of the Day being called—
"Consideration of amendments of House of Commons to the amendments of the Senate to Bill (61), Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway Company,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: In respect of this Bill and the one which follows it, to both of which my remarks will apply, the House of Commons has made an amendment to one of the amendments made by this House. I am not quite satisfied that the amendment is a judicious one. Hon. gentlemen who are on the Railway Committee and those in the House will remember that there were several clauses in this Bill which had been taken practically from the Railway Act, and they

purported to give to the company authority which the company derived in a well considered form from the Railway Act itself. Amongst other things, there was a clause in the Bill which authorized the company to build certain bridges over rivers which intersected the route of the railway, and which the company was authorized by the Railway Act to build. The railway committee, and this House afterwards, approving its action, considered it was inexpedient to repeat in the Bill the authority to build bridges across rivers. Consequently, assuming that authority was given under the Railway Act this House amended the Bill by enacting that if the railway company should make a bridge over such and such a river it would have as an incident the power to convert that bridge into a toll bridge, or foot bridge, or something of that sort; that is to say, some special power with regard to the bridge itself. The precise point which I wish to make is this: the amendment assumed the right in the company to build the bridge in question. Now, when that came up for consideration in the House of Commons it was moved that the said amendment be disagreed with, "because in order that the Railway Act shall apply to the bridges of the company, it is necessary (under paragraph "q" of section 2 of that Act) to authorize in the special Act the construction of such bridges;" and this motion was agreed to. That is the matter we have under consideration to-day, together with a similar amendment to another Bill. Now, I would call the attention of the House to the fact that sub-section "q" does not, to my mind, affect this question at all. Sub-section "q" of section 2, says:

"The expression 'railway' means any railway which the company has authority to construct or operate, and includes all stations, depots, wharves, property and works connected therewith, and also any railway bridge or other structure which any company is authorized to construct under a special Act."

This was construed to mean that the Railway Act would not apply to any bridge that a railway company might make, unless the special Act specially authorized that company to build that particular bridge. Now, I think there is no warrant for that at all. The sub-section refers to a case where a company

may be authorized to build a railway bridge or some other structure, but not to a railway bridge which the company has authority under the Railway Act to build as part of its railway. That is made perfectly clear in the powers conferred on a railway company under sub-section "g" of section 90 of the Railway Act. They have power under that clause to make or construct, in, upon, across, under or over any river which it intersects or touches, temporary or permanent bridges, etc. So that this company, under the general Act, has express power to build a bridge over any river that it intersects or touches. There is no possible question about that: and this other clause, "q," is merely a sub-section in the interpretation section, which explains the meaning of the word "railway" and extends it, beyond its natural meaning, to any special structure which the company may have power to construct. Now, if it were not for the fact that other charters recently passed by the two Houses contain no such provisions as to bridges and that the amendment passed by the House of Commons would throw a taint on those charters, and cast doubt on their powers to build such bridges, it would hardly be worth while for the Senate to object to the amendment, because the meaning is about the same. We say the Railway Act gives the power; the House of Commons say the company shall have the power. But this, as I have said, might cast a sort of slur on the action of other railway companies that have been incorporated in the usual way in these Houses, without any express power to make any bridge. I would therefore move:

That a Message be sent to the House of Commons, to acquaint that House that the Senate doth not concur in the amendment made by the House of Commons to the third amendment made by the Senate to the Bill intituled, "An Act to incorporate the Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway Company," for the reason that the company, if incorporated for the purposes mentioned in the said Bill, would have authority under sub-section "g," of section 90, of the Railway Act, to make or construct a bridge over any river which its railway intersects or touches, and it is inexpedient to re-enact such authority in the said Bill.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I am very glad indeed that the attention of the leader of the House has been directed to this amendment, and the consequent disagreement of

the other House. I may say further that I entirely agree with him in the consequences that would follow if that amendment were accepted and our legislation on this and preceding sections should be disturbed by it. I have looked carefully into the matter, with a view, if possible, of seeing any way to escape from this position, and I think that the House will be disposed to concur in the opinion given by our leader, that there is no such way, and that the better course is to keep our legislation consistent, and not throw a doubt on legislation which has been passed not only during the present Session, but in almost every Session for years past, running entirely in the same line with the legislation now under consideration. There is one noticeable circumstance connected with this which, I think, ought not to be overlooked, and it is the fact that this Bill, as it originally came to us, contained no bridge clause whatever.

HON. MR. POWER—As it originally came to the Commons?

HON. MR. DICKEY—Yes; as it originally came to the Commons. The amendments were considered here, and it was when our attention was called to it we found that it proceeded upon an entire misapprehension of the powers given them by the General Railway Act of last year, which was only a substitute, after all, for the General Railway Act in the Revised Statutes, and its amendments last year. We considered that it was proper that our legislation should be kept consistent, and we therefore gave by that all the powers with regard to boarding, etc., that were necessary, in order that this should be carried out as an incident to the powers they already had under the General Railway Act. When the persons who are in charge of the Bill come to consider it, and the circumstances are pointed out to the other branch, the amendment will not be insisted upon, and the result will be that the Bill will yet be agreed to as amended by the Senate. I do not think it necessary, in the present aspect of the case, when there is no objection that we have yet heard, to enlarge upon it, because I think it is perfectly obvious. I have in my recollection now several Bills which we have passed, upon which

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a doubt would be thrown if we were to adopt the position which has been taken, I thing mistakenly, by the other House in this matter. Therefore, I entirely concur at present with the leader of this House, that our only course is to refuse to agree to the amendment made by the other House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I may mention that I have consulted with the Minister of Justice on this subject, and he informed me that his attention had not been previously called to it, and that he is satisfied that this House is right in its construction of the Railway Act.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Even across navigable waters, the Act shows how railway bridges shall be constructed, by clause 179. Clause 180 shows how the bridges are to be floored; clause 181 provides that plans of bridges, etc., are to be approved by the Governor in Council. All this implies that a bridge should be constructed under the General Railway Act, under the advice and approval of the Governor in Council—implying that it was intended under the General Act that bridges were matters belonging to the railway.

The motion was agreed to.

NORTH-WESTERN JUNCTION AND LAKE OF THE WOODS RAILWAY BILL.

COMMONS AMENDMENTS REJECTED.

The Order of the Day having been read, Consideration of amendments of the House of Commons to the amendments of the Senate to Bill (73), "North-Western Junction and Lake of the Woods Railway Company,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: This is precisely a similar case to the one which we have just considered, and I make a similar motion, for the same reason.

HON. MR. POWER—In this case it is the first amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; the first amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

HARBOR OF BELLEVILLE BILL.

COMMONS AMENDMENTS AGREED TO.

The Order of the Day having been called:

Consideration of amendment of the House of Commons to the amendments of the Senate to Bill (116), "Harbor of Belleville, Ontario,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The House will remember that when this Bill was before the Senate it was amended in several particulars. It required amendments in the schedule of tolls which were to be charged in the harbor, and as that was a money matter, not within the competence of this House, and it was obvious that the schedule ought not to be perpetuated, this House struck it out, and gave power to the harbor commissioners, who are to be created under this Act, to make a schedule of tolls subject to the approval of the Governor in Council. In the House of Commons it was imagined that there would be no tolls pending the making of the tariff by the commissioners created under the Act. I think that is more than questionable, because the Interpretation Act provides that where rules, orders or by-laws are made under any Act, and the Act is repealed and another is substituted for it, these incidental matters remain in force until new regulations are made. The House of Commons has provided that the old schedule shall remain in force until the new Act is brought into operation. Whether the amendment is necessary or not, it is in the right direction, and I think we may concur in that amendment, and move accordingly.

HON. MR. FLINT—It was through my instrumentality that the schedule was struck out in this House, with some other amendment. I thought I was only discharging my duty to the public, because the tolls on many articles were altogether too high, and I took pains since it was done to write an article on the subject and send it to the *Belleville Intelligencer*, showing how the Bill had been amended, and the reason for it. I received a letter since from the Mayor, saying that he wished the Bill should pass as it was. I wrote to him, saying that I could not see any reason why the rate should not remain as it is until the matter was settled according to the terms of the Bill as amended. They had a by-law under which they collected those tolls heretofore; that by-law was still in force; if not it would be very easy to pass a by-law, and allow the Bill to pass as it is. It was, I thought, out-

rageous to put in the same tolls as they had before.

The motion was agreed to, and the amendments were concurred in.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (M), "An Act to amend Chapter 45 of the Revised Statutes, respecting the North-West Mounted Police." He said: The clauses respecting money have all been struck out. As it is more a matter of discipline than anything else, in order to give it a stage perhaps hon. gentlemen will allow it to be read the second time, and I will explain it more thoroughly in detail when it comes before the Committee of the Whole. The first clause of the Bill has reference to commissioners who perform the duties of magistrates. The commissioners and the assistant commissioners are left without any judicial authority, because under the Act which created them and gave them powers in the North-West it was stated that they should have all the powers of a stipendiary magistrate. There is no longer a stipendiary magistrate, and therefore they have no longer any power. To meet this difficulty commissions were issued to them under the Dominion Police Act, which gave them the jurisdiction of two justices of the peace, and this clause appears to be for the purpose of giving that legislative sanction—that is to say, that the commissioner and assistant commissioner shall have the power of two justices of the peace in the North-West Territory. This clause extends a little the powers of those constables and police officers, making them peace officers all over the Dominion. As it was before, every constable was a peace officer all over the Dominion, and the amendment is merely giving the officers powers of similar extent.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Not over all Provinces?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think so. That was the law with respect to constables before, but the officers had no power beyond the Territories, and this merely

HON. MR. FLINT.

extends it to the officers. Section 2 of the Act, which amends section 1, is making the law clear upon a point on which it is thought there ought not to be very much doubt, but I would not presume here to make any question as to the correctness of the decision of the judge. However, I may say it was held that under the Act as it stood a constable could not make search for liquor unless he saw some liquor to justify his suspicion that there was some more, and that seemed to be so far from the true intent and meaning of the Act that this clause has been inserted in this Bill, for the purpose of making it clear that he has the right to search for liquor, even though he did not happen to see any before he commenced to search. The second sub-section I am not satisfied with, because I think there is danger of it having a retroactive effect, and when the Bill goes before the Committee of the Whole I will ask the House to amend it or strike it out altogether. The next clause relates to desertion. Sub-section 4 also refers to desertion. My hon. friend opposite has called my attention to an ambiguity here, which I shall ask the House to correct in Committee of the Whole.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.)—I would ask if the Government have heard complaints of the police searching the baggage of passengers? I have seen such complaints in the press. It is well known that on the train you can buy all the liquor you require, yet passengers, in whose baggage flasks have been found, have been subjected to rough usage. Not only has their baggage been searched on the train, but they have been followed to their boarding houses and subjected to rough treatment. Now, I believe when seizures are made in this way that the police constables use the liquor that they seize for their own purposes—it is not handed to the Government. Complaints of that kind have been common for a long time. If any means could be devised for allowing baggage to go free, I think it would be well to adopt them, because the passengers carry liquor in very small quantities, and not for the purpose of selling it. If they do not carry it, they can buy it on the train, and there is no reason why they should be subjected to

this annoying treatment from the police officers.

HON. MR. POWER—There are one or two other points in this Bill that seem to me to be open to criticism. I do not know why the commissioner or assistant commissioner should be authorized to exercise the powers given in this Bill in every Province of Canada. If, for instance, a commissioner of the Mounted Police happens to get astray in the Lower Provinces, why should he be authorized to exercise the powers of two justices down there? There are plenty of justices there already. It may be, in the wilds and lawless districts of British Columbia which adjoin the North-West Territories, something of the kind might be necessary which would not be required in the Lower Provinces. I thought it well to direct the attention of the leader of the House to these points, so that when the Bill comes into committee he will be prepared to deal with them. The fifth clause of this Bill adds these words at the end of section 25 of the Act that we are amending—"except that any complaint may be made or information laid, and proceedings may be had thereon at any time after the time when the matter of the complaint or information arose." That is to say, there shall be no statute of limitations as to offences against this Act. I think that is a doubtful policy indeed, and that it would be better to fix a limit when the Bill goes into committee.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The first criticism of my hon. friend to this Bill seems to have great force, that these commissioners are given the same power as two magistrates in other Provinces. It seems to be giving them power which no such official should have. It seems to be very sweeping, and it is not confined to the duties of their office, but extends to all criminal matters.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—With reference to what my hon. friend from British Columbia has said, I have heard some of the complaints which he speaks of as to rough treatment by the police. It is very much to be deprecated and condemned. It is certainly contrary to the rules of the force. Any man who is guilty of any rudeness, or unnecessary violence, or

unnecessary inquisitiveness, is decidedly subject to reprehension. I will call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the fact. It is a matter of discipline, not of enactment, and though such cases may not entirely disappear, I hope they will be much less frequent in future than they are said to have been. The provision as to extending the powers of officers seems to me to be very much on the same footing as extending the powers of constables. One important reason for extending the powers beyond the North-West Territories is this: that without them a deserter might simply cross the line into British Columbia or Manitoba, and he could set the officers of the force at defiance, until he had ample time to escape or conceal himself in such a way that all remedy would be impossible. I do not know that there is any necessity for putting it in such broad language as it is in this Bill, but on that subject I will consult the Minister. That I believe to be the real object of the clause; and a clause to which my hon. friend from Halifax also referred may be attributed to an attempt to attain a similar object. That may also be too wide, but the idea is this: it has been held in Manitoba more than once, that after the term of enlistment of a deserter expired no complaint could be made against him and he could not be punished for desertion. That is to say, if he deserted a year before his term expires, and he was caught a year and a day after he could not be punished. Now, that is not desirable, and the object of this amendment is to provide that the expiration of the term of enlistment shall not defeat an attempt to punish him for desertion. However, in that case also it is possible that a form of words might be found which would not be so extensive, and which would meet the circumstances.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (93), "An Act to amend the Post Office Act, Chapter 35 of the Revised Statutes of Canada." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (118), "An Act to authorize the granting of Pensions to Members of the North-West Mounted Police Force." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (4), "An Act further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 5, respecting the Electoral Franchise." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 4:20 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 18th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

EASTER ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved, that when this House adjourns to-day it do stand adjourned until next Tuesday, at three o'clock.

The motion was agreed to.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (117), "An Act further to amend the Customs Act, Chapter 32 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 3:35 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 23rd April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (Y), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting the North-West Mounted Police Force."

(In the Committee).

On the 1st clause,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—With reference to the first clause of this Bill, my attention was called to the extensive jurisdiction

conferred upon the officers of the police force, and I think, on consideration, that it is too extensive and should be restricted, and I propose to ask the House to so restrict it that the jurisdiction thus given to the officers of the Mounted Police shall only extend to the Provinces adjoining the North-West Territories.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Would it not be better to define the Provinces?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There may be a new Province created between Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and it would require to be included.

HON. MR. SCOTT—They have jurisdiction now in Keewatin, and Keewatin adjoins Ontario. It practically gives them jurisdiction in Ontario.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The object is to give officers authority to follow deserters and arrest them beyond the borders of the Territories. At present, if a deserter escapes beyond the borders of a Province the officer can have no jurisdiction.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Would not the words "adjacent to," as suggested by the hon. Minister give rise to a question hereafter? Would it not be better to say "adjoining?"

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is a little distinction, certainly, between the two phrases, but if the territory next to Manitoba is erected into a Province, Manitoba might be held to be an adjacent Province. It would be an advantage, in my opinion, to be so held, because some difficulty would exist in regard to Manitoba, although the territory between the North-West and Manitoba might be called a Province. It is all with the same object—to give facility for the arrest and punishment of deserters and fugitives from justice in this wild country, which is so thinly populated that it is almost impossible to follow a man once he escapes.

HON. MR. MILLER—I think the word suggested by the hon. gentleman from Amherst would be an improvement. "Adjoining," of course, is a plain term, and means the Province immediately alongside, whereas "adjacent to" may mean near to, not adjoining.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I would quite agree with my hon. friend if we intended strictly to restrict this jurisdiction to the Provinces which adjoin the North-West Territory, in the case, for instance, of our creating a Province between Manitoba and the North-West Territory. But I would rather that the language would be such that this jurisdiction would continue to extend to Manitoba after the new Province is created, because it is the same kind of territory; it is populated in the same way, and the boundaries would be hard to distinguish by persons flying from justice or the officers pursuing them. I would rather the jurisdiction would continue to extend to Manitoba after the intermediate Province was created.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I presume it would meet the views of the Minister to say "every Province west of Ontario."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend would see that that would destroy the effect of the clause as respects the northern portion of Ontario. Keewatin, as the hon. gentleman from Ottawa has pointed out, adjoins the northern portion of Ontario.

The clause was agreed to.

On the 2nd clause,

HON. MR. POWER—I think that the provisions of this clause will pretty effectually do away with the practical working of the theory that an Englishman's home is his castle. You allow an officer to break into a man's house even though there is no external evidence of any sort that liquor is to be found on the premises. I have no doubt that there are cases where the ends of the law are defeated because officers have not the power to break into a man's house on suspicion, but even though that may be a thing somewhat to be regretted, it would be much more regrettable that those constables should be allowed to break into people's houses promiscuously, on the suspicion that they may contain liquor. The average white man should have some rights which the Government are bound to respect.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am sure my hon. friend will sympathise with the object of this clause, and I do not think it has any such dangerous bearing as he ima-

gines. Nothing can be done under clause 13 of the Act, which is proposed to be amended by this, except upon information and upon reasonable grounds of suspicion. An hon. Justice who recently held office there held that an officer could not, under this clause, enter any place whatever, as authorized by this clause, unless he saw liquor—unless it was actually visible to the officer on the premises.

HON. MR. MILLER—The judgment was bad, and you are amending the law to suit a bad judgment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Judge Rouleau has rendered several judgments to that effect, and at present, under the jurisprudence which he has established, a constable cannot go into a house upon reasonable grounds of suspicion, unless he sees visible indication or evidence that liquor is contained on the premises.

HON. MR. MILLER—Would it not be the duty of the Government to bring one of those judgments up and have it tested in the Supreme Court? To an ordinary legal mind the judgment was wrong, and it would be better to have tested it in a court of superior jurisdiction than to amend the law to meet a bad judgment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Although my hon. friend and I, and every hon. gentleman who hears me, are satisfied that this judgment is wrong, all we could gain by sending a case to the Supreme Court is to have the judgment set aside and have the doubt removed, which would cost a good deal of time and money. This clause, which is merely an explanatory clause, without a retroactive effect—

HON. MR. POWER—The second subsection makes it retroactive.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not propose to make it retroactive. It is intended simply to show what the law is to be, so that there will be an authoritative explanation of it, without the expense and delay involved in bringing the matter before the Supreme Court, even if it could be done, for I am not sure that an appeal would lie to the Supreme Court from a decision of this sort. I have not looked into that question; I cannot say whether it is or not. But it does seem to me that

if there is, from the construction of the sentence, such ambiguity as to lead any court to hold what we did not intend should be held, it is much better to say what we intended and have done with it.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B.C.)—Could not travellers passing through the country be exempted from the operation of this clause? Travellers might have medical comforts with them which could be seized by a policeman.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive that it is not intended to alter that. That can only be done on information, or on reasonable grounds of suspicion. This amendment is only to remove the doubt created by Judge Rouleau's decisions, that you cannot search any place for liquor unless you see some indication of it. Now that seems very absurd.

HON. MR. DICKEY—My objection to this clause is that it is introducing a new principle of legislation altogether. I am not aware of any case, even in the case of a search warrant, in which a policeman is enabled to search a house unless on reasonable grounds of suspicion. The effect of this will be to enable a person to go into a house without any grounds whatever. He is not required to see anything, even; he is not required to have any visible indication or evidence. Now, if that is the case, we are introducing a new principle of legislation, and I am not aware of any precedent for it. If there be, it has escaped my notice, and I think we should not apply this principle for the first time, merely because it happens to suit a popular notion, or fallacy, as some people might consider it to be.

HON. MR. MILLER—I think the law as it stands at present on the Statute Book goes quite far enough, as it gives the police officers power to enter a house on reasonable suspicion. We know what reasonable suspicion would be in the estimation of such people as would be entrusted with the enforcement of this law. The Act might well be permitted to stand as it is. But what are you doing? You are taking away the slight restriction afforded by the law now, and giving absolute power to the officers—I do not know what class of men they are in

the North-West Territories, but I suppose they are much the same as such officers in other parts of the country, and they are not men to be entrusted with the power of entering a house and making search whenever they think proper, making a search on their own mere idea that there may be intoxicating liquors on the premises. The whole tenor of this legislation is against the liberty of the subject, and instead of extending the power I would rather curtail the law as it stands now.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think my hon. friends both fail to appreciate exactly the extent of the alteration. There is no provision here that a man may enter any place without information.

HON. MR. MILLER—Yes.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The provision still stands in the original Act, that he can only enter such places on information or reasonable ground of suspicion; we do not propose to alter that. The law says in the 13th section, to which this is appended, that the officer is given power to make this search only upon information or upon reasonable grounds of suspicion. He cannot approach a place to search it unless he has due information or reasonable ground of suspicion. Judge Rouleau has held that he can have no reasonable grounds for suspicion unless he sees before his eyes the liquor, or indications that liquor is kept there. That is what is held. Now, it is not proposed to repeal this first part of the clause, but it is intended to remove the difficulty which Judge Rouleau has started. The amendment does not repeal or alter the first part of the clause at all, but only provides that it shall not be necessary that the constable shall actually see the liquor.

HON. MR. ROSS—Suppose you see a man going into a house quite sober and coming out soon afterwards quite drunk—

HON. MR. POWER—That would be a visible indication.

HON. MR. ROSS—You would not see the liquor.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is the first clause which it is proposed to add to this,

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

and it will read thus: Upon information or reasonable ground of suspicion the officer may enter; and we add, "but it shall not be necessary, in order to a constable's lawful entry, that he should, before such entry or such seizure, see such liquor or intoxicating drink, or have visible indication or evidence that liquor is contained in or about the premises." I think this language is clear enough; the object of the clause is, that he shall not be obliged to see anything with his own eyes about the premises leading to this suspicion: that he may have reasonable suspicion and information without seeing, as my hon. friend suggests, a man going in sober and coming out drunk, or other visible indication that there is liquor in the house. It is to remove the fallacy that a man must see with his own eyes liquor in the house, and that otherwise he cannot be held to have a reasonable suspicion. The clause remains as it was before—that he must have information or reasonable ground for suspicion; but it is not necessary, to give him reasonable ground for suspicion, that he should see the liquor with his own eyes.

HON. MR. MILLER—The more the hon. member explains the amendment the more absurd it must appear to the House. The whole argument of the hon. gentleman is based on the fact that there have been one or two improper decisions by a puisné judge in the North-West Territories. Now, suppose that in every case throughout this Dominion where a magistrate or judge happens to misconstrue the law we were to amend the law to meet the case, where would legislation end? Still, that is the very foundation of the amendment which the hon. gentleman contends so strenuously for here now. The course would lead to the greatest absurdities in legislation, would lead to amendments to Acts being placed on our Book which would be in contradiction to those Acts, as this is in contradiction to the Act as it stands now. Though professing to be an enlargement of the Act, it would really be a contradiction to the terms of the Act.

HON. MR. PERLEY—I understand the difficulty in administering the law in the North-West is not in the finding of the liquor, but the judges' interpretation

of the permit system. I understand that he interprets the permit in this way: that any man having a permit is free from penalty for violation of the law. I think Judge Richardson administers the law this way: If I get a permit for two gallons of whiskey I must have the whiskey for my own purposes; but Judge Rouleau interprets it, that if I get a permit for two gallons I can hand that permit to anyone else, and it will cover two gallons of whiskey in that person's hands. Now, there is a great difficulty in administering the law, because when a man is found with liquor in his possession, and has a permit, the judge rules that unless he has more than two gallons in his possession he does not violate the law. I quite agree with the hon. gentlemen who have spoken, that it is not necessary to have any visible indication of liquor. I think it would be rather dangerous to give any class of men the right to search and ransack every man's house without some visible signs of liquor about it. If there is not any visible sign it is not very dangerous—there is not much difficulty or harm occurring from the use of liquor there. I know the merchants express very great dissatisfaction at the manner in which their packages are searched by the police for liquor. I remember hearing fault found with them at the time that Mr. Dewdney was nominated. My hon. friend from British Columbia (Mr. Macdonald) complained, the other day, of policemen entering the cars and ransacking the valises of passengers. It is the law that no man coming into that country can have liquor unless he holds a permit, and it is a law that the people there think should be enforced. No stranger passing through the country for a few days should be given rights and privileges which are denied to the people living in the country. Of late years, since law and order have been established in the country, the police do not interfere with passengers, as a general rule. I have noticed it myself, because I have taken pains for a couple of years to enquire into the circumstances, and I find that the police do not enter a car and search the passengers' valises unless there are visible signs that they carry liquor with them, and under such circumstances I think they would be justified in making a search. But to give them the privilege of going into

any man's house and ransacking it for liquor, without seeing some signs of liquor about the place, is power they should not possess, because personal enmity or jealousy might prompt a vindictive person to ransack a man's house, and it would be a slur on the man however innocent he might be, because it would appear that there was some reason for making a search. I think that there should be some visible sign of liquor about a place before the police are permitted to ransack it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—While I entirely agree with the criticisms of the hon. gentleman from Richmond of the proposed changes in the law, I feel that the whole law in the North-West is predicated on the assumption that prohibition is in force there, that it is absolutely illegal to have liquor in that country, and if the prohibitory liquor law had been properly enforced by the Government no liquor would be permitted in the North-West. The Government have violated the law by giving permits promiscuously. As the House is aware, the exception in that country is where liquor is not to be found. Any man can get a permit in the North-West, practically destroying the legislation of Parliament, because it was intended originally to carry out the principle of prohibition in the North-West Territories.

HON. MR. PERLEY—The hon. gentleman is wrong in saying that any man in the North-West can get a permit.

HON. M. SCOTT—I am informed that any man who has a friend at court can get a permit.

HON. MR. PERLEY—That is not so. A man must be of good moral standing, and not guilty of a violation of the law before.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It may be taken as assumed that all the people in the North-West are of good moral standing, and therefore the freedom with which permits have been granted is great. Liquor is very freely used in the North-West. People bring liquor into that country and sell it to those who have permits; therefore I am willing to entrust the police with very large powers, greater than I would entrust them with in any other part of the Dominion, to enable them to carry out the law. Although the principle of the clause is no

doubt wrong, still I am quite prepared to entrust the Government with any powers they may desire to possess in carrying out this prohibitory law.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I have been a great deal for a few years back, in the North-West, and I cannot agree with the hon. member from Ottawa when he says that almost anybody can get a permit, and that the exception is to find a house where liquor is not kept. I can tell him that in Calgary, which is reputed to be one of the worst places for liquor in the North-West, I have many a time seen people, workmen, too, offering \$5 for a bottle of liquor, and it could not be had. I think it is the exception where there is liquor to be had in that way. It is occasionally sold there, it is true, and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Mounted Police it is almost impossible to prevent the introduction of liquor into that country. Any friend of the cause of temperance ought to be willing to stretch the legislation a very great deal to give the Mounted Police force the powers necessary to suppress the liquor traffic in that country, for they are deceived and cheated at all points. The liquor sellers are in league with railway men and others, who will throw off kegs of liquors from the train five or ten miles from the stations, and the liquor is buried to prevent its discovery. The hon. member from Richmond spoke about the Mounted Police being very much the same as other police officers, and he thought it was dangerous to entrust such a class of men with those powers. I have seen a good deal of the Mounted Police in the last eight years, and I think they are rather a better class of men than you will find discharging such duties in almost any other part of Canada. As a rule, they are intelligent, able men, most of them men of education, and many of them gentlemen, and they will not, as a rule, try to be disagreeable or rude to people if they are not annoyed in the performance of their duty. That I know to be a fact, and as the hon. member from the North-West stated very properly, I have seen some years ago, when the road was first opened, the police enter the trains east of Regina and examine the baggage; but of late years I have not seen anything of the kind done. The police

simply walk through the car. I think the law is carried out with circumspection, and that the Mounted Police show a good deal of politeness and attention to the public. Those who are friendly to the cause of preventing liquor going into that country should vote for almost everything that will give the Mounted Police the necessary powers to prevent the introduction of liquor into the North-West. You cannot give them too much power, for those who will exceed their powers will be rare exceptions.

HON. MR. MILLER—Can you not get what liquor you want on the cars?

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I never could—I never tried. You could get wines or light beer, but I never saw spirit sold. They will give you port and sherry and beer, but I was told by the man in charge of the car that they never sold spirit of any kind. I am quite certain that there is no danger at all in giving the powers that are mentioned here to the Mounted Police to prevent the sale of liquor, and if they are deprived of the power of making a search where they have reasonable grounds to suspect liquor is sold, you might just as well allow liquor to be sold freely throughout the country.

HON. MR. PERLEY—I maintain that the Lieutenant-Governor has never granted a permit for the sale of liquor to a hotel man. That was the fixed rule of Mr. Dewdney, and Mr. Royal is following the same practice, as far as possible. The whole trouble is with those who sell liquors. I have never seen trouble caused by liquor kept by private citizens. The trouble is, under Judge Rouleau's decision, that a private citizen can get a permit and transfer it to a hotel man, who is thus enabled to violate the law.

HON. MR. McINNES—Is there no appeal from Judge Rouleau's decision?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not think there is any appeal by the Crown.

HON. MR. McINNES—Judge Rouleau decided that the permit covers the liquor, no matter to whom the permit was issued or by whom it is held.

HON. MR. ODELL—Is not each permit made out in a certain individual's name?

HON. MR. PERLEY—Yes; but Judge Rouleau holds that a permit is good in anybody's hands.

HON. MR. GIRARD—As the law for the prevention of the sale of liquors in the North-West Territories exists, it is the duty of the Government and of the members of this House to do all they can to have it rigidly executed. As I understand, the proposed amendment has become necessary in consequence of an improper interpretation of the law in force in the North-West Territories. I suppose the judges who have been called upon to give decisions have done so to the best of their judgment, but certainly they have not decided in the best interests of the country. The law remains in existence, but this judgment of Judge Rouleau renders it necessary that the Mounted Police should actually see the liquors before making a search. This clause renders it unnecessary that the liquor shall be actually seen. I do not see anything extraordinary in that, or any invasion of the rights of the subject. Anyone who wishes the prohibitory law to be enforced in the North-West will admit that it is nothing but right that the first information should be sufficient to give the right of search in any part of the Territories where liquors have been introduced. It should not be necessary to multiply the formalities and the difficulties before making a search. The law is not very popular in many parts of the Territories. We do not like that restriction, but at the same time the honest people there who decided in the past that prohibition was necessary are still decided to do what they can, not only to have the law strictly enforced, but to have it maintained for a long time in the Territories. Many people have left their old homes and settled in that country, and are progressing there, simply because that prohibitory law is in existence, and it is our duty to make the law operative as far as in our power lies. Under these circumstances, I have no hesitation in voting for the amendment.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I am much obliged to the hon. member for St. Boniface for recalling the attention of the House to the question that is really before us. If we were inaugurating this legislation; if

we were for the first time discussing the propriety or the right of search, and of issuing permits, and the abuse of permits, much that has been said would be important; but in my judgment we have not anything to do with much that has been talked of. The use or abuse of permits does not in any sense affect the Bill. There is one simple question before the House, and the more closely we confine our attention to that the more readily shall we come to a conclusion upon it. The law is so ambiguously framed that even a judge takes a different view of it from that supposed to be entertained by the Parliament which enacted the law. There is a difference of interpretation. I can easily understand lawyers saying: "There are the courts of law; if there is anything wrong in the ruling of the judge, appeal to a higher court and get it put right." But that involves a great deal of expense, especially when the case arises two or three thousand miles from here. It appears to me, if there is a simple way of remedying the difficulty—if it is a fact that the law is so worded that a judge does not interpret it correctly, let us make the law so plain that it cannot be misunderstood. That is a much easier way of getting rid of the difficulty than carrying a case from court to court, and more especially as it appears that there is no chance or opportunity to bring the matter before a higher court. Even if there were an opportunity, can there be a different view as to the propriety of getting rid of the difficulty in the simple way proposed, simply dealing, not with giving the right of search, but saying, in order for a constable to have a reasonable suspicion of liquor being unlawfully held that it shall not be absolutely necessary that he shall see the liquor there. That is the whole question before us. It is not extending the right already possessed; that right is there in the early part of the section, and all that is done, and very properly done, in the clause before us, is to remove a difficulty in the easiest and most practical way in which it can be met.

HON. MR. ROSS—My hon. friend from Richmond says that the amendment is absurd, and he does not see in the fact that the tribunals do not interpret the law, seemingly in accordance with the views

of those acquainted with it, any reason to amend the law or explain it. Well, I should like to know what we shall do in this case? Shall we demolish or destroy the tribunal? Shall we dismiss the judge, or shall we allow the law to be wrongly interpreted?

HON. MR. POWER—Appeal.

HON. MR. ROSS—Why should we appeal when we can explain the law in such a way that no appeal would be necessary. I should like my hon. friend to tell us what we ought to do in the present case. Up to the present time I have heard no good reason for opposing this amendment.

HON. MR. POWER—I should not care to use quite as strong language as has been used by the hon. gentleman from Richmond with respect to this amendment, but at the same time I am not satisfied by the reasons given by the leader of the House, and other hon. gentlemen who have spoken, that this amendment is a judicious one. I can readily understand that the department which has charge of the Mounted Police, in its anxiety to promote the cause of temperance in the North-West, is led to leave out of sight other interests. It is, no doubt, a most desirable thing that the consumption of intoxicating liquors in the North-West Territory should be limited. At the same time it is a desirable thing that the rights of every man who has a home in that part of the country should be respected; and when one comes to look at it, this legislation is something almost without parallel where the English language is spoken. The original Act says: "upon information or upon reasonable grounds of suspicion, and without the necessity of any intervention or process of law;" that is, that a policeman, because he has some reason which he may think a sufficient one to suspect that there is liquor in a man's house, is allowed to break into the house, and if he happens to find liquor there, to destroy it. The law does not even say that he should do it at reasonable hours. There is nothing in the law to prevent a policeman going to a man's house in the North-West in the middle of the night, upon the suspicion that he has a bottle of wine in the house, forcing his way in and

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destroying the wine. I think that the original law is unreasonable in the extreme. As a rule, men are not allowed to go into houses without search warrants or some warrants from a magistrate; but under this Bill a policeman can go in without any warrant or process of law whatever, and at any hour. Then, in order to make his right to enter clearer, this amendment provides that it shall not be necessary that there shall be any visible indication or evidence that liquor of any kind may be contained in or about the premises. It is not that liquor has been sold or consumed on the premises; but if a constable has a suspicion that a man has a bottle of wine in the house he has the right to go in. I think it is an exceedingly tyrannical and injudicious enactment. There is this other thing to be borne in mind: that while it is desirable that intoxicating liquor should not be sold in the North-West Territories, the people whom we expect to go in and settle in that country are not all of them prohibitionists. There are a great many of them people from England and Germany, who have been in the habit of drinking beer or wine, or possibly spirits; and if an Englishman, for instance, who has a choice between going to Dakota or into the North-West Territories, learns that in our North-West his house may be broken into at night by an officer without a warrant, if he suspects there is a keg of beer or bottle of wine there, that knowledge will have a tendency to cause such a man to decide in favor of Dakota. I think the hon. gentleman from Richmond has given a proper suggestion—that if a judge has given an improper decision then the remedy is to appeal from the decision, and not to amend the law to meet a bad judgment.

HON. MR. McINNIS (B. C.)—The proper remedy is to dismiss the judge, and put another who understands the law in his place.

HON. MR. POWER—This same judge has shown his utter ignorance of the fundamental principles of the construction of law when he says that one man can use a permit issued to another. I understand the hon. gentleman from Assiniboia to say that Judge Rouleau has so decided.

I do not say that this judge should be removed, but I think there should be an appeal taken from one or two of his decisions, and he should be shown that he is wrong. As to this practice of improving judgments by altering the law, I quite concur in what has been said by the hon. gentleman from Richmond.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I really confess myself unable to appreciate the weight of the arguments I have been hearing against this Bill. I should judge, from my hon. friend's argument, that he disapproves of the law as it stands.

HON. MR. POWER—Not altogether; but I think it goes too far.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If he does, there is another way of getting rid of the law as it stands. It would be very easy, if this House were of the opinion of my hon. friend, and the other House were of the same opinion, to repeal this clause. But we are not now altering the clause; we are not making it worse than it was before. The law still stands that a constable may enter a man's house on suspicion, and there is no limitation as to the hour. We are not removing any limitation as to the hour. We are not creating any of the hardships which the hon. gentleman talks of; the law is on the Statute Book, and we are not going to alter it. My hon. friend seems to think that this judge's opinion is wrong—that is, that it is essential to a reasonable suspicion that the police officer must see the liquor. That is the whole point that this amendment is intended to cover. Is it essential or is it not, in order to have a reasonable suspicion that liquor is concealed in a house, that the man who entertains that suspicion should have some visible evidence of the liquor or some visible indication of it? An indication is, as my hon. friend behind me said, that a man was seen to go into that house sober and come out drunk; but, as a rule, where search is made only on suspicion, the officer cannot see the liquor; he is not allowed to see the liquor; it is concealed somewhere, and he cannot see it. I think it would be a very unusual thing if, according to the literal reading of the law, the Crown could appeal from a summary conviction to the Supreme Court. Even if it could, I should

say it would be an extraordinary thing for the Crown to do. I am not aware that it is usual for the Crown to do it, and I cannot see exactly how it is to be done.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not understand the hon. gentleman from Richmond to suggest that; he said the proper way to meet a bad decision is by appeal.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The appeal could only be by the Crown.

HON. MR. POWER—Not necessarily.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If the Crown is defeated the appeal could only be by the Crown. It is contended that a man cannot have any reasonable suspicion that there is liquor in the house unless he sees the liquor. My hon. friend must certainly admit that that is an absurd proposition. There may be a hundred circumstances which indicate to an officer that probably there is liquor concealed in a house, without his absolutely seeing it, or any direct or visible indications of the existence of the liquor. I do not think there are any appeals to the Supreme Court from such decisions, but there is an appeal to the local courts provided by the Act, on notice in writing, within ten days after the conviction. In this case it is not the complainant who wants to appeal. If it were customary, or expedient, or possible for the Crown to appeal, there does not seem to be any machinery by which to enable the Crown to appeal. I have not looked into the question, and I am not prepared to say at the moment that the Crown cannot appeal to the Supreme Court. But I believe it cannot. But supposing it could appeal, where is the advantage of that process over this? As was remarked a moment ago, there is sufficient ambiguity in the language of the Act to lead a judge of the court, not a mere uneducated, untrained justice of the peace, but a trained lawyer and judge, to hold a doctrine which I think will be admitted is an absurd one. My hon. friend from Assiniboia rather leaned to that idea, that there ought not to be any search unless the officer sees a sign of liquor being in the premises. In order to make that clear, what simpler mode is there than by saying that the officer may search only upon information or reasonable suspicion

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—that it shall not be an essential, in order to create that reasonable suspicion, that he saw the liquor; and that is all this amendment says. The rejection of this amendment would not make the position described by the hon. gentleman from Halifax any better? It would not prevent the officer from going in to make a search if he had a reasonable suspicion, but it would prevent any person who did not administer the law from destroying the effect of this search, and for making persons responsible for searches which they were authorized to make under the law. I hope the hon. gentleman will not suppose that this amendment removes the principle that there must be a reasonable ground for suspicion; it only goes so far as to say that it need not be an essential element that the constable must see the liquor itself, or any visible indication of its being there, on which to base his suspicion.

HON. MR. DICKEY—That is only one part of it: any visible indication, "or evidence."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If my hon. friends desire it, I will strike out the words "or evidence." "Visible indication" is sufficient.

HON. MR. POWER—What does the hon. gentleman think about the word "may," in line 31? I should think it ought to read, "or have any visible indication or evidence that liquor of any kind is contained in or about the premises."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is the ordinary form of expression. I think "may be" is quite as good as to say "is." These are verbal criticisms that I attach no importance to whatever. The only idea I wish to embody in this Bill is that it is not necessary that a constable shall see liquor in order that he may have a reasonable suspicion or information that liquor is on the premises. As to the form of words in which that shall be expressed, I am quite willing, as I always am, to submit to the better judgment of the House. If my hon. friend from Amherst prefers to have the words "or evidence" struck out, and my hon. friend from Halifax wishes to have the word "is" substituted for the words "may be," I have not the slightest objection.

HON. MR. MILLER—I do not think it will make any difference.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I mentioned that I propose to strike out the sub-section.

HON. MR. MILLER—What I object to is the passing of a law to meet a wrong decision of a judge.

The clause, as amended, was agreed to.

On section 3,

HON. MR. GIRARD—I would like some explanation of this clause: "Every member of the force who, having deserted, absented himself from his duties without leave, or refused to do duty therein, is found in any part of Canada other than the North West Territories, whether the term for which he engaged to serve has or has not expired at the time of his being so found, shall, on conviction thereof be liable etc. Should he not be as liable to punishment when found in the North-West Territories as in any other part of Canada?"

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think my hon. friend has a great deal of reason in what he asks. I presume, however, that the law already provides for it, but I will take a note of the question, which is very pertinent. I think it is probable that there is a provision in the original Act relating to it, and I will be prepared to address myself to that point on the third reading.

The clause was allowed to stand.

On section 5,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The hon. gentleman from Halifax called my attention to this clause when the Bill was read the second time. The Summary Convictions Act provides a limit as to informations to within twelve months after the matter of the complaint or information arose, and I think it is about being altered to a shorter period. This clause provides that complaint may be made or information laid at any time after the matter of complaint or information arose. Although in this particular case it is really necessary to give a very considerable degree of latitude, I think it is too great a latitude to say that information may be laid at any time, because a man might have established himself in the world, and become a steady, respectable and law-abiding citizen, and twenty years after the offence he might

be hauled up by some malignant person, or some enemy, and punished, so that I think it is going a great deal too far. At the same time, it must be observed that a deserter who leaves the country and conceals himself beyond the jurisdiction of any tribunal which can try him, and does not come back until he thinks his offence has been forgotten, should not escape so easily from the penalty for his offence; but I propose to put a limit to it, and one somewhat longer than the Summary Convictions Act provides. I have discussed the matter with the Minister and the Superintendent of Police, and the idea which has occurred to us all is, if we were to limit the time to a certain period beyond the term of his engagement it would be a just thing to do. Of course, as long as his engagement lasts he is always a deserter if he does not return. But there should be some term beyond which the offence terminates, and that should be a period beyond the term of his engagement. If he goes to a foreign country there ought to be some period after his return in which information may be laid. I propose to say that he may be informed against any time within twelve months after the expiration of his term of service; but if he leaves the country during that term, then within twelve months after his return.

HON. MR. PERLEY—That would prevent him from returning.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—He ought not to be allowed to stay away until his term expires, and then return at pleasure, without liability to punishment.

HON. MR. ODELL—What is done with the liquor after it is seized?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is destroyed.

HON. MR. ODELL—Is there any penalty for the transfer of those permits from one party to another, for it appears to me that that is one of the great difficulties to be contended with in the working of the Act in the Territories? If a permit is given in the name of an individual, and that individual can hand it over to others, it seems to me that the law is rendered nugatory. Permits under such circumstances may be made a matter of sale between individuals, and carried about

from one portion of the Territory of another.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The question does not arise under this Bill, but I understand that a permit is an absolutely personal thing. It is only a piece of waste paper in the hands of any person else but the party to whom it is issued.

HON. MR. POWER—But Judge Rouleau has held that a permit is transférable.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have not heard of it before, if that is the case.

The clause was agreed to.

On the 6th clause,

HON. MR. GIRARD—I see that the penalty imposed for offences under the 4th section is the same under all circumstances, imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding six months. There is no alternative. A person may innocently take part in assisting a member of the force to desert, or he may, out of kindness of heart, assist in concealing him, and he would be liable to the same punishment as a person who willingly and knowingly aided in the desertion. I think it would be better to leave it to the discretion of the judge to punish by fine, when the offence has not been committed with the intent to abet a crime.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This clause has formed part of the law for many years with reference to the militia. It is copied *verbatim* from the Militia Act, and I do not know that it has created any injustice. Of course, a man would not be convicted if he helped a deserter to get away without knowing he was doing so. In this offence it is an essential element that the party should know that he is doing an unlawful act.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I do not agree with the hon. gentleman from St. Boniface at all. When a person assists a man to desert he can only be punished, as a rule, by imprisonment. A fine is no punishment at all to a man of means, while it might be a very serious punishment to a poor man. I do not think there is any fair play in the suggestion of my hon. friend, and I would not object to having any change made from what it is at pre-

sent. If a man is guilty of inducing a soldier to desert he ought to go to gaol.

HON. MR. REESOR—I would like the Minister to explain what will be the effect of striking out sub-section 2 of clause 2. Section 2 is a sort of interpretation of the law as it exists, and is retroactive in its effect.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This clause was intended apparently by the draughtsman to compel the interpretation of the law in conformity with this clause in any case that began before this Act passed. It is retroactive in its effect. I do not think that is a good principle; if we put anything important into a Bill it should only apply from the time of its enactment.

HON. MR. CHAFFERS, from the committee, reported the Bill with certain amendments.

The amendments were concurred in.

THE POST OFFICE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (93), "An Act to amend the Post Office Act, Chapter 35 of the Revised Statutes of Canada." He said: This Bill deals with a number of details in connection with the post office, about the greater part of which there will be no discussion. It makes a change in respect of the fee on registered letters in Canada; it does not appear to make any change as respects registered letters going elsewhere, but on those passing in Canada there is a provision, that instead of 2 cents, which is uniform at present, the Postmaster-General is authorized to arrange to settle what the charge shall be, not exceeding 5 cents; but the weight of letters which may be sent for 3 cents according to the former tariff is doubled. Letters weighing an ounce may be transmitted now in place of half an ounce, to which they were previously restricted. There is a change also in the case of what are called local or drop letters. The weight is increased to an ounce, instead of half an ounce, as they were before, and the rate on drop letters in towns, where there is a delivery by carrier at the residence or office of the citizen, is fixed at

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2 cents. If the letter is addressed to the post office the rate is only 1 cent, as before. The extra cent is to pay for the delivery of local letters by the carrier. These are the only two important changes that I perceive in the Act. There are various provisions for increasing the facilities respecting parcels sent by post. There are some restrictions, the same as in the United States and in England, respecting the transmission of obscene literature, bogus money, and that sort of thing. All these are details not involving any principle which will not be better discussed in committee.

HON. MR. POWER—The feature of this Bill which is most objectionable is the increase of the registration fee. I suppose that most people would not object to increasing the registration fee from 2 cents to 3 cents; but the increase to 5 cents, it appears to me, is too great. That increase will be calculated to discourage registration, and in that way the department will not get the additional revenue from this source which is expected; and people who wish to send valuables or small sums of money through the mail will adopt other means of sending them. The absence of cheap registration will be a serious inconvenience, and a cause of occasional loss to poor people, who are accustomed to send small sums of money by registered letter. Then, again, I understand that in some of the Provinces the law requires that notices of taxation and other official notices shall be sent by registered letter; and it seems to me that to charge a registration fee of 5 cents on a notice of that kind is anything but an improvement. As to the increase in the weight of letters allowed to be sent, I think that is a very decided advantage; and, with regard to the additional charge for drop letters which are delivered, it is not an unreasonable thing, because the additional expense of delivery justifies that addition to the rate. On the other hand, I think it is to be regretted, when the Government undertook to alter the Post Office Act to such a degree as they have done, that they did not adopt the rate which has been adopted in the United States—a rate of 2 cents instead of 3. I do not complain that the present rate is high, but it

is desirable that the rate should be uniform with the rate of the United States. I am told that in a great many places along the border it is a common practice for parties to cross the border and mail their letters in the United States for points in Canada, with a view of saving the difference in the cost of the postage stamps. I believe that practice prevails to a very considerable extent, and the consequence is that Canada carries those letters, and does not get the whole revenue, as it ought to do. This Bill is just one of those measures which we cannot amend here, but I must express my regret at the great increase made in the registration fee.

HON. MR. PELLETIER—The observation made by the hon. gentleman from Halifax ought to attract the attention of the Government. In the Province of Quebec many notices, by law, have to be registered, and there certainly should be a distinction made between such letters and money letters, because in a great many cases it would be a hardship to have such notices—insolvency notices, for instance—registered at 5 cents each. If it were possible to make a distinction that only registered money letters should bear the registration fee of 5 cents, and official notices should bear the ordinary registration fee, it would be better.

HON. MR. MILLER—We cannot interfere with the regulations of the Postmaster-General.

HON. MR. CLEMON—I am sorry that it is considered necessary to increase the rate on drop letters delivered by carriers at people's residences. It will interfere very seriously with business in cities. A party living in Montreal, for instance, addresses a letter to Ottawa, and it is delivered by the carriers to the address of the party for 3 cents; whereas, a letter dropped in the post office here and delivered in the city has to pay 2 cents postage. The difference in the rate is too great in proportion to the service rendered. The intention of the Government in making this change is to increase the revenue, but I fear very much that it will not have the effect they anticipate. I think registration should be encouraged as much as possible, to prevent loss of letters pass-

ing through the mails. If registration were made as cheap as possible there would be fewer losses of valuable letters. I suppose the Government, after having taken all these matters into consideration, have brought in this Bill with the intention of increasing the revenue; but in those days, when people look to reductions instead of increases, I question very much if it will have the effect that is desired of it. I see that it is left to the discretion of the Postmaster-General, and upon further examination I trust he will find that it is not advisable to increase the registration fee to 5 cents. I see also that the Postmaster-General is to have discretionary power in respect to the registration by the post office officials of letters unquestionably containing money or other valuable enclosures when posted without registration by the senders, and imposing a charge on delivery for such registration. Another objectionable matter is that letters which are not prepaid at all are sent back to the dead letter office, causing in a great many instances delays and difficulties that I think might be overcome. It would be far better if those letters were forwarded to their destination.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—So they are.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—No; that is only when they are partially paid. If there is no postage at all the letter must be sent to the dead letter office, often entailing great delay and difficulty. It would be far better to forward the letter and impose a penalty in the shape of increased postage.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend perceives that the man who mails a letter without stamping it can hardly be supposed to do so unconsciously. He does it wilfully, and if my hon. friend's suggestion was complied with people would mail their letters and leave their correspondents to pay the postage. That is not the intention of the system. The reason for the other provision, which is a decided improvement on the present system, is, that a man may, through ignorance, put too small an amount of stamps on the letter, and in that case it is to be forwarded.

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HON. MR. CLEMOW—That is the law now.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; now, if a letter is partially paid it goes to the dead letter office, but this law makes an express provision that if there is part payment a letter will be forwarded to destination.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the law at present is considered unreasonable, and sometimes is not carried out by the Department.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—As to registration the law does not fix the rate at 5 cents, but it gives the Postmaster-General power to charge that rate on registered letters.

HON. MR. REESOR—Five cents, in addition to the 3 cents postage?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes. Our rate is much lower than it is in other countries, and the rate, even at 5 cents, will be lower than it is in the United States. The rate in that country is 10 cents, and you may register anything, any foreign parcel. The present registration fee in Canada is 2 cents for a letter within the Dominion and 5 cents for a letter outside of the Dominion. The only difference that this amendment will make is in the registration fee on letters the destination of which is within the Dominion, and that rate will be only one-half the rate in the United States and the same rate as the registration fee in England.

HON. MR. DICKEY—My hon. friend has correctly stated the regulations with regard to registered letters. The rate is 2 cents within the country and 5 cents on a letter which crosses the Atlantic. The very obvious reason for the latter is, that it involves the keeping of accounts with post offices in another country, and for that reason we have adopted a higher registration fee. When it comes to dealing with other countries, we proceed under the international postal arrangements, and the registration fee is 5 cents. That is all right, but it applies to an entirely different condition of things; by this legislation we reduce ourselves to this absurdity, that we provide the same registration fee for letters inside the country and letters outside of the country. I think the legislation will prove itself to be inconsistent. With regard to the rate of 2 cents

on drop letters: from whatever quarter of the Dominion a letter comes the postage is 3 cents, and it is delivered; yet we are now proposing a law which obliges a person to pay on a drop letter the same postage that he would have to pay to send that letter over the broad face of this continent. Therefore, I think it is inconsistent. It is said in England they charge 2 cents for delivering a letter. That is quite true, but to be consistent we ought to adopt the English penny postage. We have not yet got to that point. If we adopt the 2 cents rate for a drop letter we should certainly carry that out logically to its conclusion, and introduce the penny postage system, and make it uniform throughout the country. If we are so enamoured with the penny postage we should be consistent, and allow it to extend to a wider area. The charge would be the same for delivering a letter dropped in the city to any part of the city that is charged now for carrying a letter from San Francisco and delivering it.

HON. MR. MILLER—I do not think there is any reason to complain of the rate on drop letters. The population of cities in this country which have a free delivery is not large, in comparison with that of the villages and small towns which have not free delivery, and I do not see why those places which have free delivery should not pay for it. In country towns, where we have no free delivery, we have to get our letters ourselves, and I see no reason why the rest of the country should pay for the absolutely free delivery of drop letters in large centres of population. With regard to the registration fee, I am rather in accord with my hon. friends who oppose the increase. I think it is a pity that the fee should be raised higher than it is now. It will have an injurious effect. It will induce people who have small sums to remit to neglect registering altogether, and we know what that leads to. It is a temptation to the clerks in the post offices to tamper with those letters, and therefore I think it is a pity that the Postmaster-General has thought it necessary to increase the registration fee. However, a discretionary power is given to him, and it is to be hoped that, in the exercise of that power, he will make the charge as light as possible

—that he will not go to the maximum rate. Of course, those subjects, though they can be discussed in this House, are not matters under our control, and we cannot make an improvement in the Bill such as we would like. My sole objection to the Bill is the increase in the registration fee. Of course, it is very different from the Bill as introduced into the House of Commons by the Minister, and I hope when he comes to exercise his discretion with regard to the registration fee that the expressions which have fallen from members of the other House, as well as from members of the Senate, will have some influence with him in moderating this fee to the smallest possible dimensions.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I quite concur in the opinion of the hon. member from Richmond that the Bill is improved, but I know in small towns many persons send their money in small sums to their friends, and if this large fee of 5 cents is demanded it will probably lead people to neglect registering at all, and many letters, in consequence, will never reach their destination. It seems to be an anomaly that while the rate of postage in this country is 3 cents, letters mailed in the United States are carried, not only through that country, but also from one end of this country to the other, for a rate of 2 cents. That seems to be so inconsistent that it should be remedied. The increase in the registration fee will have an injurious effect in some parts of the country. There are many societies whose letters must be registered, and it will be quite a tax on those societies if they are obliged to pay 5 cents for the registration of each letter. It will be an onerous tax, and will fall largely on the industrial classes of the community.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—I quite agree with my hon. friend. I think the people in the rural portions of the country are those who will be most affected by this legislation. Many are obliged to send by mail their subscriptions to newspapers, say from \$1 to \$1.50, and it is a large tax to oblige them to pay 5 cents for registration and 3 cents for postage. It is too large a percentage to pay on a subscription of a dollar. The consequence will be that many will risk the dollar without registra-

tion, and thus temptation will be offered to the clerks in the post offices to tamper with the letters. From the general expressions that we have had on this point, it will probably have a good effect, and the Postmaster-General will understand that the general feeling is in favor of cheap registration, because it really affects the poor more than the rich. The people in the cities and towns have banks and other means by which they can forward their money; and, in fact, it is cheaper and better than buying a post office order for a large amount.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—You can buy a post office order for 2 cents to remit \$1 or \$1.50.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—It is not convenient in most country places to get a post office order, as the money order offices are often a long distance from them. This registration fee added to the postage is a considerable item, especially when we consider the Post Office Department is not obliged to refund money taken from a registered letter.

HON. MR. REESOR—I would suggest to the hon. Minister that it would be much better, if it is found to be the feeling of this House (and I believe it was strongly manifested in the other House) that 5 cents for registration is too high, to have the Bill amended, than to leave the fixing of the rate to the discretion of the Postmaster-General.

HON. MR. MILLER—We cannot amend it.

HON. MR. REESOR—We could have a conference with the other House.

HON. MR. DICKEY—My objection is to making the registration fee 5 cents on a letter from one part of the country to another, the same as the registration fee on a letter to a foreign country, within the international postal union. I think the purposes of the Government might be answered if they would leave the registration on foreign letters as it stands. They do not propose to disturb that, I understand, and they should make the registration fee within the Dominion smaller than it would be to another country. That purpose would be subserved by increasing

the rate to 3 cents on letters within the country.

THE SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman from Richmond has expressed exactly what I feel very strongly on the question of registration, namely, that it would be a tax upon a large number of people who can ill-afford to pay the extra postage. On the other hand, it would be an inducement, I think, to very many of them to refrain from registering, and in that way throw a temptation in the way of post office officials that I have often heard most strongly complained of by the postmasters. People are much too apt, as it is, to send small sums in letters without registering. A postmaster, who has taken a good deal of trouble in examining into such matters, told me that he could always tell, however carefully a letter was folded, if there was money in it. He says that a man who is accustomed to it can invariably tell by feeling a letter whether it contains money or not, and to increase the rate of registration, as proposed, would be to throw a temptation in the way of post office officials. I am aware, from my experience in the office with which I am connected, that a large number of settlers in the back country, at certain seasons of the year, when payments become due, send them in registered letters, in amounts varying from \$5 to \$10. If these people had to pay 5 cents in addition to the postage every time they forwarded money, though it may seem a small sum to us, many of these people would consider it a great deal, and I do earnestly hope that representations will be made to the Government to reconsider this matter, because I think it will be found to be a very heavy tax on poor people.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I presume that my hon. friend from Richmond stated the rule correctly, that it is not in our power to amend this Bill. Nevertheless, the opinion of the Senate must have great weight with the Government in a matter of this or any other description. The opinion against the large increase of the registration fees within the Dominion has been so strongly expressed that I have no doubt whatever that it will produce its effect when the Minister comes to exercise the discretion which the Bill gives him as

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to fixing the registration fee. I have no doubt it will be within his power to fix a different rate for registration within the Dominion from that on letters going outside of the Dominion. The present fee on letters to countries outside of Canada is 5 cents; the only alteration would be in the Dominion. I need hardly assure the House that my colleagues, and especially the Postmaster-General, will be made aware of the almost universal feeling of this House that the registration fee on letters within the Dominion should not be largely increased.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE PENSION BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (118), "An Act to authorize the granting of Pensions to Members of the North-West Mounted Police Force." He said: Hon. gentlemen who read this Bill will, no doubt, themselves perceive at a glance its object. It is, in a few words, to hold out an inducement to good men to remain in the police force. At present the pay is not large and there is a very prevalent disposition to leave. There are many temptations in the way of men in the North-West Territories and the adjoining country, occasionally offered by public works where large wages are paid. Even in our own country there is often a pressure for laborers, as was the case in connection with the Manitoba Southern Railway a year ago, and large wages—double, treble or quadruple the wages that these men receive—are offered. There are also temptations in the way of gold mining, and all sorts of industrial objects, especially speculative ones, from time to time, and they tempt the men away from the force. It has been found impracticable to altogether prevent them leaving the force, and a system, although not made the subject of a public order, has been adopted, where a man is determined to go to let him go under certain conditions, and this privilege has been largely availed of. Now, what is proposed here is to put the force very largely on the footing of the Irish constabulary.

There is a small pension provided for men after fifteen years' service, and it is larger after twenty-five years' service. The scale of these pensions is mentioned in the Bill. There are several details for the carrying out of the Act and a number of precautions to prevent its being abused, but that is the principle of the Bill—the establishment of a pension list for the members of the police force as an inducement to them to remain in it, and to conduct themselves properly while they are in it.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House, on Thursday next.

HON. MR. DICKEY—I wish to make a remark on this Bill which, perhaps, I would not be permitted to make if the Bill went to committee. My hon. friend has adverted to the precedent of the Irish constabulary. We know that pensions prevail to a very large extent in England and throughout the United Kingdom, but the question for us to decide now is whether we will commence to establish this objectionable system in Canada. Whether further inducements are necessary to get parties to enroll themselves in the Mounted Police is a question that I am not prepared to answer so well as the Minister, but it seems to me, if remuneration is to be the inducement, it would be far better that it should come in the shape of increased pay than to introduce a system of pensions, where it is more objectionable and more indefensible than it is in almost any other case, for this reason: a person goes into this force and has his fixed term of duty. At the end of that time he can go about his business and employ himself in any way he likes, whereas under the provisions for superannuation in the civil list you are dealing with parties who are going on from year to year, sometimes earning a service of 30, 40 and approaching 50 years. There is, perhaps, a strong argument that at that period these persons should not be turned adrift without something like support for the remainder of their lives, but with regard to this particular service of the Mounted Police, I think it is unfortunate to select it as the one on which to found this objectionable system.

of pension. I say that deliberately, because I am quite aware of the feeling against it in England; but the difficulty they have is this: they say it has been commenced, they have the precedent and cannot go back, that they must go forward. Now we are proposing to commence, and I think it is unfortunate that in the case of the Mounted Police we are called upon to adopt a system which I think possibly the House and the Government may regret hereafter. It is a precedent which will, no doubt, be pressed on the notice of the Government and Parliament, to be followed hereafter in other cases.

HON. MR. REESOR—Did I understand the hon. Minister that the police have to serve a number of years before they are entitled to any pension?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Fifteen years.

HON. MR. MILLER—I know the public opinion of this country is very much opposed to granting pensions. It is a system that, while it prevails to a very large extent in the mother country, should not be introduced here, unless under the most justifiable circumstances. We have the system to some extent under the name of superannuation; you cannot call the superannuation of a public servant anything but a pension. We have it here, and we are not introducing it for the first time. My own opinion is, after some reflection on the subject, and paying attention to the debates elsewhere on it, that if there are any circumstances and if there is a case under which pensions or superannuations should be granted it would be just in the one that is before us. The Mounted Police are virtually a small standing army; their pay is not large, and men who enter into such strict obligations as to discipline as they do, and yield up their liberties for so long a period of their lives, must be offered some inducement when their service is done, that they will be provided for in after years when they become incapacitated for any other duty. I look upon the system here simply as a system of pension which is granted to soldiers after the expiration of their period of service. I have no doubt it would be difficult to get the right sort of men to serve in the Mounted Police for the money which is paid them, and I think

it is very desirable that an inducement for good conduct and faithful service should be held out in the way of a pension, such as is provided for in this Bill. I have come to this conclusion after giving the subject some thought, and while I am as strongly opposed to the introduction of pensions as anyone, and while I think we have gone too far in the direction of superannuation, still I have no hesitation in supporting the pension that is contemplated by this Bill.

The motion was agreed to.

FRANCHISE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

The Order of the Day being called—“Second reading Bill (4), ‘The Electoral Franchise Amendment,’ Chapter 5 of the Revised Statutes.”

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: I regret to say that I have not been able to master the details of this Bill in such a manner as to present it to the House satisfactorily to myself, and unless hon. gentlemen are disposed to give it a stage, and allow me to explain it in committee, I prefer to let it stand until to-morrow.

HON. GENTLEMEN—Go on!

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Bill be read the second time.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

SUMMARY CONVICTIONS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

COMMONS AMENDMENTS CONCURRED IN.

The Order of the Day being called—“Consideration of amendments made by the House of Commons to Bill (O), ‘The Summary Conviction Act,’ Chapter 178 of the Revised Statutes, and Acts amending the same.”

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The amendments which were made by the House of Commons to this Bill are not of special importance. It appears that the sub-section added to the 61st section of the Statutes is sufficiently provided for by Section 5, which was inserted by this House. On a comparison of section 5, inserted here with, sub-section 2, which

HON. MR. DICKEY.

forms part of section 2 of the Act, the Minister of Justice is of opinion that section 5 covers the whole point of making a warrant of commitment applicable to all sorts of cases in an adjoining district, while under the existing Act it was only applicable to the judicial districts in which the magistrate lived or had jurisdiction. That is the evil that we were desirous of remedying. While the House was in committee another section was added, at the suggestion of Mr. Mowat—section 5. Upon careful examination of the Bill and comparison of the law as it stands, it is found to be unnecessary to retain sub-section 2 of section 2; therefore, the House of Commons struck it out. I have compared the Bill with the law, and I perceive that clause 5 will answer every purpose intended. Then there is another amendment, with reference to the time in which a complaint may be laid. The clause which was passed by the House of Commons struck out clause 11 of the Summary Convictions Act, which required an information to be laid within a certain time, and made this provision: if no time is specially limited for laying a complaint or information the complaint or information shall be laid within six months from the time when the matter for complaint or information arose. That period of six months is thought to be very well for portions of the country, but not at all sufficient for other portions, and I therefore propose an addition to that amendment to extend the period in certain portions of the Dominion, while leaving the period of six months in force for all the rest of the Dominion. I move:

That the second amendment be agreed to, with the following amendment, by adding to the end thereof the following words: "Except in the North-West Territories, and in that part of the County of Saguenay which extends from Portneuf, in the said county, to the eastward as far as the limit of Canada, including all the islands adjoining thereto, where within which such complaint may be made, or such information may be laid, shall be extended to twelve months from the time when the matter of the complaint or information arose."

With the exception, therefore, of the North-West Territories and that portion along the Gulf mentioned in the amendment, the time will be as fixed by the House of Commons; as respects those two portions of the Dominion, the time will be twelve months instead of six months. I

presume the House will make no objection to accepting the amendment passed by the House of Commons, provided this addition be made to it.

HON. MR. POWER—Does not the hon. gentleman think that certain portions of British Columbia might be excepted, as well as the North-West Territories? There is a large portion of British Columbia very thinly peopled, and the distances are very great.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The railway runs through the Province.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes; but there is a large portion of the territory running north towards the Skeena River which ought to be excepted as well as the Saguenay.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—For six months in the year there is no communication at all north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, while in British Columbia there is at all times of the year a railway running through the Province.

HON. MR. POWER—I am not going to object to the amendment, but there are two theories about amending. The one which seems to be adopted now as a permanent thing by Parliament is, that if it is desired to change a single word in a section of an Act the whole section is repealed, and then re-enacted with the one word changed. If this amendment had been to substitute the word "six" for "three" in the 11th section of the Summary Convictions Act it would not be necessary to make the amendment which we propose to make here, because the provision which the hon. gentleman proposes to add to the end of the Commons amendment is contained in section 11 of the Summary Convictions Act.

THE SPEAKER—The question is now on the amendment of the Hon. Mr. Abbott.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. POWER—I should like to hear from the hon. gentleman from British Columbia on that point. There has been, as the leader of the House knows, difficulty in the extreme northern portion of British Columbia within a short time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Six months is long enough in British Columbia, because the Province is traversed by a railway which runs the whole year round.

HON. MR. POWER—There are hundreds and hundreds of miles to the north of the Province where there is no railway.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; but there are roads, but in the country north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence that I have referred to there is no possibility of reaching it, except by water.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill (139), "An Act further to amend the Inland Revenue Act, Chapter 34 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (137), "An Act further to amend the General Inspection Act, Chapter 99 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (138), "An Act respecting a Loan therein mentioned to certain Mennonite Immigrants." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 5:40 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 24th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY.

MOTION.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE moved:

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General; praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House, a copy of each and all of the proofs taken by the Honorable the Minister of Justice and the Honorable the Secretary of State on the 10th and 11th of December, 1886, at the time of their visit to the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul, and also copies of all entries made at the time of this visit and in the course of the inquiry then made by these honorable gentlemen, according to the statements made by the Honorable the Minister of Justice in the House of Commons on the 16th of April instant. And, in particular, copies of the statements made and of the charges laid by the Honorable Jos H. Bellerose on the first of the two days above mentioned.

He said: I regret exceedingly to be obliged to again refer to the question of

our unfortunate penitentiary. Last year, when I occupied so much of the time of the House on the subject, I thought I had settled the matter, by giving a history of the facts, supported by the evidence, to show that every one of my statements was true—I thought then that every intelligent, honest and respectable man would do as I did, drop the subject altogether. I defy anyone to say that during the last twelve months I have spoken a word about that penitentiary. I turned my back upon the officers of the institution, so that nobody could assert that I had meddled in its affairs in any way. I had other subjects to occupy my thoughts, but last week, before we left here for the recess, a friend of mine, a Tory member of Parliament, came to me and asked if I had seen the Commons *Hansard* and the attack made on me by the Minister of Justice. I said I had not, because there was nothing before the other House in which I was interested. He said I should look at the debate of the 16th of April. I did so, and read over the speech of the hon. Minister, and after due consideration I thought it my duty, as an innocent man, to deny the statements of the hon. Minister, and to retaliate as I propose to do to-day. I try to do my duty towards my country, and I fear no man, and death—even death—has no terrors for me. The House being in Committee of the Whole on the Estimates, on the 16th inst., the item for St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary was called, when the leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Mr. Laurier, rose and asked the Government whether they had redeemed their solemn promise to make an inquiry into the revolt which had taken place at the penitentiary. To this the Minister of Justice answered "yes" and "no," that he had not made that solemn inquiry, because Mr. Bellerose had refused to lay charges against anybody, but that he had made some kind of an investigation. He proceeded to say that Mr. Laviolette had not administered the affairs of the penitentiary so well as he could have done had he not taken advice from outsiders, who were not qualified to give advice. Mr. Laurier replied that the Minister had made an attack on Mr. Bellerose, who was quite able to defend himself, and that he would leave Mr. Bellerose

to defend himself. This I will do by stating at the outset that most of the allegations of the Minister of Justice are erroneous and not borne out by the facts. The whole of that speech, I am bound to say, is not in accord with the facts. I may say that the great majority of the statements are false, and if I had time to go over every sentence of the speech I would show that such is the case, as I did last year, in showing what was the cause of all those difficulties, and how little I was concerned in it—that I was only working in the place of the late Governor of Quebec, at his request, to protect innocent parties against the attacks of Inspector Moylan. The Minister gives for an excuse: "I did not go on with that solemn investigation, because there was no charge made against anybody." Let us see if that is true? I say it is not, and will prove my assertion by referring to the very words used by the Government when making the solemn promise that a serious investigation as to the causes of the revolt would be made. In the Senate *Debates* for 1886 I find, at page 372, the following inquiry made by myself:—

"Does the Government intend to order a serious and minute inquiry into the circumstances of the revolt which took place at the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary on the 24th instant, and into all the troubles which have occurred in the said institution for the four years past."

It is well known that at the time there was no Minister of the Crown in this House. The hon. gentleman from Amherst (Mr. Dickey) had been requested to act as the representative of the Government in this House, and he replied :

"After the deplorable events which have occurred recently, I am not at all surprised that my hon. friend has put this notice on the Paper, and I am instructed to reply to the question he has put in the affirmative—it is the intention of the Government."

Hon. gentlemen will notice these words. My question was, that a serious and minute inquiry into the circumstances of the revolt should be made; so that that was the intention. Did this require a complaint from anyone to cause an inquiry to be made into the circumstances of the revolt? The revolt itself was a sufficient complaint, so that the statement of the Minister of Justice was deliberately false. On the same day I inquired again :

"Does the Government intend to order the commission to be appointed to inquire into the proximate and remote causes of the said revolt and of the said troubles?"

To this the Hon. Mr. Dickey replied :

"As any inquiry would be necessarily imperfect that did not deal with the subject spoken of in this motion, I am instructed to say that the investigation will embrace those points."

Now, if we turn to the Commons *Debates* we find that the following words were uttered by the Minister of Justice, as reported on page 1692 of the *Debates* for 1886 :

"Mr. LAURIER—Has any step been taken to have an investigation into the causes of the recent outbreak?"

"Mr. THOMPSON—There was an investigation in the ordinary course of justice by the coroner's inquest, and subsequently there was an investigation made by the inspector. I may call that a preliminary investigation, because it is not intended that it should be a final one. I have determined, as early as possible after the close of the session, and after the recovery of the Warden, which I hope will not be long, to make as full an investigation into the affairs of the penitentiary as can possibly be made. I understand that it was stated in another place, in answer to an inquiry put there, that a commission would be issued. I think, perhaps, that that was not an accurate statement. I do not know that a promise that a full and searching inquiry shall be made necessarily involves that a commission shall be issued, but I do stand committed, as the head of the department, to having a full and thorough investigation."

Now, was I wrong when I characterized the statements I referred to a moment ago as false statements? Is not that a promise that there was no necessity to formulate any complaint? After the Government had made such a promise, in such plain language, is it not a disgrace to find a sworn Minister of the Crown giving such an excuse? The promise was that a serious and thorough inquiry into the causes of the revolt would be made. There was no necessity for charges to be made by anybody, and yet the sworn Minister of the Crown had the courage to assure the House of Commons that he could not go on with the inquiry because no charges had been made. What are the facts? Had not the coroner's jury made a more than ordinary charge, when, after having given their verdict in the case of convict Corribeau, shot dead in the revolt, they conclude their judgment by the following paragraph:—

"Considering the evidence given by Guard Bostock, who states that he heard it spoken, and

that he then believed in a rising of convicts, and that he reported the facts to the authorities of the penitentiary on the Thursday preceding the day the revolt broke out. the coroner's jury in the investigation as to the death of convict Corriveau, having given their verdict, particularly recommended:

"That a minute investigation be made into the details of the revolt, so that the responsibility may be put on the proper man."

The Minister added in his speech:

"I thought it proper that we should inform Mr. Bellerose when the inquiry would begin, and to give him an opportunity to make a full statement, as he had been accustomed to make elsewhere with regard to the affairs of the prison. Mr. Bellerose attended, and immediately said, in answer to my invitation to him to make as full a statement as he could possibly make, that he thought he should be put upon his oath."

So I said, and much more. If I open the report of the *Debates* of the Senate for the year 1888, page 82, I find it there reported that the following conversation took place:

"I, myself, went over to the penitentiary, and Mr. Thompson asked me to step into the office, and having called in Deputy Warden Ouimet, who then acted as Warden *pro tem*, he asked me what were the charges I had to make. I answered that the proceedings he was about to begin were not those promised by the Government or by himself. It was three o'clock. It was absurd to think of making such an investigation in one day; it would take weeks. After a few minutes of silence, the Minister said: 'All right; we will do the thing as promised. Lay your charges.' 'I charge,' said I, 'the Inspector and the late Chaplain with being responsible for the difficulties this prison has been laboring under. I may say I act as the representative of those who have laid such charges, either in the press or in public documents.' The Minister of Justice, interrupting me, said: 'Have you anything to say against any of the officers of the prison?' 'Yes,' was my reply, 'but I will not be caught. Their names I will furnish when giving my evidence against those I have named, and who are considered the most guilty parties.' 'Very well,' said Mr. Thompson, 'give us a list of such persons as are to be summoned.' 'I will give a full list in the morning, and for this day will give sufficient to keep us at work for more than the remainder of the week. Please,' said I, 'summon Mr. Warden Laviolette, Messrs. J. E. Durocher, A. Catellier, H. Demers and G. Bertrand.'

"The Minister—Please give your evidence.

"Hon. Mr. Bellerose—I am ready the moment I have been sworn.

"The Minister—This is not necessary.

"Hon. Mr. Bellerose—Then your intention is to take evidence without oath?"

"The Minister—Yes; but I will give your statements the same attention I would give them if you had been sworn.

"Hon. Mr. Bellerose—This is nothing but a farce to deceive the public and whiten what is black. Moreover, public documents show that some of the officers of this prison have before this sworn what was not true, while some others have

sworn one day one way and in another way some few days after. How will it be when evidence will be taken without the oath? I cannot be a party to such a bad work.

"The Minister—You may withdraw.

"I withdrew. The Minister of Justice continued the comedy, with his colleague the Secretary of State, for some eight or ten hours, during which time he himself acknowledges in his speech they have the evidence of over one hundred witnesses. Here are his words—page 1359 of the official report of the Commons:

"We began with the evidence of the Warden himself, and we went down to the lowest officer.

"In addition to that, an opportunity was given to all convicts who pleased to make any statement—at least forty convicts, I think eighty—came forward and made a statement."

So that according to the statement of the Minister himself each witness called was questioned for about four or five minutes.

I leave to your honors to appreciate this investigation, so much spoken of by the Minister, and say whether it would not have been stupid on my part to be a party to such a mock inquiry, a sham investigation, far worse than any of the most disgraceful inquiries ever made by the Minister's officer, Inspector Moylan.

Had I consented to give evidence without taking oath, your honor would have heard the Minister stating that so many of the officers of the prison had expressed a different opinion, that I was altogether wrong.

Those officers not being under oath, and being brought face to face with their superior officers of the prison, of whom the Inspector wrote in an official document:

"The Deputy Warden (Mr. Ouimet) is rough and abrupt in his manners towards officers and convicts—"

How could they venture to speak according to their convictions, and state freely what they thought the head men of the prison were? I am ready to prove that some of those officers acknowledged that not being under oath they thought they ought not to state anything which could injure them in the future—that the love of Mr. Ouimet was better than his hatred. Thus it happens that even those officers who had given evidence under oath against Mr. Ouimet during the inquiry in 1884 gave evidence in his favor on the occasion spoken of by the Minister.

Referring to another point in the

Minister's speech, I find that he uttered the following words:—

"I do think that in the administration of the affairs of the prison, for some years previous to the unfortunate revolt, he was too much guided by the advice of irresponsible persons outside the prison, and too much prejudiced in the administration of the affairs of the institution."

As far as this goes, the Minister not having named me, I should have hesitated to consider this an attack upon me, but the Hon. Mr. Laurier, in his answer to the Minister, having said:

"The hon. gentleman said incidentally that he thought Mr. Bellerose had taken too much interest in the administration of the penitentiary. As to that, continued Mr. Laurier, I will not say anything, because Mr. Bellerose is quite able to take care of himself, and will do so if he thinks fit."

And the Minister not having taken exception to this interpretation of his words, I am safe in saying that he, the Minister, had me in view and attacked me. Now, was it honest on the part of Sir John Thompson to renew this same charge which he had already repeatedly made, and which I have proven to be quite untrue, during the last Session in that long speech of mine—a speech which has been officially reported in the Senate *Debates*. I have given there the best possible evidence that such a charge had no foundation, that it was a vile calumny. Until that evidence is rebutted, what is the use of renewing the charge, except the party doing so does it intentionally to provoke me? For over seven years I have been asking for an investigation. Is not this alone a strong presumption in my favor—a presumption that the charge has no foundation; and, at the same time, is it not also a good presumption of the culpability of the Government, who for years past have been charged with a grave dereliction of duty, as far as the administration of this prison is concerned, and who have constantly refused to redeem their solemn promise that a searching inquiry would be made into the causes of the revolt? What opinion can you have of a sworn Minister of the Crown who will consent to so impeach the character of an adversary, when he has in his own department important documents establishing the innocence of the party he impeaches, and showing that the party never meddled with this prison? In one

of those documents I find the following statement by the late Warden himself (G. Laviolette):

"Since I am at the head of this penitentiary, the conduct of Mr. Bellerose, in relation to the penitentiary, has been such that I have before this regretted, and I do now regret, that my subalterns in the penitentiary have not all gone to him with a determination to follow his advice. I am sure we would have peace and harmony in the institution and would never have heard of conspiracy or conspiracy."

"I am sure the Senator would never have advised rebellion, or encouraged insubordination, or become a party to any plot or conspiracy."

"Unlike some other politicians, who will pretend that the patronage of this institution is theirs, and that they must have the choice of officers of the institution, the hon. Senator, at the beginning of my administration, reiterated to me what he had said to late Warden Duchesneau, when taking the reins of the institution, that he, no doubt, would have to recommend some of his friends to a situation at the prison, but he wished it to be understood that he would never press an appointment, that the Warden being responsible for the good working of the institution he considered it wrong for politicians to impose upon him officers who might not be fit for the service."

"During my three years' administration not one of the hon. gentleman's recommendations have been entertained favorably. It would have been quite pleasant to me if I could have taken at least one of his protégés, and show that it was by no sense of hostility or any other like motives I had set aside his recommendations, but this I was unable to do, on account of the pressure which came from other quarters; and yet, I have never heard that this hon. gentleman had ever taken offence at this course of mine."

When witness A. Ouimet admitted that he had advised his brother to disobey the orders of the chief executive officer of the penitentiary I, the Warden, expected that the commissioners would have some strong words of blame both for the Deputy and for the witness, for their conduct, a conduct which in no way could be excused, neither tolerated, and which was more than sufficient to prevent the good working of any institution so interfered with.

"Deputy Warden Ouimet and Chief Keeper McCarthy, when giving evidence, were forced to admit that they had entered into an understanding, and that they had determined to refuse obeying any verbal order given to them, the Chief Keeper adding that the Deputy had assured him that his brother, A. Ouimet, Esq., M.P. for Laval, had advised him not to obey such orders. The Deputy corroborated this fact under oath."

I am punished every day on account of my behavior on the question of the revolt, while Mr. Ouimet, M.P., who it seems has given such bad advice, has been rewarded, and has seen his brother, who can hardly read or write, put at the head of such an important institution as the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, after it had been proven that he was a party to the conspiracy mentioned here.

And this is the reason why the Government would not allow, and will not now allow, an investigation. I have said enough to show what the speech of the hon. Minister of Justice is worth. To speak plainly, I should say that there is hardly one statement which I could admit is borne out by the facts. If the session was not nearly through I would go over the whole ground, but this I cannot do, when it is known that Parliament will be prorogued in five or six days. I will therefore content myself with moving for the return, in accordance with the notice I have given. I shall then rise to a question of privilege. I cannot be attacked from day to day by the Government without defending myself. I have for twelve months past made no reference to the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, but when I am unjustly assailed I must defend myself, and retaliate by making charges that are true. But, unlike the Government, I will substantiate my charges by asking for a committee of inquiry.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am somewhat surprised at the nature of the statements made by my hon. friend behind me in moving for this return. I understood him to say that his attack upon the Minister of Justice was in his own defence, from an attack which the Minister of Justice had made upon him elsewhere, and he replied to this attack in the way the House has just heard, in language which I must confess I think was somewhat irregular, if not absolutely out of order; but as a rule, I think it is better to let an hon. gentleman say what he has to say, in order that he may not pretend to have been choked off from a legitimate expression of a grievance by mere formal objections. I have heard what the hon. gentleman has said, and I have read what the hon. gentleman has quoted in support of what he said, and I find no basis whatever, neither in what he read nor in what he himself stated, for the expressions that he has used with regard to the hon. Minister of Justice. What he stated was, in the first place, that the Minister of Justice had made attacks upon him in the House of Commons, attacks which he characterized in strong language; and in

reply to these attacks, as he called them, he denied what the hon. Minister has said, and then he quoted certain answers made to questions of his own two years ago in this Senate by my hon. friend from Amherst, representing the Government at the time, and because, as he asserts, these answers, which were in the nature of promises, were not carried out, my hon. colleague, the Minister of Justice, whom he characterizes as a sworn officer, had been guilty of falsehood of the most disgraceful and the basest kind. The burthen of it was, that because Sir John Thompson had not carried out the promise that he had made through my hon. friend from Amherst, to have an investigation into the affairs of this penitentiary, therefore he was guilty of a violation of his oath; that he was guilty of the grossest possible falsehoods; that he, a Minister of the Crown, had deliberately authorized my hon. friend to make what he knew to be a grossly false statement. Now these are the charges. Suppose it were true that my hon. friend had promised an investigation, if there had been no investigation this language would not have been applicable to him. It could have been said that he had not done what he had promised, and if he had not there would have been an explanation due, no doubt; but to say, because a certain course of conduct is promised by an officer of the Government and is not afterwards carried out, that the officer is guilty of what is equivalent to perjury, disgraceful falsehood, and a great deal more of the same description, is to say what is utter nonsense, what is not justified in any manner whatever by the facts alleged in support of it, and, I think I might go on to say, is making statements which ought not to be made by any hon. member on the floor of this House. But, in point of fact, the Minister carried out his promise. The investigation was made, and was made carefully. It was held, in the first instance, by the recognized officer of the department, whose duty it was to make such investigations and to report upon them, and in order that it might be efficient the hon. Minister himself attended at the penitentiary, accompanied by the hon. Secretary of State, and then and there proceeded in person to make a further investigation into the affairs of this

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penitentiary, in order that it might not be said that it had been committed entirely to an official of the department who, it might be alleged, had shown some animus in the matter. The fact, then, as respects the performance by the Minister of the promise given by my hon. friend from Amherst, was that there was a careful and exhaustive investigation of the affairs of the penitentiary made by the Inspector, whose duty it was to do so. The fact is, that in addition to that investigation the Minister himself proceeded to the penitentiary and, accompanied by the Secretary of State, made a further and probably still more complete investigation of the affairs of that penitentiary in connection with the revolt and alleged misconduct of the officials in that penitentiary.

HON. MR. POWER—Was this second investigation under oath, or not?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend, I suppose, could answer it. He has the same information before him; he has the assertions of my hon. friend behind me (Mr. Bellerose), whose complaint is that the investigation was not made under oath, and he has stated what has been repeatedly said in this House and elsewhere, that it was not made under oath. But that is a matter of discretion: the Minister may not have been right in not taking it under oath. I do not say that he was wrong; there was no definite charge against anybody. The point was, to ascertain what was the general condition of this prison, to find out in what way its officers had been behaving themselves, and all that could possibly be discovered as to the cause of this revolt, but not to investigate any charge against any particular person. There was no charge made against anyone. The investigation was, therefore, one which was conducted by those persons very much as a man would investigate an affair in his own household. Every official in the prison, commencing with the Warden, was brought up before these gentlemen, and questioned as to all the circumstances. My hon. friend himself came up before the two Ministers who were there, and was asked to give his evidence about the matter. He has been reading something which I think he said last year,

which is his version of what took place on that occasion. I do not think it differs very greatly, except in details of words and manner, from that which has been repeatedly given elsewhere and by others. The hon. gentleman was asked to give any information he could; he insisted upon being sworn; the Minister told him he did not intend to swear the witnesses unless there was a specific charge against some one to be investigated, and I think he asked the hon. gentleman if he had any charge to make, or would make a charge. My hon. friend behind me refused.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—No.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Does the hon. gentleman deny that he was asked to make a charge?

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I said then, and I state now, and I swear before God, who hears me, that I said then: "I charge the Inspector with being responsible for the revolt, as well as the Catholic Chaplain of the penitentiary;" and in giving my evidence under oath I will mention those officers who are connected with the conspiracy.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend has supported my charge in the most unexpected manner. Does he pretend to say that that is a charge against anybody? What does he charge? He says that these two gentlemen are responsible for the revolt. What kind of a charge is that? He does not say that they did anything wrong, committed any offence, or were guilty of any breach of discipline. He does not say that they conspired with criminals or anybody to cause a revolt. According to his own statements he made no charge. The hon. gentleman will pardon me if I prefer the statement of the Minister, because anyone can see from the language that the hon. gentleman has used, and the distorted view he has taken of what was said in the other House, that his judgment is swayed a good deal by his strong feelings on this matter. I do not know what has caused them. I have studiously avoided mixing myself up in what appears to be a quarrel between my hon. friend and some one else, but it is obvious that my hon. friend is not speaking in a judicial frame of mind when

he addresses himself to the difficulty between himself and the Minister. The Minister said that he requested—but perhaps I had better read his own words, although it is not regular to quote from speeches made in another place. His statement is as follow:—

“The investigation commenced by the examination of Mr. Bellerose. Mr. Bellerose was not summoned, nor did he volunteer to give evidence, but I thought it proper, inasmuch as he had taken a great deal of interest in the affairs of the prison, that we should inform him when the inquiry would begin, and to give him an opportunity to make in our presence—really we received him with as much courtesy as could possibly be extended to any body—as full a statement as he could make in regard to the affairs of the prison, and we hoped he would at least make as full a statement as he had been accustomed to make elsewhere with regard to the affairs of the prison. Mr. Bellerose attended on my stating to him the purpose of our visit, and that we would feel grateful to him for any information which he could possibly give. As regards the affairs of the prison, and as regards his own opinion as to the management of the prison, and its condition, past and present, he said immediately, in answer to my invitation to him to make as full a statement as he could possibly make, that he thought he should be put upon his oath. My reply to that was, that I saw no occasion for putting him under oath, and that I did not see any occasion for putting other persons on their oath until some definite charge against the institution as it was then, or against the officers then in charge, should be promulgated. We had at that time no charge against anybody; we were simply there for the purpose of making an inquiry and for the purpose of making as full an inquiry as possible, and the view which my colleague and I entertained was that, after inviting Mr. Bellerose, who had stigmatized the management of that institution and the conduct of the Government in regard to it in very severe terms, if he were then in a position to make any charge whatever which could form a definite subject of inquiry we would proceed to examine witnesses under oath: but it would be altogether premature, on the occasion of a visit in connection with which no charge existed, to begin to swear the first gentleman who came forward, and who came there as a resident in the vicinity, and merely as a person who had taken an interest in the management of the institution. I assured Mr. Bellerose that any statement which he might make would be received with as much credence by my colleague and by myself as if it were made under the sanction of an oath; and I said to him further, that if, in the course of his statement, any charges appeared which ought to form the subject of inquiry, we would take into consideration immediately the question as to whether evidence in regard to those charges should be taken under oath or not; but we were there to receive, not only a statement as to anything he knew in connection with the institution, but to receive his own opinions likewise: and in order to give the utmost latitude, and to all his statements we would give the utmost credence, we would prefer that he should make a statement altogether irrespective of the administration of any oath. The answer which Mr. Bellerose made was: that if he were not sworn he

would make no statement whatever; and upon that he left the room.”

That is the account of the Minister of Justice of this interview, and for my part I see nothing unreasonable in it. As the hon. Minister states, they went there to make an inquiry into the management of the institution, and it was scarcely necessary, in my opinion, and certainly it was not necessary in his opinion, that they should begin that inquiry by putting everyone who came before them on oath, more especially, as he remarks, on the suggestion of a gentleman who had nothing to do with the prison, who was a neighbor who had been criticising the management—who, therefore, had received an intimation that the Ministers would be there, and who had every opportunity of making any charge he thought proper against any person concerned. As the Minister says, if a charge had been made it would have been investigated, and the witnesses would have been examined under oath. But my hon. friend declined to make any charge or any statement whatever, except under oath, and he left the room. I do not see why my hon. friend should have been so anxious to be sworn. If he had made his statement it would have been taken down, and he would have something to show in this House as to the charges he made; he would have something to show that the Ministers declined to investigate his charge, something to show to prove their misconduct. As it is, he admits himself that he made no charge. What he says is a charge is really no charge—that two people were responsible for all the trouble that took place in the prison. That is no description of any charge whatever that could be investigated under oath. Witnesses could not be summoned and asked: “Do you think so-and-so is responsible for all the trouble in the prison?” Of what good is such a charge? It would not put anybody properly on his defence, nor would it require evidence to investigate it. However, what I have quoted is apparently all that was said by the Minister in the other House with regard to my hon. friend, and really I do not see anything in this to justify his (Mr. Bellerose’s) statement that he is forced out of that peaceable seclusion with regard to this prison that he had assumed, and compelled to

come before the House, not only to vindicate his own honor and veracity, but to strike back at the Minister of Justice, and to assure us that he is a gentleman who fears nothing, not even death, although I do not find anything in the debate that would indicate that anybody's life is in danger.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I have seen a part of what took place at the prison. I know much more, and consequently can judge who are responsible for the death of convict Corriveau. The hands of the Government are red with blood.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend is giving the House the very best evidence of the correctness of what I said a moment ago—that he is not discussing this question in a judicial spirit, that he is not exercising the functions of a judicial mind, when he employs language such as he used a moment ago when he interrupted me. Now, this is all I propose to say. I really wished to point out that my hon. friend's excitement about this matter, as far as this particular incident is concerned, is entirely without foundation. I know nothing about how far the hon. gentleman has been excited or insulted or injured in the past. That I have not gone into. I have not read the hon. gentleman's speech of last year, and have only heard a portion of it. But with regard to this particular complaint, there is no foundation for it whatever, and if the hon. gentleman's complaint of two days on a former occasion was no better founded than his complaint of to-day, then it has no foundation either. With regard to the motion which the hon. gentleman now makes, the Government have no objection to send down any papers they possess, which at present comprise only the English notes of the evidence taken on the occasion referred to. The French notes the Government have not been able to get. The gentleman who took the French notes has since accepted some position under the Quebec Government, and he seems to think that if he gave his notes to the Government here it might injure him with the Government there. That seems to be the reply he makes to our request to furnish the notes of the evidence taken of the French witnesses. It is

hoped that that difficulty may be overcome. The Government are quite ready to lay before the House the notes they have in their possession, and when they get the French notes they will bring them down also.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not gather from the statement of the Minister whether the Minister of Justice, during his interview with the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière, had told that hon. gentleman that if he made charges in writing there would be an investigation.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Not in writing.

HON. MR. POWER—That if he formulated charges there would be an inquiry under oath.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I read what the hon. gentleman said. The Minister says:

"I assured Mr. Bellerose that any statement which he might make would be received with as much credence by my colleague and by myself as if it were made under the sanction of an oath; and I said to him, further, that if in the course of his statement any charges appeared which ought to form the subject of inquiry we would take into consideration immediately the question as to whether evidence in regard to those charges should be taken under oath or not."

HON. MR. TRUDEL—The state of my health should preclude me from taking any part in this discussion, but the observations which have fallen from the leader of the Government seem to me to be of such a character that, as I am here, I cannot allow such statements to remain unanswered. It is hardly necessary to remark that there are two questions before us. There is first the personal question, which concerns the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière. He has undertaken to vindicate his honor, and to discuss what we understand here to be not only a public matter, but a question of a personal character. There is also the question of the public interest involved in this matter. We have before us the fact that a few years ago serious difficulties existed in the administration of one of the public institutions of the Dominion of Canada. It is well known that this institution was almost daily or weekly the theatre of serious troubles, though, as the facts have shown, the institution had at its head one of the most efficient officers to be found in the Dominion. One day a

revolt occurred, during which one person was killed and a good many others were injured, and Warden Laviolette was at the time considered as being mortally wounded. In fact, it was a matter of surprise that he did not die from the wounds he received. During the revolt a regular fight occurred, which continued for hours; the Warden was taken prisoner by the convicts, and was used as a shield to cover them in their attempt to escape. I might remind hon. gentlemen that on that occasion Warden Laviolette, being in the hands of the convicts, ordered his guards to fire on them. The soldiers answered: "If we fire we will kill you." He replied: "Fire; do not mind me." In fact, this man behaved in a most heroic manner; he was dangerously wounded, and another man was killed, and if my memory serves me rightly, I think about ten others were severely wounded. These are facts known to the public and not denied, and it is under the pressure of such facts that the Government, or the representative of the Government in this House, very properly gave the hon. gentleman from Delanau-dière an assurance that a very minute inquiry should be made into the circumstances of this revolt. But what has been done? The Government have not found it worth the trouble not only to make an inquiry, but to redeem their own solemn promise. The leader of the Government might say that, properly speaking, now is not the best time to enter into the merits of this question, and if he had said to the hon. gentleman from Delanau-dière in reply to his motion for certain papers to be laid before the House, that it was the main question to be answered and to be dealt with, and that it was not proper to enter into the merits of the difficulties at the penitentiary, I could conceive such an answer as that to have been perfectly justifiable; but it was not the answer of the leader of the Government. I may say that for more than twenty-five years I have been accustomed to listen to what falls from the mouth of my hon. friend, who leads for the Government here, with the greatest respect, and have always considered him a high authority in legal matters. Whatever may be my personal opinion of the value of his statements in other respects, I do not feel myself at liberty to accept his

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statement now when he says with regard to this matter: "What was the necessity for the inquiry? There was no charge! There was no specific accusation!" How was it there was no accusation? The fact is there, that there was a revolt, and the convicts fought for half a day against the authorities of the prison. Men were killed and wounded; there was a most foul and shameful assassination. I have not sufficient personal knowledge of the facts to go further, but I heard from the hon. gentleman from Delanau-dière that, even according to the statements of the leader of the Government, public opinion was aroused, and that a feeling was abroad that at least one of the officers of the penitentiary was a party to this dreadful deed. Now we are told, in presence of such facts, that the Government did not find any reason to make an inquiry.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will allow me to interrupt him. The Minister said that there had been a complete and searching investigation made by the Inspector, and the report of that investigation was laid before the House, and I think it included all the details which could possibly be expected. The Minister says:—

"Our visit took place in the summer of 1886, and at that time the only matter in relation to which an inquiry could with profit be conducted was as how far the causes of the outbreak still existed, and what the condition of the prison was as regards discipline, and if there still existed any of the causes which had led to the troubles of the past. It is a mistake to say that the inquiry was a superficial one. Every means at our disposal was resorted to, every officer of the prison, whether offering his testimony or not, was examined. He was not simply invited to give such testimony as he might think proper, but he was asked every question which we thought could possibly elicit any instructive information as to the condition of the prison, past or present. In addition to that, an opportunity was given to all the convicts who pleased to make any statement in regard to the position of the prison in the past, or to its then condition, and in pursuance of that, at least forty convicts, I think eighty, but to be within the mark I will say forty, came forward and made a statement."

HON. MR. TRUDEL—The hon. gentleman will allow me to quote from the *Debates* of the House of Commons, page 1692, vol. 1, of 1886.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I was reading what was said the other day.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—He said the contrary this year to what he said in 1886.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—Of course we are accustomed in this House to being considered as mere humble echoes of what some great luminaries in the other House choose to say, and if we are inclined to accept the position which is assigned to us it could hardly be otherwise: but I may say that in spite of the humble position assigned to us I am not ready to accept such a humiliating role as that. The authority of my hon. friend is the statement of the Minister of Justice himself. I have no reason to question the statement of that hon. Minister, but on the other hand I think that a statement of an hon. member of this House, setting forth certain facts from his seat in this House, is entitled to as much credit as the statement of a Minister of the Crown in the other House, and if that is not the case, if the position of a member of this House is so inferior that the statement of a member of the other House, whatever it may be, is a proper answer to close a debate, and a proper contradiction of a statement of any member of this House, we might just as well vote for the abolition of the Senate and admit that we are here for no purpose. If the Minister of Justice is an authority, I will quote from his statement made in the other House:

“There was an investigation, in the ordinary course of justice, by the coroner's inquest, and subsequently there was an investigation made by the Inspector. I may call that a preliminary investigation, because it is not intended that it should be a final one. I have determined, as early as possible after the close of the Session—”

(This was said on the 31st of May, 1886, nearly three years ago):

“and after the recovery of the Warden, which I hope will not be long, to make as full an investigation into the affairs of the penitentiary as can possibly be made.”

This is the statement of the Minister of Justice, so that even, according to the theory of the leader of the Government, this is gospel in which we should believe; and when he says that an investigation has been promised, he gives us to understand that the only reason why it was not done before was the illness of the Warden, and that as soon as the Warden recovered the investigation should be made. Was it made? The answer is, no. He says:

“I do stand committed, as head of the department, to having a full and thorough investigation.”

Was this promise fulfilled?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Certainly it was.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—The hon. gentleman will allow me to tell him that unless we take it for granted that the Dominion of Canada is so low in the scale of civilized nations that human life is considered as of little importance in this country there was no investigation. We have had robberies of millions in the country, and the leader of the Government knows it well, and I know what is his own opinion on the matter; but that was only robbery; but a few years after we had to face revolt, murder and assassination in a public institution, and these are considered crimes of so venial a character that it is not worth the trouble of making an investigation. The hon. gentleman who leads the House says there was an investigation. I respectfully beg leave to differ from the hon. gentleman. It is all very well for a Minister to take a certain stand. Instead of going to the penitentiary, if the Minister of Justice had gone to a newspaper office and asked for the reporters, and said to them: “Gentlemen, you are the proper persons to speak in this matter; you have reported all the facts which have taken place in this unfortunate occurrence, and I call upon you to give your evidence as to what has taken place.” Supposing he had done that, he might as well have come before Parliament and said that there had been a full inquiry into the circumstances as to say that the inquiry that he did make was a thorough investigation into the matter. Somebody will say there was an inquiry, but where, and by whom, and in what form? It may be said by the Minister: “Perhaps it was not strictly in a judicial form; but then there was no specific charge. I made inquiries in the proper quarters, where I was sure I could get the best information possible. All that was published in the papers might be considered as rumors got up for sensational purposes by the press.” Perhaps there was no revolt in the penitentiary, nobody killed, and nobody wounded. What kind of inquiry was made into this matter? The Minister of Justice and the

Secretary of State called at the penitentiary, and after three o'clock in the afternoon they summoned Senator Bellerose to appear as a public accuser, and the facts have shown that their intention was, if Senator Bellerose did not become a public accuser, and make a specific charge, there was no ground for an inquiry. The hon. Minister (Mr. Abbott) will allow me to tell him that whatever respect I may have for his opinion in legal matters I cannot accept his opinion as to the thoroughness of this inquiry. I will go a little further, and venture to say that if the same question were put to the hon. gentleman in any other capacity than as a member of the Government I am sure he would not give the same answer. Of course, he is answering for the Government. At that time he was not a member of the Government. It is only by a fiction of the constitutional law that he becomes responsible for what has taken place under the circumstances; and as it is well known some explanation has to be given for what has been done by the Government, and the Minister, of course, gives the best explanation he can under the circumstances. It is for hon. members of this House to say whether they are to be satisfied with this answer or not. I consider it my duty to declare that I am not satisfied; that, to a certain extent, I am here to judge on the merits of the questions which are brought before us, and in my opinion the Minister of Justice did not do his duty, with such an array of facts before him. I could quite understand, if there had been a little struggle or disagreement between the employés of the penitentiary, and a row had taken place and blows were exchanged, that six months after it might have been sufficient to make the kind of inquiry that was made; but in the presence of loss of life, of men wounded, and of defiance of public authority, I cannot conceive how one of the Houses of this Parliament should say that there was no charge made and no ground for an inquiry.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I never said anything of the sort. All that my hon. friend has been saying is entirely apart from what I said.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—I do not pretend to contradict the hon. Minister if he says

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he is not satisfied that there was no ground for an inquiry. In the presence of the statement of the Minister of Justice himself, he will admit that that Minister refused to say there was no ground for an inquiry.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Certainly; and there was an inquiry?

HON. MR. TRUDEL—Then it comes to this: was there an inquiry, or not? You will please bear in mind the circumstances of the case. We have in the penitentiary a certain number of officers who depend, for the bread for their families, upon the good-will of the officers of the Government, and especially of one of the officers who may be accused of being implicated in this matter. The feeling of those employés, who understood that this officer had the whole Government staff on his side, can be easily imagined. If they accused him of wrong-doing they knew that they would remain but a short time in the penitentiary; they would be dismissed, and not being sworn at the inquiry, it was easier for them to say, "I know nothing," than to state the facts. What has been the action of our hon. colleague here? The hon. gentleman from Delanau-dière was invited or challenged to give evidence at this inquiry, or to prefer a specific charge. Did he refuse? No; he said: "I will not do it unless I am allowed to make my statement under oath." And why? For the very good reason that his evidence was to be taken as a precedent. He was going to lay down a precedent as to the way the inquiry should be conducted, and how could my hon. friend, after having given his evidence, not under oath, but as an unsworn statement, be allowed afterwards to complain when the officers of the penitentiary were brought in to make their statements, not under oath? If Mr. Bellerose objected, would he not have been met with the answer: "These gentlemen, though your inferiors in social position, are in matters of evidence your equals, and since it has been admitted that this inquiry should be made without swearing the witnesses, you cannot find fault that the same rule should be followed towards other witnesses that was applied to yourself." It is my opinion that the hon. gentleman from Delanau-dière acted very wisely to lay down such a pre-

cedent. I may be mistaken, but my impression is that the leader of the Government said that the some thirty of the convicts were examined.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE — Forty to eighty.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—In presence of the statement of the Minister, I would like to be specially careful.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is the language I quoted from the speech of the Minister of Justice:

“We felt that we would have to proceed further, and we examined every person connected with the administration of the prison, from the highest officer to the lowest. We began with the evidence of the Warden himself, disabled though he was, and we went down to the lowest officer, and after that we endeavored to ascertain from the convicts themselves whether there was any ground of complaint existing as regards the institution.”

HON. MR. TRUDEL—Even the convicts were examined, and those convicts were found by the Minister of Justice and the Secretary of State to be men of such reliable character that it was not necessary even to swear them. These gentlemen convicts were invited to give their statements on their word of honor. I think it has not been stated that they were even asked to give their word of honor to tell the truth. Yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Abbott) comes before us and says that this was such an inquiry as the Government felt it their duty to make after revolt and bloodshed had taken place in the penitentiary. A short time ago an hon. member of this House stated at considerable length his opinion, and the opinions of a great many legal men, as to the inefficiency of the grand jury system. The authorities, which he read at considerable length, as well as the opinions of eminent jurists, were to the effect that it would be a wise thing to have in this country public prosecutors, who, from their position, are obliged to search out any crime on the information which comes to them; and if I understand the feeling of this House, it was that a reform in that direction would be most desirable. Now, what have we before us? We have the fact that in one of the public institutions of this country where convicts are punished for crimes already committed—in a prison where there has been revolt, murder

and assassination, after an investigation is made, the authorities have come to the conclusion that there was nothing worth the trouble even of swearing a witness to tell what took place. I desire to enter my solemn protest against such a mode of conducting an investigation. The hon. Minister said that if the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière had consented to make an ordinary statement he would have something to show, but as he did not make a voluntary statement he has no ground of complaint. But I ask, was my hon. friend the party whose duty it was to administer justice? I say no, and because he did not choose to become the public prosecutor of those crimes which occurred in the penitentiary they were not considered as worth being investigated by the proper authorities. It seems to me to be the logical conclusion to which we are driven, after the statement of the leader of the Government. I will not question the propriety or the impropriety of the expressions used by my hon. friend, but I say in my humble judgment there was this much shown from the official papers which were read: The Minister of Justice stated in the other House what was not true; I have just read his own words, used on a previous occasion, that he was committed to make an inquiry, and after that he comes before Parliament and says there is nothing of the kind, and because the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière did not choose to become public prosecutor the Government had no duty to perform. As I stated before, without pretending that the words used by our hon. colleague are the proper words to characterize the statement of the Minister of Justice, it seems to me that there was a foundation for his complaint. Because there was a solemn promise made to the country that an inquiry would be made. Now, as to the propriety of making an inquiry, unless we decide that our country is worse than a land inhabited by an uncivilized population we must declare that there is sufficient ground for making an inquiry when the highest officials in the penitentiary are assassinated and a reign of terror prevails in the prison for half a day. When convicts shoot down their guardians and hold possession of the prison there ought to be sufficient

ground for an inquiry, because I do not think there has ever been an instance in which more monstrous conduct occurred in a prison and greater cowardice was displayed than on the occasion when Warden Laviolette was shot down. He had to contend, almost alone, against fifty or sixty criminals, while seven or eight of his subordinates were standing by, waiting for orders. I could not let this occasion pass without entering my protest against such a manner of dealing with a public question.

HON. MR. LACOSTE—I do not quite understand the position taken by my hon. friend from DeSalaberry. I think his line of argument has been altogether away from the question before the House, which is that an humble Address be presented to His Excellency for a copy of the inquiry made at St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary. Now, what is the accusation brought against the Government by the hon. member from Delanaudière? That no inquiry has been made. We have not merely the words which fell from the Minister of Justice, but we have the assertion made in the Address by the hon. member himself that an investigation was held. He cannot therefore charge the Minister of Justice with having told a lie when he stated in the House of Commons that he would make an inquiry. He has fulfilled his promise: his promise was that an inquiry would be made. But my hon. friend from Delanaudière says that the inquiry was not complete because it was not made under oath. Whether the inquiry was complete or not I do not know, but I have full confidence in the honor and integrity of the Minister of Justice, and until the contrary is proved I must take it for granted that the inquiry was complete. It was not made under oath, but it is not necessary that an inquiry be made under oath to be complete. When specific and definite charges are made, then it is proper to examine witnesses under oath, but the inquiry may be very full, though an oath is not administered. At that time no specific or definite charges had been made. The hon. member from Delanaudière himself admits that he made no charge, except that Mr. Moylan, the Inspector, was responsible for the trouble. That was no specific charge at all.

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HON. MR. POWER—If there had been no charge, how was it that two Ministers were down on the spot supposed to be conducting an inquiry?

HON. MR. LACOSTE—As the Minister of Justice explained, they wanted to inquire into the administration of the prison, and whether the causes that had produced the outbreak were still existing. It was an inquiry in his own department, to some extent, but he did not go there to examine into any charge that had been made, but merely to inquire into the causes of the outbreak and to see what measures were necessary to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. When these papers are before the House it will be time enough to decide whether the inquiry was sufficient or not, but until then I think we are bound to take the word of the Minister of Justice that a full and complete inquiry has been made, and we are the more bound to do so because the fact is admitted by the hon. member from Delanaudière himself, who says in his motion that there has been an inquiry, and that he wants a copy of the report of that investigation.

HON. MR. POWER—I think that probably there is a good deal in what has been said by the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, that the better way would be not to discuss the question until the papers are brought down. Although that would, perhaps, be the more satisfactory way, and, perhaps, the more strictly parliamentary practice, it has not been the rule generally followed in the Senate and House of Commons. It has been the almost universal practice in both Houses, when moving for papers, to set before the House the facts the speakers wished to establish when the papers were brought down. If the hon. member from Delanaudière was not right in making the statements of fact which he submitted in moving for these papers I think he should have been called to order and prevented from proceeding any further, but after he had put his statement before the House, and after the leader of the House had given the statement of the Government on the other side, it was rather too late, I think, to say that we should not discuss the facts of the matter

until the papers came down. That would have been a good ground to take at the beginning, but I do not think it is a good ground to take now. I do not propose to discuss the matter myself; it has been before the Senate on more than one occasion and has been discussed at considerable length, and, on the whole, probably much service has not been done by the discussions which have taken place; but at the same time I feel bound to say this, that the position of the Government in the matter presents itself to me in this way: the outbreak took place in the prison; one man was killed; the Warden of the penitentiary was wounded almost to death; several other men were seriously hurt, and it was alleged, not with bated breath either, that one of the subordinates of the Warden had been cognizant of the revolt, and to a certain extent responsible for it. Whether that allegation was true or not, I do not know: it is to be presumed that it was not; but, at all events, the allegation having been made, an officer of the department was sent down to make an inquiry. The Minister of Justice stated in his place in the House that this was simply a preliminary inquiry; and he promised that there would be a full and searching inquiry into the whole matter. What would be the natural and proper course under these circumstances? This Government are particularly fond of appointing commissions to inquire into all sorts of subjects, a great many of them subjects which they should inquire into themselves. They have power under the general statute—probably the officers of the department can examine witnesses under oath—the Government have the power to appoint commissioners with power to take evidence under oath. The position of the Government then, was this: that in addition to the facts of the case which I have mentioned, there was the fact that the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière, before that inquiry took place, had made statements in his place in this House with respect to that outbreak which were of a very grave character and reflected seriously on the conduct of two officers at least of the Department of Justice, one the officer who had made the preliminary inquiry and the other the Deputy Warden of the penitentiary. Under these circumstances,

it seems to me it was the duty of the Government to have made that sort of inquiry which could not be cavilled at. It was their duty, looking at their own interests. I do not suppose for a moment that there was any desire on the part of the Minister of Justice to conceal anything or to shelter anyone who had not done his duty, but this case was of so serious a character that I think it is to be regretted that the Minister of Justice, having regard for his own reputation and for the reputation of the Government, had not the investigation conducted under oath. I suppose it is too late now to have an inquiry under oath; too much time and money has been spent in connection with the matter to make it worth while to have an inquiry now, but it is very much to be regretted indeed that the investigation was not of a satisfactory character. It has been said by the leader of the House that the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière showed by his manner that he did not approach this question in a very judicial frame of mind. I do not very much wonder at that. Things have been said about the hon. gentleman which are calculated to bias his mind, and probably would bias the mind of the leader of the House if they had been said about him. But supposing the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière has not approached the matter in a judicial frame of mind, what can be said about the hon. member from DeSalaberry? We all know that he approached it in a judicial spirit. We know that he is a fair-minded man, and he is not satisfied. Undoubtedly there must be many in the Province of Quebec, where the people are more interested in the matter than we are, who are not satisfied with the inquiry that has taken place; so I think it is to be regretted that the Government did not, in the second instance, have an inquiry that would satisfy any reasonable man. The hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Lacoste) must realize the full force of what was said by the hon. gentleman from DeSalaberry, that in an inquiry conducted, not under oath, in the penitentiary, under circumstances where the parties accused were all men who were in charge of the institution and employes of the Department of Justice, and one of them, at the time the inquiry was held, the Warden of the penitentiary, one could not expect that either the

keepers or the convicts would give evidence that could be relied upon. The only way under such circumstances to get evidence in which confidence can be placed is to have that evidence taken under oath, and the hon. gentleman must know from his experience what a difference it makes in the evidence of men like those who would be called upon to give evidence in this case whether the evidence was given under oath or not. The average convict, I presume, would not hesitate very much about telling a lie if he thought the lie was going to serve him; but if that convict happens to be a man who has the sense of religion, as most convicts in St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary have, he will not tell a lie if he is under oath; and all I can say, as a member of this House, and one who wishes to see justice administered in a proper way, is that I regret very much that the Government did not, when they went to the trouble of having an investigation which they call a thorough inquiry, have that investigation conducted in a manner in which the public would have confidence.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I agree with my hon. friend from Halifax that too much time has been spent over this matter. We have had it *ad nauseam* for the last eight years, and although my hon. friend almost censures the Minister of Justice for the manner in which he made this inquiry, yet he will not sustain the hon. member for Delanaudière in the remarks he has made to-day.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not say anything about that.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman did not justify the remarks of the hon. member from Delanaudière. The Minister of Justice did all that he could be called upon to do. He made a full and thorough investigation into this matter. My hon. friend says that the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière made certain charges in this House which ought to have been investigated. Why did he not make them before the Ministers when they were prepared to investigate them? Why did he shelter himself behind his position here to make charges which he did not repeat when they could have been investigated? What he calls a charge is such a bald general statement that it

could not be investigated. To say that certain men are responsible for something is no charge at all. You could not try a case of assault or larceny on such a charge. When the Minister of Justice called upon the hon. member to make a charge he should not have shirked the responsibility of laying it, if he believed he could sustain it; but he must have felt that he could not sustain it, and he did not like to incur the penalty to which he might be subject for making a charge without sufficient foundation. My hon. friend was very cautious, not in the public interest, but in his own, I presume, and he declined to make any specific charge. When the Minister of Justice called upon the hon. member to make a charge, and promised that if he would do so the witnesses would be examined under oath, he did all that he could do, and I hope my hon. friend is satisfied, and that we will have no more discussion on this matter here. If the hon. gentleman has any respect for the general feeling of the Senate he will give us no more of this subject.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I am very much obliged to the hon. member from Lunenburg (Mr. Kaulbach) for the good advice he has given me, but I would remind him that while I occupy the time of this House for about three or four hours altogether during a Session to discuss public matters, he takes thirty-six, and he is the last man in this House who should take me to task for taxing the patience of the House. He believes that no measure can be thoroughly understood by the House unless he has spoken upon it—at least, one would think so, because I have yet to remark any occasion on which the hon. gentleman has failed to rise and address the House at length. No doubt he does so to give the House the benefit of his great knowledge of law and of legislation; nevertheless, I am thankful for his advice, which I will try to follow to the best of my ability to the end of the Session, and I hope he will endeavor to follow mine himself, and show an inclination to give others a chance. The hon. leader of the House has taunted me a little on having lost my intelligence; otherwise, he thinks I would not have made such a speech. I would be only too happy if I could believe that he had not himself lost

HON. MR. POWER.

some of his brilliant intelligence. The arguments he has used must either be the result of weakened intelligence or an exceedingly bad case. He has not dealt with the question as he usually deals with matters that come before the House, and with cases in court, where I have often heard him and admired the great intelligence which he possesses—intelligence that he has failed to show on this occasion. I hear it stated that we ought to wait until the papers are brought down, but I have been looking for those papers for three or four years, and what was the answer I received? It is written in black and white—"No papers."

HON. MR. LACOSTE—The answer given here is that the papers will be laid before the House, and the House should wait until they are brought down.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—The answer was given officially, in response to a motion of mine, that there are no papers, and it is a curious objection to raise that we should wait until the papers are brought down, when the Government say they will never come before us. They will not come, because I know what they are, and they will show a different state of affairs from that mentioned by the Minister in his speech. I challenge the Government to bring down those papers, accompanied by Mr. Laviolette's evidence. Mr. Laviolette was one of those men that neither for Government nor for anyone else could be induced to say what was untrue. I assert, and challenge contradiction, that the testimony of Mr. Laviolette was in the same direction as the statement I have given to-day. I defy the Government to show any declaration by Mr. Laviolette that there were not eight men waiting for orders while Mr. Laviolette was being shot. This is not the first time I have made the statement in this House that I went there on the day of the revolt and found six or eight of the guards idle in the keeper's room. I asked them: "Why are you here, when the warden is outside risking his life?" They said: "You know very well we cannot act without orders; look for the officers and see where they are." I saw where they were; they were anywhere except where there was danger.

Although the rules of the penitentiary are, that no officer shall leave the building without permission, one of them, Ouimet, who has been promoted since, had been out for three days without permission. Was it because he knew that there would be a revolt? I do not know; but for three days he had been away without permission, and contrary to the rules of the penitentiary, and at the time of the revolt he was in the village. I can bring eight or nine witnesses to prove that, but I will not produce them unless their evidence is taken under oath. We have had an illustration of what the Inspector can do in matters of inquiry: when he could not defeat me some months ago, he changed my charge by adding two words to it, and made the inquiry turn on a charge of his own, not on mine. That is what Mr. Moylan did, and the Ministers know it, because I pointed out the fact. Now, is there a member of this House who would uphold such an act? If there is, I should like to know him and give his name to the public. I have been patient under such treatment, and yet I am blamed when I bring up the matter if I become a little excited. The Ministers may not be excited, but if they act as they have done without being excited they are dishonest, and their hands are red with the blood of Corriveau. I said that before; I repeat it now, knowing the facts, and it is for the leader of the House to say whether he will take the responsibility of defending those men when he knows the facts. Is it likely that the subordinate officers in the penitentiary would give evidence against their superiors when they might be turned out the next day if they dared to tell the truth against the chief officers of the prison, unless their evidence was taken under oath? There was an officer named Lefavre who gave evidence against his superior officer. I will speak of that case to-morrow. Lefavre said that the Deputy Warden had very often been drunk in the establishment, and the result was that he was turned out without inquiry. It was said that he had acted in a cowardly manner, leaving the penitentiary at the time of the revolt, when evidence can be brought to show that Lefavre was at his post during the revolt, though on a message in the village when the first shot was fired. Hearing the noise, though he was

sick and under the doctor's care, he said: "Never mind your medicine; there is trouble at the penitentiary," and he ran towards the penitentiary until he fell, being troubled with heart disease. The doctor gave a certificate showing that Lefèvre could not stand such emotion, because Laviolette was a relation of his. That is what that man did, and yet he has been turned out of office, because Mr. McCarthy, who drinks to excess, heard him swear that he (McCarthy) had often been seen under the influence of liquor in the penitentiary. A man who would undertake an inquiry without swearing the witnesses under such circumstances would be very stupid. But it is said that there was no charge. It was not necessary that a charge should be made; it was never asked for when the promise was made by the hon. member from Amherst. Did he say: "I suppose you will lay charges?" No; he stated that a revolt had occurred, and the Government were pledged and in honor bound to investigate the causes of these troubles. That was the fact, and then the coroner's jury came to the help of the Government, and said that an investigation must take place. Why? Because it was reported that it was known two or three days in advance that a revolt would take place. Now, there were serious charges laid before the Government. Why did they not inquire into that? Because they were afraid. I will show how guilty they have been, knowing all the time of the state of affairs that prevailed in the penitentiary, and I defy them to get out of it. The leader of the House says that I admitted that there has been an inquiry. I never did. I said that the Minister had made a sham inquiry; that he had gone there with the great intriguer of the Province of Quebec, the Hon. Mr. Chapleau.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Order!

HON. MR. TRUDEL—The hon. gentleman should state his question of order.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—The hon. gentleman from Delanaudière has been out of order several times, and has not been called to order, but when he designates the hon. Secretary of State as the political intriguer of the Province of Quebec I say he is quite out of order.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE.

THE SPEAKER—As far as the rule is laid down by Bourinot, I think the hon. gentleman has strayed beyond the bounds of order, both in the observation he has made this moment and in his reply to the Minister of Justice, because it is laid down here that expressions of that kind are not permitted in debate. If the House wishes I can give here a list of expressions that are not allowable, which certainly do not come up to anything like the expressions the hon. gentleman has used—"intriguer"—and I think in using such an expression he is out of order.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I submit to the ruling of the Chair. The hon. leader of the House says that all traces of difficulty in the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary have passed away. Not at all. Now, I will say this: even to-day these troubles have not passed away. Though the Minister of Justice stated in the other House that the institution was working smoothly, I defy the hon. gentleman to prove that, and I challenge him to deny that there are no difficulties there now. But the most curious thing is that the officers who stood by the late Warden against the new Warden, then Deputy Warden, knowing so well what they had to do, are now in favor of the new Warden, against whom they were fighting when he was deputy, and those very men that stood by the Deputy Warden while he was deputy are now plotting amongst themselves against him as Warden. You may laugh, hon. gentlemen, but after the battle comes the duty of counting the number of deaths. There was the commencement of a revolt a few days ago, and it worked so badly inside of the penitentiary that information of it transpired outside of the walls. Every day there are rumors of difficulties in the institution, and yet a sworn Minister of the Crown says there are none—and why? Because the Inspector says there are none. The Inspector's friend is there now. He has succeeded in getting the late Warden dismissed and his friend appointed, and the Minister of Justice depends on his report, and says it is all right. I say it is all wrong, as I said it from this very place four weeks before the revolt took place some years ago. I warned the Government on that occasion to take care or something would occur that they

would deplore. Four weeks after my warning the wires brought the news of Corriveau being shot dead, Laviolette mortally wounded, and five or six others dangerously wounded. I predict again that if care is not taken further trouble is brewing. I say more: that whisky is still too much used there, and I would not have stated it had the Minister been more liberal in his answer. There are men whose eyes are red with liquor in that penitentiary every day. Statistics show that three-fourths of the convicts are in the penitentiary for crimes committed while under the influence of liquor. Yet we have one of the head men of that institution so much addicted to drinking that his eyes every day seem to swim in liquor. These are facts which I would not have spoken of but for the compliments paid by the hon. gentleman on the management of that institution. I do not mention this in the hope that the Government will do anything to prevent trouble; but theirs is the responsibility, and I have relieved myself of any responsibility in calling the attention of the Government to the matter. Now, I will ask hon. members a question, even the leader of the House, and if he says "Yes," I will admit that I was wrong. Would it have been fair for me, with the responsibility which rests on me, to begin an inquiry where eighty convicts would be called to give evidence, not under oath, when convicts are not allowed to give evidence in other inquiries because the Inspector and Minister say they cannot be relied upon? If the leader of the House says that I was not right in securing a promise that the investigation would be made under oath then I am wrong; but if not, if there is any sense of justice in members of this House they will say I was perfectly right when I knew who I had to deal with. Those I had to deal with were members of the Government of this day, who would have done their best to put me down, but I did my best to help in this matter, though I did not think it was necessary for me to do so much as to injure myself by my own stupidity. The leader for the Government says that they tried to get the evidence of the French witnesses from the reporter and that the reporter refused to give up his notes, because he subsequently received an appointment under the Local Govern-

ment, and he thought it would injure him to give up the notes. I am happy to inform the hon. gentleman that he has been deceived by those who told him so. Mr. Bourbonnais was then and is now a member of the Quebec Legislature, and cannot occupy a position under the Quebec Government.

HON. MR. LACOSTE—He was then.

HON. MR. ROSS—Would the hon. gentleman be kind enough to give me the date of the investigation?

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—The mock investigation was held by the two Ministers in December, 1886.

HON. MR. PELLETIER—And Bourbonnais was elected in October, 1886.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—The investigation occupied altogether nine hours, and the Minister of Justice said that they heard over 100 witnesses. I leave it to the legal gentleman of this House to say if that is not a stupid statement to say that such an investigation was the solemn inquiry promised.

HON. MR. McINNES—This subject is one of considerable importance. To my personal knowledge the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière had been warning the Government for years before this revolt took place, which resulted in the death of more than one individual and the wounding of several others, and instead of censuring him, as some hon. gentleman do, he is entitled to the best consideration of this House and of the country. I am fully persuaded that the hon. gentlemen is thoroughly honest and sincere in his advocacy of a thorough investigation being made in connection with the penitentiary. And if the Government were desirous of making a thorough investigation and laying the blame, if blame there be, on the shoulders of the guilty individuals in that penitentiary, the proper way would be to delegate the power to make the inquiry to some person entirely disconnected with the penitentiary, or the Government, and to hear evidence under oath. Why are witnesses placed under oath? Is it not under the impression that they are more liable to tell the truth than if they merely make an unsworn statement?

Not only are the majority of people afraid of punishment by the law of the land if they give false evidence under oath, but they are also afraid of future punishment. I think that the hon. gentleman was perfectly right when he refused to give any evidence to the Minister of Justice or to the Inspector, except under oath. It must be quite evident to any disinterested person that he was willing to state nothing but what he believed to be correct, and which he could prove. I have some sympathy for the hon. gentleman, inasmuch as I am somewhat similarly situated. We have a penitentiary within a mile of where I live, in New Westminster. It is believed that there are a great many irregularities in connection with the management of that institution. I am not going to make any charges now, but I believe the rumors are well founded, and when the proper time comes I fear it will be my bounden duty to ask that an investigation be made, and that it be placed entirely beyond the control or influence of the Inspector of Penitentiaries and the Government, and that some judge of the Supreme Court, or other thoroughly disinterested and qualified person, shall take the evidence and investigate all complaints, and thereby do justice to the people of the penitentiary, and if they are not guilty of what they are charged with they will be exonerated; if guilty, they should be punished, and the public will be satisfied. Anything short of that, in my opinion, will not give satisfaction. I think this case of the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary has not gone too far yet for a thorough and searching investigation to be made of it before some of the judges of the courts in the Province of Quebec.

The motion was agreed to.

A QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I rise to a question of privilege, and I will read a declaration:—

“QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

“I, Joseph H. Bellerose, Senator, do state that from my seat in this Senate, that I am credibly informed and that I have good reasons to believe that I can establish by satisfactory evidence, that with the view of protecting certain public officers, and particularly certain officers of the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul, the Government of Canada has allowed itself, contrary to all propriety, to lay before Parliament during the Session of 1887 a

document or Blue Book, intituled ‘Supplementary Reports on Penitentiaries for the Year ending the 30th June, 1886,’ and containing a report, by Deputy Warden Ouimet, which is but little in accordance with the facts of the revolt which took place at the aforesaid Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul on the 24th April, 1886; and that the Government, and notably certain Ministers, had good, weighty and sufficient reasons for doubting the veracity of this report on the revolt, if not for being quite convinced of its falsity; and whereas, notwithstanding all these reasons, notwithstanding these informations, and putting aside and ignoring all the means which the Government, and particularly certain Ministers had, of establishing the facts as they really were, the Government has laid before Parliament this illusory and untruthful document, and by so doing has deliberately consented to deceive Parliament, and specially this House, as to the true circumstances of the aforesaid outbreak on the 24th April, 1886.”

I now give the following notice for Friday, 26th April:—

That a committee of seven Senators be selected and appointed, and that instructions be given to this committee to inquire into the charges made against the Government by the Hon. Mr. Bellerose, Senator, on the 24th of April instant, in the statement made by him from his seat in the Senate; and that the said committee be empowered to send for persons, papers and records, and to examine witnesses on oath, and that it be an instruction to the committee to report the evidence taken by them, and also their proceedings.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am inclined to think that the declaration which my hon. friend has made is out of order, and ought not to be entered upon the Minutes of the House; therefore, I would ask that the matter be allowed to stand until to-morrow, in order that I may look into the question, and be prepared to submit my views to the House.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I rise to another question of order, and it is that this is not the proper time to raise the question of order. When I make the motion on Friday that will be the time for the hon. gentleman to raise the question of order. I may remind the hon. gentleman that I did not originate this form of statement—it was done before to-day, and if it was sound practice under other Speakers it must be in order to-day. The only argument against my motion last year was that I had named the Minister.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have not raised the question of order; I have only asked that the matter be allowed to stand until to-morrow. I never before heard such a motion.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—May be I know a little more than the hon. gentleman does on such matters. I know enough to go by precedent.

THE SPEAKER—Shall the Order stand until to-morrow?

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I wish to be understood. If your honor decides that it is not in order, then I must submit; but I want a decision. This is my question of order, that now is not the proper time to raise the question of order on giving notice. The question of order is to be raised when the motion is made. To-day I made a statement, and I was not prevented from making it. It is down now, and it has to go to the public.

HON. MR. POWER—I think on the question of order that the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière (Mr. Bellerose) is probably right. I may say that I do not see that any good result would likely follow from the appointment of the committee; but to say that a member cannot give notice as long as that notice does not contain anything offensive—

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I did not say so.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman has raised the question of order, and has asked for a decision.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have not raised the question of order with respect to the notice at all.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman from Delanaudière has asked the Speaker to rule on the question of order as to the notice being in order.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am not suggesting the possibility of any question as to the notice being in order.

HON. MR. POWER—I said that the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière had insisted that His Honor the Speaker should immediately decide the question of order. I have not referred to the leader of the House at all.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—But my hon. friend said the question of order was as to the notice. There is no question of order raised as to the notice. The point I raised is this: The hon. gentleman from

Delanaudière got up and made a statement from his place in the House, and he suggested that that statement be put on the records of the House at once. Then after that, without sitting down or giving any one an opportunity of saying anything, he gave notice of a motion. As soon as he sat down I stated to the House that I desired to have until to-morrow to consider how far the statement which my hon. friend had made was in order, or whether it should go on the records of the House.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—I may be allowed to state on the question of order, it is my impression that this being a question of privilege—

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I wish it to be distinctly understood that I do not raise any question of order. I asked the indulgence of the House until to-morrow to consider whether I shall raise the question of order on this statement or not, as it is an important matter.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—The Minister will remember that after his own motion, whatever it may be, the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière said himself that he was raising a question of order.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—He cannot raise it on his own motion.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—A member may raise a question of order on anything.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—On his own notice?

HON. MR. TRUDEL—Yes.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—That is something new.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am not aware of it.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—I think that there is a great difference between a notice of motion and a question of privilege, and I respectfully call the attention of the leader of the House to this point: this is not a motion; it is a declaration, or statement, by a member of the House. To decide against the hon. gentleman would be to decide that under certain circumstances a member of the House has no right to rise in his place and make a statement.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have not made any objection to the statement.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—Then the leader of the House will allow me respectfully to remark that if it is the unquestionable right of any member of this House to rise on a question of privilege and make a statement on a question of privilege: if this is granted, then the hon. gentleman was within his privilege to rise and make his statement, which he did. There is another question which very properly belongs to the House to decide, and that is whether the hon. gentleman's statement will be placed on the records of the House. No doubt the House will do whatever the majority decides, but as to the question of fact, the making of the statement, I respectfully suggest that this is the right of every member of the House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Nobody disputes it. My hon. friend makes a long argument about something that nobody disputes. The hon. gentleman had a right to get up and make a statement. The point is, whether that statement should appear on the records or not. I asked time until to-morrow to consider whether I shall object to its going on the records.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—It is announced that the Session is to close either the end of this week or early next week, and if you postpone the question in this way it shows a determination to throw it out by a side wind.

THE SPEAKER—As I understand, the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière has submitted a written statement from his place, which he desires to have recorded on the Journals of the House. The leader of the House has asked the indulgence of hon. members to allow it to stand until he has time to consider and see whether the statement should go on the Journals of the House or not.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I agree to that, on condition that it will not cause delay—that on Friday I shall be allowed to move the resolution of which I have given notice. I remember what the hon. gentleman himself did last year; after

having promised one way, he acted the other.

THE SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman's resolution is prefaced by a preamble, and in that respect it is out of order.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I ask whether that is the notice given, or whether it is the statement.

THE SPEAKER—The notice. I merely call the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that the Session is drawing to a close, and in order to save time it may be well for him to consider that the notice he has given is prefaced by a preamble, and according to the rule of the House that is out of order.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—If hon. gentlemen will look into the *Debates* and the Journals of the House of Commons for the year 1873 they will find there that Mr. Huntington made a motion in a similar form and it was voted down; but it was made, and I have prepared my notice from that document.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE BILL.

• THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (Y), "An Act to amend Chapter 45 of the Revised Statutes, respecting the North-West Mounted Police Force." He said: My hon. friend from Manitoba put me a question in relation to this Bill which at the moment I was unable to answer. He pointed out the fact that section 24 of the Bill provided a punishment for any member of the force who, having deserted, was found outside of the North-West Territories, and he wished to know why he should not receive punishment if found within the Territories. I said, at the time, that I supposed there was another provision in the statute with respect to that; and I find, on reference to the Act, that desertion, when a man is found within the Territory, is not treated as so heinous a crime as when he leaves the Territories altogether. There is another punishment provided for that.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

AFTER RECESS.**BILLS INTRODUCED.**

Bill (11), "An Act for the Prevention and Suppression of Combinations Formed in Restraint of Trade." (Mr. McCallum).

Bill (101), "An Act to amend the Copyright Act, Chapter 62 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (84), "An Act to extend the provisions of the Extradition Act." (Mr. Power).

**ELECTORAL FRANCHISE ACT
AMENDMENT BILL.****THIRD READING.**

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (4), "An Act further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 5, respecting the Electoral Franchise."

He said: This Bill is introduced mainly for the purpose of assimilating its provisions to the new system of printing. There are some other changes in the Act, but the main provisions are intended to make the requisite regulations or causing the lists to be sent to the Government printing office instead of, as under the former Act, to local printing establishments. There are, however, several other provisions in the Bill, some tending to minor points, and one very important one applicable to the making of the revised lists. The first clause imposes some further restrictions upon the qualification of Indians, requiring them to hold a location ticket for any lot allotted to them, which was not required by the existing Act, and the next following sections make the new provision as to the mode of making the revised lists. Under the former Act the revised lists were made *de novo*; when they were revised they were revised altogether, and consequently the whole list required to be altered. Under this Bill the revising officer makes two supplementary lists—one, of the names to be added; the other, of the names to be removed. By that means a large saving in printing is effected. The first six clauses, with their sub-sections, are intended merely for this purpose. They reprint the provision of the Act for these two purposes, the one which provides for the supplementary lists and the other for the

printing. Then clauses 7 and 8 are merely for the purpose of facilitating the obtaining of printed copies of the list. The next clause provides for the official before whom the solemn declarations may be made under the Act. It adds the "Mayor" to the officers already named.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not propose to offer any opposition to the motion made by the leader of the House, because I think that taking it altogether this Bill effects certain desirable changes in the existing Franchise law. I only rise for the purpose of expressing my regret that, when the Government, after allowing this law to remain untouched for three years, undertake to deal with it now, they have not dealt with it in the most satisfactory way, by repealing it altogether. The law is one which was never desired by any large number of people of this country; and the experience that the country has had of its operation and of the immense expenditure which is involved by it has rendered the public at large less friendly to it than it was at the time the Act was passed. The principal reason alleged for introducing the original measure, as far as I can remember, was that it was desirable that we should have a uniform franchise for the whole Dominion. But although that was the principal reason given by the introducer of the Bill in the other House, and the principal reason given in this House, also, by the gentlemen who supported the measure here, it was abandoned before the Bill became law in the first instance, and two of the Provinces, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, were excepted from the operation of the law, on the ground, I take it, that the franchises of those two Provinces were more liberal than the franchise provided by this Act. Since this Act was passed nearly all the Provinces in the Dominion have dealt with the question of the franchise, and the franchise has been extended in all the Provinces except Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, where it was already manhood suffrage.

HON. MR. ROSS—The franchise was extended in Quebec, also, last year.

HON. MR. POWER—As I understand, the franchise in Quebec is about the same as the Dominion franchise; but in all the

other Provinces the franchise is more liberal than that established by the Dominion Act.

HON. MR. ROSS—This is already too liberal.

HON. MR. POWER—There may be differences of opinion on that subject. In Nova Scotia the franchise has been twice broadened: once in the same year that the original Dominion Act was passed, and again during the present year; so that the franchise in that Province is rather more liberal than this franchise. Under these circumstances, the reasons which induced the Government to except British Columbia and Prince Edward Island from the operation of the original Act are reasons for excepting all the other Provinces—Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—from the operation of this Act, and there really would be no Province left, except Quebec, under the operation of this Act. The true principle to have adopted was the principle adopted in the United States, of taking the franchises of the various Provinces. Then if there was some Province, to whose circumstances a liberal franchise was not suited, that Province could have a franchise which suited itself, and the Provinces where the people thought that manhood suffrage, or something equivalent to that, was preferable, could have manhood suffrage. There is no reason why that should not be the rule. No one can point to any objection to allowing the provincial franchises to operate as to federal elections, as is the case in the United States. There are these objections to retaining this franchise: first, the enormous expense. The existing franchise law has cost the Dominion something over \$400,000, already. I see by the Supplementary Estimates which were laid on our desks to day that there is a sum of \$250,000 appropriated to meet the expenditure which will be necessary to carry out the Act during the present year. That is an immense sum of money to pay for a franchise which almost nobody wants. Then there is the further difficulty that our franchise law is a complicated and intricate one, and involves a great deal of trouble, difficulty and expense on the part of candidates and their supporters. The

provincial franchises, which are based on the assessments of the various municipalities, and the lists for which are practically made up by the assessors, involve no expense to the Dominion, and there is really no reason why the country should be put to this very great expense for furnishing lists under a franchise law which is quite unnecessary. I do not know what the feeling of this Chamber may be, but it is an open secret that a majority of the House of Commons, even the members supporting the Government, would be better pleased to see the Franchise Act repealed. It was the Right hon. gentleman who leads the Government who had the Bill introduced in the first instance, and it is he who is anxious that it should be retained. I can only express my regret that the Right hon. gentleman should not be able to see his way to meet the views of a majority of his own supporters, and the views of the majority of the people of this country, by repealing the obnoxious measure which this Bill proposes to amend.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I do not agree with my hon. friend that there is a large majority of the supporters of the Government in favor of a provincial suffrage affecting our Dominion legislation. Certainly this is not the time of day to discuss the advisability of having the provincial franchises to govern the Dominion elections. That was thoroughly discussed, and the consensus of opinion here and elsewhere was that there should be one franchise for the whole Dominion.

HON. MR. POWER—We have not got it now.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think we come as near to it as possible. My hon. friend mentioned British Columbia and Prince Edward Island. I believe that now they are all alike, or nearly so. We know at the time that the Act passed we would not disfranchise any of those in British Columbia that were then on the list. Those who were then able to vote in Dominion elections were continued on the lists, but any additions which were afterwards made were confined to those who could qualify under the franchise for the Dominion. I see no reason why we should in this country have provincialism prevail

amongst us; there is no reason why a man living on one side of an imaginary line should have the franchise when he would not have it on the other side of that line. I should prefer going much further towards manhood suffrage. I do not believe that in Nova Scotia the franchise, as amended this year, has been enlarged; it certainly has not been to the extent that our present franchise is.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—That is what I understand from reading the papers; but I certainly am opposed to any franchise which is not common to all Canada. We know what the local Governments sometimes do—how often they have disfranchised men of large intelligence in Nova Scotia. We may expect that the same means would be adopted should we entrust to them the power of fixing the franchise for the Dominion elections. Therefore, whatever my views may be of the present Bill, and while I think that the Franchise Act is susceptible to a great deal of improvement, at the same time I do not believe that a majority of the people feel inclined to accept any franchise except one which extends alike to all persons and to all parts of Canada.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg seems to think that the measure of uniformity should be something set down in the Bill—so many dollars and cents and so much interest in a certain property—to qualify a man to vote; but does not that itself involve inequality, inasmuch as the value of property is very diverse in different parts of this Dominion? For instance, in Prince Edward Island, where every man has a vote, I can hire a laborer for a dollar a day, but if I were to offer such wages to a laborer in British Columbia he would laugh at me, and tell me that I should give him a dollar and a half more before he would work for me. Those two men work at the same kind of labor, but their earnings are very different. The man who receives \$2.50 per day must work for a man whose profits are enormously large to enable him to pay such wages. Consequently, the uniformity which the hon. gentleman looks for is not there at all. I regret that this is the third time that the House has been

called upon to deal with this question in hot haste near the end of the Session. I have objected before to its complicated and expensive character, and I think it is due to the people I represent, and to the whole Dominion, and this House should indicate their disapproval of this unnecessary expenditure by the Government in employing a vast number of people to perform a very simple service, and spending an immense amount in printing which is practically unnecessary. I have before now, on occasions such as this, pointed to the fact that for fifty years after the Reform Bill passed in England we had no such thing at all. Our voters were registered by overseers of parishes, and the names covered a sheet the size of an ordinary London paper. It was posted on the door of the parish church. Those whose names were not there at the first putting-up of it could afterwards have their names inserted on paying one shilling to the overseer, and by-and-by, when the revising barrister appointed by the chief judge of assize, in making his circuits, made his appearance there, he was the judge to decide upon the character of the electoral lists. We all know, those of us who have taken any note of English history as it passed along, besides, that the leading politicians of our days, Peel, Disraeli, and men of that stamp, used to tell their supporters that if they wanted to make an impression of their opinions on the people they should go and fight out their case before the revising barristers. That they have done for fifty years in this simple way, and yet this Dominion of Canada, with its slim population scattered across a continent, must have this expensive, complicated arrangement, which I very much doubt if the leader of the Government himself understands, clever as he is. I quite concur in the idea that it would have been much better if this Government had adopted universal manhood suffrage. I do not say that it is incumbent on us to force it on a Province that does not like it, but we have had it in our Province for a number of years, and as our people are comfortably situated, without being extravagant, we find that we can safely trust them with the franchise, and they have used it with great discretion, as far as I know, and I cannot see why it should not

have answered in other Provinces which are probably as well situated as ours. I can see that in large cities, where there are considerable accessions of people from Europe, caution should be exercised in giving the franchise. I hope this House understands the Bill, but we have no time to examine it now. It is to be regretted that such an important measure is brought before us at the extreme end of the Session and hurried through with great haste, when it ought to be done with the greatest deliberation. If such a Bill were introduced early in the Session hon. gentlemen could send copies to their constituents and get their opinions upon it, and then we could have an intelligent opposition to the measure. Our opposition now is more like an instinct than anything else. Mine is. I was a youngster in England when, after the first Reform Bill, the lists were posted up on the parish church doors. That system gave satisfaction as long as it lasted. Now they have a more complicated affair, probably because there are so many denominations, and they do not frequent the parish churches. One cannot help feeling, although this is a party question, that it is one of the greatest importance to the country, and I do wish it could be dealt with in a more becoming and statesmanlike way than it has been.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend from Marshfield (Mr. Haythorne) will remember that this Bill came up for the second reading yesterday, before it was distributed, I had no desire to press it, and suggested to let the Bill stand over until to-day. I suggested also that if the Bill was allowed to take its second reading then I would give an explanation before, going into committee, and the House unanimously consented. If the hon. gentleman had asked for delay I should have submitted at once. The questions which have been raised as to the propriety of having this Bill at all, and of having certain restrictions on the franchise, have been so often discussed, and really do not come up now, that I hardly think the House desires to enter upon that wide discussion upon this Bill, which is merely an attempt to modify the objections which have been made to the Act. The measure, of course, is not perfect.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE.

The desire of the country, I believe, contrary to the opinion expressed by the hon. member from Halifax, is that the qualification of members to be returned to the House of Commons shall be decided by this Parliament and not by the Local Legislatures. That, I think, is the opinion of the majority of the people of this country, and it has been expressed on more than one occasion. Whether this is the best possible way of doing it or not, of course is a question, and I think it is an admission on the part of the Government that they have not hit on the best possible mode of doing it, since they have introduced this Bill, which will diminish the expense and simplify it a good deal. It is possible we may find the means of going still further in that direction, and any suggestion in that way would be very gladly adopted and acted upon; but I do not think the hon. member from Halifax is quite justified in assuming, in the face of the fact that large majorities have supported this Bill, that the majority of the members of the House of Commons and of the country are against the law. I do not think that a majority of the people desire to have the qualification of this Parliament settled by the Local Legislature, and I am quite satisfied that the majority of the country will be delighted if the Act can be improved, but I do not think they would be satisfied to abandon the principle on which it rests.

The motion was agreed to.

(In the Committee).

On the 1st clause,

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—Is there not some doubt about this word "found guilty?" Suppose there is a contested election, and a witness is called and swears that a certain person has been corrupted, that will not suffice to convict him. He must be notified, and have an opportunity to defend himself, and if that notification is not given then that person will not fall under this clause. It is true that the 115th section provides that whenever it appears to a judge trying an election petition that anyone has violated any provision of the Act, for which violation such person is liable to a fine or penalty, the judge may order that he shall be

summoned to appear before the court to answer the charge. Therefore, it is necessary that he should be summoned; now it is left entirely to the discretion of the judge. Should not the judge be obliged to notify the person?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Act as it stands makes ample provision, I think, for the conviction of a person against whom a charge of corruption is made. The language of the Act is not imperative on the judge, but still the construction of the word "may," when applied to a public officer, indicating his duty, is considered to be imperative, and I suppose no judge would hesitate to act on the power given him by section 115. This has been found to work perfectly well, and there are actually persons in gaol at this moment for corrupt practices under the Act. I do not think my hon. friend will find any difficulty on that score.

The clause was adopted.

On section 9,

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman proposes to amend this section by inserting the word "mayor" before the word "reeve." There is one other amendment that occurs to me. As far as I can judge by looking over the original Act, there is no provision for the making of declarations before any officer, except the revising officer, while inserting the word "mayor" provides for a difficulty that might arise in a city; it is a question whether it would not be well to insert "alderman" also, for this reason: supposing the mayor happens to be absent, as is often the case, a difficulty might arise in making the necessary declarations in his absence, and I am not sure whether the words municipal councillor will cover alderman. In Halifax city our municipal councillors are called aldermen, and they are distinguished from the county municipal councillors in that way. The rural councillors are called municipal councillors, and the council of the city are called aldermen.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not know that there is any objection to the hon. gentleman's suggestion, but this is not intended for town corporations. This was a suggestion made by Mr. Laurier. The

mayor, in Lower Canada, is the principal officer in every small municipality, and it is for the purpose of enabling these mayors, more particularly, to administer the oath, that this amendment is inserted. There is no difficulty in cities, because there are any number of justices of the peace in the cities; but in the country it is not so, and the object of this amendment is to facilitate the making of the declaration in the country.

HON. MR. POWER—Would the hon. gentleman point out where, in the original Act, there is a provision for taking the declaration before a justice of the peace?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I see no objection to inserting the word "alderman."

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—It might lead to complications in the Province whence I come to adopt this amendment, because we have only one mayor in the whole Province, and that is in Charlottetown. I do not know that they have aldermen. They have town councillors, but when you get outside of the towns, in the country districts they have none; they have none of those municipal arrangements which prevail in other Provinces of the Dominion. We have school districts and county lines, but we have no municipalities, no reeves or mayors. We have magistrates, and if a declaration before a magistrate would serve the purpose there are plenty of them; but very often they are not supplied with the Dominion Acts. I knew a case the other day where a magistrate was called upon to act, and he was without the statutes of Canada. An application may be made to a magistrate under this Act, and he would not be able to take the declaration, as he is not provided with the laws.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Magistrates are authorized to receive a solemn declaration.

HON. MR. POWER—What I want to find out from the hon. gentleman is, where the original Act authorizes those declarations to be taken before any one but the revising officer.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I understand this clause to enable the declaration to be made before any official authorized to receive a declaration. Any man who can take an

affidavit can take a statutory declaration. I have no objection to inserting the word "aldermen" as well as "mayor."

The clause, as amended, was agreed to.

HON. MR. PAQUET, from the committee, reported the Bill as amended.

CUSTOMS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (117). "An Act further to amend the Customs Act, Chapter 32 of the Revised Statutes."

He said: This Bill is framed for the purpose of regulating a number of details, important in themselves, but merely machinery for the carrying out of the purposes of the Act. The first clause of the Bill repeals section 33 of the Act, and makes a provision which prohibits the bringing of goods into Canada by land conveyance, otherwise than by railway, during the night. That is to check a practice which is too frequent, of bringing in goods across the line in the dark and so escaping the payment of duty. The clause in the original Bill, which provided for the assimilating of our practice to that in other countries for levying duties on goods in transportation to the place of shipment, was abandoned in the other House. The fourth section of the Bill, repealing section 61, provides for an abuse which has crept into practice, of taking portions which constitute a complete article and importing them separately, where some of those articles so separately imported would bear a less rate of duty than the machine or article for which they are intended. The identical parts necessary to make a perfect machine are imported by separate invoices and on separate occasions, so that when they are all connected together here it is found that the aggregate duty paid on the separate portions is less than the duty which is required to be paid on the machine itself.

HON. MR. LACOSTE—That is like the Ayers' case.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; it is practised very largely in drugs. There is a large manufacturing house that I happen to

know of that has practised the same thing as the Ayers for a long time. Then section 5 provides for the appraisal of goods. This clause is calculated to deal with this abuse: where an article is sold in the United States, bearing a royalty, and the royalty is added to the price, an attempt has frequently been made to deduct the royalty from the price and enter it at a lower rate of duty, whereas the Customs Act expressly declares that the market value of the goods in the principal markets of the country whence they are exported shall be the test of the value for duty. This is merely an evasion of the rule. The next clause has reference to appraisers. There are Dominion and Customs appraisers, and there are also port appraisers. The port appraisers hold a lower rank in the Customs Department than the Customs and Dominion appraisers. It is intended that these men should exercise a certain supervision over the port appraiser, but it has lately been found that there is no express authority to the Dominion or Customs appraisers to revise the decision of the port appraiser, and this clause is to make it plain that the Dominion appraiser or Customs appraiser may revise the decision of the local appraiser on being satisfied that the goods have been over-valued, or under-valued, as the case may be. Section 89 is amended by the next provision of the Bill. This refers to a case of goods imported, entered to be warehoused, and some importers have claimed that there was no law binding them in such cases to warehouse the goods at once—that they might keep them or take their time about it, and save the trouble of putting them into the warehouse after the entry is passed. This provision requires that after the entry is passed the importers shall move the goods and warehouse them. The next is a provision to enable the Government to enter statistics of goods which are in transit to another country as distinct from the goods which are exported to that country. At present goods shipped to Europe through the United States appear to be entered generally, if not altogether, as goods exported to the United States; whereas, in point of fact they are exported in bond and are in reality intended for the European markets and actually go there. This provision is to enable the Government to obtain statis-

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

ties on that point. Section 11 provides for the exaction of duty on goods which are enclosed in a package, but which are not mentioned in the invoice, that they shall be, if found, seized and forfeited. Section 12 dealt with the time of exportation. It admits, as evidence of the time, the date of the clearance of sailing. The next section is amended so as to provide, where goods are permitted to be removed by the Customs Department, on the deposit of a sum of money to represent the goods, the judgment or forfeiture, which is applicable to the goods themselves, is applicable to the money. The bill is really amending and improving the machinery for collecting Customs duties.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—Is the practice to continue of making Customs officers partners in seizures by receiving a portion of the forfeiture?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is not dealt with by this Bill.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—It is a very unpopular practice.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

MENNONITE IMMIGRANTS LOAN BILL.

SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (138), "An Act respecting the Loan therein mentioned to certain Mennonite Immigrants."

He said: This is a Bill to validate a settlement which has been made by the Government, subject to the approval of Parliament, with the Mennonites, of the loan which was made to them on their original settlement of the property allotted to them in the North-West. The loan was originally made with interest at the rate of 6 per cent., and compounded, so as to provide for the payment of the entire debt in six annual instalments; but they have fallen into some default in making those payments, and they have now made application to the Government to be allowed to pay the amount of the loan with interest at 4 per cent., and as the Government does not, of course, desire to make a profit out of these poor people, and they are prepared to pay the full

amount of their debt at the rate of interest which the Government pays for it, the Government think it best to accept the amount mentioned in the Bill, which is enough to cover the entire loan, and give them their discharge.

HON. MR. POWER—If all the debtors of the Government pay their liabilities as fully the country ought to be satisfied.

HON. MR. LACOSTE—When was the loan made by the Government?

HON. MR. POWER—In 1875.

HON. MR. LACOSTE—I see in the French version of the Bill that the loan was made in 1895.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is a misprint, and the clerk will see that it is corrected.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the Bill.

HON. MR. DEVER, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

EXPROPRIATION OF LANDS BILL.

COMMONS AMENDMENTS ACCEPTED.

The Order of the Day being called, for consideration of amendments made by the House of Commons to Bill (P), "An Act respecting the expropriation of Land,"

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the amendments be concurred in. He said: The amendments are purely verbal. There is only one amendment of importance, to which I think we should not take any objection. It is restricting the power of the Crown to acquire lands in which there is any kind of disability to sell. In the Bill as passed in this House it authorized a proceeding which enabled the Crown to obtain property under the order of a judge of the Exchequer Court under certain precautions; but the House of Commons has struck out that clause, and as I think we ought to move also in that direction, in favor of the liberby of the subject, we should concur in the amendment.

The amendments were concurred in.

The Senate adjourned at 9:20 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 25th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

ELEVATORS AT ST. JOHN.

MOTION.

HON. MR. WARK rose to inquire

Whether, in view of the early opening of the Short Line Railway, and the expectation that merchants of Montreal and other western cities will avail themselves of it for the purpose of shipping grain to Europe, the Government intends, during the ensuing summer, to erect elevators at St. John similar to those at Halifax, to enable shippers to decide from which port shipments can be most advantageously made?

Also, whether, before fixing permanently on either as the winter port, an arrangement will be made for a part of the subsidized steamers to terminate their voyage at one port and a part at the other, for one or more years, to afford time to decide which port should finally have the preference?

He said: The early completion of the Short Line Railway is looked forward to with great interest by the people of St. John and the Province of New Brunswick generally. It is expected to afford a quicker and readier outlet for the products of the west than the Intercolonial Railway, and although Halifax and St. John are contending which shall be the winter port, I think that Montreal and the west are more deeply interested in this question than either of the two cities I have named. Montreal and other cities west are entitled, therefore, to be heard on the subject. In the meantime, in order to place St. John on equal terms with Halifax, I think it is but reasonable that the same facilities should be afforded to St. John as now exist at Halifax, especially for the shipment of grain. The Government went to the expense of erecting elevators at Halifax some years ago; I do not know to what extent they have been utilized.

HON. MR. POWER—One elevator.

HON. MR. WARK—I think it is only reasonable that St. John should have the same facilities, in case the people of the west should come to the conclusion that when those steamers, to be so largely sub-

sidized, are running, they should have an opportunity of choosing by which route they could send their products more cheaply to the markets of Europe. Halifax has the advantage in shorter voyage; St. John has the advantage largely in shorter railway communication. If the distance saved is equal to 250 miles, then allowing only $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cent per mile per ton for carrying freight, which is, I suppose, lower than it will be carried, the additional expense of transporting wheat to Halifax would be at least 3 cents per bushel, and it would be over 10 cents per barrel on flour. There ought to be, therefore, facilities for ascertaining by which route shipments can be made more cheaply, and I hope the Government will not hesitate to erect the same description of elevators at St. John as have been erected at Halifax. There are other questions in which the west, as well as we, are deeply interested—that is, the travel across the Atlantic—the facilities with which passages can be obtained and by which freights can be shipped. These are all questions which require time to test. I therefore propose putting another question to the Government beside the question respecting elevators, and that is with respect to the destination of the voyages of those steamers. I think nothing can be more reasonable (as we want to ascertain what the public interest requires) than, if four steamers are subsidized, that two of them should terminate their voyage at St. John and two at Halifax for at least two years. Two years would be little enough. There would be then a good opportunity for ascertaining, both from travel and from the facilities afforded for forwarding produce to market, which route should be finally adopted and which should be decided upon as the winter port.

HON. MR. POWER—I hope the leader of the House will allow me to say just a few words with respect to this inquiry, which is not strictly an inquiry, inasmuch as it embodies a statement of debatable facts in the beginning—"the expectation that merchants of Montreal and other western cities will avail themselves of it for the purpose of shipping grain to Europe." That is a very debatable fact. I do not think the merchants of Montreal

and other western places will avail themselves of this road to any great extent. I merely rise to express the hope that the Government do not propose to commit the country to the same sort of dual expenditure as between Halifax and St. John that we very often have had to complain of as between Quebec and Ontario. There is one grain elevator in Halifax, which, during all the years that it has been in existence, has elevated a very small quantity of grain, and that elevator was erected at a very considerable cost. Now I think it would be an exceedingly unwise thing for the Government, before ascertaining whether grain will go in large quantities to the lower Provinces, to be shipped to Europe, to erect another elevator at St. John, at great cost; and I think, at any rate, it is not the duty of the Government to erect elevators in connection with the Short Line Railway.

HON. MR. WARK—Why are they at Halifax?

HON. MR. POWER—The Short Line Railway is not a Government railway; it is a road which has been built by the public funds of Canada, but which is owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The steamers which are to cross the Atlantic and to be subsidized by the Government are, it is understood, to be run in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and if the Canadian Pacific Railway Company find that they require elevators at St. John then it will be for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to erect elevators, or to come to the Government and ask for assistance to erect them; but until the company operating the road find that they require elevators it would be altogether too previous, in fact, for the Government to undertake to erect them. As to the steamers calling now at one port and now at another, that is a matter chiefly for the owners of the steamship line. As far as I am concerned, if the owners of the steamships which are to carry the mails and receive the immense subsidy which the Government proposes to give them decide that St. John is the better port I shall not object; but the Government and this company are the people who are to decide which is the

better port to call at. We do not want two ports I should sooner, in the interests of the country, that the steamers should go to St. John than that they should go now to one port and now to another. One line of steamers and one port ought to be enough for us.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I regret that my hon. friend has abandoned the hope that Halifax will be the winter port for the grain of our country. We know that the Board of Trade of Halifax, of which my hon. friend was a prominent member, discussed the question, and he was one of those who advocated the erection of an elevator there.

HON. MR. POWER—No; I never did.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—At all events, the Board of Trade, of which he was a member, did, and made strong representations to the Government to have it erected. They even had the Government go to the expense of sending a few loads of grain to see if it could be elevated at all. My hon. friend from Fredericton says that this is not a local question, but one affecting all Canada. I am glad that he has put it on that ground. I hope it will not be treated as a local question. Halifax has gained a reputation that St. John will never have. The tonnage of Halifax last year was greater than that of any other city of the Dominion, not even excepting Montreal. Fancy steamers calling at St. John and navigating the Bay of Fundy, with the tremendous storms they have on that bay in the months of January and February! Does any one imagine that steamships would go there in preference to calling at the best harbor in America? It seems to me that no captain would go up there that had any regard for his vessel or the cargo. I hope that the Government will leave the matter largely in the hands of whichever company gets the contract, and I am sure that they will, in their own interests, as well as in the interests of the country, adopt the best port.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This illustrates the difficulty which will necessarily arise if we persist in having debates upon questions. We were very nearly getting into a debate of the whole House as to

which of these ports is best, and which has the most tonnage, and which is best entitled to elevators. I omitted to notice that my hon. friend's question was for to-day; I thought it was for to-morrow, and I am not, therefore, in a position to give an answer. I did not wish to interrupt him; I wished that he should say what he proposed to say, but I shall give my hon. friend an answer at the opening of the House, to-morrow.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY.

MOTION.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE moved

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General: praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause to be laid before this House:

1. Copies of all correspondence (letters, declarations and other documents relating to the subject treated of in the said letters) which has passed between the Honorable the Minister of Justice, the Honorable Mr. Laurier and Mr. A. Lefavre, formerly a messenger in the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul, on the subject of the dismissal of the latter.

2. Copies of the proof taken and of the report of the officer of the Department of Justice upon the charge of cowardly desertion made against the said Lefavre, as mentioned by the Minister of Justice on Thursday last in the House of Commons.

3. Copies of all other documents relating to this matter.

He said: This question, I am sure, is considered by the House as one of very trifling importance, and we have been told that it ought not to have been brought up at this late period of the Session. I think, on the contrary, that it is one of great importance, not in itself, but on account of the circumstances connected with it. It is the case of a poor man who has been turned out of office on a charge of cowardice, so that he not only suffers in reputation, but suffers, also, pecuniarily. It is the rule in the penitentiaries of this Dominion that an officer who has served a certain number of years is entitled, when resigning, to an indemnity, or retiring allowance, equal to one month's salary for every year he has been in the service. Lefavre was an old servant, so that he loses some hundreds of dollars which he would have been entitled to had he resigned. In view of the fact, I hope that the House will give me its attention while I state his case. After

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

he was dismissed he wrote to me to say that he could not understand why he had been turned out; that during his whole career not a single reproach has been made by his superior officers against him, and I know myself that he was spoken of as one of the best officers that could be found. He asked me if I could find out why he had been disgraced, and I called for the papers in this House. They were laid on the Table, and I hold them in my hands. One of them is the report of Chief Keeper McCarthy, and is as follows:—

“ ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY,

“ 12th May, 1886.

“ SIR,—In compliance with your order, I hereby submit for your consideration a report of the conduct of some of the officers during and since the late mutiny here. Messenger Lefavre, acting apparently in a cowardly manner during a revolt of the convicts on Saturday, the 24th of April last, when given a rifle by the Chief Keeper, and told by him to go through the Deputy Warden's garden to where the convicts were about scaling the wall, he took the rifle, but when out of the Chief Keeper's sight he hastily returned it to the armory and went home, and did not appear again at the prison until the Monday morning following.

“ Respectfully submitted,

“ (Signed), THOMAS MCCARTHY.

“ Acting Deputy Warden.”

Now, if that is true, surely he ought not to have been kept in his position. That man wrote to me again, and asked me to submit his statement to the Government, and his offer of evidence. I refused. I said that I would have no more to do with the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, that I had had enough of it, and that it would be better for him to apply to a member of the House of Commons, who would have more influence with the Government than a member of the Senate would have. Acting on this suggestion, he wrote through Mr. Laurier to the Minister of Justice, as follows:—

“ 1854 ST. CATHARINE STREET,

“ MONTREAL, 10th March, 1888.

“ The Hon. JOHN S. D. THOMPSON.

“ Minister of Justice:

“ SIR,—I have taken communication of the documents which you have laid before Parliament within the last few days, concerning my dismissal as messenger of the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul. One of these documents was a report from Chief Keeper McCarthy to Deputy Warden Ouimet. The former declares that he makes this report at the request of his chief, Ouimet, then acting as Warden. Mr. McCarthy affirms that on the day of the revolt (24th April, 1886) he put in my hand a rifle and ordered me to post myself at a certain place which he pointed out, but that as soon as he

had turned his back I carried my firearm to the arsenal, and that I ran away in a cowardly manner. All that is completely false, with the exception of one fact. Now, I am ready to prove that I was on an errand to the village, by order of Mr. Laviolette, the Warden, and I was returning, when, upon entering the house of the doctor of the penitentiary, in order to get some remedies for myself, as I was ill, the doctor and I heard several discharges of firearms at the penitentiary. I left immediately at full speed to go there. On arriving at the gate of the penitentiary I there found Chief McCarthy, who gave me a rifle, and ordered me to go and place myself outside the walls at the north-western extremity. I took the firearm and went to the place indicated. I fulfilled my duty there until the end of the outbreak. I was there when Mr. Laviolette received his wounds. I was there when the prisoner Corriveau was killed by guard Paré, which put an end to the revolt. Then the news that Mr. Laviolette had been killed ran through our ranks; my illness increased to such a degree as to render me *hors de combat*. I had to withdraw and to ask for the doctor, whose certificate I have. If I did not notify the superior officers of my departure it was because the Warden was in the hands of the rebels within the walls; and the other, Mr. Ouimet, was walking about in the village, far away from danger; and the third, Mr. McCarthy, was hiding in the building, looking out of the windows at what was going on in the yard, which had become a field of battle, or again, was going outside the walls, where his life was less in danger.

Mr. McCarthy, who treats me as a coward, was himself so frightened that day that he does not remember that he was more than a coward, when he refused or neglected to execute the orders which he had received from Mr. Laviolette at the commencement of the outbreak, orders which, if they had been executed, would have saved Corriveau's life and would have spared others, officers and prisoners, the more or less serious wounds which were the consequence of his negligence. If Mr. McCarthy has forgotten that I am very glad to remind him of it, if only to make known who were the most cowardly and the most criminal that day. Very few persons know these facts: I have never spoken a word about them; but since the guilty parties wish to calumniate, it is just that they should be unmasked. Mr. Ouimet has always appeared to me to be hostile towards me, doubtless because I was devoted to the Warden. On the other hand, Mr. McCarthy, since I was summoned to appear as a witness at the time of the inquiry of 1884, and had to answer questions relating to his sobriety, whom I had seen under the influence of liquor at the penitentiary. Mr. McCarthy, I say, conceived a desire for vengeance against me, which finally led him into the blackest of calumnies. Those who know me will have difficulty in believing that with the blood of the Laviolettes running in my veins I could have been afraid of powder, as Mr. Ouimet and Mr. McCarthy proved they were afraid of it that day, when they cowardly deserted their posts at the smell of powder, which brought me thither in all haste.

"I ask, therefore, that the amount which is granted to all officers who resign may be allowed to me, or that an inquiry be made into the complaint laid against me by Mr. Ouimet and Mr. McCarthy, and into that which I make against them in reply to their perfidious calumnies.

"Mr. Ouimet and Mr. McCarthy obtained my

dismissal from office without any inquiry being made. You could not have acted thus without conferring about it with the Inspector. He is as much interested as the two others in removing from the penitentiary all who knew about the past. I am more loyal than my enemies: I only ask their dismissal after inquiry made: and, as I have a living to gain for my family, and as I know nothing about inquiries, I claim the liberty of being represented by counsel before the commission.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"You very humble servant,

"(Signed), A. LEFAIVRE."

Mr. Laurier sent this to the Minister of Justice, who has possession of it. To this the Minister replied, that it was *un fait accompli*; that he could not help it, and the matter must remain as it was. Then Mr. Lefavre wrote to Mr. Laurier in the following words:—

"MONTREAL, 16th April, 1888.

"HON. MR. LAURIER, M.P.

"SIR.—I am greatly surprised to learn that the Minister of Justice has replied to you that the contents of my letter were false. That is deciding in an offhand manner a most important matter. I have been employed many years in the penitentiary. I have so well performed my duty there that they think it necessary to calumniate me to turn me out. I have a right, on resigning, to a retiring allowance, such as is paid to other resigning officers in those institutions—some hundreds of dollars. In dismissing me without cause they have deprived me of that right. Therefore, they are unjustly retaining money which I have legitimately earned. I venture to say that the Minister has been deceived, and I herewith send you some documents which prove that I do not unjustly claim a retiring allowance, and also that I do not make, without good reason, the grave charges which I have laid against my calumniators. It is rare to see faithful servants condemned without a hearing, as I have been. It seems to me that in a matter of such importance an inquiry should precede expulsion, and more especially when an inquiry is demanded by the accused person should an investigation be accorded. That is simple justice. There is something striking in the fact that Messrs. Ouimet and McCarthy made their reports against me on the 16th of May, 1886, and that the Government waited until the 19th of January, 1887, to remove me—that is to say, they waited until Mr. Laviolette was superannuated before discharging me.

"In thanking you for what you have already done, I ask you to transmit to the Minister the certificates or declarations which I herewith enclose.

"I have the honor to be,

"ADOLPHE LEFAIVRE,

"No 1854 St. Catharine St., Montreal."

This was transmitted to the Minister, who said: "There is no use; judgment has been given and the man must suffer." Lefavre then wrote to the late Warden, and I beg here to remind hon. gentlemen

that there is one thing extraordinary. As stated in the letter of Lefaiivre, the revolt took place on the 24th April, 1886; on the 16th May following, two weeks afterwards, the Chief Keeper laid his complaint against Lefaiivre and asked for his dismissal. This was not acted upon as long as Mr. Laviolette was there. Mr. Laviolette retired in January, 1887, and it is only after he had left the command of the prison that the new Warden (Mr. Ouimet) told Lefaiivre that he was dismissed.

I may say that Lefaiivre is a relation of the late Warden, Mr. Laviolette, but he was an officer in the penitentiary a long time before Laviolette was appointed, so that he is not Laviolette's appointee. He writes to Laviolette:—

“MONTREAL, 16th April, 1888

“G. LAVIOLETTE, Esq., &c., &c.

“MY DEAR COUSIN,—I have been dismissed from my position in the penitentiary for having acted in a cowardly manner at the commencement of the revolt of the 24th April, 1886; that is what is said in the report made against me by Ouimet and McCarthy. I have written to the Minister that that was false, that neither Mr. Ouimet nor Mr. McCarthy was able to make any statement of the kind, in view of the fact that Ouimet was walking in the village and McCarthy was looking out of the window at what was passing in the yard, and that you, the Warden, had given an order to Mr. McCarthy at the first moment that could have saved the life of Corriveau, and that McCarthy did not execute your orders.

“To-day, permit me to ask of you if this is not true—that you gave an order to that man that could have saved the position, and if it is not true that he did not execute it?”

“Is it not true also that at the time of the revolt I was on a message by your order, and that Mr. Ouimet was absent without permission.

“You will render me a service by answering these questions and stating what you know.

“My respects to Madame and all the family.

“Your cousin,

“ADOLPHE LEFAIVRE.”

Here is the answer of the late Warden:

“ST. JEROME, 25th April, 1888.

“MY DEAR LEFAIVRE—I mislaid your letter of the 16th inst., with other papers, and thereby have lost site of it.

“As I am convinced that the Minister of Justice would not persist in doing an injustice if you would furnish him with evidence that the complaint of Ouimet and McCarthy against you, accusing you of having deserted your post during the revolt of the convicts at the penitentiary on the 24th of April, 1886, I reply to your two questions:

“1st. At the moment when the revolt of the convicts occurred I had sent you on a message to the village, and you had not returned, to my knowledge, before I left my office to make my ordinary visit.

“2nd. It is true, that on going to the yard I met the Chief Keeper McCarthy, who informed me that he believed that an outbreak of the prisoners had taken place, and on that I ordered him to return to me with seven or eight guards armed with carbines.

“I do not know anything further.

“I did not see Ouimet at all, he having been absent from his post for four or five days without my permission.

“You must not make use of this for the present, except in presenting your case before the Minister.

“Yours devotedly,

“GODF. LAVIOLETTE.

“MR. A. LEFAIVRE, MONTREAL.”

I will now read the documents fyled by Lefaiivre. One is from the doctor of the institution:—

“ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, 15th April, 1888.

“I, the undersigned, physician of the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul from its foundation in 1873 until the 9th February, 1887, certify that on the 24th of April, 1886, the day of the revolt, towards the middle of the afternoon Mr. A. Lefaiivre, messenger of the penitentiary, was at my house for a remedy which I had prepared for him, owing to the fact that he was sick. He had already several times been under my care after the beginning of the year 1886, in consequence of a strong palpitation of the heart, which had the effect of weakening him considerably, to the extent of unfitting him to discharge his duties at the penitentiary for several days after each attack. The day of the revolt he was at my house, and was under treatment for an attack of that malady when we heard gun shots at the penitentiary. Mr. Lefaiivre said to me: ‘There is trouble at the penitentiary,’ and, sick as he was, he rushed from the door and ran to the prison. The same day, a little later, F. Chartrand, wounded in the fight, was taken to my house. I was still attending to his wounds when a demand came to go at once to the penitentiary, as Warden Laviolette had been grievously wounded. A second messenger came, demanding my presence at the house of Mr. Lefaiivre. I hastened and finished attending to Guard Chartrand, and started for the prison. I stopped at the house of Lefaiivre, whom I found in a very weak condition, the result of strong palpitation of the heart, caused by emotion. I ordered him to continue his remedy, and seeing no imminent danger, I continued my way to the penitentiary, promising Lefaiivre to see him again. In fact, that evening I did go there, and he was better.

“(Signed), DR. F. J. POMINVILLE.”

Far from running out of the penitentiary, he ran in. Then he was ordered to go to the north-east of the walls to Tower No. 6, where Guard Paré, who shot Corriveau, one of the best shots of the institution, was stationed. Paré is a guard there still, though much has been done by the friends of the Government to have him withdraw his letter, which I propose to read; but he said he would rather leave the institution, though a poor man, than not stand by what is right, I was told.

" St. JEROME, 10th September, 1887.

" To the Honorable

" The Minister of Justice.

" I certify that on the day of the revolt of the convicts at the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I sent the messenger Adolphe Lefaiivre on a message to the house of Keeper Dequoi, to his residence in the village. I know that a little before half past four I left my office to go on my visit of inspection through the departments, and that then the messenger Lefaiivre had not yet returned up to the moment the convicts commenced to revolt in some of the departments. I remember that during that afternoon Lefaiivre had complained of being sick.

" (Signed), GODEF. LAVIOLETTE."

" VAUDREUIL, 26th January, 1888.

" I, the undersigned, certify that Mr. Adolphe Lefaiivre, formerly messenger in Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul, always, so far as I was able to judge, during the three years and a half that I was Chaplain in that institution, faithfully discharged the duties imposed upon him by the position he occupied there.

" (Signed), J. O. GODIN, Priest,
" Curé."

" ST. VINCENT DE PAUL,

" 23rd January, 1887.

" I, the undersigned, certify having seen, on the day of the revolt, the 24th April, 1886, Mr. Adolphe Lefaiivre outside of the wall near the Tower No. 6, holding the place there with a rifle in his hands, in the position of all the other officers, ready to face the revolting convicts.

" He asked me several times how things were passing inside. It was not until the moment that I said to the officers that the Warden had been wounded and the prisoner Corriveau killed that all the officers left the fence. Mr. Lefaiivre was there still when the last shot was fired and the Warden was wounded.

" (Signed), A. V. PARE,
" Guard."

These are the four documents which have been sent to the Government and which I asked for. The Minister himself, the other day said, speaking in reply to Mr. Laurier :

" The hon. gentleman, it is true, has forwarded to me, and the ex-messenger himself has forwarded to me, a statement denying that he was guilty of cowardice and demanding full investigation, but I think the committee will see that I am in no position to accede to that request. What would be the result of an investigation of that kind? Even supposing that the messenger came before me personally and made it appear that his culpability in connection with that transaction was doubtful, and that is all that could be possibly expected in the face of the evidence against him, could I possibly restore him, in violation of the discipline of the prison and against the authority of the officers who are there?

But if it is true that none of those subalterns were there, and if they have been promoted, though not only negligent but cowardly, surely, if this is proven that

Lefaiivre was right, ought not the Government to dismiss those two officers and restore messenger Lefaiivre, if there is any justice to be had from the present Government? I defy any hon. gentleman in this House to say, if these are the facts, that Ouimet and McCarthy, who have been promoted, ought not to be dismissed as cowards, and that Lefaiivre ought to be re-instated with honor. I was there that day, as I said before; a messenger came running to my home, and said: "The Warden is dead! There is no officer to take command! Please come to the penitentiary, or these convicts will be out in five minutes!" I dressed myself, and ran to the prison, and what did I see? I found six or seven of the guards idling and whispering together, and I asked them what were they about? I said: "Your comrades are being fired at, and may be some others will be shot?" "Why" said one, "we cannot go there unarmed! We have no arms, and we have no commander." One wished to run out, and I said: "Are you a fool? I cannot give you orders." If the Government do not want to assume the responsibility of a great injustice, by all means let them have an inquiry at the request of Lefaiivre, and if he is right and they be wrong, let him be reinstated and the two others dismissed. It may be said that it is extraordinary that McCarthy should have made such charges without any reason. But there was good reason for it; there was an inquiry held in 1884—that sham investigation which I showed last year was a very dishonest inquiry. Amongst the charges made by the Warden was one of very great importance, that Chief Keeper McCarthy had often come to the prison under the influence of liquor. That had to be dealt with, and it was. Witnesses were called, and I will quote what those witnesses said about McCarthy being a drunkard.

" Messenger Lefaiivre swore he remembered that in the month of February the Chief Keeper came to the prison under the influence of liquor. He was not staggering, but it was easy to see that he had taken a fair share

" Guard Felix Lesage stated: Sometimes I saw him a little too much under the influence of liquor. During the winter I noticed him in liquor several times—about eight or ten times. He was in the yard so. I heard some of the convicts remarking that they had remarked it. I have seen him in liquor to such an extent that many things could take place without his perceiving it.

"Keeper J. B. Desormeau saw the Chief Keeper five or six times under the influence of liquor during hours of duty, during the year preceding the inquiry. He could hardly walk—could not do his duty. Sometimes he found him asleep in his office, being under the influence of liquor."

"Guard J. E. Durocher said: Chief Keeper came to the prison under influence of liquor three or four times. He vomited once in Keeper's hall."

Warden Laviolette "saw him once." That has been proven against McCarthy, and since that day McCarthy determined that those men should go, and they did go, all except one. Warden Laviolette is gone; Desormeaux is gone; they have been turned out in different ways more or less honest; Durocher has been turned out; Lefaiivre has now been turned out. But I hope that Lesage will not be turned out, since the eyes of the Minister of Justice have now been opened. Lefaiivre was dismissed a pretty long time after the report of McCarthy asking for his dismissal had been received at the Department of Justice. It was only after Mr. Laviolette had left the institution and Mr. Ouimet had been appointed Warden that Lefaiivre was dismissed. The Deputy and the Chief Keeper knew well that should they report to Laviolette that Lefaiivre had acted as a coward Laviolette would confirm it before taking action upon that letter. The Order in Council dismissing Lefaiivre was only made known after Laviolette had been put on the retired list, so that he could not say a word in this man's favor. I thought it was my duty, seeing that this is a poor man, who has no one to speak for him or to make known the facts, to move for these papers I ask for them in order that hon. gentlemen may have an opportunity of looking over them and seeing the great injustice that has been done to this poor man. There are six or seven witnesses in our village who, during the firing, saw Ouimet in the village during the revolt. Far from being at his post in the Penitentiary, I saw him walking to and fro in front of the building, outside of the walls, and he never went in until order was re-established and the bell had rung for convicts to be put in their cells under key. That I saw myself, and am ready to swear to. In the case of a poor man like this, who has been deprived of what he has earned by long service, I would consider that I was helping the Government to rob him if I did not make known the facts of the case, believing, as

HON. MR. BELLEROSE.

I do, that if the Government had known the facts as they know them to-day, they are sufficiently honest to have done him justice. I saw Chief Keeper McCarthy passing through the Keepers' hall, and, far from ordering the guards to do their duty, he did not speak to them, but went out of the front door, and did not return for twenty or thirty minutes afterwards. This is a statement of the facts, as far as I know them from personal observation and from *ouï dire*, and I hope something will be done for the relief of the poor man who has suffered this injustice.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is the case of a servant in the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary who was dismissed two years and three months ago, on the report of his superior officer that he was guilty of cowardice on the occasion of the revolt three years ago. I have no objection to the hon. gentleman's motion, however useless it may be.

The motion was agreed to.

ELECTORAL FRANCHISE AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (4), "An Act further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 5, respecting the Electoral Franchise."

He said: The only point that was left open for discussion last night was that raised by my hon. friend from Halifax, as to the authority to administer a solemn declaration for the purposes of the Act. It appears, as I am instructed, that there is no provision in the Act fixing any particular person who shall have the sole right to receive those declarations, but the Act which provides for solemn declarations declares that such declarations, whenever required, shall be made before any one of the number of officers who are detailed in the Act, and those are the persons who will have the right to receive those declarations under the language of the 9th section—"or before any person so authorized."

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

A QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—May I ask now that the question raised yesterday be settled? Exception was taken to my statement as not being a question of privilege. The hon. leader of the House asked that the matter be postponed until to-day for your decision, and I should now like to have the matter decided, if the leader of the House has no objection.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think I am bound to take an objection to this statement being placed on the Journals of this House. I do not consider that it is a question of privilege at all. It is not a breach of the privileges of this House of which my hon. friend complains, and therefore, in that respect, he is not entitled to any exceptional consideration. I do not know, even if it were, that he would be entitled to have the course followed that he desired; but at all events we may put that aside at once, because it is not a breach of the privileges of this House. Now, with regard to placing this paper on the Journals, I can find no precedent for it. It is something so extremely new that I cannot find out that any attempt has ever been made to place a declaration of that kind on the Journals of the House in any form of this description. I do not think it has ever been done in the experience of this Parliament, and it appears to me to be open to very grave objections. If an hon. gentleman can rise in his place, and after making a declamatory, and if it were parliamentary I would say abusive, speech against one of the Ministers of the Crown, he should be permitted to condense that speech, though in somewhat more respectful language, and place its most offensive imputations in so vague a form that it will be impossible to contradict or refute the imputations it contains. I do not know what would become of our Journals. I can find no precedent for it; I think it is in the last and highest degree objectionable. Nothing could result from it, taken for itself, and I submit it is entirely out of order to place on the Journals of this House any part of an hon. gentleman's speech imputing conduct of this kind to any member of the Ministry, or to anybody else. There is no such principle as that by which my hon. friend

would desire to put on record a summary of the speech he made yesterday, or any similar document, and I object to it as being entirely out of order.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I do not believe that I deserve to be treated with ridicule by the hon. gentleman, as he has treated me. I am always less offended by strong language than by ridicule. I have not the advantage that the hon. gentleman possesses of being master of the English language, but if he is prepared to meet me in French, notwithstanding his skill, I am prepared to meet him. I have met as good lawyers as he is in the same way. The fact that he can find no precedent for this furnishes no argument why I could not make the speech I have made, and the hon. Minister need not have taken the time of the House to make such a statement. It may be that I have exceeded my right, and if that should be the ruling I submit to it, not because no precedent can be found, but for the reason the Speaker gave. He said there was no proof of the allegations contained in the motion, and that consequently no injury had been done to the Senate. I submit to the ruling, and would not have said a single word if the hon. gentleman had not spoken as he has done to-day. I know that the leader of the House is about to take a portfolio, with a good salary attached, in the Government; I hope the statement is true, because he would be an honor to our Province, and he is well qualified for the position. I was one of those who wished to have him re-elected mayor of Montreal, because I think he was one of the best mayors we ever had; but he has not maintained his dignified position in the Senate to-day. He has belittled himself to a greater extent than I ever thought he could do. I may have used strong language yesterday, but has not the House heard strong language from the lips of the hon. member to-day, when he could not deny the facts that I put before it as to Lefavre. He said: "We will grant the papers, but it will have no effect; the man must suffer."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I did not say that.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—That was the purport of the reply, and the inference from his words was, that because

the Government have a large majority in both Houses they could refuse to do justice. I might have used strong words, but they were honest words, and I cannot say that of the reply I have received to-day.

HON. MR. MILLER—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to accept the ruling of the Speaker?

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I mean to say that whenever the Speaker decides the question I bow to his decision.

HON. MR. MILLER—It will save me the trouble of citing authorities.

THE SPEAKER—In my opinion, the document is not one which can be entered upon the Journals of the House.

It is not a question of privilege, but is simply a statement, or might indeed be called a written speech of the hon. gentlemen from Delanau dière, in which he brings certain grave charges against the Government, of having laid before Parliament certain documents and reports which are "illusory and untruthful."

The statement does not set forth some specific thing done by any person or persons in contempt or infringement of the privileges of this House, or of any individual member of it, for which the offender or offenders could be brought to the bar of the House and punished. And even if the hon. gentleman were in a position to prove that the documents he alludes to are untruthful and illusory, and deliberately intended to deceive Parliament, and especially to deceive (as he avers) this House, and in that sense the privileges of this House have been in any way infringed, his proper course would be to bring the subject before the House by a formal resolution on which the House could express its opinion. I may refer to a case which is, to some extent, on all-fours with the present one. In February, 1859, in the Imperial House of Commons, Mr. Cowper called attention to the fact that certain reports from the Education Office were "altered and abridged" when laid before Parliament. This led to a debate on the subject, which was dropped, and revived again several times, until finally in April, 1864, it was again revived, and on the motion of Lord Robert Cecil it was resolved:—

HON. MR. BELLEROSE.

"That in the opinion of this House the mutilation of the reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and the exclusion from them of statements and opinions adverse to the educational views entertained by the Committee of Council, while matters favorable to them are admitted, are violations of the understanding under which the appointment of Inspectors was originally made by Parliament, and tend entirely to destroy the value of their reports."

This resolution of censure (which led to the resignation of Mr. Lowe, the Vice-President of the Education Committee), shows how such subjects were dealt with in the House of Commons, though upon fuller information as to the facts of the case the House, some months afterwards, rescinded the resolution. There are other cases, which I might quote from the Journals of the House of Lords, showing that similar subjects of complaint to those contained in the statement of the hon. member from Delanau dière have been dealt with by formal resolutions of the House, but I cannot find any precedent for placing on the Journals of this House a statement by an hon. member containing grave charges against and impugning the good faith of the Government or of its members, upon which the House has had no opportunity of expressing its opinion, and unsupported by any proofs or evidence of any kind, beyond the mere statement of the hon. member himself. It is true that the hon. gentleman, as he stated yesterday, proposes to follow up his statement by moving for the appointment of a special committee to investigate these charges, but that committee might find that these charges are wholly unfounded, and yet the statement, if it were now allowed to go upon the Journals, would remain for all time on record, though upon due inquiry and examination the charges which it contains were found to be wholly without foundation. For these reasons, I am of opinion the hon. gentleman's statement is out of order, and cannot go upon the Journals of the House.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I bow to the decision of the Speaker.

POST OFFICE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on Bill (83), "An Act to amend 'The Post Office Act,' Chapter 35 of the Revised Statutes of Canada."

(In the Committee).

On the 3rd clause,

HON. MR. POWER—What additional powers does that give the Department.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is really intended to prevent an abuse which occurs occasionally, more particularly to prevent the transmission of obscene and immoral publications. The words "prints and photographs" are added to the former language. The latter part of the clause involves the addition to the registration charge. I had some conversation with my hon. friend the Postmaster-General on this subject, and he said that it was his intention to exercise the discretion which the law gives him, to make a distinction, if possible, between various classes of postal matter—at all events, to endeavor to make as little violent change in the present system as he possibly can.

HON. MR. POWER—I am very glad to hear that, because I think the Postmaster-General must have learned wisdom since the Bill was before the House of Commons, as he resisted an amendment to the effect that tax notices and other official notices should not bear more than 2 cents registration.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Minister claimed the discretion which the law gave him, and he stated in the other House that he proposed to exercise that discretion.

The clause was adopted.

On clause 10,

HON. MR. POWER—With respect to this section, it is claimed, as the hon. gentleman mentioned in his speech at the second reading, that it would not do to forward letters which were not prepaid at all, as is generally done in England, and collect double postage from the persons to whom the letters are delivered. While I do not altogether see the force of that contention, inasmuch as the practice which obtains in England and which is found to work satisfactorily there, might be presumed to work fairly well here, there is another point to which I think the attention of the Department might be directed. I do not think it should be necessary to send a letter which is not

prepaid all the way to Ottawa for the purpose of informing the sender that it had not been prepaid. In a great many cases I fancy the stamps are rubbed off, or drop off, on the way to the post office; because I may mention that in a great many cases the stamps which are supplied by the Department do not adhere as well as they should. Now, this sort of thing may happen, and has happened, I believe, in more cases than one. A man living in a city sends a notice to a business man that a note is falling due, or a bank sends such a notice, and the one-cent stamp does not adhere. That notice, instead of reaching the person for whom it is intended, comes to Ottawa, and a letter is written to the sender of the notice, that reaches him probably after the lapse of a fortnight. Very great inconvenience arises in that way, without any absolute necessity. Now, in olden times the postmasters at Halifax, St. John and other principal points were allowed to do the dead-letter work themselves, to a certain extent. Instead of sending those unpaid letters to Ottawa, and losing a fortnight in getting them back to the persons who had mailed them, they were sent back immediately. I think the attention of the Department might be directed to that point, to see if it is not possible to diminish the great delay and inconvenience which arise from the present practice. There is a large staff of clerks kept here in Ottawa writing letters, which, if this practice were not followed, would not be necessary.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend called my attention to that when the Bill was read the second time, and I had discussed the question with the Postmaster-General. The objection to allowing postmasters to deal with a dead letter is simply this—that every postmaster in the Dominion would be entitled to open a letter to find out what is in it, and as a great many letters contain valuables and statements of information, and correspondence that people would not particularly like to have submitted to their neighbors, it was thought better that the protection of these valuables and the confidential character of correspondence would be better attained by the duties being performed at Ottawa rather than by local postmasters.

HON. MR. POWER—I should not give the power to every postmaster.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Then where would the letters which arrive at offices that are not kept by those postmasters go? They would go to Ottawa. It would make confusion and considerable difficulty in the management of the particular branch. It is considered to be much better that every letter which becomes a dead letter in the meaning of the law should come to the Department in Ottawa, where nobody is known, where persons who give security and are to be trusted open the letter and deal with the contents, and where no gossip or communication of their contents could, within a reasonable probability, take place. Then as to the other point, charging postage on letters which are not prepaid, the difficulty which arises there is this, that that would be practically opening the door to doing what is contrary to the principle of the Post Office Act and its regulations. It would open the door to transmitting unpaid letters. Under that system a man might mail a letter and pay it or not, just as he chose, for he knows that the worst that would happen would be that the recipient of the letter would be obliged to pay twice the postage on it, and it would go in due course. The object of the Department is to avoid that, and, if possible, to have every letter prepaid. Of course, the argument would apply to the relaxation of the rule which is proposed, by allowing a letter which is insufficiently stamped to have the stamp duty paid, with an addition to it to make up for the neglect of the sender; but that, one readily understands, rests upon an entirely different footing. The man who stamps his letter shows his desire to conform to the law. He may be mistaken as to the amount of postage—especially a person who has not got letter scales—and he should receive credit for good faith, at all events, and the unfortunate accident of putting on too little postage ought to be corrected in some way that would involve as little delay as possible.

HON. MR. DICKEY—With regard to the inconvenience of allowing local postmasters to open unpaid letters, I fail to

see any distinction between that system and the system provided by the law as it stands, and for this obvious reason, that in any case the letter must be opened by an official of the post office. Take, for instance, in the city of Ottawa, the case of a letter that is not sufficiently prepaid, and is sent to the dead letter office. That letter has to go through the hands of an official in the same town in which it is posted. In all cases unpaid letters have to be opened, whether under the present Bill or under the suggestion made by the hon. gentleman from Halifax, by an official of the Department, and we are not to suppose that those officers, merely to satisfy the prurient curiosity of others, would disclose what their contents are. It would certainly lead to a very great convenience, an increased convenience, to persons living 1,000 miles away from the capital, at Halifax on the one side, for instance, or 2,000 or 3,000 miles on the other side, to have an official in the post office examine an unpaid letter that was dropped by accident, or without any intention of breaking the law, into the post office, instead of opening the letter, put the proper postage upon it and forward it to its destination. I think that under the circumstances that point might be yielded. If it could be done in the shape of a regulation it would answer all purposes.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I would like if the Government would adopt the views of my hon. friend from Amherst. I know that sometimes letters from my own house have accidentally gone to the post office without any stamps on them, but the postmaster, knowing the writing on the address has put the proper stamps on, forwarded the letters and told me of it. It would be very hard, when a letter is posted without stamps, that the postmaster should be allowed to open it and return it to the sender, causing delay, annoyance and sometimes loss.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will see that the contents would never be read, in point of fact, in the central office. In that office the same objection does not apply that might be urged respecting smaller offices throughout the Dominion. There must be some place

where an unpaid letter may be opened and examined, and it seems to me the best place is in the Department, where there is a vast number of letters to be dealt with by a staff of clerks with an experienced official at the head of the Department. It is much better, if dead letters are to be opened, that they should be opened by persons of that class, who are totally disinterested, than by local postmasters, who may be tempted to make them the subject of local gossip. My hon. friend from Lunenburg has referred to letters of his dropped in the Lunenburg post office without stamps, and the postmaster, knowing his writing had put the stamps on; but supposing it were some other person in Lunenburg not so well known as my hon. friend to the postmaster, who posted an unstamped letter containing confidential correspondence, he would not be pleased to have the letter opened and possibly its contents spread around as a matter of gossip through the town. As it is, complaint is made that in some localities country postmasters and postmistresses some times peep into letters, without having authority to open them, to see what the correspondence is, and very serious instances might be adduced of gossip obtained in that way and spread about the place, to the great injury of the people concerned. The difference between the two modes is just this: the one which my hon. friends advocate would place the correspondence of every person in a postal district in the possession of the postmaster of that district, some of whom would frequently have enough curiosity to find out what a gentleman like my hon. friend from Lunenburg, for instance, was writing about. I think the result would soon be found so unpleasant, I will not use a stronger phrase, that we should be asked to return to the method of employing independent officials, who do not know one man in ten thousand or one in a hundred thousand of the people who write those letters. We should revert to that process, rather than place our most private correspondence in the hands of local people, who might have occasion to read it, and whom, we fear, would not hesitate to communicate the knowledge they obtained in that way to friends and gossips in the village.

HON. MR. DEVER—There is nothing we should guard with more vigilance than

the secrecy of the post office. If there is anything that a man feels satisfied with under our present system it is that no tampering will be permitted with his letters in the post office. I cannot agree with my hon. friend from Halifax, that local postmasters should be allowed to open dead letters. There would be a feeling that people animated with curiosity or feelings of enmity might anticipate a letter, and, if they had the opportunity, would open it. I am very glad that so much care is taken to keep inviolate the privacy of letters in our mails.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think the leader of the Government has made a very lame defence of this clause. What he said about village postmasters and mistresses does not apply to those I know of in the Province of Nova Scotia. The dread of being dismissed, as they would be, most summarily, if found tampering with a letter, is a sufficient safeguard against their imparting such information; but even should there be a slight danger that the contents of a dead letter would leak out, I do not think it at all compares in importance with the advantage of having letters promptly delivered. I think the balance of advantage is in favor of allowing the local postmaster to remedy the want of postage stamps on a letter, and forwarding it to its address.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the leader of the House must feel that he is wrong this time, because the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg agrees with me.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I did not expect so strong an argument as that.

HON. MR. POWER—In addition to what has been stated by the hon. gentleman from Lunenburg, I may say that the case put by the leader of the House is that of letters containing important confidential communications. As a rule, people who mail letters of that kind are very careful to stamp them; and with respect to letters containing valuables, the law does not require that those letters should be registered, but they ought to be registered, and the practice of registration should be encouraged. The hon. gentleman did not understand me to mean that every way-office keeper

should be at liberty to open a letter on which the postage was insufficient. I do not propose that at all. I think the postmasters in large centres should be allowed to do so; and the fact is that, at the time of Confederation, and for some time after that, postmasters in the principal cities of the different Provinces had the right to open unstamped letters and return them to the senders, and the people in those different places where this practice prevailed in times gone by find that it is very unsatisfactory that the same thing cannot be done now. The hon. gentleman made some reference to the possible want of honesty amongst postmasters. The postmasters as a rule—those who are in receipt of considerable salaries—are as honest and responsible as the ordinary run of men, and I think the post office officials in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, on the whole, are quite as honest as those in Ottawa. I do not think it should be supposed that letters could be safely entrusted to the post office officials in Ottawa that could not be entrusted to the postmasters in St. John and Halifax. In every Province there is at least one post office inspector. The inspector is a man in whom the Government place confidence, and some arrangement might be made by which, instead of sending unpaid letters to Ottawa, they would go to the office of the inspector for the Province, and in that way a great deal of time would be saved and no risk would be run. In a place like Halifax, where the postmaster under the new scale will get a salary of some \$3,000.00, it will be admitted that he is just about as responsible a man as a Deputy Minister at Ottawa, and I think there is an opening for an improvement on the present system.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am afraid that making the inspector the person to open dead letters would create more delay than sending them to Ottawa. The inspector's duty is largely to travel over the country when new post offices are to be opened, or anything goes wrong with a post office. The inspector goes to the locality to make an inquiry, and during that time dead letters would have to remain sometimes a week in his office, unopened, until his return.

HON. MR. POWER—There would be confidential clerks in the inspector's office.

HON. MR. POWER,

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Some of the inspectors have no confidential clerks.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I think the person who sends a letter, or causes it to go by his neglect to the dead letter office, should be the person to pay the penalty, and the secrecy of the post office should be preserved. Nothing would be a compensation for giving the privilege to every postmaster in the land of prying into a man's correspondence, and I think it is difficult to suggest any better mode of dealing with dead letters than the one we have at present. Another thing in its favor is, that we are conversant with it. I would never vote for giving postmasters the privilege of opening dead letters.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—I would ask the hon. gentleman if the object of the post office authorities is to punish men who send letters without stamps?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Not at all.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—If that were so, would it not be rather unjust to the persons to whom those letters are addressed, that although known in the place the letters cannot be sent to them, but must be sent to Ottawa first, and then returned to the parties whose remissness in not stamping the letter caused the delay?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I stated that the object of the law was to insure, if possible, the pre-payment of all letters, and to prevent the practice of persons sending letters unpaid, knowing that the correspondent to whom they were addressed would have to pay the postage, although it might be double the regular amount.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—Has the inconvenience from this cause been so great as to make it necessary to adopt this new system?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is not new. The only reason this clause is inserted in the Bill at all is this: there is another clause in the Bill on a similar subject, which might be quoted or construed as conflicting with this provision, and consequently this provision has been reprinted from the law *verbatim*, with the exception of these words, "except as otherwise in the Act provided."

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—In the post office presided over in Charlottetown by a gentleman well known to many of us, the common practice has been for years that a list of dead letters, so-called, is posted in the hall of the post office, and as the parties are pretty well known to each other in a small town, if a letter is addressed to any individual in the place, and retained for want of stamps, some one sees it on the list and very soon tells him, and in that way these letters almost invariably find their way to their destination.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is not changed.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—But he has to pay the postage, with the penalty, whatever it is. A letter may also be detained in the post office, not because of any delinquency on the part of the sender. He may have put a stamp on it, and the stamp may have been detached from want of sufficient gum, or it may have been rubbed off in the post office by rough handling on the part of the clerks, and in that case it seems very hard to impose a penalty on the sender. In order to obviate these apparently small difficulties you are going to cause delay to the letter and impose a duty on an officer in Ottawa of opening all such dead letters.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend, with his knowledge of legislation, must know that every law is more or less a compromise. This provision may cause some inconvenience to the individual, but very often it is in the interest of the public. It is not a good reason to urge that because there may be an incidental inconvenience to the individual that this important public reform, that letters should be prepaid, should be relaxed. It is also quite apparent to my hon. friend that it would be impossible to institute an inquiry as to whether a letter was put into the post office with a stamp on it, or whether it had been rubbed off in transit, or by the clerks, or how. There is no simple mode that we know of, of insuring that letters shall be prepaid, except the present system of requiring prepayment, and inflicting more or less inconvenience upon the party who sends a letter unpaid. Of

course, my hon. friend would not think it worth while for a man who has been obliged to wait a few days more for his letter, and to pay 3 cents more postage, to have an inquiry as to whether the sender accidentally omitted putting on the stamp or not. The question lies between allowing postmasters to open dead letters in the localities where they are mailed, and sending them to the central office to be opened there; and the arguments, to my mind, appear to be conclusive, in view of the inconvenience in either case, in favor of sending them to Ottawa. The experience of the department has not developed any hardship arising from this system, which has been in operation for years.

HON. MR. POWER—The statement made by the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island, coupled with the statement made by my hon. friend from Lunenburg, goes to show that common sense and business convenience are too strong for departmental regulations, as these two gentlemen have told us that the postmasters at Charlottetown and Lunenburg are in the habit of violating the law. Under the law, the duty of the postmaster was to forward unstamped letters to Ottawa; but the postmaster has some regard for common sense and convenience, and disobeys the regulation, and gives the person for whom a letter is intended a chance to get his correspondence. As a rule, it is of much more consequence to the person to whom the letter is sent that he should get it than it is to the person who sent it. After the almost unanimous expression that the hon. Minister has heard, I think he should see that something should be done in this matter by next Session.

HON. MR. DEVER—I do not think that two wrongs make a right. If any postmaster in Prince Edward Island has transgressed the law he should be punished. I do not think that any person should be permitted to tamper with a dead letter, except the officer provided by law. A letter is a secret thing, and its contents should not be known to any person but those to whom it is intended. Under the present system we are very safe, and I have heard of no grievance or complaint, except that there is always an anxiety that letters passing through the post office

should not be tampered with, and that dead letters should not be opened, except by the officials of the central office, who, I presume, are under solemn oath that the contents of those letters will be confined to the official who opened them.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I want to point out to the hon. gentleman from Halifax that his logic is altogether too severe in the way in which he applies it in this case. It does not follow that because a postmaster sticks up a list in his office of the dead letters in his hands that he is violating the law. There is no law which prevents that. If a letter is not stamped he is not bound to send it back by the next mail. When a letter is sent from his office it is not in accordance with the law to retain it in the office and stick up a notice. That would be unduly detaining the mail. But other dead letters, which come there and are not called for, he keeps in his office for a certain time, to see if they are applied for, and if he publishes a list of these it is not a violation of the law.

HON. MR. POWER—The letters we are speaking of were unstamped letters.

The clause was agreed to.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—I would like to say, because the remarks I made might be supposed to implicate the postmaster in Charlottetown, that the case was one of my own personal experience. Having been at Ottawa for the Session, and having enjoyed the privilege of sending my letters through the mail free for some weeks, once on my return home, through force of habit, I posted a letter myself and forgot to stamp it. A few days afterwards, passing through the hall of the post office, I observed the letter that I had put in the box a few days previously amongst a list of others not delivered. Of course, I took steps to call attention to it and put the proper stamp on, and then it went all right. This was the case that was in my mind at the time I spoke, and I fancy that the postmaster committed no breach of the law in doing as he did.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (B. C.), from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

HON. MR. DEVER.

THIRD READING.

Bill (118), "An Act to authorize the granting of Pensions to Members of the North-West Mounted Police Force," passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, was read the third time, and passed.

INLAND REVENUE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (139), "An Act further to amend the Inland Revenue Act, Chapter 34 of the Revised Statutes."

He said: This is a Bill dealing entirely with details. It enunciates no new principle, but a large portion of it is devoted to a change which the Department has found advisable, by substituting the weight of malt for the gauge of malt. Formerly the measurements were made entirely by gauges; now they are made mainly by weight. The number of gauges has been reduced, and fewer are now used. Section 7 makes a change in the rule with regard to malt intended to be warehoused. Formerly, under the existing law, all malt had to be warehoused. This renders it possible to take it from the kiln direct for consumption, instead of taking it first to a warehouse. The Government can protect themselves from fraud just as well, and it will be a great convenience to the users of malt. Clause 9 is very much the same as the section in the Act, with the exception of the two last sub-sections. These were intended to be provided for last Session. The provision last year was for the use of spirit manufactured for the Government itself by manufacturers, and it was intended that there should be an excise duty of 15 cents a gallon on such spirit. That was omitted, but still it was so well understood that manufacturers have been paying the 15 cents, and this is to legalize it. The next sections are framed for the purpose of encouraging the manufacture of vinegar from malt. There is another alteration of some importance. Formerly there was a quarterly stock-taking of manufactured goods in bond, and this quarterly stock-taking was subject to correction by the annual stock-taking. If the difference

between the quantities shown exceeded a certain percentage the man had to make up the difference, but the difficulty of correcting this at the end of the year was found to open the door to a certain laxity in the Department, and this is intended to make every quarterly measurement stand for itself. It must be correct within a certain percentage, or the extra duty will have to be paid. There is nothing else in the Bill of any importance.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

INSPECTION ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (137), "An Act further to amend the General Inspection Act, Chapter 99 of the Revised Statutes."

He said: This is a Bill which makes one or two alterations in the present arrangement for the inspection of grain. In the first place, the clause as it stood allowed any deputy inspector to engage in the purchase and sale of the articles inspected by him. That was not considered expedient, but under the former system the inspector of grain could not appoint a deputy. Now he is allowed to appoint one, the duties being too heavy to be attended to altogether by himself. This is to provide that the deputy inspector shall not deal in the article he inspects. Clause 3 is for the purpose of providing for the selection of proper standards of grain. It appears that in the North-West grain is of such superior quality that there is no grain grown east of Port Arthur that can be graded to the same level. This clause makes provision for the selection of a standard for grain raised west of Port Arthur, which shall be different from the standard used east of that point. The last clause of the Bill is with reference to the inspection of leather. Under the existing law persons who deal in leather are not allowed to put any mark on the leather unless the words "not inspected" are added. Although this seems a trifling matter, it is a serious inconvenience to the trade, inasmuch as when leather is taken into a warehouse it is weighed, and the weight cannot be marked upon it,

this involving a second weighing when the leather is taken out of the warehouse. Under this clause the weight can be marked upon the leather with chalk, without adding the words "not inspected."

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

EXTRADITION ACT EXTENSION BILL.

SECOND READING.

The Order of the Day being called—Second reading, Bill (84), "An Act to extend the provisions of the Extradition Act,"

HON. MR. POWER said: This is a Bill that I think the hon. leader of the House should take charge of. It was a Government Bill in the other House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have no objection to take charge of it, but the reason why I did not do so was, that it was introduced in the House of Commons by a private member of it, and it was merely put on the Government Orders to give an opportunity for discussing it. The object of the Bill is to enable the extradition of fugitives to this country for crimes not contemplated by the present Extradition Treaty and Act—in fact, for crimes which are not so great in degree as those. The difference between this and the former system is, that the one is reciprocal, whereas this is a measure which we ourselves voluntarily pass, enabling the extradition of criminals from this country to the United States without having, at the same time, any corresponding obligation on the part of the United States to return here criminals of a similar class. That, probably, is not a matter of much consequence. We are not ambitious, I dare say, to have this class of criminals settled amongst us, and there seems to be no objection to the passing of this Bill. It was thought that there might be some question as to the expediency of volunteering this privilege in favor of a foreign nation, without any treaty or stipulation for a reciprocal exchange of criminals; but in order to give time to consider that, there is a clause in the Bill that it shall not come into force until authorized by a proclamation of the Governor in Council. If the Bill had been

introduced by the Government they would no doubt have made up their minds on that subject before introducing it, but when it came before the other House it appeared to them to embody a fair principle, and the object of it seemed to be desirable; therefore, without actually taking charge of it, they allowed it to be put on their Orders, so as to give an opportunity for discussion, which otherwise would not have been had. The only precaution the Government have taken is to restrict its operation until it is called in force by a proclamation of the Governor in Council.

HON. MR. POWER—I wish to say that I cordially endorse the principle of the Bill, and that it was not because I did not approve of it that I did not propose to move the second reading, but because I thought the motion for the second reading would come more properly from the leader of the House. I do not think there can be the slightest objection to the Bill. It is not desirable that Canada should be made, to use a rather coarse expression, a dumping ground for the moral filth of the United States. The United States Senate have acted in connection with this extradition question in a most absurd and unreasonable way. If we cannot induce the United States to reciprocate with us, at least we can show them a good example, which they may be led hereafter to follow. We do what is right, we do our duty, and if they do not choose afterwards to do theirs, that is their own fault. I may say that, although it is generally supposed that a treaty is necessary to secure the delivery of escaped criminals by the Government of the country in which they have taken refuge to the Government of the country from which they have fled, that is not an universal rule at all. Some countries—Spain, for instance—in the absence of any treaty, deliver escaped criminals to the Governments of other countries—criminals who have committed grave crimes. I think that this is an exceedingly wise and judicious measure, and I hope that the Government will, next year, carry this friendly policy further. Probably next year they may pass a Bill for reciprocity in wrecking.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There has been,

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

and it appears not to be generally known in the United States (I do not know whether my voice will reach as far as that, but I think it should be distinctly understood and generally known) that there has been a Bill offering this reciprocity for a number of years on our Statute Book; that the attention of the United States Government has been repeatedly called to it, and if criminals from the United States continue to take refuge in this country it is because the United States themselves have uniformly refused to take any steps towards establishing reciprocity on the subject.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I was about to remark that such an offer was made long ago. Is there anything in this Bill to guard a person surrendered for any offence from being tried on any charge other than that for which he is extradited?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is an express provision for that.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—When this Bill comes up for third reading I will call the attention of the House to the fact that we are enabling our thieving bankers, and others like them, to carry money from Canada to the United States, where they will be secure, while we send back similar criminals and, generally in doing so, we send the stolen money with them.

HON. MR. ROSS—We should amend the law and keep the money.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I believe in the morality of the law as proposed, but I do not believe in giving an advantage to our neighbors, such as I have mentioned.

CUSTOMS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE.

Bill (117) "An Act further to amend 'The Customs Act,' Chapter 32 of the Revised Statutes," passed through committee and was reported without amendment.

The Senate adjourned at 6:07 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Friday, 26th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

MANAGEMENT OF THE WELLAND CANAL.

INQUIRY.

Hon. Mr. McCALLUM inquired :

Is it the intention of the Government to hold an investigation into the management of the Welland Canal, respecting the blunders and loss that have taken place in the management of that important work ?

He said: You may think it strange that I should make this inquiry, because it is well known that I am a strong supporter of the Government, and have always been so, believing that they have the welfare of the country at heart. I also disapprove very much the course of attacking anybody behind his back, and I shall put in the defence that is made on this occasion. What has led me to make this inquiry at all is this: A year ago last January a young man named Wm. Mossip, an acquaintance, came to my house, and I asked him what he was doing. He said that he was out of employment just then, and that he was living on section No. 1 of the Welland Canal. I wrote a friendly letter to Mr. Ellis, Superintendent of the Canal, asking him if he could give this man continuous employment, as he had a large family to support. I have not got a copy of that letter. Mr. Ellis wrote me in reply the following letter, dated the 14th January, 1888, giving me the reasons why he could not employ this man. I will put in the correspondence in the order in which it occurred :

"SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE,
"WELLAND CANAL,

"ST. CATHARINES, 14th January, 1888.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter about Mossip, who in approaching you no doubt told his grievances plausibly enough, but as usual there is another side to the story, and it is simply that his ill-temper and general bearing towards his boss has for a long time been so officious that at last it became unbearable and intolerable. He has been trained and become thoroughly acquainted with our work, and we were anxious to keep him on that account, and although he has received several warnings of dismissal they have proved unavailing.

I find some of our men are misled, as I presume, upon the friendliness to them of M. P.'s, like yourself, thinking they can always bring to bear to get them put back on the canal works again, and I have had much trouble in consequence; but I have pretty well extinguished that notion, at least all along the canal, because I have made it a cast-iron rule never to allow a man on the works again that was discharged, no matter who his friend or friends are. I also make it an unflinching rule always to stand by my deputies or foremen—in that respect, a rule I always adopted all my life, as a large employer of labor for many years before I accepted my appointment, and I should not have it on any other conditions, because I, and I alone, am held responsible by the country for the administration of affairs on this canal, and I must always be held as a terror to evil-doers. I have good, sensible, practicable deputies and foremen, who I hold strictly responsible, and I take care to let all our employes know that, so they all know what to expect.

"Yours truly,

"(Signed), WM. ELLIS.

"Hon. L. McCALLUM."

"STROMNESS, 16th January, 1888.

"DEAR SIR.—Yours of the 14th inst. to hand; contents noted. In reply, would say: When Mr. Mossip was here he made no complaint to me, nor gave me any story; so you might have saved yourself the trouble in giving what you call the other side of the story. As for your cast-iron rules and terror to evil-doers, or your understanding you had when you got the appointment on the canal, or that you would not have accepted the position only on certain conditions, does not concern me at present. I wrote you a short note, as a friend, on behalf of Mr. Mossip, who told me that he was out of employment and that he had a large family to support: and I regret having done so, and will not do so again in behalf of any one, as it might prevent them being employed, or if employed, cause their dismissal. You say that Mr. Mossip has been thoroughly trained and acquainted with your work, but his fault is ill-temper and general bearing towards his boss. Who was his boss? Might not there be a little blame on the other side? Probably, an inquiry, an investigation into the matter as to the cast-iron rules and terror-to-evil-doers' works might do good.

"I am, yours respectfully,

"(Signed), L. McCALLUM.

"WM. ELLIS, Esq.,

"Supt. Welland Canal."

"ST. CATHARINES, 19th January, 1888.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Finding myself unable for the first time to grant your request, I thought I would take some time to explain why, and justify the reason, and regret very much to find I seem to have excited your anger by so doing. Mossip has given us a great deal of trouble for years, as a constant mischief-breeder among the men; he has fights with them, &c., and has been warned several times, and to force a man back to work after discharging him under the above circumstances is destruction of the foreman's authority on work, as you very well know. If I were not to be very firm in this respect I could not get along at all in managing the large number of men I have under me on these

works, and it is always painful to me to have to discharge a man, especially with a family, and I never did it without thoroughly investigating the facts before hand; and although my cast iron rules are well understood among the men, I know they recognized my desire to deal kindly with them all, and do justice.

"Regretting very much that you should have misunderstood me, and that I should have incurred your hard feeling and coolness,

"I am, yours, &c.,

"(Signed), WM. ELLIS.

"Hon. L. McCALLUM."

"STROMNESS, 10th February, 1888.

"SIR,—Yours of the 19th ult. came duly to hand, and you will pardon me for not answering you before this. I waited reply until I made a little inquiry as to your alleged grounds for the discharge of Mr. Mossip from his employment on the Welland Canal, not that I question your right to do so, if there was misconduct on his part. Although I do not think the reason alleged, and the language used by you, is sufficient ground for his dismissal, after inquiry I am of the opinion that you should not have done so without a full inquiry of the matter, and if you had done that you, in justice, should have dismissed the man who you said was his boss, and not Mr. Mossip.

"I requested you to inform me who was the gentleman that you called his boss, but you did not give me his name, and on inquiry I find that there were so many foremen and bosses over Mr. Mossip that I do not know which one of them that he was so disagreeable to in general conduct, as you say in your letter.

"You further say that you, and you alone, are held responsible to the country for the proper administration of affairs on the Welland Canal. In that, sir, you are mistaken; you are responsible to the Government and the Government are responsible to the country, and the question is this—are you performing and discharging the duties satisfactorily? That, to my mind, is a debatable question, even with all the cast-iron rules and terror-to-evil-doers that you boast of. I have known the Welland Canal for the last forty-five years, and I have seen it managed by several different superintendents, and from what I see here, and learn, I am of the opinion the Welland Canal has not been so extravagantly managed, and so little to the interests of the country and Government since I have known it, as it is to-day under your management. And the sooner there is an investigation of the sayings and doings on the Welland Canal the better it will be for the Government and the country.

"You will excuse me for troubling you at such a length, but I have thought that after the kind letter you sent me on 14th January, that you ought to know my opinion on the canal management under you.

"I think I know a little about the matter, so that I will be able to stand firmly and justify my opinion as above expressed.

"I am, yours respectfully,

"(Signed), L. McCALLUM.

"WM. ELLIS, Esq.,

"Supt. Welland Canal."

That is all the correspondence I had with Mr. Ellis about this matter, but it

HON. MR. McCALLUM.

led me to look into the question, and I found from my correspondence with Mr. Ellis, and from inquiries that I made of other parties, that a sort of tyranny existed on the canal—that no man, no matter how good a workman he was, or how good his character might be, could get employment if he did not belong to a certain clique on the canal. The Government may not be aware of those facts; I believe they were never brought to their notice before. I moved last Session for a return respecting the Welland Canal, and the leader of the Government, when he was laying the return on the Table the other day, said jokingly that he would lay it on the Table if he was able. I do not wish to attack the parties whom I consider are responsible for the maladministration—will I say it?

HON. MR. POWER—Say it.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Maladministration or blunders on the canal, without giving them an opportunity to make all the defence they can put in. I think when hon. gentlemen come to read the official report, after these documents are in, they will conclude that the Government will make short work of this business. In glancing over the return I find some documents which may require an explanation, and which Mr. Ellis tries to explain. For instance, the expenditure for fuel on the Welland Canal may be all right, but it does not look reasonable. The expenditures are as follows for the several years mentioned:

1869-70.....	\$ 106 00
1876-77.....	83 00
1884-85.....	690 40
1885-86.....	1,045 65
1886-87.....	887 92

When I give these figures to the House I may say that there may be some errors in them; I may have overlooked something, because I have only glanced at the papers before us; but take it in round numbers, there is an increase under the present management of the canal in this item of fuel of about 1,000 per cent. Mr. Ellis, in his defence, tries to explain the increase by saying that the fuel for the Welland Canal was stolen formerly—that the employés of the Welland Canal stole fuel for the Government of this country.

It is not a very creditable thing for an officer of the Government of the Dominion to slander a whole class of people in that way, for I venture to say for the employés of the canal that they are as honest as the majority of mankind. I dislike to attack the superintendent behind his back, and for that reason I wrote some letters to the Department asking for explanations, and Mr. Ellis' reply will be laid before the House. I accused Mr. Ellis, the superintendent of the canal, with spending a large amount of public money without authority from the Department, though he is instructed, in all cases, before spending an important sum of money, to consult the engineer of the Department. But the superintendent of the Welland Canal does not think it worth while to do that. He says that he, and he alone, is responsible to the people of this country for the proper administration of the affairs of the Welland Canal. We find that he has built a dock at Port Colborne without authority, at a cost of \$4,000, although his instructions from the Department were that he should do no such work without consulting the chief engineer. He has located that at a point where it is of no value to shipping. No vessel can lie at it in a storm, on account of the heavy swell that rises there. I consider, and any man of competent judgment will consider, that it is a pure waste of money to build that dock where it has been constructed. Further, this gentleman took it on himself, without authority, to build a Custom house and a post office at Port Colborne. I thought that the Public Works Department had charge of the construction of these buildings; but Mr. Ellis, without any authority from Parliament, constructed that building at a cost of over \$4,400, out of the canal appropriation. One would suppose that Mr. Ellis was controlling the Department of Railways and Canals, and the Government, in the expenditure of public money. I am informed by letters, which I shall not submit to the House, but which the Government can have, with the exception of those marked private, if they wish, that Mr. Ellis allows employés on the canal to work for outside parties. This is a serious charge. They work, not on canal service, but are paid by the Government, the time is returned by the foreman as if they were working for the Govern-

ment, and they are paid by the paymaster. The amount may not be large, but if the charge is true it is a serious matter. I do not propose to read these letters, because I think I can make out, case enough against Mr. Ellis without them. Mr. Ellis may not know about these improper payments, but if he had been doing his duty to the country he would have known it. I do not say that Mr. Ellis or anybody else is guilty, so far as this charge is concerned, but I have letters stating the fact.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.) — You believe it to be true?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Yes; I believe it to be true. Another serious charge is that he has allowed parties to be paid for work that was not performed. The time was returned by the foreman, and the money received by the employés for the overtime returned. It is true the paymaster could not help that; he had nothing to do with it. If the foreman returned time that the employés were supposed to have worked, of course the money would have to be paid; but here is overtime returned, and afterwards paid to the foreman. Another serious charge which is in the papers is that he allowed the use of Government property without authority and free of charge, such as a steam pump, diving apparatus, jack screws, &c. He tries to defend himself, but in the motion I moved last year I asked for the time the steam pump and diving apparatus were employed on the canal by the Government, and also for the time they were employed by the public outside of the canal. In answer to the motion, Mr. Ellis returns where they had received money from five different individuals, but the information I have got is, that there were eighteen or twenty. Afterwards Mr. Ellis admitted that it was so, but he did not know it at the time he sent the report to the Department in answer to my letter. The charge is also made that moneys have been received and not returned at the proper time. The amount is small, but it ought to have been returned at the time. It is also alleged that even then a portion of the money was detained which should have been paid in to the credit of the country.

This charge is true, because it is proved by the papers that I hold in my hand. I wrote to the Department, asking them to explain what had been done with the money collected for the services of the steam pump and diving apparatus. The letter, dated the 16th March last, is as follows:—

“OTTAWA, 16th Marh. 1889.

“Sir,—In galncing over the return at the Department, in answer to an Address moved by me on the 19th March, last year, as to the expenditures and maintenance of Welland Canal, which return I understand will be ready to be laid before Parliament soon, as that return shall be large, being desirous to avoid the expenses of printing the same, I would like to get the following information, if you can furnish it?

“I find that in the year 1869-70 that the expenditure for fuel on the Welland Canal was \$106.50, and the year 1886-87 was \$878.63. Can your Department explain why this large difference? Also, why Thos. Bonewell was paid full wages as lock tender on canal for the year 1885-86, as I am given to understand that he did not work full time, as he was away hunting a portion of that time.

“Also, why J. G. Demare's salary was raised from \$75 to \$100 per month in 1885, and why he was paid \$100 extra in 1887?

“I see, also, that the amount returned for hire or use of diving armor and apparatus wants an explanation, the amount collected from schooner ‘O. Mowat’ as per return, on 26th October, 1887, and schooner ‘F. Leighton,’ on 20th November, 1887, was not returned to the Government until the 29th June, 1888. Why was the schooner ‘Oliver Mowat’ detained six hours at Lock 1 at Port Dalhousie, from 12 o'clock at night till daylight the next day, when the master in charge had given a draft on its owners for the services rendered, and received a receipted bill on his trip up, and what reason the full amount collected from said schooner was not returned?

“Can you explain the reason that the amount collected from the schooner ‘F. Leighton’ was not returned in full, as I see the amount returned is only \$12?

“Can you also give me the reason why the amount collected for the services and use of diving apparatus has not been returned to the Government, on the following named vessels: Schooner ‘Leadville,’ Dredge ‘Silcox,’ schooners ‘Morwood,’ ‘Oliver Mowat,’ amount not returned in full; ‘F. J. King,’ ‘E. P. Beals,’ steam barges ‘W. B. Hall,’ ‘F. Leighton,’ amount not returned in full; steamer ‘Haskell,’ barge ‘Manutuwlk,’ schooners ‘Bentley,’ ‘M. J. Cummings.’

“There are many other items of the same nature that require explanation, but the above will answer at present.

“By complying with my request at as early a day as possible, you will oblige,

“Yours truly,

“(Signed), L. McCALLUM.

“A. P. BRADLEY, Esq.,

“Secy. Dept. Rys. and Canals.”

My letter was sent to the Welland Canal office, and kept there about a month, and then it was replied to as follows:—

HON. MR. McCALLUM.

“OTTAWA, 12th April, 1889.

“Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 16th ultimo, asking for certain information in connection with the expenditures and maintenance of the Welland Canal, I am instructed to say that your communication was forwarded to the superintendent, W. Ellis, and I am now to enclose you a copy of his report, under date the 6th instant, on the several questions you ask, with copies of correspondence and vouchers attached.

“I am Sir.

“Your obedient servant,

“A. P. BRADLEY.

“Secretary.”

“The Hon. L. McCALLUM.

“The Senate.”

“SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE,
“WELLAND CANAL,

“ST. CATHARINES, 6th April, 1889.

“Sir,—In answer to your letter, No. 77998 I beg to forward replies as far as possible to the queries submitted by Mr. McCallum in his letter to you enclosed to me.

“1st. The difference in the cost of fuel between the years 1869-70 and that of 1886-87 is accounted for because no fuel was paid for during the first named year—I am informed—except for office use, the practice at that time and for many years before and after being for all lock and bridge tenders to steal all the fuel they used in those days off the scows and other vessels that carried fuel through the one canal, a practice I find that does not admit of the slightest question or disputation, strange as it may now seem, while during the year last mentioned—1886-87—there were two canals manned and furnished with fuel, every pound of which was paid for.

“2nd. Thos. Bonewell was paid full wages for 1885-86, because he paid the man's wages who did his duty on his lock during the few days he was away each year.

“3rd. J. S. Demare's salary was raised because he deserved it, and declined to remain in the service any longer unless it was so raised; but the \$100 alluded to was never paid, and I believe the chief engineer promised it to him, but seems to have over looked it, which I feel sure he would have attended to had not Demare been too stiff to ask for it again.

“4th. The reasons why the amounts collected for use of diving apparatus by the schooners ‘Oliver Mowat’ and ‘F. Leighton’ was not remitted before 29th June, 1888, is because all such small sums, vessel fines, &c., are made up and remitted to the Receiver-General at the close of each fiscal year, as explained heretofore to the Department.

“The cause of the ‘Oliver Mowat's’ delay at Lock 1 is explained in accompanying correspondence, numbered in red ink, figures from 1 to 5, inclusive, and proves the captain's attempt to defraud the Government had he not been closely watched and prevented

“The accompanying statements, numbered in red ink, figures Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9, show the amounts collected from the schooners ‘Oliver Mowat’ and ‘F. Leighton,’ and how that money was disbursed.

“5th. I have affixed explanations opposite each vessel quoted on accompanying sheet marked A. I may say, generally, I have striven ever since I have been here to popularize the canal, and have

not charged for trifles, such as for use of diving suit, where the injury was done in the canal from unavoidable causes, except in the cases I have shown in the accompanying statements, when I felt I ought to do so. I frequently allow vessels to proceed on their journey after paying the diver and assistant for their services, which time, I need hardly say, is always deducted from our time sheets, so that the men in such cases are not twice paid.

Your obedient servant.

(Signed). WILLIAM ELLIS,
Superintendent.

A. P. BRADLEY, Esq.,
Secretary Department Railways & Canals.

No. 1—*Re* Schooner 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

PORT DALHOUSIE, 5th October, 1887.

GENTLEMEN.—Enclosed please find an order signed by Capt. Saunders, of the schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' for the sum of \$28.75 (twenty-eight dollars and seventy-five cents), which is for the use of our diver and assistant, with all the apparatus, such as air-pump, ladders, scows, &c. for doing such work as you will see by the bill which is in Capt. Saunders' possession.

My reason for not sending the order sooner is that Capt. Saunders left word with the clerk (with whom he left the order) that he would rather I would wait until he came down, when he would pay the order, and not have it sent to you. I consequently left the order with the lock-master of No. 1 lock, telling him to collect when the 'Mowat' came, and she came this morning, but the captain said he had no money, and for me to forward the order to you, which I have done, trusting you will send the amount.

I am, your obedient servant.

J. E. DAMARE.

Div. Supt. Welland Canal, Port Dalhousie.

FOLGER BROS.,
Kingston.

No. 2—*Re* Schooner 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

KINGSTON, 10th October, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—In regard to the bill rendered by your assistant superintendent, Mr. Dommery, for schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' as I wrote you from Port Colborne and sent you a copy of the bill, now, sir, I think this bill is very reasonable under the circumstances; I don't think our Government wants to make any such profits out of their diving apparatus as has been charged me; I can hire a diving apparatus at Kingston or any other port for one-half the price charged me, and Mr. Folger, my owner, thinks under any circumstances the bill ought to be reduced considerable. I am willing to pay what you think reasonable and fair in regard to this matter. Hoping you will give this matter your earliest consideration, and hoping to hear from you.

Yours truly,

(Signed), CAP. SAUNDERS,
Schooner 'Oliver Mowat.'
Care FOLGER BROS., Kingston.

Wm. ELLIS, Esq.,
Superintendent Welland Canal.

No. 3—*Re* Schooner 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

PORT DALHOUSIE, 19th October, 1887.

DEAR SIR—Yours of yesterday received, enclosing letter from Captain Saunders, of the schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' owned by Folger Bros., Kingston.

In reply I beg to state that Captain Saunders came and asked for the diver to come and repair some leak in his vessel. I sent the diver, assistant, pump and all apparatus, and they were with him all day, night, and until noon the next day, besides scow, ladders, in fact everything that was required for doing the work, for which I made out a bill of \$28.75, in my opinion just about half what would be charged other places, and was very much surprised indeed at receiving the captain's letter complaining about the charges, as he had all the chance in the world to complain to me, but never said a word about the charges being too high. He was presented with the bill here, and said he had no money, but gave an order on his owners, but asking that the order be left here until his return, providing we were in no hurry for the money; and as we were not, I kept the order, presenting it to him when he came down (as I had given him the bill before, and it was accepted by me, thinking it would be paid when presented); and he then said he had no money, and told the lock-master with whom I had left the bill that if the Government wanted the money for the bill they could sue for it, as he had a receipted bill in his pocket, and as the lock-master had instructions to collect the amount of the order he stopped the vessel at the head of the lock, and Captain Saunders then came to me, asking, as he had no money, would I please forward the order to Folger Bros., Kingston, when it would be paid, but he never uttered a word about the bill being too high. I found out after the vessel had gone that he talked very mean to the lock-master, also, that he had written to you about it. I also see by both his letters to you that he fails entirely to notice the damage he done the west pier with his vessel the morning he was getting her in shape for the diver to work at her, and I am of the opinion that he has not made his owners acquainted with that fact either.

This, sir, is about all I can say about the subject, further than that I have rendered every assistance to vessels passing through the canal that has wanted any help from us, and have always charged what was in my opinion very reasonable, viz., what would pay the men well and help a little to keep up the wear and tear of our plant, and this is the first complaint I have ever heard as to our charging, and am of the opinion that want of manliness on the part of Captain Saunders is the cause of this, as no man would resort to the underhanded way he has or finding fault about the bill I sent in.

Trusting this may prove satisfactory,

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed), J. E. DEMARE.

Wm. ELLIS, Esq.,
Superintendent Welland Canal.

No. 4—*Re* Schooner 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

WELLAND CANAL OFFICE,

ST. CATHARINES, 24th October, 1887.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received two letters of complaint of overcharge for certain services rendered by my people to your Captain

Saunders, and enclose my deputy's report upon the same. I may say it is the first instance I have had of complaint of the kind, because my instructions are to always keep such charges as low as is consistent without loss. Our diving outfit and the accompanying plant is for our own use, and had there been such to be had at Port Dalhousie from wreckers, same as can be had at Port Colborne, the captain would have been referred there, where I feel confident the charges would have been double, if not more. Mr. Demare's letter, enclosed, explains the circumstances sufficiently fully, I trust, for your satisfaction, if it does not to the captain's.

"Your cheque for the account as handed to the captain will oblige.

"Your obedient servant.

"(Signed), WILLIAM ELLIS,
" Superintendent.

"Messrs. FOLGER BROS.,
" Kingston."

No. 5—*Re* SCHOONER 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

To whom it may concern :

"This is to certify that I, Jonathan M. Woodall, lock-master Lock No. 1, Welland Canal, am prepared to come forward at any time and make oath and say, that on the morning that the schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' owned by Folger Bros., Kingston, with Capt. Saunders as master, was detained at the head of Lock No. 1, for the payment of an order on Folger Bros. signed by Capt. Saunders, for money due the Government for use of diving armor, scows, ladder, and also for money due the Government employés for work repairing leak in said 'Oliver Mowat,' the detention was caused by the captain himself, as when told by me that the order was there for collection he said he had a receipted bill in his pocket, and the Government could go to hell and sue for it if they wanted it, as he would let the vessel lay there and rot before he would pay it; also, that when I suggested that he (Capt. Saunders) would go and see Mr. Demare (about two minutes' walk), and he (Demare) would probably make it all right and let the vessel go, he (the captain) said, him (meaning Demare) be God damned: I'll never go to see him. Am of the opinion that Capt. Saunders preferred letting the vessel lay there until morning, as when morning came he went and saw Demare, and I received instructions from Demare to pass the vessel through without collecting the order at that time.

"(Signed), JONATHAN M. WOODALL,

" Lock Master Lock No. 1, N.W.C.

" PORT DALHOUSIE, 25th March, 1889."

"No. 6—SCHOONER 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

"STATEMENT of money received and disbursed for men's time and for use of diving apparatus, &c. Receipts for payments attached hereto.

1887.

Receipts.

Oct. 26.—Folger, Kingston, cheque..... \$28.75

1887.

Disbursements.

Nov. 10.—Paid E. Smiley, diver...	\$10.00	} Receipts attached.
" " S. Houston, asst...	3.00	
" " H. Johnson, team.	0.75	
" " Bank commissions on cheque.	0.25	
June 29.—Remitted to Dept. Railways & Canals.....	\$14.75	
	<u>\$28.75</u>	

" WELLAND CANAL OFFICE,
" 25th March, 1889."

HON. MR. MCCALLUM.

"No. 7—*Re* SCHOONER 'OLIVER MOWAT.'

" Copy of Receipt.

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of ten dollars for diving to repair schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' 22nd September, 1887.

" (Signed), ED. SMILEY.

" 10th November, 1887."

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of three dollars for repair to schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' 22nd September, 1887.

" (Signed), SAML. HOUSTON.

" 10th November, 1887."

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of seventy-five cents for team at repair schooner 'Oliver Mowat,' 22nd September, 1887.

" (Signed), JOSEPH JOHNSTON.

" 10th November, 1887."

"No. 8—SCHOONER 'F. C. LEIGHTON.'

"STATEMENT of money received and disbursed for men's time and for use of diving apparatus, &c., Receipts for payments attached hereto :

Receipts.

To cash from schooner F. C. Leighton.....\$ 64 75
1887.

Disbursements.

Nov. 20—Paid E. Smiley, diver...	\$ 20 00	} Receipts attached
" " S. Houston, ass't...	7 00	
" " F. E. Wood, helper	3 00	
" " J. Marshall	7 75	
" " H. Johnston, team	3 00	
" " J. Johnston, helper	2 00	
" " J. G. Demare, ov's'r	10 00	
June 29—Remitted to Dept. Railways and Canals.....	12 00	
	<u>\$ 64 75</u>	

" WELLAND CANAL OFFICE.

" 25th March, 1889."

"No. 9—*Re* SCHOONER 'F. C. LEIGHTON.'

" Copy of Receipts.

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of twenty dollars for diving repair the schooner 'F. C. Leighton,' November 21, 22 (nights), 1887.

" (Signed), ED. SMILEY.

" 24th November, 1887."

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of seven dollars for assistant diver to repair the schooner 'F. C. Leighton,' nights of November 21 and 22.

" (Signed), SAMUEL HOUSTON.

" 24th November, 1887."

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of three dollars for helping at repair the schooner 'F. C. Leighton,' night of 22nd November, 1887.

" (Signed), FRED. E. WOOD.

" 24th November, 1887."

" Received from J. G. Demare the sum of seven dollars and seventy-five cents for work done on schooner 'F. C. Leighton' on the day and night of 22nd November, 1887.

" (Signed), J. MARSHALL.

" 24th November, 1887."

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of three dollars for team for repair the schooner 'F. C. Leighton' on the night of 21st November, 1887.

"(Signed), JOSEPH JOHNSTON.

"24th November, 1887."

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of two dollars for helping at repair the schooner 'F. C. Leighton,' night of 21st November, 1887.

"(Signed), ISAAC JOHNSTON.

"24th November, 1887."

"STATEMENT showing where charges were made for use of diving apparatus, and where not, money remitted, &c. :-

"Schooner 'Leadville.'—No charge made for apparatus. Copy of diver's receipt accompanies this, marked No. 10.

"Dredge 'Silcox.'—No charge made. See Secord's letter, herewith, explaining—No. 11.

"Schooner 'Morewood.'—No charge. Diver only one hour down—to put a nut on foot of old Lock 1.

"Schooner 'Oliver Mowat.'—See detailed particulars attached, and numbered 1 to 6, inclusive.

"Schooner 'F. J. King.'—No charge made. Diver was paid by captain.

"Schooner 'E. P. Beals.'—Reported sprung a leak by striking something in canal, consequently no charge made. Captain paid diver.

"Steam-barge 'W. B. Hall.'—See explanatory statements attached, and numbered 12, 13 and 14. The \$10 collected for use of diving suit was forwarded in a letter that was omitted to be received, and never reached the paymaster's hands.

"Schooner 'F. Leighton.'—See detailed statements attached, and numbered 889.

"Steamer 'Kaskell.'—Damage received in rock cut, striking a rock, so no charge was made for suit. Captain paid diver. See receipt No. 15.

"Barge 'Manitowoc.'—Injured in canal. No charge made for suit. Captain paid men. Small job.

"Schooner 'Bentley.'—No report of this case.

"Schooner 'M. J. Cummings.'—No charge made for armor. Captain paid diver, &c. See receipt No. 16. This Sunday job."

"No. 10—*Re* SCHOONER 'LEADVILLE.'

"Copy of Receipt.

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 19th November, 1882.

"Received of Captain P. Griffin payment in full of all demands against schooner 'Leadville,' of Oswego.

"(Signed), ED. SMILEY."

"No. 11.

"PORT COLBORNE, 23rd March, 1889.

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to yours respecting money collected for use of diving apparatus, diver's service, &c., *re* 'Silcox' dredge.

"There was no money collected from Mr. Silcox that I am aware of; by your orders the diver went to Mr. Silcox; the understanding was Mr. Silcox was to pay all expenses, as it was an accommodation to Silcox; he was unable to get a diver and apparatus anywhere else at that time.

"I returned no time for diver while he was working for Mr. Silcox.

"Yours respectfully,

"(Signed), THOS. R. SECORD.

"WILLIAM ELLIS, Esq.,

"St. Catharines."

"No. 12—STEAMER 'W. B. HALL.'

"STATEMENT of money received and disbursed for men's time, and for use of diving apparatus, &c. Receipts for payments attached hereto :-
1887. Receipts.

June 20th—To cash from Str. 'W. B. Hall.' \$47 00

Disbursements.

June 20th—Paid Jno. Marshall, diving, &c. 5 63

" E. Smiley " 15 00

" Sam. Houston, assist..... 5 00

" J. H. Johnston, team..... 8 75

" Kate Newall, horse & wagn. 2 63

Amount mailed at Port Dalhousie, June 28, 1887, by J. G. Demare to R. D. Dunn, paymaster, which letter was omitted to be registered, and never arrived at destination 10 00

Total\$47 00

"(See letter attached.)

"WELLAND CANAL OFFICE, 25th March, 1889."

"No. 13—*Re* STEAMER 'W. B. HALL.'

"Copy of Receipts.

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of \$5.63 (five dollars and sixty-three cents) for diving and repair steamer 'Hall,' 24th May, 1887.

"(Signed), J. MARSHALL.

"20th June, 1887."

"Received of J. G. Demare the sum of \$15 (fifteen dollars) for diving at steamer 'Hall,' 24th May, 1887.

"(Signed), ED. SMILEY.

"20th June, 1887."

"Received of J. G. Demare the sum of \$8.75 (eight dollars and seventy-five cents) for team at steamer 'Hall,' 24th May, 1887.

"(Signed), J. H. JOHNSTON.

"20th June, 1887."

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of \$5 (five dollars) for work done at steamer 'Hall,' 24th May, 1887.

"(Signed), SAML. HOUSTON.

"20th June, 1887."

"Received of J. G. Demare the sum of \$2.63 (two dollars and sixty-three cents) for horse and waggon at steamer 'Hall,' 24th May, 1887.

"(Signed), KATE NEWALL.

"20th June, 1887."

No. 14

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 28th June, 1887.

"Enclosed please find the sum of ten dollars (\$10), being the amount collected from the steam barge 'Hall' for the use of our diver's pump and suit.

"I am, your obedient servant.

"(Signed), J. G. DEMARE.

"R. B. DUNN, Esq., Paymaster."

"ST. CATHARINES, 26th March, 1889.

"In reference to the above. I have not received the money, viz., ten dollars; not heard of the matter before.

"(Signed), R. D. DUNN.

"Paymaster, Welland Canal."

"No. 15—*Re* PROPPELLOR 'HASKELL.'"

"Copy of Receipts.

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of ten dollars (\$10), being amount for diving and repairing shoe of propellor 'Haskell.'"

"(Signed), ED. SMILEY.

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 23rd June, 1888."

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of thirteen dollars (\$13), for services in connection with the steamer 'Haskell,' shoe, in fall of 1887.

"(Signed), SAMUEL HOUSTON.

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 20th June, 1888."

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50), for services in connection with repairs to steamer 'Haskell,' shoe, in fall of 1887.

"(Signed), JOSEPH JOHNSTON."

"No. 16.—*Re* SCHOONER, 'M. J. CUMMINGS.'"

"Copy of Receipts.

"Received of J. G. Demare the sum of \$10 (ten dollars) for diving to repair schooner 'M. J. Cummings.'"

"(Signed), ED SMILEY.

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 19th September, 1887."

"Received from J. G. Demare the sum of \$3 (three dollars) for team taking diver to repair schooner 'M. J. Cummings.'"

"(Signed,) JOSEPH JOHNSTON.

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 19th September, 1887."

"Received of J. G. Demare the sum of \$3 (three dollars) for assisting diver repair schooner 'M. J. Cummings.'"

"(Signed), SAML. HOUSTON.

"PORT DALHOUSIE, 19th September, 1887."

I hold in my hand a part of the return that was laid before the Senate the other day in reply to the Address moved for by myself. It is as follows:—

"COPY OF No. 71985.

"OTTAWA, 8th July, 1887.

"SIR,—Replying to your letter of the 9th March last, stating that the probable amount required for the repairs on the Welland Canal for the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1888, would be \$81,448.

HON. MR. MCCALLUM.

"I am directed to inform you that Parliament at its last Session, made an appropriation of \$76,000 for the repairs required on the Welland Canal, and to authorize you to expend that sum for the purpose mentioned.

"Although the expenditure of this amount is hereby authorized, it will be necessary for you to communicate with the Chief Engineer of Canals, as to what repairs are to be done, and also as to mode of executing them.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"(Signed), A. P. BRADLEY,
"Secretary."

"WM. ELLIS, Esq.,

"Supt. Welland Canal.

"St. Catharines."

No. 77503.

"RETURN No. 9 (1888).

"17th January, 1888.

"SIR,—For the purpose of completing a return to the Senate, moved for by the Hon. Mr. McCallum, I am directed to request that you will be good enough to furnish the following information:—

"(1). Copies of instructions received from the Department for the erection of a Custom house and post office at Port Colborne. In this matter the departmental number of letter and date will be sufficient.

"(2). The same information in regard to the erection of a wharf or dock west of the lock in Port Colborne; statement of the material used, and cost of said wharf or dock; purposes for which said wharf was built, and what it is used for; cost in detail of wrecking-pump purchased for the Welland Canal; date of purchase; the number of days said pump has been used for canal purposes in each year, and date of such service; if used for private purposes, the date and the amount received by Government for such service; cost in detail of diving armor purchased for the Welland Canal; number of days used in each year, and date of such service.

"Also, detailed statements of the amount received by the Government for the use of said diving armor, when used for private purposes, and not for the Government service?"

"I am to request that the information herein specified may be rendered with as little delay as possible.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,
"(Signed), A. P. BRADLEY."

"18th January, 1889.

"SIR—In further reference to the subject of my communication of yesterday's date, calling for certain information needed to complete a return to the Senate (Mr. McCallum), I am directed to request that you will also furnish reply to the following additional points:—

"1. Copies of all tenders received by the Government for the erection of the Custom house and post office building at Port Colborne.

"2. Copies of plans and specifications, and a detail statement of the material used in, or at the cost of erecting the said building in the year 1887.

"3. Also, copies of all correspondence, and of plans, of specifications, and instructions to the Superintendent of the Welland Canal, by the

Minister of Railways and Canals, or by any officer of that Department, for the erection of a wharf or dock west of the lock in Port Colborne.

"The information sought under this question (No. 3) to be taken in place of that called for yesterday on the same subject.

"Your early reply to this matter is particularly requested.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed), A. P. BRADLEY,

"Secretary.

"W. ELLIS, Esq.,

"Superintendent Welland Canal."

"SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE, WELLAND CANAL.

"ST. CATHARINES, 26th JANUARY, 1889.

"Sir,—In answer to your letters Nos. 77503 and 77513, I beg to submit the following information:

"1. I cannot furnish copies of instructions from the Department for the erection of canal tolls collector's office, Custom house, inland revenue and post office buildings at Port Colborne, nor for the dock at that place, any more than I can for many other essential works that I have built from time to time, after consultations with the chief engineer, and my experience of what was necessary to complete the equipment of this important work in every respect to insure thorough efficiency and quick facilities; and in this case loud complaints had been made for years past by captains and others using the canal of the want of proper accommodation, conveniently situated, after the former substantial canal toll and Custom house and inland revenue building had been pulled down, to admit of the canal enlargement, necessitating the removal of the staff into the substituted little unsuitable hired rooms over a store, which were very inconvenient, unsafe for fire risks, and bearing a high annual rent, which the Government had to pay.

"The plans and specifications for the building, after completed, were forwarded to the chief architect, in Ottawa, in whose office they will be found.

"The materials used were brick and stone, and all others through were of the very best kind. The roof was covered with fireproof iron shingles, fireproof safe and vaults furnished, where the canal, Custom house, inland revenue and post office papers are now properly and safely kept.

"As soon as the inhabitants heard that a new Government building was about to be built to replace the old one, they memorialized the Post Office Department to have post office accommodation provided under the same roof, and this was done without extra expense, by a re-arrangement of the internal partitions, and the public were greatly pleased at having modern and convenient post office accommodation, while captains and crews of vessels now get large numbers of letters addressed there, which they now get quickly, without being detained by having a long distance to go for them, as heretofore, and the Government saves the additional annual rent they have had for so many years previously to pay for unsuitable and inconvenient accommodation in a wooden building dangerously located for fire risks.

"The tenders received for the erection of the building, in answer to public advertisements, well circulated, were as follows:—

" T. L. Nichols, Welland.....	\$3,856.75
" R. & J. Miller, Port Elgin.....	3,527.00
" Dickinsin & Suess, Humberston	3,280.00

"The lowest of the above was accepted, and the work thoroughly well built and finished.—Copies of the tenders accompany this. I may add, the new building is located most conveniently for all the purposes required, and furnishes the last and only required office accommodation to complete the canal service, and for which the various inspectors, viz., H. B. Whitten, for canal tolls; Mewburn, of Customs, and Sweetman, of post offices, have been loud in their praises and thanks for the improved and safe accommodation so long and so urgently previously needed.

"2. No plans or special instructions were received for the erection of the wharf or dock at Port Colborne, but the urgent want of such equipment or accommodation had been often discussed with the Chief Engineer, and it proves now to be too small, and should be increased. When large vessels come into the harbor in distress it is the only place they can conveniently lighten or tie up for repairs so as to be out of the way of others, and when the harbor is crowded, as is sometimes the case before during and after storms, tugs have to leave their berths on the west side of the harbor to make room for the vessels, and tie to a new wharf on the east side and coal up there, and thus give the best and safest berthage on the west side to the large class of vessels now using the canal, and that run into the harbor in foul weather for shelter.

"I enclose herewith statements of the materials used and cost of the wharf or dock, as requested.

"3. I have furnished the particulars asked for—on a separate sheet enclosed herewith—of the wrecking pump, except the information about the number of days and dates when we used the same, which we have not kept a record of. It has been used for pumping out lock pits and other works, and has saved the Government thousands of dollars.

"4. Exactly the same answer is applicable to the case of the diving armor or apparatus.

"I may add, until I purchased the pump and these diving suits there were no such appliances nearer than Detroit and Kingston.

"Your obedient servant,
"(Signed), WILLIAM ELLIS,

"Superintendent.

"A. P. BRADLEY, Esq.,

"Sec. Dept. Railways and Canals."

"Copies of tenders received for the erection of the canal tolls collectors office, Custom house and post office at Port Colborne, 14th May, 1887:—

"WELLAND, ONT.,—14th May, 1887.

"DEAR SIR,—I, the undersigned, do herein agree to furnish and build the proposed canal tolls office and Custom house, according to plans and specifications, for the sum of \$3,846.75.

"Yours truly,

"(Signed), T. L. NICHOLLS.

"W. ELLIS, Esq.,

"Supt. Welland Canal."

"PORT ELGIN, ONT., 13th May, 1887.

"SIR—Having examined the plans and specifications of the proposed canal tolls office and Custom office proposed to be built at Port Colborne, we hereby offer and undertake to erect and complete the same for \$3,527.

"(Signed), R. J. MILLER.

"W. ELLIS, Esq.,

"Supt. Welland Canal."

"HUMBERSTONE, ONT., 14th May, 1887.

"SIR.—Having examined plans and specifications for a Custom house, canal tolls office and post office to be erected at Port Colborne, we beg to tender for the same, that is, to furnish all material and do all work according to plans and specifications for the sum of \$3,280.

"Yours respectfully,

"(Signed). DICKINSON & SUESS.

"W. ELLIS, Esq.

"Supt. Welland Canal."

"WELLAND CANAL.

"Detailed statement showing the cost of erecting wharf or dock at Port Colborne, and material used therein :

Carpenters, handymen and laborers, teams, pile driving, &c.....	\$1,262 67
6,080 lineal feet oak piling at 15 cts.....	912 00
1,600 " 10 x 12, 8 x 12, 6 x 12, \$27 M	43 20
2,240 feet pine, 6 x 10, \$17.....	38 08
34,157 " 6 x 12, 24, 3 x 12, 1 x 12, 12, \$16.	546 51
1,643 lbs. scow bolts, 5 cts.....	82 15
535 lbs. cast snubbing post caps, 3½ cts....	18 72
John Mathew's account—nails, spikes; auger, &c.....	29 29
John Mathew's account—supplies for men living on Government scow.....	15 31
	<u>\$2,947 93</u>

"WELLAND CANAL OFFICE.

"ST. CATHARINES, 25th January, 1889.

"Detailed statement of the cost of steam wrecking pumps and boiler, also receipts derived for the hire of same :

Nov., 1883—Steam wrecking pump purchased from Silsby Manufacturing Co., Seneca Falls, N.Y.....	\$2,250 60
Nov. 15, 1884—Quincy boiler and suction pipes purchased from Inglis & Hunter, Toronto.....	750 00
	<u>\$3,000 00</u>

"Receipts for hire or use of steam wrecking pump from the parties mentioned below :

Aug. 18, 1884—Graham, Horne & Co.—2 days steam wrecking pump, \$45.....	\$90 00
Plank, and lard oil.....	4 25
	<u>\$94 25*</u>
Oct. 1, 1884—Sylvester Neelon—2½ days steam wrecking pump, \$45.....	\$112 50
2½ days wrecker, \$3.....	7 50
2½ days engineer, \$1.75....	4 38
	<u>124 38*</u>
	<u>\$ 218 63</u>
July 31, 1886—Carter Bros.—1 day steam w. pump.....	\$ 40 00
1 " engineer and keeper.....	10 00
	<u>\$50.00**</u>
	<u>\$ 268 63</u>

* Returned Secretary Department Railways and Canals, 29th June, 1886.

** Returned Secretary Department Railways and Canals, 29th June, 1887.

HON. MR. MCCALLUM.

"WELLAND CANAL OFFICE,
"ST. CATHARINES, 25th January, 1889.

"Detailed statement of the cost of diving armor and receipts derived from the hire of the same :—
July, 1886—Purchased from H. Date, Montreal—

Diving armor, &c.....	\$476 50
Receipts for hire or use of diving for the mentioned parties below :—	
July 31, 1886—Carter Bros., 8 days, \$5.00 per day.....	\$40 00 *
Oct. 7, 1886—Shields & Carroll, 2 days.....	\$10 00
2 " diver. 6 00	
	<u>\$16 00 *</u>
" 29 " Raynor & Co., 2 days, \$5 00.....	10 00 *
Oct. 26, 1887—Schr. 'Oliver Mowat'	14 75 **
Nov. 30, 1887 " 'F. Leighton'	12 00 **
	<u>\$92 75</u>

* Returned Secretary Department Railways and Canals, 29th June, 1887.

** Returned Secretary Department Railways and Canals, 29th June, 1888.

"WELLAND CANAL OFFICE.

"ST. CATHARINES, 25th January, 1889."

The explanation given of the disbursement of that money by the Deputy Superintendent Demare is not satisfactory. That man, I consider, is causing more trouble on the Welland Canal than anyone on the work. He alleges that a portion of the money was lost in the post office, and part of it paid to men who say they did not receive it, and even that he paid part of it to himself, trying to explain the matter away. Why should this money go through the post office at all? All he had to do was to step across the street and pay it into the canal office to the credit of the Receiver-General; but in place of that he says that he sent this money through the post office, to the paymaster at St. Catharines, a man that is not authorized to receive money on behalf of this country, and the money did not get there. The number of persons that were assisted with the steam pump and diving apparatus is fifteen or twenty, as I am informed. It is hard to get this information. I only know it from parties sending it to me. There is a good deal of terrorism exercised about it; any man writing me a letter is a marked man, if it is known. People do not care to give the information, because their hands are in the lion's mouth and they do not want to be bitten. In the first instance, in response to the order of this House, Mr. Ellis in that return says they did not keep the time that this machinery was at work,

but afterwards I find out more on the subject, and then he disposes of the matter as you will see in his reply. He could not comply with the order of the Senate, because, as he said, he kept no time. He undertook to furnish a statement of the amount collected, but he did not furnish the proper amount in the first instance, in reply to the order of this House. He did not give the numbers nor the times, nor the amounts correctly, as the papers in reply to my letters will show. Even his own letter will show that. I have no need to dwell on that, because the correspondence speaks for itself. But when asked about it he tries to explain how they disposed of the money collected for services rendered, which he says he knew nothing about. He could not comply with the order of the Senate, and he has not done so yet. I do not know that I can do better than refer here to the reply to my letters to the Department already laid before the House. That contains the superintendent's reply in explanation of the charges. I wanted an explanation about the coal, about the vessels, about this dock, and about other things—and you have his answer. I asked him to give the number of days the steam pump was working for canal purposes and the number of days for individuals, but he did not furnish the time, because he says he did not know it. However, he is very particular about other matters, and loads down his report with other information. Although he could not answer my questions he tells us in his report to the Minister, laid before Parliament this year, that he repaired wheelbarrows, that he made chissel handles, that he drove a spike, that he put in window glass, that he caulked a punt, that he repaired a link in a chain, and last, but not the least, that he filled a crevice in a valve with straw and manure. He could tell all that, but he could not tell what had become of hundreds of dollars of money that had passed through his deputy's hands. He tries to get rid of this by saying that he gave the use of this property to vessels going through the canal when they got into trouble, in order, as he says, to popularize the canal. I know how the Welland Canal has been popularized under that gentleman. I have got a letter describing it, and I believe it states the truth. Men are prepared to

swear that by his arbitrary measures he has detained vessels for forty-eight hours, when there was plenty of water to put them through the aqueduct—that there was 2 inches less water when the vessels went through after that detention than when they came there. The owner of a tug, speaking to an employé at the aqueduct, found fault with the way things were done. He even ventured to say, in a jocular way that Ellis, the superintendent of the canal, was in league with the saloon keepers along the canal, and that that was why he was keeping the vessels. For daring to say that he was reported to Mr. Ellis, and fined \$20, and when he went for an explanation Mr. Ellis ordered him out of the office. That is the way he is popularizing the Welland Canal. But no doubt Mr. Ellis has his friends and his pets on the canal, and among them this man Demare, who says, when he discharges a man, "he need never look for work here again." The first qualification required to obtain work on the Welland Canal is to belong to the clique. The fitness of a man is not questioned, so long as he goes hat in hand for favors. The reason for discharging this young man Mossip, was "his general bearing towards his superiors." It puts me in mind of Burn's line—"To beg a brother of the earth to give him leave to toil." The superintendent of the canal increased his favorite's salary, without authority, by \$300 a year.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Whose salary?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—Demare's. I would find no fault with that if he had not been paid enough already, but he was paid very well. He was getting \$900 a year, and \$150 a year for horse hire, although his duties did not at any time require him to go more than six or eight miles from home; he gets a free house, and it looks as if he has been getting pickings, but Mr. Ellis recommends that Mr. Demare should have a bonus—\$100 extra. I see the Department would not sanction that, but his salary is increased to \$1,200 by the superintendent. He gives it as an excuse that the chief engineer had promised Mr. Demare this increase, but the chief engineer says no, and I feel

satisfied that if the Chief Engineer had been consulted in the matter in either of these cases the thing would not have taken place. I have known Mr. Page for forty years, and I know that if he gives his word it is all right; but the difficulty is to get his word, and I know that he would not give it in a case of this kind. I do not blame the Government of the country; I do not believe that they have been aware of what has been going on on the Welland Canal. I did not know myself until my attention was called to it in the way I have explained. I sympathize with the oppressed, and knowing this man to be a good, reliable and honest man, and that he could not get work, while men less deserving and less qualified were receiving employment every day, I was led to look into the matter. I leave it to the Government and to the Senate to say whether Mr. Ellis does not stand condemned to-day on the evidence I have submitted, and whether he should not cease to fill a position for which he has shown himself so unfitted. That he is unfit for the position of Superintendent of the Welland Canal is plain from the fact that he allowed the water of Lake Erie to flow into the canal in January last, though he had plenty of men and means at his disposal to prevent it. The estimate of the damage, as furnished by the chief engineer, is \$25,000, and you will see that \$15,000 of that amount is placed in the Estimates before us now. The following is the engineer's report:—

“ OTTAWA, 18th April, 1889.

“ SIR—In reply to your letter of 29th ult., making inquiries as to the amount of damages done to the upper level of the Welland Canal by the storm in January last, and asking what is the nature of such damages—and the probable amount required to make good the damages sustained, as well as inquiring whether there are any means at the disposal of the superintendent, by proper exercise of judgment in the discharge of his duty, to have prevented such loss, I am instructed to say that on reference to the Chief Engineer of Canals he has reported as follows, under date of the 2nd inst. :

“ The banks of the summit level of the Welland Canal were, in 1884-5, faced with broken stone up to the height of 5 feet over ordinary water surface of Lake Erie. This was considered sufficiently high to meet the surge raised by steam vessels in motion when the level is at the usual height of the lake. To prevent the water in the canal getting above that height the guard locks are provided with gates facing towards the lake. These were intended to be allowed to remain open in fine weather during the season of navigation, but to be shut on the approach of a storm,

HON. MR. McCALLUM.

and, invariably, at the close of navigation each year.

“ To maintain the supply to the canal when the guard gates are closed a covered race-way, 25 feet in width and an open race-way 32 feet in width, were formed on the west side of the canal. Near the outlet of these there is a regulating weir with five (5) clear openings, aggregating 80 feet in width, in each of the five bays thus formed are three (3) sluices arranged so that all the fifteen can be easily worked and controlled at any time or season of the year.

“ At the time of the storm, on the 9th January last, the guard gates were open; this allowed the water of the lake to enter at the unusual height to which it had been raised by the storm; the water was within about 26 inches of the top of the coping of the aqueduct, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the lake, and from the swell raised by the wind it rose to about the height of the coping of the guard lock near Thorold (16 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Lake Erie). In fact the ‘wash’ of the banks showed that a small quantity had passed in rear of the lock walls. This great rise of water washed out the face part of the banks above the stone facing, and at many places for some distances back; especially where there are ‘made’ banks, this material has of course been washed into the canal.

“ To put the banks again into as good condition as they were between Humberston and the guard lock at Thorold will cost at least \$25,000, towards which the sum of \$15,000 has, I believe, been placed in the Supplementary Estimates for 1889-90.”

I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ A. P. BRADLEY,

“ Secretary.

“ Hon. L. McCALLUM,

“ Senator.”

That is Mr. Page's report, and you can see that Mr. Ellis is condemned by the Chief Engineer of the Department. I hope, therefore, that we will get rid of these barnacles. Up to this time I do not blame the Government for the mismanagement or allged dishonesty in the management of the canal, because they may not have known anything about it. It is a disagreeable thing to have to bring such a matter before the public, and I only do so in order to have an investigation into it. I want to live at peace with all men, but I will not shirk a plain duty, and I feel it to be my imperative duty to the country at large to have this matter inquired into. I call on the Government to do their duty, and investigate the alleged wrong-doing, by commission or otherwise, at an early day. I say that two of these men are condemned by their own defence, which I have brought to the notice of the House—Mr. Ellis by his blunder, which has cost the country \$25,000, and other mismanagement besides; and this Mr. Demare by

keeping a portion of the public revenue, which should have been paid in to the credit of the country. I leave this matter in the hands of the Government to do with it as they think best. I have done my duty; it is for them now to do theirs. They have got a fair warning, and I hope that they will act upon it. I say they are not to be blamed up to now, but I tell them that after the warning they have received they shall be held accountable for the past and future conduct of those officers on the Welland Canal.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend has gone very largely into accusations against Mr. Ellis and the people who manage the Welland Canal on the spot, of course in a way which renders it entirely impossible to say anything at all in reply to him. I know nothing about the facts or circumstances which he has stated, and therefore cannot say whether my hon. friend is correct or whether he has been misinformed. I shall certainly hope that when the matter has been investigated it will be found that the hon. gentleman has been misinformed; and I may, with equal certainty, assure him if it should turn out that he is not misinformed, and that these grave charges are well founded, exemplary punishment will be inflicted on the parties. That is all I can say on the matter now, but in reply to the question itself, I may say that in consequence of the representations which my hon. friend has made there will be an immediate and searching investigation into the subject of his complaint.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I will now ask the other question of which I have given notice, because I have every confidence in my hon. friend's judgment as a lawyer and as a gentleman. I ask him to read the documents that I have placed in the official report. If that is a punishment for him, I am sorry to inflict it; but I think after he reads the report the subject will not require much investigation. I think what an investigation would disclose is there, as far as two of the men are concerned. My question is:

Is it the intention of the Government to hold an investigation into the management of the Welland Canal, respecting the blunders and loss that has taken place in the management of that important work?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I assure my hon. friend that I shall most certainly read all the papers he has placed in the official report, and what he has said reminds me that in the course of his speech he said he had some other letters, which he would not put in the official report, but which he would hand to the Government. I will thank my hon. friend to give me those letters, and I will not only read the letters in the official report, but those my hon. friend gives me also.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I shall certainly give them, for the purpose of an investigation, if not marked "private."

ELEVATORS AT ST. JOHN.

INQUIRY.

HON. MR. WARK inquired whether—

In view of the early opening of the Short Line Railway and the expectation that merchants of Montreal and other western cities will avail themselves of it for the purpose of shipping grain to Europe, the Government intends, during the ensuing summer, to erect elevators at St. John, similar to those at Halifax, to enable shippers to decide from which port shipments can be most advantageously made

"Also, whether, before fixing permanently on either as the winter port, an arrangement will be made for a part of the subsidized steamers to terminate their voyage at one port and a part at the other, for one or more years, to afford time to decide which port should finally have the preference?"

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No representations have been received on the subject of erecting elevators at St. John, and the success of the elevators at Halifax has not been encouraging. Now that my hon. friend has brought the matter up, the Government will give it careful consideration, and will do whatever may be found necessary to be done in the interest of the public. With reference to the second portion of my hon. friend's question, arrangements are not in a condition yet to enable the Government to say anything definite on the matter, but the subject of the second portion of his question will be referred to and considered when the time comes for making arrangements respecting the winter port.

CUSTOMS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the third reading of Bill (117), "An Act further to

amend the Customs Act, Chapter 32 of the Revised Statutes." He said: I have submitted the suggestion made the other day by my hon. friend from Toronto to the Ministers of Customs, and after consulting with him I am prepared to make an amendment to meet the views of the hon. gentleman. The question came up on the clause of the Bill which gives to the Board of Customs and Dominion Appraisers a sort of supervision over port appraisers and the clause stated that whenever it appears to any Dominion Appraiser or to the Board of Customs that any goods have been wrongly appraised or allowed to enter, then this official may do certain things pointed out by this clause; but according to the language of the clause it would appear that he is not restricted in this duty by the time elapsed after the entry, and the intention is that the duty shall be performed simultaneously with the entry—that is to say, it shall be a condition attendant upon the entry. I therefore propose to amend clause 7 of the Customs Act by striking out the word "whenever" and inserting the words, "if upon any entry, or in connection with any entry, it appears to any Dominion Appraiser, &c."

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—Will that cover the ground, "if upon any entry?" That may mean several years back.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; "if upon any entry" covers it.

HON. MR. DEVER—There is something in the 64th section that I cannot understand:

"When the amount of such drawback, consideration, money value, royalty, rent or charge for use has been deducted from the value of such goods, on the face of the invoice under which entry is to be made, or is not shown thereon, the collector of Customs or proper officer shall add the amount of such deduction, drawback, consideration, money value, royalty, rent or charge for use, and cause to be paid the lawful duty thereon."

In my opinion if there is a drawback on goods the actual value after the drawback is taken off is the price of the goods, and upon that, I hold, the duty should be paid. By this clause it would appear that although a deduction of the drawback is made in the country, whence it is imported it is added in this country, and the duty is

charged thereon. Therefore, I cannot see that a merchant who purchases his goods in a foreign market has any advantage over an ordinary importer, though he may buy to advantage. There are parties who can at all times purchase goods at a lower price than their neighbors, and they should have the advantage of that faculty. If the intention is simply to pay the duty on the market value of the article I do not see why the drawback should be added to it again. From my knowledge of business I do not see that it would be right.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will see that the principle upon which these duties are exacted is that the duty shall be paid on the fair market value of the article, not upon the price paid, in the principal markets of the country from which it is exported. The drawbacks and deductions which are referred to in this clause are not the drawbacks and deductions which are allowed to people in the United States, supposing that to be the country whence the article comes. They are special drawbacks placed on the goods as a bonus on exportation, and they enter into the fair value of the article, and they are really deductions from the fair value of the article. This is not a new clause. There are only two words in the clause that are new in the clause as it has been for years and years in this country and in the United States. The only novelty in this clause consists in the words "or use," because, as it appeared before, there was no distinction between goods that were for sale and goods that were for use.

HON. MR. DEVER—Say I am a merchant in good standing, and I go into a foreign market and purchase goods at a lower price than my neighbor can: it is one of the great points in a merchant's character to be able to do so. If he is a good purchaser he is a good merchant, for he can afford to sell his goods lower than other men in the market. Now, I hold that if I can buy goods lower than my neighbor in a foreign market I ought to get the advantage of my purchase when I bring them into my own market.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend has been doing business under exactly the contrary rule. It has never been the rule

for imports that the duties should be exacted on the price paid. It has always been the rule that the duty has been levied on the value of the article, so that everybody who imports the article pays the same duty. If a merchant buys it cheaper than his neighbor does, he has that advantage in respect of price, but he does not get the article in on a lower rate of duty. If he buys a bale of cotton, for instance, at a cheaper rate than his neighbor does, he gets the advantage he has by his good bargain, but he does not get it imported into the country at a lower duty than his neighbor does.

HON. MR. DEVER—Then he does not get the benefit of his purchase.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—This clause does not refer to the mercantile discount from the merchant or manufacturer from whom the goods are bought, but to the drawback allowed by the Government.

HON. MR. DEVER—If a man buys his goods in a foreign market cheaper than his neighbor can, he ought to get the benefit of it. That was the arrangement in New Brunswick before we came into Confederation—a merchant paid duty on his invoice, and on that alone, and no more.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, as amended, and passed.

AN APOLOGY.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—Before the Orders of the Day were called, my intention was to apologize to the leader of the House. The day before yesterday, thinking that the hon. gentleman tried to ridicule me, I used some strong language. I have been told since that I was wrong, that there had been no such utterance against me, as I understand, and I beg to apologize publicly, as the report of my remarks has gone to the public. I wish to apologize, because it is not my custom to attack a gentleman for something he has not said. Now that I am on my feet, with the permission of the House, I beg leave to ask the question of which I have given notice, and which I should have asked when motions were called :

At what date did the former Warden of the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul, Mr. Laviolette, resign?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have to say that Mr. Laviolette resigned verbally in January, 1887. As to what my hon. friend said just now, it did not rest in my mind, because I knew that the hon. gentleman had misunderstood my remarks. I did not say anything, I think, to wound the feelings of my hon. friend, except that I characterized, in as strong language as I could, the remarks he applied to my hon. colleague.

TRADE COMBINATIONS BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. McCALLUM moved the second reading of Bill (11), "An Act for the prevention and suppression of Combinations formed in restraint of Trade." He said: In rising to move the second reading of this Bill I do not know that I have much to say, as I have not made much study of the Bill. I understand that the object of the Bill is to prevent any number of people from combining to the detriment of the best interests of the country. I hope hon. gentlemen will allow this Bill to go to its second reading, and any objections that may be taken to it can be discussed in committee. The measure is based on the report of the committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into this question last year. I have a book in my hand that explains the system of combines in the United States, and the evils attendant on them, but I do not wish to punish the House at the present time by quoting from it.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I do not rise to oppose the principle of the Bill, but I am a little disappointed that a few words of explanation have not been given to us concerning the principal features of the measure, some of which appear to me to be very strange. One clause I have studied very carefully—the fifth—and I confess I am unable to arrive at a proper understanding of it. There are other points, also, that require explanation, and some amendments will be necessary when the measure comes to be discussed in committee.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I would like the hon. Minister to explain to us what is the meaning of the word "unlawfully" in the first clause? Because

upon that really hangs the whole importance of the following sections. Before the hon. gentleman makes that explanation I will refer to sub-section "c," which reads thus :

"To prevent, limit or lessen the manufacture or production of any such article or commodity, or to enhance the price thereof."

To give one simple illustration of how this may work, I understand that there is invested in cotton mills in this country (the hon. gentleman from Burlington will be better informed on this than I am) capital to the extent of something like \$12,000,000. I am told that there is only about \$3,000,000 of that paying dividends. The simple fact is that industry, like many other industries in this country, is in a very congested state. I am not sure if it would not be better for the country and better for the shareholders if fully 25 per cent. of those manufactories were closed up, and then there would be a profit for those who are so fortunate as to be strong enough to continue, and there would also be dividends for the shareholders. But supposing the shareholders of any one company were to meet together and say that the state of trade was such that it would be in their interest to run only upon half time or upon quarter time, or it might be, for a period to close the mill absolutely, surely if that was the course that prudence dictated have they not a perfect right to come to that conclusion? And the reason that I ask my hon. friend to explain what is the meaning of the word "unlawfully," as applied in these clauses, is to ascertain whether they would be by such action amenable to the provisions of this Bill?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive that I am not responsible for this measure; at the same time, I am very desirous to give him an answer, and for that purpose I wish clearly to understand the clause myself. I do not think it is altogether beyond the bounds of debate as to what the clause really means, and after considering it, with a view to the very difficulty which my hon. friend suggests, it appears to me that if any of those things which are mentioned in the sub-sections of the clause he refers to are done to an unreasonable extent, which would be probably in the discretion of the judge to say, so as

to be a restraint of fair and lawful trade, that they will then become unlawful; but so long as they do not extend beyond a fair and reasonable regulation of trade, and do not impose any improper or exceptional burden on the public, in the discretion of the judge, they will not be unlawful. That is the construction which I put upon it, and which I venture to think is the true construction of the clause. I have been given to understand that it may be suggested in Committee of the Whole that these words, or something like them, "unduly or unreasonable," should be inserted in the clause, so as to make it plain what I think they do mean now. Probably that would be an improvement, but as the clause stands now, to the best of my judgment it means what I have stated.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—I am fully convinced, after the explanation by the leader of the House, that the clause is utterly impracticable, and it would be a great hardship for men to have a judge called upon to pronounce upon their action, when in their judgment it was absolutely necessary to close up a mill and realize on their assets as soon as possible. After the explanation we have heard I can clearly understand that the working of this Bill will be utterly impracticable.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

THE COPYRIGHT BILL.

SECOND READING.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (101), "An Act to amend the Copyright Act, Chapter 62 of the Revised Statutes." He said: This is a Bill which is not without complication and difficulty in various directions, but the law as it stands seems to constitute a grievance in the country and an undue restriction upon the business of publishers here, and this Bill is offered to remove that grievance, and to establish a state of things more in accordance with justice to those people. As the matter stands now, the copyright owner or author in England can publish here; but, of course, is under no obligation to do so, and naturally does not do so. We can import his books, but English-printed books are very expensive. In

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland).

the meantime, no publisher here can publish those books and sell them; but a publisher in the United States can make such arrangements as to enable him to publish them, and then send them into this country, and absorb the market which Canada affords, while our own publishers are prevented from publishing. The object of this Bill is to do away with that state of thing, and to require an English author who desires to protect his work in this country to copyright it here and publish it within a reasonable time after its publication in England; and in the event of his failing to do so, the restriction preventing local publishers from publishing the work is removed; and after the period has expired in which an English or foreign author should take out his copyright and publish his book in this country, if he has failed to do so then, our local publishers are permitted to publish the book upon getting a license so to do, which will probably be a matter of form. That is really the principal change in the law. That being done, the English author may obtain a small duty, in the nature of an excise duty—that is, a small duty upon each of his books which is sold in this country. This is collected for him by the Collector of Inland Revenue and paid over to him, and that is his remuneration for the work of his brain, which everybody admits he ought to be paid for.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

THE SENATE DEBATES.

MOTION.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE moved the adoption of the report of the Select Committee on reporting *Debates*.

HON. MR. POWER—There is one expression in the report which I think may be calculated to mislead, or if it does not mislead, it ought to be altered. It says:

"Your committee recommends that the edition of the Senate *Debates* for daily distribution shall consist of 1,400 copies, and that the distribution thereof shall be through the Distribution Office, and to the same parties as the *Hansard* of the House of Commons."

I think that the distribution, therefore, shall be through the Distribution Office, though the application of these words

should be limited to the distribution outside of the members of this House, and that the four or five copies to each member of the Senate should be distributed through our own post office, as at present.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I presume the Distribution Office will send them to our post office.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—The intention of the committee was to give five copies to each member of the Senate; but to-day I am informed that those copies, instead of being sent to our postmaster, have been distributed by the Distribution Office. Certainly, the intention of the committee was that each senator should get five copies, and that the other distribution should be made by the Distribution Office.

HON. MR. POWER—I was not at the meeting of the committee, as there was another committee meeting at the same time, but I find I was right that the intention of the *Debates* Committee was that the distribution to members of the Senate should be through our own post office.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Now that my hon. friend has drawn my attention to it, I will see that that is the way the distribution shall be made. There is one recommendation of importance, and that is the recommendation that the Government take means to facilitate the procuring of extra copies of speeches and debates and regulating the charges therefor. The price which is charged at present, I am told, is something enormous. I know I had the vanity to ask for a few extra copies of a speech that I delivered in this House not long ago, and I was charged at the rate of forty odd dollars for 250 copies. That is nearly 20 cents a piece; whereas, if they had been done by a private printer, and set up *de novo*, they would not have cost as much.

HON. MR. ALMON—I do not trouble the House with many speeches, but I had to pay \$3 for a dozen copies of mine.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—That is the reason we ask the Government to take means to facilitate the procuring of extra copies and for regulating the charges for them.

The motion was agreed to, and the report was adopted.

THE PRINTING OF PARLIAMENT.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH REPORTS ADOPTED.

HON. MR. READ moved the adoption of the Seventh Report of the Joint Committee on Printing.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I would like to ask my hon. friend if the printing of the report of the floods in the St. Lawrence has been before the committee yet.

HON. MR. READ—It was only brought down yesterday, and it has not been brought before the committee yet.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. READ moved the adoption of the Eighth Report of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The motion was agreed to.

THE LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT.

SECOND REPORT ADOPTED.

HON. MR. ODELL moved the adoption of the second report of the Joint Committee on the Library of Parliament. He said: There is one point which is referred to in a clause of the report that the sub-Committee of Audit presented their report, which was adopted. It was ordered that the Librarians be authorized to purchase during the recess of Parliament such works as they may, in their discretion, deem necessary for Library exchanges. These exchanges are chiefly Sessional Papers and Blue Books, and they were often short of the number that were required; therefore, they were instructed to use their discretion in purchasing some during the recess. The Librarians were also requested to report on the subject of exchanges. That report, I suppose, will come before the committee at the next meeting. With regard to the accounts, I think they speak for themselves. The finances connected with the Library are now in a satisfactory condition. There was an unexpended balance of the grants of 1888-89 of \$4,115.54. Against that unexpended balance there are charges amounting to \$2,588.23. They have in hand a balance for 1888-89 of \$1,527.31 at the credit of the Library Department.

The motion was agreed to, and the report was adopted.

INLAND REVENUE ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (139), "An Act further to amend the Inland Revenue Act, Chapter 34 of the Revised Statutes."

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Bill be now read the third time.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not rise for the purpose of opposing the Bill, but of calling attention to what I consider a somewhat irregular proceeding. We have a rule which declares that no Bill shall take more than one stage in one day, and the rules of the House of Lords, to which we are referred in doubtful cases, lay down that the committee and the third reading are two different steps. The more regular practice would be to suspend the rule, because otherwise this might happen: if it is permissible to run a Bill through all its stages without suspending the rules, one can see that if a member who is interested, possibly, in the passing of some measure, or anxious to have it amended, happens to be out of the Chamber for five minutes, the Bill could pass through all its stages without his knowledge.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have understood that the construction put upon this rule was that it should not have two readings on the same day. I did not understand that it applied to the committee stage. I desire also, as strongly as my hon. friend, to conform to the rules, but it has been the common, if not the universal practice, where there is no amendment made in Committee of the Whole, to read the Bill the third time on the same day that it is reported from the committee. I should be glad to have the ruling of the Speaker as to the proper practice.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I understood that going to the committee was not considered a stage of the Bill.

HON. MR. POWER—One of the last of our rules says that in every unprovided case we shall be governed by the rules of the House of Lords, and if the Senate desire, I will produce the rule of the House of Lords, which says that a Bill shall not take two stages on the one day.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, and were read the third time, and passed:—

Bill (137), "An Act further to amend the General Inspection Act, Chapter 99 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

Bill (84), "An Act to extend the provisions of the Extradition Act." (Mr. Abbott).

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (142), "An Act to amend the Cullers Act, Chapter 103 of the Revised Statutes." (Mr. Abbott).

The Senate adjourned at 5:10 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Monday, 29th April, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY.

MOTION.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE moved—

That a committee of seven members be appointed to inquire into the following charges, to wit:

That the Government laid before the House, during the Session of 1887, a Blue Book intitled: "Supplementary Report on Penitentiaries for the year ending the 30th June, 1886," containing a report by the then Deputy Warden Ouimet, of the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, on the revolt which took place in the said penitentiary on the 24th April, 1886; that the report of the said Deputy Warden is but little in accordance with the facts and circumstances of the revolt aforesaid:

That the Government had then good, weighty and sufficient reasons to believe that the said report

did not give a true account of the circumstances of the said revolt, and of the action of the several officers of the penitentiary during the time of the outbreak, if even the Government were not convinced of the falsity of such report;

That amongst other omissions calculated to alter the nature of the report, it is not mentioned therein that the then Deputy Warden Ouimet, now Warden of the said penitentiary, was absent from the penitentiary on the day of the revolt, without permission from his superior officer;

That such report does not mention that the then Chief Keeper McCarthy, now Deputy Warden, had received, at the very beginning of the outbreak, a very important order from his superior officer, the Warden, to wit: The order to join the Warden in the prison yard, with seven or eight officers armed with rifles, and that the said Chief Keeper had neglected, or refused, to comply with such order;

That such report does not say that Messenger Lefavre had deserted his duty during the outbreak;

That the Government, by their action, have failed in their duty, and have deliberately consented to deceive this House;

That the said committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, examine witnesses under oath, and that it be an instruction to said committee to report to this House the evidence of witnesses heard before them, and also their proceedings.

He said: It is not my intention to make any remarks on the subject of this motion, because the statements which I would have to make I made last Friday, and to save the time of the House I will not repeat them.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Without venturing to raise any objection to the statements which the hon. gentleman has made, I may say that it appears to me to be a very improper time to ask for the appointment of such a committee. The charges made, and which would require investigation, are of that nature that they could not possibly be dealt with within the limit of a few days, and we are now approaching the termination of the Session. It is a pity that the hon. gentleman did not introduce this matter at an earlier stage of the Session, when a committee could have been appointed; but under the circumstances, I do not think it would be wise to do so now, as the committee could not take any effectual steps in the matter, there being no time to send for witnesses and take evidence and report to the House.

HON. MR. MILLER—I am a little surprised at the weakness of the objections taken by the hon. gentleman from Sarnia to this motion. I do not see how any hon. member in this House can be asked

to vote for such a motion. As it stands on the Order Paper, it is out of order; it is simply a preamble to a motion. But, what are we asked to do? In the last paragraph of the first recital there is this clause:

"That the report of the said Deputy Warden is but little in accordance with the facts and circumstances of the revolt aforesaid."

What evidence has this House, apart from the statements of the hon. gentleman the other day, on which to come to such a conclusion as that? Then, again, the next recital is:

"That the Government had then good, weighty and sufficient reasons to believe that the said report did not give a true account of the circumstances of the said revolt, and of the action of the several officers of the penitentiary during the time of the outbreak, if even the Government were not convinced of the falsity of such report."

What evidence have we for such a sweeping statement as that? And what hon. gentleman in this House is willing to vote for such a statement without any evidence whatever of the facts? We have no evidence whatever before us, and I cannot see how any member of this House, I care not what his opinion may be with regard to the subject matter of this resolution, can vote for such a motion. Then again:

"That amongst other omissions calculated to alter the nature of the report, it is not mentioned therein that the then Deputy Warden Ouimet, now Warden of the said penitentiary, was absent from the penitentiary on the day of the revolt, without permission from his superior officer."

What evidence have we of that fact? Of course, I could very well understand, if my hon. friend had framed his motion so that these subjects could be brought up and investigated before a committee, and the committee had reported on the facts, that we should be asked to vote for a report containing these allegations; but to ask for a committee on such a motion is something I have never before seen in Parliament. Then again:

"That such report does not mention that the then Chief Keeper McCarthy, now Deputy Warden, had received, at the very beginning of the outbreak, a very important order from his superior officer, the Warden, to wit: The order to join the Warden in the prison yard with seven or eight officers armed with rifles, and that the said Chief Keeper had neglected, or refused, to comply with such order."

I may make the same remark with regard to that recital. We have no evidence

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of the fact, and I repeat, if we had the circumstances of that revolt referred to a committee, and that committee had taken evidence and reported these things were true, then the House would be in a position to vote on the report. But to be asked to affirm these allegations as facts before investigating them is like giving a verdict against the party first and then hearing the evidence. Another recital is:

"That the Government, by their action, have failed in their duty, and have deliberately consented to deceive this House."

That is very strong language. It is language that I would not like to endorse, and I presume no hon. gentleman in this House would for a moment endorse, until there was some evidence to convince him that it was true. Although I do not rise to a question of order—I leave that to the leader of the House, if he thinks proper to do so—as one member of this House, I think it is impossible to expect any hon. gentleman to vote for such a resolution. I think the resolution should not have been allowed to go on the Minutes, and I shall be prepared to vote for striking it off if the leader of the House thinks proper to make such a motion.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I must say that I concur in a great deal, if not all, that my hon. friend has said about this motion. I was desirous of avoiding this discussion, and have the House pronounce upon it with the good sense that I know would characterize their decision, at this stage of the Session, by simply rejecting it. I do not like to raise a question of order, for the simple reason that the motion is put in the form of a charge, and I do not care about having it said that on any technical point the Government or any of its members would shirk an inquiry which this hon. House might choose to institute into any act of theirs. I believe, if the point of order were pressed, that the motion is out of order. I quite agree with my hon. friend opposite about that. On the whole, I think I would prefer submitting the question to the vote of the House as to whether they will appoint a committee of this description on such charges and at this stage of the Session.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I am surprised at the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Richmond. Generally, his pre-

mises are so sound that I agree with him in his conclusions, but on this occasion it is otherwise. The hon. gentleman says that if the report proper (Mr. Ouimet's report) were submitted to a committee, and investigated as to the mode in which it has been made, then after that he could understand how it could be referred to a committee. I do not understand how this could be, because if an investigation of the report were made before a committee, and a report were prepared, showing that it was not in accordance with the fact, I do not see why it should be referred to the committee again for investigation. I cannot concur in that argument, because I do not see that it is in any way a logical one. The hon. member from Sarria takes exception to the shortness of the time. It is well known that such a committee can sit after prorogation; but suppose it would be inconvenient, that is no reason why the committee should not be appointed, and then the House might decide whether that committee should go on during the present Session or not, or wait until next year. That would be a proper question for the House to decide. I have no objection to reserving the motion for a later day. The hon. leader of the House does not take an objection as to the point of order, but is willing to take the sense of the Senate on the merits of the motion. I believe that those three speeches have been just planned in advance to prepare the House to give a hostile vote; because it is known that some members of the Senate who, until Thursday, thought I was wrong in bringing up those questions here, told me themselves that they were so impressed with the statements I made and with the letters I read that they feel that the case of this poor man should be investigated. An investigation has been asked for these five years; it was solemnly promised in both Houses. The Minister of Justice, in the other House, said that he felt bound in honor and conscience, and from a sense of duty, to make a complete and thorough inquiry, not only into the causes of the revolt, near and remote, but even an investigation to ascertain why so many inquiries had been made and had been attended with such bad results. Notwithstanding that, every means is used now to prevent an inquiry,

and the Government admit, by following that course, that they are wrong—that they are not only responsible for the death of the convict Corriveau, of whom they were the guardians by the law of God as well as the law of man, but even for the money that the Government are expending every year as a retiring indemnity to ex-Warden Laviolette and others. But, beyond that, there is always the command of that great law which is above all other laws—"Thou shalt not steal." If it be true that this poor man Lefaivre was dismissed on a report stating that he had fled from his post during the revolt, and that charge should be proved to be unfounded, are not the Government stealing that poor man's eight or nine hundred dollars that he is entitled to receive if not dismissed? This man writes to the Minister, denying that he had deserted his post during the revolt, and in support of his denial brings the evidence of Guard Paré, the man who killed Corriveau, and who is still an officer of the penitentiary. Paré says in his letter: "I am prepared to swear that Lefaivre was there all the time, ready to use his firearms to prevent the escape of the prisoners." We have another man ready to swear the same thing, and we have also the pointed question of Lefaivre in his letter: "How could these men report against me? They were not there. Neither Ouimet nor McCarthy was there. They had fled, leaving the Warden to face 300 convicts alone." He brings the letter of ex-Warden Laviolette, whose heroic conduct on that occasion is well known, and Laviolette says he is ready to swear that he gave an order to bring eight armed guards to his rescue in the yard, that after giving that order he went among those convicts, and not receiving the help of the eight armed men, who could have been brought to his assistance, he was taken prisoner by the convicts and injured to such an extent that his life was despaired of for weeks. That is the state of affairs, and yet we have all those exceptions taken and side issues raised to prevent an investigation. I do not see how any member of Parliament who feels the responsibility of his position can vote that it is not necessary to ascertain whether Lefaivre merited

dismissal and the loss of his retiring allowance or not, and whether the men who were promoted were entitled to promotion or not. I know of my own knowledge that when I went up to the penitentiary the day of the revolt Ouimet was out in the village. That I am ready to swear. The other officer I cannot say so much about, but he did not appear to me, when I saw him at work, disposed to go to the help of those who were in the hands of the convicts. This is my own statement of what I have seen. What did Laviolette say? That he told McCarthy to go for eight armed men. McCarthy cannot say that there were none to be had, because I saw myself, in the keeper's hall, six or seven men idling, and when I told them they should be out helping the Warden they answered: "How can we go there? We are unarmed and we have no order." That is the state of things, and who is the member in this House can say conscientiously that it is right that poor Lefavre should be deprived of what he has earned, and that two officers who acted so disgracefully during the revolt should be promoted? That is the question on which this House must vote. I am asking for an inquiry to ascertain whether it is true that Lefavre was dismissed without good cause, and whether Ouimet and McCarthy have been promoted after having deserted their post and neglecting to go to the assistance of the Warden when he was struggling in the hands of the convicts. The Minister says he is so sure of his majority—

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I did not say that.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—He did not say that?

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—He did not use those words, but that is the meaning of what he said—that he will defy the public, that he will defy justice, the laws of the land and the law of God—that the Government do not care whether they did wrong in promoting two men who grossly neglected their duty and punishing a poor man who had done his, and even more. They have the majority in the House and they can refuse to do what is right. Let the Government, if they wish to do what is right, promise an investi-

gation and ascertain whether Lefavre has been unjustly punished. Let them make an inquiry into the conduct of McCarthy and Ouimet and ascertain whether they neglected to obey the orders of their superior officer, and left him in the hands of the convicts. These are the facts that I want to have inquired into; yet the Government say: "We do not care for your reasons; we have a majority here, and can vote you down?" Very well; let them vote me down, but in doing so they array themselves against a poor man, who simply asks for justice, and they defend wealthy men, who deserve to be punished for neglect of duty. I had done with those questions connected with the penitentiary until I saw that the Minister of Justice said: "Suppose, as it may be supposed, that Lefavre was right, could I re-instate him? No; I would have to send away the two other men whom we promoted." Is not that what ought to have been done if those two men had been guilty of wrongdoing? Have the Government two weights and two measures, one for the rich and one for the poor? On a simple charge that Lefavre had deserted his post on the day of the revolt the Government dismissed him without any inquiry, and deprived him of his salary and the retiring indemnity that he had earned by faithful service. He never knew, until the papers were brought down, why he had been dismissed. If that is justice, it is a form of justice that I do not like. When Lefavre learned the nature of the charge against him he denied it, and charged his calumniators with having deserted their post at the time of the revolt, and in support of his charge he produces a letter from ex-Warden Laviolette, stating that these men had abandoned him. There is also other evidence which I have furnished to the House, and yet with all this information before the House the Government object to an investigation, though they were prepared to dismiss Lefavre on the recommendation of two officers of the penitentiary. My first intention was to withdraw this motion, in view of the near approach of the end of the Session, but after what we have heard to-day, I will press it to a vote, and see whether a majority of this House are prepared to endorse the conduct of the Government.

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HON. MR. POWER—I regret that the hon. leader of the House did not accept the suggestion made by the hon. member from Richmond, that if this motion is out of order it should be ruled out of order, and disposed of in that way. I do not think that we are altogether in a position to decide on the merits of the case, and I have this feeling, that if we do as the leader of the House calls on us to do—if we vote down this resolution—the effect of that action, as to people outside, who are not familiar with the circumstances of the case, or with the considerations which actuate members of the House just now, one of which is, that we are at the close of the Session, and another of which is that the motion is probably out of order, and the third that this resolution asks us to decide upon insufficient evidence—the public outside, who are not aware of the considerations which might influence the majority of this House in voting down the resolution, would look upon the conduct of the Senate as being a condemnation of the side which is taken by the hon. member from Delanau dière, and would look upon our vote as an approval of the conduct of the Government all through and a declaration that Warden Lavolette and Lefaiivre, and the other men who took one side in this matter, were wrong, and that the present Warden and the officers who side with him have taken the right side. Now, while I do not feel that I am in a position to endorse all that has been said by the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière, I do not feel, either, that I am in a position to declare that the other side is right, and I think my hon. friend must feel that while, theoretically, he has a perfect right to move a resolution and ask for an inquiry at this stage of the Session, practically no good result can come from that course. The hon. gentleman said that the committee might sit during the recess. I find that amongst the members of that committee are Hon. Messrs. Abbott, Dickey and McInnes (B.C.). It is hardly to be expected that the hon. gentleman from Amherst would feel like coming up from Nova Scotia to St. Vincent de Paul for the purpose of attending the meetings of this committee—that is, if the committee met at St. Vincent de Paul—and I hardly think that

the hon. gentleman from British Columbia would feel like crossing the continent for the purpose of taking part in the proposed investigation. For these reasons, I am sorry that we are asked to vote directly on the resolution, as it appears we are asked to do. A better way would be to dispose of the matter as a question of order; or, better still, so that there would be no decision in any way, if the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière would carry out the intention which he said he had when coming here to-day, and withdraw this resolution. I cannot help feeling that that would be far and away the best course to take, and I commend it to the hon. gentleman's favorable consideration. The matter has been discussed here. Both sides have been, to a certain extent, heard; and if an inquiry is needed the proper time for it will be after the opening of next Session, when there will be time to go into the inquiry properly. I trust the House will give the hon. gentleman leave to withdraw his resolution, and if he does not do so the leader of the House can then press his objection.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I said I thought that the hon. gentleman from Sarnia had given the answer for the Government, that the Session was too far advanced to make this inquiry, and my intention was to answer: "Very well, let the appointment of a committee be postponed until next Session," but the leader of the House took another course, and said he would not take exception to the lateness of the Session, but that he would have a vote on the motion.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—It seems to me that this is an instance of the evil of not adhering strictly to the rules and regulations of this House. Had they been adhered to, this resolution should have been ruled out of order. I can easily understand that the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière is thoroughly convinced of the truth of all the allegations which he has made; but he quite forgets that other hon. gentlemen have not had the same opportunities of judging of the facts that he has had. I have not myself. Of course, I have read the Blue Book, as other hon. gentlemen have done, but the House has not had an opportunity of knowing

facts that the hon. gentleman says he knows. If the committee were granted to him he would be able to prove, perhaps, all the allegations that he has made, and it would be time enough to ask the House to express their opinion on them on a motion to adopt the report of the committee, based upon evidence taken under oath; but to ask the House to vote on this resolution on the hon. gentleman's bare statement is a thing we should not be required to do, and I cannot do. On the other hand, if the leader of the House seeks to acquit himself and his colleagues by voting down the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière, and then affirming that in the Senate the Government has been acquitted on this motion of all responsibility for what has occurred in the penitentiary, I say it is placing hon. members in a wrong position. In refusing to take a vote on the point of order, but pressing it on the motion itself, every man of us who votes on that motion will be put in a false position with regard to the facts that are alleged. I could not vote for the motion of the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière, because it makes allegations that are not sustained by facts; and to affirm, by voting with the Government, that they are free from all responsibility in this matter without inquiring, is equally opposed to my views.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I hope the hon. gentleman, after hearing the expression of opinion of those who are anxious, like myself, to have an inquiry into the circumstances of this revolt, will withdraw his motion; if, not it will be voted upon simply as a resolution calling for an inquiry at a period of the Session when it would be useless. The hon. gentleman is quite aware that it is not proper or right in a motion of this kind to make any statement of facts; that the facts are to be brought out by the committee, and it is highly improper to allege them in a formal notice. If the hon. gentleman proposes that there shall be a vote of the House on his motion I shall vote in the affirmative, but I shall do so solely with a view of obtaining the committee, and not as endorsing the statements in the motion. The simpler way would be for the hon. gentleman not to embarrass members who would vote for the appointment of a com-

mittee, and to withdraw his motion for this Session, with a view to bringing it up next Session.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I am prepared to do that.

HON. MR. ALMON—The motion has been moved and seconded, and I insist on its being put from the Chair. This thing has been brought up year after year for years past; let us have it settled at last.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I do not intend to discuss the merits of this motion, but as one of the ablest members of this House has given it as his opinion that the motion itself is not in order, I raise the question of order, and ask for the ruling of the Speaker.

HON. GENTLEMEN—Withdraw, withdraw!

THE SPEAKER—If the House desire me to express my opinion I will give it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Chair! chair!

HON. MR. MILLER—If the hon. gentleman from Montarville asks for a ruling on the point of order, of course he is entitled to it.

HON. MR. ALMON—I insist on my question, if I am in order, that the motion be not withdrawn, but that the vote be taken.

THE SPEAKER—In regard to the question of order, I submit, with all deference to the House—particularly after having heard what has been said by the leader of the Government, and also by the hon. gentleman from Richmond, who has had more experience in such questions than I have had—that the hon. gentleman from Delanaudière is within his right, so far as this motion is concerned. It is true that the language of the resolution is open to a very grave criticism as to its propriety, and in this respect the hon. gentleman has undoubtedly strained the question of order to the utmost. Nevertheless, he does not ask the House to affirm the charges which he sets forth in his resolution in any way, but makes them the ground for asking that a committee may be appointed to inquire into their truth or otherwise. I think the hon. gentleman has the right, if he chooses, to

bring forward such a resolution, and it is for the House to dispose of it on its merits, but not as a question of order.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—Is there not a preamble to the question?

THE SPEAKER—There are two distinct resolutions of which the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière has given notice, one asking for the appointment of a committee and the other naming the members of the committee. In the first he recites the specific charges which he desires should be the subject of the inquiry, and I do not think that this recital can be considered a preamble.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I hope my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Almon) will allow the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière to withdraw his motion. I do not see any advantage to be gained in forcing a vote on the House. Hon. gentlemen have expressed some scruples against voting for or against the motion in its present shape, and of course we have hardly the time now to enter upon a full discussion of all the subjects that an inquiry into this matter would involve. We have to go back to the reports laid before the House, and I do not know where it would end; and I submit to the hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Almon) that if the hon. gentleman from Delanau dière wishes to withdraw his motion he should be permitted to do so, with the intention of submitting it to the House next Session at an earlier period.

HON. MR. ALMON—In compliance with the request of the leader of the House, I shall withdraw my motion but we have had this thing up every Session for some time past, and it is time it was ended.

HON. MR. MILLER—I would like to say a word before the motion is withdrawn. I am very sorry indeed to have to differ from His Honor the Speaker, but to my mind it appears that the recitals affixed to this resolution are clearly a preamble. It is true that the ground which I alleged, the impropriety of asking the House to affirm certain allegations in the preamble, was not based on any question of order, but on the impropriety of asking the House to affirm allegations of which they have no evidence. The point of order would be

that these recitals are clearly a preamble. For instance, strike out the word "that" in the commencement of each recital, and substitute "whereas," and it is undoubtedly a preamble—all these different recitals would be separate preambles to the resolution.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I have always been ready to comply with the wish of the Senate, but to that course the most honest man has one exception, and it is when he has something binding on his conscience. There are occasions when an hon. member cannot comply with the wish of the Senate. On this occasion, had the hon. leader of the House said that we were in the last days of the Session, and there was no time to investigate this matter this year, I could have understood it. If he had said the Government have no objection to the motion, but it is too late now to do anything, I would have withdrawn it. The man who does not know anything about the question may say—

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I rise to a question of order. What is the hon. gentleman speaking to now?

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—On the motion to withdraw.

THE SPEAKER—I think the hon. gentleman is out of order. When an hon. gentleman asks leave to withdraw a motion it can only be done with the consent of the House, and it is out of order for the hon. gentleman to make another speech on the question to withdraw.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—I bow to His Honor's decision.

The motion was withdrawn.

THE TRADE COMBINATIONS BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on Bill (11), "An Act for the prevention and suppression of Combinations formed in restraint of Trade."

(In the Committee).

On the 1st clause,

HON. MR. VIDAL—It appears to me that it is exceedingly desirable that the word "unduly" should be inserted in the first clause; that the mere fact of limiting or restraining, which might be, to a

reasonable extent, should not be made a criminal offence. Of course, it would be in the option of the court to decide whether the limiting or restraining is done unduly or not.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the hon. gentleman from Sarnia is needlessly alarmed. If he looks at the end of the first paragraph he will find that the word "unlawfully" covers all the ground he speaks of. In fact, I fail to see how this clause makes any alteration in the existing law. It simply speaks of persons doing things unlawfully—that they shall not do certain things which are, according to the existing law, unlawful. This Bill does not say that anything which is lawful to-day shall cease to be lawful after the Bill becomes law; it simply undertakes to provide penalties for the doing of certain things which are, under the existing law, unlawful. If we want to make a good and effective Bill we should strike out the word "unlawfully." I would move to strike it out, but I fear that at this stage of the Session, if the Bill were to be altered in any material respect, the result would probably be the loss of the measure.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I think there is a distinction between the words "unduly" and "unlawfully." It is not necessary to go into an explanation of it, but I shall move that the word "unduly" be inserted after the word "to" in the tenth line.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—If we amend this Bill now, and it has to be sent back to the Commons, it will defeat it altogether.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Not if the amendments are reasonable. I do not think it will do any great harm if it is passed in its present shape.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Will it do any good?

HON. MR. McCALLUM—It may do as a scarecrow, as a warning of what is coming, as far as combines are concerned. If we consider what is going on in the United States, and look at the evidence taken last year on the effect of combines in Canada, we will see that it is high time that something should be done to check those combinations. As I understand combines,

their object is to raise the price of the manufactured article and to reduce the price for the raw material.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Not necessarily.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—I do not mean to say that it is done to any great extent in this country yet, but it has been done. I have not made a study of this Bill, but the promoter of it in the other House has taken a great deal of trouble in the matter. I cannot accept the amendment of my hon. friend, because I do not think there is anything in this Bill that will injure anybody. It is said it will not do much good: then let us have it as it is.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think the proposed amendment would not improve the Bill. It would practically give too much power to the judge. As I understand the Bill, it creates no new offence, but simply declares what the common law is, and in the present feeling of the country respecting combines for the restriction of trade and the raising of prices it would be as well to let us have the Bill.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I believe that the argument of my hon. friend (Mr. McCallum) is not a very sound one. If we see that an amendment to a Bill is necessary we should not think about whether there is a possibility of its being thrown out if it is sent back to the other House; if we believe we could improve the Bill by amending it, that is the first consideration. It seems to me it will change the meaning very much, and that it is of very great importance that the word "unduly" should be inserted.

HON. MR. SCOTT—This Bill is predicated on the assumption that there are certain things now that are contrary to the common law of the country—amongst other things, conspiracies and combinations, for which no punishment is provided. It clearly recognizes that by the use of the word "unlawful" at the present time. It provides, and that is the one specific thing in the Bill, a class of punishment for these breaches of the common law with regard to those particular things which was not before provided, and any qualifying words

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whatever will diminish instead of increase the illegality of conspiracies and combinations. The word "unduly" introduced there would certainly be a qualifying word, and we should therefore be altering the law in the direction of favoring combinations and conspiracies much more than the common law of the country at present will allow. That was not the intention, and therefore we would present a somewhat ludicrous aspect to the people outside if we introduce any words which would diminish rather than increase the liability of parties who conspire to defeat the ends of trade as regards the general public. I shall not, therefore, favor the introduction of any words in the paragraph.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—There is no legislation which has come before this Chamber the present Session that has filled me with greater astonishment than this Bill. You cannot make men sober by legislation, no more than you can make them honest. All great evils contain within themselves their best correctives. I noticed that in the other House a speaker talking upon this Bill referred to incidents as far back as 1674. We have been running away with the idea that we are grappling with a modern evil. One thousand years before the Christain era there was this proverb: "He that withholdeth the grain and corn the people shall curse him; blessings shall be upon the head of him that selleth it." In modern phraseology that would mean: He that maketh a corner in grain; but unhappily, in our higher state of civilization, instead of being reprobated, such a man is lauded, and the man who would have blessings on his head for doing right is called, in our higher state of civilization, a fool. The great and desirable feature in a business education to-day is how best to be able to engineer a corner and make it a success. I notice in the other House that distinct prominence was given to three particular kinds of combinations. One was a combination of undertakers, and it was there stated that no man can go into the undertaking business in Canada unless he succeeds in securing a written agreement from the three nearest undertakers. If there ever was an opportunity for a man to make money it would be for the man

who would go into that business and set all such combinations at defiance, and he could do his business at such prices that he would not only make money but would benefit the community as well. Reference has been made to the insurance combination. We all suffer here; but what do the insurance companies make? Are any insurance companies, from their vicious habit of doing business, making money? If you look at the reports you will see that one of them carried away from capital account \$36,000 as the showing for the year. The result is simply this, they take risks without reference to character, and without reference to the structure or the style of the building. That is the result of their combination. There never was such an opening in any country in the world as there is to-day for an insurance company that will take risks on their merits—that will adjust things, and bring things to their proper bearings—that will enable a man to get a risk on the estimate of his character and the style of building that he has, and put this style of combination at an end. We had a cotton combine at one time, and all the cotton mills of this country went into it. The man who could pay was the sufferer. He was told by his cotton agents: "We cannot make one price for you and another price for another man." What was the result? The result was that the man who paid 100 cents on the dollar paid the same prices exactly as the man who compromised with the mill at 40 or 50 cents on the dollar. He could not help himself. I am not disposed to say that the cotton manufacturers have not a perfect right to combine in that way. I am not disposed to question that right, but I do say that every man in this country ought to give the preference to people who are not in the combination. I say that every man in this country ought to prefer to do his business with men who have courage to stand out of every combination and sell their goods upon their merits. While I myself am not disposed to legislate against men who have money in those enterprises; while I am not disposed to say they have not a perfect right to fix the price for the commodities which they have to offer; while I am not disposed to say that they have not a perfect

right to limit their production as much as they please, no matter though it may be to my own detriment, I do not think we are here to legislate against our own personal interest or to interfere with the vested rights of persons in trade. I hold that every man has the right, if he please, to fix his price for his products. But I hold that in their own interests these combinations are hurtful to them, because gradually the men that can pay drift away from them, and the evil will correct itself. I had intended to move the six months' hoist, but I consider the Bill to be utterly valueless. The only effect that I can see that it is likely to produce is a large amount of litigation, which will be frivolous and vexatious. I have looked at this Bill carefully, and it is going to bring amongst us a kind of litigation that we have happily been free from heretofore; but there is a feeling in the country that they want this Combinations Bill. Let them have it. I have received letters from some who think they have been suffering from these combines. I have been suffering myself, but I say let us fight them, and I am not afraid that we will not come out right in the end. I have throughout my business steadily refused to have anything to do with any kind of combination, and looking along the business experience of my own life I find that the men who have been most successful have been those who have had the courage of their convictions to carry on their business on their own principles; but inasmuch as I have been written to by business men who claim that they are injured, I have wavered in my purpose of moving the six months' hoist, and if it comes to a vote I shall ask that this House excuse me from voting, because I am willing that they shall have this Bill, which I am satisfied will be utterly useless, which will have no effect in the world in the direction they desire, and I have no doubt will, in a short time, be blotted from the Statute Book.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—If all the men who do business in Canada conducted it as honestly as my hon. friend from Midland has done there would be no necessity for this Bill, but the gentleman who introduced this measure in the other House had good grounds for doing so, if the

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland).

evidence taken by the committee appointed by that House last year is of any value. If the hon. gentleman had read the evidence he would have found that even in his own city there was necessity for something of this kind. The following, which I find in the report about the city of Toronto, has never been challenged:—

“ Thus the public is presented with the extraordinary spectacle of a mercantile association arrogating to itself powers conferred upon law courts alone, with, in this instance, the judges in the case virtually condoning perjury by the acceptance of fines to be divided amongst the importers. This phenomenon is not the less painful or less objectionable in character from the association which perpetrates it being distinguished by the respectable title of ‘The Coal Branch of the Toronto Board of Trade.’

“ Their management of public tenders is worthy of attention as an illustrative of how popular confidence is betrayed. When tenders are asked for supplying coal in Toronto for Dominion Government buildings, Ontario Government institutions, Toronto water works, public schools, charitable institutions, the general hospital, etc., a meeting of the ‘Coal Branch’ is called and the price is fixed which the party inviting tenders is to pay, and the privilege of filling the contract is awarded to the member who offers the highest premium or bonus. For instance, in 1886, for the privilege of filling the Ontario Government contract of about 2,500 tons a premium of \$1,500 was paid. The same contract, including some wood, was sold in 1887 for \$1,399. The premiums thus paid are divided among the importing members in the same way as the fines. But in order to lull public suspicion of a combination, and that the parties to be supplied were not obtaining the coal at its fair market value, other members of the Branch put in tenders at higher prices.”

HON. MR. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman has referred to me and my connection with the Board of Trade. The question of the coal combine was brought before the committee. The committee saw fit to appoint me its chairman, and the report brought in showed that no injury or harm was done to the community.

HON. MR. McCALLUM—The hon. gentleman need not be so tender: I did not wish to fasten anything upon him. Now, if the statement which I have quoted is true, certainly there is necessity for something of the kind. But I may give my hon. friend something more, to show how combines work in the United States. The following is from a work by William W. Cook on combines:

“ The Standard Oil Trust and the American Cotton Oil Trust have sown their seed in a fertile soil, and the rank growth is to-day polluting the air and stifling the existence of healthy life and progress. It is currently reported and believed

that the 'Trust' monopolies have drawn within their grasp not only kerosene oil and cotton-seed oil, but sugar, oatmeal, starch, white cornmeal, straw paper, pearled barley, straw board, castor oil, linseed oil, lard, school slate, oil-cloth, salt, cattle, gas, street railways, whiskey, rubber, steel, steel rails, steel and iron beams, nails, wrought-iron pipes, iron nuts, stoves, lead, copper, envelopes, paper bags, paving pitch, cordage, coke, reaping and binding and mowing machines, threshing machines, ploughs, glass and water work. And the list is growing day by day. Millions of dollars, in cash or property, are being drawn into the vortex."

Such is the history of these combines. There is no doubt in my mind that they are getting a fair footing in this country, and I think we should nip them in the bud when we can. So far as this Bill is concerned, I do not know that it will accomplish much. My hon. friend from Midland says it is no good, but will he give us a better Bill next year? If he will I am prepared to support it. I do not know that I have felt this combine difficulty much in the business that I am concerned in, but I have heard others complain. A certain ring controls the products of the country and will only sell at certain prices. If this Bill has the effect of stopping that practice in the slightest degree it is desirable that the House should pass it. Unlike my hon. friend from Midland, I do not adopt the role of a prophet in this Chamber, but I venture to say that the time is coming when we will have to put down these combines with a stronger measure than the one which is now before the House.

HON. MR. CLEMON—As I understand from the hon. member from Ottawa, the present law is sufficient to meet all these points—that is, conspiracies and combines. If that is so, there is no necessity for additional legislation. A great deal has been said about combines, but in many cases they have been formed for the purpose of facilitating the operations of persons engaged in the same line of business, without interfering to any extent with the general current of trade. It enables them to conduct business in a more economical and satisfactory manner. Therefore, this Bill will affect many persons very seriously. I can readily understand many instances in which it may be advisable for people in the same line of business to combine. One man may not have capital enough, and by having others

associated with him he may be able to conduct his business profitably. We know that a large amount of insurance in the old country is conducted by combinations, as they are called. A number of gentlemen meet together and underwrite a certain amount of insurance, and in that way a good deal of the insurance in the old country does not go to the insurance companies at all. Now, such a combination as that would be prohibited by this Bill; but suppose the parties combine together for the purpose of saving money, and they do it legitimately and fairly, why should this Bill interfere with them? I know it would hamper them. They would be very chary about combining together to carry out their plans. What would be the effect? You will find that they will evade the law by forming limited co-partnerships. It will be the same thing under a different name, and I do not think this Bill can have the desired effect, particularly if the law, as it stands, provides against unlawful conspiracy. I do not think it is necessary in the public interest to prevent people carrying on their business in the way they think best, provided no great injury is done to the country. There are combinations in the United States, such as corners in wheat, oil, lard and other articles of commerce, which are injurious to the people, but still it all comes right at the end, and probably the evil falls on the heads of the parties who originated the combination. It is almost impossible at the present time to enter into a combination of any extent, the facilities for overcoming it are so great. Therefore, there is no necessity for this Bill at present. If a Bill is required, let one be framed which will meet such cases as were brought before the committee last year; but this measure, as we are told, amounts to nothing, because the present law supplies everything that is required to be taken into consideration in connection with this measure.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I believe that something is needed in the way of legislation respecting certain combines, but I do not think that that something is provided in this Bill. There are combines which are good and combines which are bad. The trade of the world has been

carried on by legitimate combines, and without such combination commerce would seriously suffer. This Bill, it seems to me, on the face of it, is a most worthless measure and not calculated to effect what it proposes. What does the preamble say? "Whereas it is expedient to declare the law relating to conspiracies and combinations," &c. What law does this Bill declare, or what Act is it declaratory of?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The common law.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—The common law requires no declaration. If there had been conflicting decisions as to the interpretation or meaning of the law then an Act declaratory of what the law is would be quite proper. That is the circumstance under which a declaratory law becomes necessary. If three of our Supreme Court judges take one view, and the other three of them a different view as to the meaning of the law, then an Act to declare what the law is would be quite proper; but what law does this Bill interpret? What decision brings up the matter? This is exceedingly vague; no one can tell what it means. The preamble stands out entirely different from the Bill which follows it. The Bill commences as if it had no preamble; it refers to no law to be declared, but it proceeds, as if it were a new statute, to provide that "every person who conspires, combines, agrees or arranges with any other person, &c., unlawfully." Now, every person who does that is at present liable by law, and what is the purpose, therefore, of re-enacting what we have already? It is said that this is an innocent law, and can do no harm if it is placed on our Statute Book. I do not agree with that. I do not think that this House should be called upon to place upon the Statute Book a law which is useless. It may be done in the heat and hurry of another House, but I think it would be beneath the dignity of the Senate to place on the Statute Book waste paper, and therefore I think the suggestion of the hon. member from Midland, that the further consideration of this Bill should be postponed for another Session, is the wisest. If it were a Bill aiming at certain conspiracies or combinations, which were distinctly pointed out, and subjecting

them to penalties, the Bill would not be objectionable; but to say in general that all these matters that are recited here should be enacted, without any line of demarcation between what is good and what is bad, would be, in my judgment, very unwise legislation. It would be better to give people time to think over the subject calmly, and next Session Parliament will be in a better position to deal with it effectively. When the Bill comes up for its third reading, if no other member takes the course that the hon. member from Midland has suggested, I shall move that the third reading take place this day six months.

HON. MR. SCOTT—If the hon. gentleman wishes to take the sense of the House, the better way would be to move that the committee rise. That will shorten the discussion, and no names will appear.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I should not like to deprive the House of an opportunity to hear everything that could be said on the subject of such great importance. The more discussion we have the better will we be able at another period to deal with the question.

HON. MR. REESOR—The hon. gentleman who has just spoken raised a question as to the advantage there is in passing the Bill at all. If these combines, which are referred to in the Bill, can only be punished when they do something contrary to law, to what law is reference made? If it is the common law, the law as it exists, then there is no advantage in the Bill at all. The preamble shows that the Bill is especially enacted for the purpose of preventing and punishing these combines when they occur.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—For every unlawful combine at present a punishment is prescribed.

HON. MR. REESOR—We must either make something unlawful or declare how things already known to be unlawful shall be punished. I agree in part with what the hon. member from Midland has said, that it is almost impossible to reach clever business men when they do choose to combine; but if you can pass an Act that will teach them to some extent they

incur a risk, if you have an Act declaring that a certain thing is wrong, and that the Legislature recognizes the fact and provides a punishment for it, and let the courts determine whether any acts that may be complained of come within the purview of the common law, or of this Act, some good will be accomplished. It certainly can do no harm to pass this Bill. It does not go as far as I should like to see it go, but perhaps it is wise to pass it in its present shape. It adopts a general principle that these combines are injurious, a fact which the public recognize. Sometimes men may combine, as the hon. gentleman from Rideau division has said, to their own advantage and to the advantage of the public, because with a combine of capital enterprises may be undertaken which would be beyond the reach of individual capitalists; but when the object of a combine is to run up the price of an article of commerce which may be much in demand, to the injury of the public, there should be legislation to protect the public. The lower House having passed the Bill, I think it will be a great mistake to throw it out here. It may not accomplish much good, but it indicates that Parliament is inclined to check unlawful combinations. I think we should not object to providing a penalty for such combines, and that is the principal object of the Bill. The preamble declares that it is expedient to declare the law relating to conspiracies and combinations, and to provide penalties for the violation of the same. If we throw out the Bill we refuse to provide any penalties for the combinations that are referred to in this measure.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not like to allow the motion to pass without having a word to say on the subject. I agree with what the hon. gentleman from Markham says, that it would be a good thing to place upon record some declaration or some enactment of Parliament showing that the country disapproves of improper combinations in restraint of trade, and that such combinations are punishable; at the same time, I should like to see the law put in such a form that we can understand exactly what it is they shall be punished for, and in that way, if possible, avoid the litigation and complication

which I fear might arise out of the law as it now stands. I do not hesitate to say that as to part of the acts described they are now punishable at common law, and as to others I have just as little hesitation in saying that they are entirely unknown to the common law. I do not think that some of the acts that are described here could now be punished, and some of the others which are not criminal under the common law are against the interests of the business of the country. I do not know how, after we pass a law, we could say to the judge of a court; we did not mean it that way; that we intended it to mean something else. Should we not rather put the matter in such a form now that the judge can, with confidence, dispose of any question that comes before him under it by a fair and literal construction of the law, rather than by guessing that we did want to strike at this grievance and we did not want to strike at something else, which is not, perhaps, a grievance at all, unless we make it so by this Bill. My hon. friend who spoke against the amendment of the hon. gentleman from Sarnia would take the same view as myself of that principle of legislation. Let us see what the first clause says:

“Every person who conspires, combines, agrees or arranges, etc., unlawfully to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing or dealing in any article or commodity which may be a subject of trade or commerce.”

So that, if a steamship company arranges with its manager that it shall not carry gunpowder in quantities, or any other explosive or combustible on his steamer, and so limit the facilities for transporting an article, a commodity, which may be a subject of trade and commerce, he is liable to be fined \$4,000, or to imprisonment for two years. The Act does not intend that.

HON. MR. POWER—A company would not arrange with its manager; it would instruct its manager as its servant.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It possibly might instruct or arrange with its manager, but it would not be contrary to the common law, and yet, under the literal construction of this clause, that company would be liable to a fine of \$10,000. To put a less striking or extreme case: If two lines of steamers, or two railway companies going over the

same country, were to say to each other: "It is not safe to carry gunpowder, or dynamite, or explosives, or oil, in our cars; let us agree not to do it, only at stated times, and on cars expressly prepared for the purpose." That would be clearly a combine; no one can dispute that. It is impossible to doubt that it would be one of the things which this law purports to prohibit.

HON. MR. SCOTT—No; no.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I say, yes; and there might be a thousand different things which this law would prohibit, and which it is not intended to prohibit. The hon. gentleman from Sarnia proposes an amendment which removes all these objections of many of us to the very broad language "conspires, combines, agrees or arranges with any person," &c.; it meets all the objections which a good many of us feel to putting ourselves in the position which this Bill, as it is, would put us in, by inserting the word "unduly." Nobody would say it was undue for a dozen companies to arrange that they will not carry explosives except in such and such manner. If any hon. gentleman wishes to have people punished for limitations or restrictions which are not undue limitations or restrictions, then of course he would have the law remain as it is; but if he only wishes persons to be punished who combine "unduly" to restrain the facilities for carriage or transporting, or to injure trade and commerce, why not put in the word "unduly"? I cannot understand why it should not be done. It could not do any harm, and it would exactly express what we want to express, that there must be no undue combination for these purposes.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—That is the intention.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend opposite is of the opinion that the word "unlawful" has the same effect.

HON. MR. DEVER—How would "improperly" do?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That would not be a bad word, but unduly is the word that was used in the other House, and I think it was an excellent word. If men are to be punished for doing what is not

an undue or improper thing to do, then of course the law ought to stand as it is; but, as every one will agree, a man ought not to be punished unless he does something that is undue and improper, and there can be no objection to inserting the word "unduly."

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the word "unduly" was introduced in the Bill in the other House?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes.

HON. MR. McINNES (B. C.)—Then if we introduce it here again it will be rejected when the Bill is returned to the Commons.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is not a question for us at all whether it was rejected in the other House or not; we have a right to amend the Bill so as to make it what we consider to be a just law, equal in its application to all offenders. That we are bound to do, and it is our duty to do it independently of what the other House may think of our action. But there is another answer to my hon. friend: the word "unduly" was not struck out in the other House, but the Bill as introduced in the other House was in an entirely different form from what it is here. It was completely re-framed. I do not know, if anybody had proposed to put in the word "unduly" in the Commons, that it would have been refused, because it seems so entirely reasonable that the law is not to be made literally to apply to every kind of arrangement that may in some degree limit transportation facilities, but only to apply to arrangements against the interest of trade. I must confess that I do not know what absolutely the word "unlawfully," as put in this clause, means. If it had said: every person who arranges to do so-and-so unlawfully, I could understand it, but it may be construed to make these other offences or acts mentioned in the four sub-sections criminal, or it may be construed to mean merely that persons are only liable if they do them criminally. I do not know myself which it is, and I think it is not right to put upon the Statute Book a law the application of which people even who have some experience in the construction of the statutes may have doubts about.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. POWER—The preamble says it is expedient to declare the law relating to conspiracies and combinations formed in restraint of trade.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—But it does not declare any offence at all. According to the theory of my hon. friends opposite, it merely prescribes a punishment for those things which are already punishable. This word “unlawfully” is a new word, and it makes these actions mentioned in sub-sections “a,” “b” and “c” unlawful, although some of them were unlawful before.

HON. MR. SCOTT—They were not unlawful before.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Some of them were and some of them were not. In order to do away with all this doubt, it seems to me it could be done by the simple process of making the penalties apply to these actions when they are done unduly or unreasonably. In a suit or prosecution for acts done in restraint of trade, under the common law, the court will not fine or punish a man for an act which is said to be in restraint of trade unless it does unduly restrain trade. I think the word “unduly” is frequently used in the cases. The court will not punish a combination, for instance, for raising the price of an article if the price is not unreasonably raised. These were the very words used by the hon. gentleman who introduced the Bill in the House of Commons, and if it is going to make it plain that it is only when these things are done in an undue or improper manner that people are to be punished for them, we ought to accept the amendment. However much some hon. gentlemen may disapprove of manufacturers, there is no reason for legislating against them as if they were Pariahs. I do not see why we ought not to remove this difficulty and this doubt by putting in a word that will explain the Act, and how the judge should decide any case of this sort that may come before him under the law.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—There is a good deal of difficulty in this amendment. We all agree that these combinations are dangerous, because they are made with the object of raising prices.

HON. MR. THIBAUDEAU—Not always, and not necessarily.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Not necessarily at all.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—There is no danger in a combination if it is not for the purpose of raising the price to the public. Supposing two steamship companies find that the work on their route is not sufficient for the two. The managers meet and say: “We are losing, both of us.” Why should they not combine and stop one of the boats? If they did that to raise the price the public might complain; but if they do not raise the price the public should not complain. I consider that is the only thing we have to deal with—to prevent these companies from combining in view of imposing higher prices on the public.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Midland)—How would you do if the raw material used by a manufacturing company advanced in price?

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—If it came before a judge, on the complaint of somebody, and if it was proved that the combination was made to raise the price, then it would be an offence under the law, by adding the amendment of the hon. gentleman from Sarnia. If it was proved that the combination was for that purpose, the parties are liable to punishment. But there are combinations which are perfectly honest, and which often prevent the ruin of companies. Therefore, I submit that the law would be clearer and less ambiguous if it is amended in the direction I have indicated.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There might be occasions where the price might be raised, and yet the act might not be criminal. Take the very case which my hon. friend puts: Supposing the two small steamboats on the route run against each other until they reduced the price next to nothing, as it was at one time between Montreal and Quebec, when they actually gave passengers their supper, and carried them free. Supposing that were done, and finally the steamboat owners come to their senses, and say: “It costs us just so much to take a man to Quebec, and so much added for profit, and they agree

upon a reasonable tariff of fares to charge the public. Under this Bill, if those companies came to an understanding of that description they would be punished—if an incorporated company, to the extent of \$10,000 fine, and if not incorporated, \$4,000 fine and two year's imprisonment; so that my hon. friend's amendment would, perhaps, go a little too far. I think the word unduly exactly fits the case. If those men agreed to take one steamer off the line, and so diminish the facilities for carriage, and did so with a view of exacting exaggerated rates, then they would be subject to the law.

HON. MR. THIBAUDEAU—I think it must be admitted by the House that these are combinations not only beneficial to the manufacturers themselves, but to the country, and by inserting the word "unduly" you leave it to the discretion of the judge, and I think it is only right that it should be so. I remember the combination of the cotton manufacturers at the time of the cotton crisis—a crisis that threatened at the time to ruin our country. They entered into a combination by which the mills were obliged to shut down a certain number of looms in the establishments belonging to the combination. Nobody can say that this combination was to the disadvantage of the country. On the contrary, a large amount of money that had been invested in those mills was actually going to ruin, and it was only by combination that the companies saved their capital and the cotton industries as well. There are other kinds of combinations which are sometimes necessary—for example, a combination made by the insurance companies. We can all remember the time when the city of Quebec for years had extensive conflagrations that threatened to ruin that city. The underwriters found it necessary to combine, and they did combine, and threatened the aldermen of Quebec that unless they had the enterprise to tax the people for their own protection, they would not take any more risks in that city; and in order to get the benefit of insurance they were obliged to furnish the appliances required by the insurance companies. This is only one of those combinations that have sometimes benefited the people of the country

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

in spite of themselves. Consequently, this Bill is quite insufficient to meet the case, because if the mills do as they did formerly, limit the production of their looms to protect those industries which feed thousands of people, and if insurance companies combine to stiffen the back bones of aldermen to protect their own cities—if this Bill is calculated to punish such combinations I do not believe it is worth the paper it is written on. If it is not constructed to meet all cases it would be better to give it a six months' hoist. If the word "unduly" meets all cases I would be very glad to accept it.

HON. MR. REESOR—Would the leader of the Government be satisfied to accept the Bill with the amendment proposed by the hon. gentleman from Sarnia?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Certainly; I have every desire to see the Bill pass in a reasonable form, not only with this amendment, but with two or three other similar slight amendments, such as have to be made in other sentences.

HON. MR. REESOR—Nothing more sweeping than that?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—There is no necessity for this word "unduly" being inserted in the Bill at all if the last word in the first clause, "unlawfully," were stricken out, and the first sub-section "a" were to read "to unlawfully limit," and the second sub-section were to read "to unlawfully restrain," and the third sub-section were to read "to unlawfully prevent," etc. It would not alter the sense, and in my opinion would make it more definite. I gather from the remarks of the leader of the House that the word "unduly" was under discussion for some time in the other House, and that it was dropped there. I would move in amendment to the amendment of the hon. gentleman from Sarnia that the word "unlawfully" be struck out of the first section, and that it be inserted after the word "to" in sub-sections "a," "b," "c" and "d."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—You would simply repeat the word, instead of only using it once. I thought the hon. gentleman was going to suggest on the other hand that

the hon. gentleman from Sarnia, instead of putting the word "unduly" into each sub-section, should insert it after the word "unlawfully" in the first clause, and say "unlawfully and unduly."

HON. MR. VIDAL—I would accept that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This Bill professes to declare the law respecting conspiracies and combinations. It does not undertake to declare anything unlawful that is not now unlawful; and under this Bill, if it became law, it would be necessary, in the first place, to establish that the offence was something that was unlawful before this Bill becomes law. The amendment of the hon. gentleman from Sarnia proposes to make it necessary that the party who is prosecuting shall not only establish that the offence falls within the category contained in this Bill, but that it operates unduly in restraint of trade.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Certainly; that was the object.

HON. MR. POWER—I fancy it would require a good deal of evidence and be an expensive operation to establish in any case that the limitation was an undue one. It would mean an inquiry into the whole character of the business that was involved, and would mean a very large expenditure of time and money. I take it that the object of Parliament in causing the investigation into the question of combines last year was to have this matter settled once and for all. That investigation established the fact that there were certain combination which unduly restrained trade, and unduly prevented and limited and lessened the manufacture and production of certain articles, the only object of all this being to keep up prices by limiting the supply. I think that the Bill is worth very little at present, but with the amendment proposed it would be worth probably almost nothing. If we struck out the word "unlawfully" in the first paragraph and insert the word "unduly" the Bill would not then be too bad.

HON. MR. CARVELL—It is said on both sides of the House that this is a harmless Bill. I do not think there can be a harmless Bill. If there is no good to

be had from it the result must be vexatious. I am sorry that the hon. gentleman from Midland did himself the injustice of not moving according to his convictions in this matter. My own opinion is that trade should be left very much to itself. I think we have altogether too much legislation in matters of trade. We have it not only in this Bill, but in Bills for the inspection of almost every article of commerce. Trade should be left to find its own level. If there are evils arising from trade combinations they will in a short time remedy themselves. For this reason, and for the reason suggested by the leader of the House, that the Bill is not satisfactory, and it is very evident there is no time this Session to make it better, as it involves many more important points than come under this measure, I would gladly see it go over at least for another Session—that it should get the six months' hoist, and if no one else moves in that direction, when it comes up for third reading I shall do it myself.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Move that the committee rise.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I would rather move at the third reading.

The committee divided on the amendment, which was carried on the following division:—

Contents, 22.

Non-contents, 18.

On sub-section (d),

HON. MR. VIDAL moved to insert the words "unduly" and "unreasonably."

HON. MR. SCOTT—Do you not think that we make ourselves ridiculous in making such an amendment? We say that these combinations are wrong, and then we proceed to say that if they only do a little injury it shall be lawful, and we throw on the judge the whole responsibility of deciding whether a combination unduly limits or lessens the production of any article or unreasonably enhances the price of it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is the principle on which the common law would be administered. No court would hold people to be acting in restraint of trade if

they did not unduly or unreasonably enhance the price of any article.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The common law has been handed down from generation to generation; it has been made the subject of decisions by learned judges in every age. Those decisions have made our common law. Under the statute we are passing now it will take a century for those who come after us to know what the common law is.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The language now proposed is exactly in accord with those decisions.

The amendment was agreed to, and the sub-section was adopted.

On sub-section (d),

HON. MR. SCOTT—For the information of some who think that there is no penalty provided by the law as it stands, I may read the following:—

“Everyone who is convicted of fraud or cheating, or of conspiracy, shall, in any case in which no special punishment is provided by statute, be liable to imprisonment for several years in the penitentiary.”

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Does my hon. friend find anything of the kind applicable to persons who “agree” or “arrange” about the conduct of business?

HON. MR. SCOTT—People who conspire to injure trade relations. The law of the land does not provide punishment for fraud that is undefined. We are diminishing the punishment.

The sub-section was agreed to.

On clause 5,

HON. MR. SCOTT—I desire to call the attention of the House to the fact that in 1872 we passed an Act respecting trade unions. The provisions of this Bill, up to the clause which is now before us, do not profess to touch trades unions. I therefore propose that the fifth clause be struck out altogether, and in lieu thereof the following be added:—“The forgoing provision shall not apply to or affect the Trade Unions Act.” At present, as clause 5 is framed, it is exceedingly, misleading and somewhat confusing. I understand that trade unions have met all over the country and taken legal

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opinion on it, and that they consider it disturbs their rights under the Act of 1872. The words that I propose to introduce will simply have the effect of taking trade unions entirely out of this clause. This Bill does not profess to deal with the questions which arise between capital and labor. The Trade Unions Act does. It allows certain combinations under certain conditions, which are defined in the statutes. I have been advised that since this Bill has become known objections are raised against it, and that petitions are now on the way against it. A meeting is to be held to-night in Toronto at which it is proposed to discuss the propriety of having clause 5 struck out, and that the Act which deals with the relations between capital and labor be not disturbed.

HON. MR. POWER—I am afraid that perhaps the hon. gentleman's amendment may go further than he intends. In the interpretation section of the Trade Unions Act I find this language:—

“In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the words ‘trade unions’ mean combinations, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relation between workmen and masters or for imposing restraints on trade.”

Under that definition a trade union covers the combinations that are declared criminal by this Bill.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Oh, no.

HON. MR. POWER—I may not understand the language that I have just read, but to my mind it does. Suppose you read, instead of “trade union,” “combination.”

HON. MR. SCOTT—That has reference to conditions imposed by workmen.

HON. MR. POWER—Here are the words “trade unions” defined by Act of Parliament. I say under that Act of Parliament the combinations that we are anxious to prevent or limit are contained, and if you provide that this Act shall not apply to trade unions you simply defeat the whole thing, to my mind.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think I must agree with my hon. friend from Halifax. I know it is the general impression that the Trade Unions Act applies only to relations between employers and employed.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It was only intended to apply to the employed.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If that is so, it is an exemplification of the evil that I pointed out when I addressed the House a few minutes ago, of putting a law on the Statute Book which does not express what we intended. This Act not only regulates the relation between workmen and masters, but it goes on to declare that it shall apply to combinations which impose restrictions on trade.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Read the other clauses of the Act, and you will find that it applies to trade unions only.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friends have been stating all along that the object of this Bill is to prevent restraints on trade, and that is exactly the opposite of what is contemplated by the Trade Unions Act. Section 22, if left applicable, would qualify the effect of this Bill, and render it entirely useless, because it says, "the purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be unlawful." If that is left on the Statute Book this Bill is of no use, because the Statute Book declares them not to be unlawful. This Bill assumes that they are unlawful, but section 22 says that if these people choose to constitute themselves a trade union they can combine.

HON. MR. SCOTT—They must be workmen.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; it says specially that any persons may combine, and their purposes shall not be held to be unlawful because they are in restraint of trade. Those who framed this Bill observed that the 22nd section would have the effect of rendering nugatory this Bill, and they provided that it should not apply to the purposes of this Bill. As it reads, I think it is objectionable. It puts a distinction on the face of the Act between two classes of people, which is entirely unnecessary, because this Bill does not deal with workmen at all, but only with employers. This is a very proper clause as it stands, if amended as moved, to read as follows—"The foregoing provisions of this Act shall be construed as if section 22

of the Trade Unions Act had not been enacted." My hon. friend's amendment would be injurious to the Bill.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I had prepared a clause striking out the words from the clause in the 8th line down to the word "shall" in the 10th line, and it would read: "The foregoing provisions of this Act shall be construed in the same way as if section 22 of the Trade Unions Act had not been enacted."

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I think it would be an improvement upon the Bill to adopt the plan that the hon. member for Ottawa spoke of in part, that is, to strike out the clause, but not to put in what he suggested putting in after, for there is very little difference between that and what was introduced in the first Bill in the other House and then struck out. It was originally: "Nothing in this Act contained shall be held to affect the Act respecting Trade Unions." If this clause is struck out altogether, and left out, the Bill will be a great deal better. So far as I can see, from what is proposed here and what appeared in the first Bill, if ever there was a case where class legislation is brought in it is here. You have passed laws in this House by which workmen can combine together and ruin their employer's property, and that is all right; but just as soon as manufacturers, not to injure anyone, but protect themselves from ruin, combine, as they did when the cotton trade of the country was nearly ruined, there is an outcry. The object of that cotton combination was not so much to raise prices, because since that time the same qualities of cotton have been sold as cheaply in Canada as anywhere else, and the cry that was raised that the combinations are simply to raise prices is a mistake altogether. The object is not to increase prices, but to enable the manufacturers to carry on their operations without suffering great loss. As long as we are legislating for the workingman there is not a murmur—everybody is satisfied; but any attempt to protect the manufacturers is sure to raise an outcry. The day has gone by when fortunes can be made out of combines. I think we should avoid class legislation as much as possible.

HON. MR. DEVER—Does the hon. gen-

tleman not see that protection is class legislation, and that it is the cause of the whole trouble? If we had a free trade policy there would be no combines, and such legislation as this would be unnecessary. He instanced the case of trade unions; he will see that there is no protection for the laborer in the country.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—There are plenty of combines in free trade England.

HON. MR. DEVER—Labor is not protected in the slightest degree, and therefore there is no necessity to legislate against trade unions, but I think a measure like this one before us is necessary. I know a case that came under my own observation, which is in point. A certain manufacturer with whom I was pretty well acquainted told me that there were factories in the same line of business as his own, and for the purpose of preventing competition and enabling them to make larger profits they paid those parties some \$16,000 or \$18,000 to stop their line of business. The people of this country had to pay that sixteen or eighteen thousand dollars to keep that factory from interfering. Therefore, we should have legislation to stop anything of the kind.

HON. MR. POWER—I am happy to hail the hon. gentleman from St. John as a new convert to free trade.

HON. MR. DEVER—I was a free trader from the fact that I was a business man and importer all my life.

HON. MR. POWER—I am glad the hon. gentleman has taken this occasion to declare his true sentiments, which he has hitherto concealed.

HON. MR. DEVER—I never concealed them.

HON. MR. POWER—They have not been made known to the House. I think that the amendment proposed by the hon. member from Sarnia to the House will have a very serious effect on this Bill. His amendment would make the clause read this way—"The foregoing provisions of this Act shall be construed in the same way as if section 22 of the Trades Union Act had not been enacted." The effect of that innocent looking amendment will

be to put all the trades unions in the country under the operation of this Act, and will put them in the same position as unlawful combinations.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. POWER—It is evident that a good deal of trouble was taken with this measure in the committee of the House of Commons, to which it was referred, and I fancy they have put this 5th clause in as good shape as it can be, and I think it would be injudicious to change it at all. It was not the object of this Bill to deal with trades unions, and the 5th clause prevents it from operating against them, and we better leave it as it is. Parliament has already dealt with trades unions; just now we are dealing with combines, which is another question, and I do not think we should make this alteration in the Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend has stated correctly the subject of this Bill, but has made a curious application of it. The measure does not deal with workmen at all, but with manufacturers and traders. Therefore, when the provisions of section 22 of the Trade Unions Act are to be considered as not applicable to this Bill, that applies only to the purposes intended. The Bill does not touch workmen at all. My hon. friend is mistaken on another point: he speaks of this clause having been introduced by the committee. It was an afterthought, and was put in on the spur of the moment in the House of Commons, after it had been returned from the committee. I see no reason in making this Bill appear like legislating in favor of one class and against another—making criminal certain combinations if entered into by one class of the community which would not be criminal if entered into by another class. Amending the clause, as proposed, does not impair the efficiency of the Bill itself in respect of the purposes for which it was created: "The foregoing provisions of this Act shall be construed as if section 22 of the Trade Unions Act had not been enacted"—that is, this Bill shall be construed as if that section had not been enacted, and the effect of the amendment would be this: that while, if clause 5 had not been inserted, these clauses of the Bill

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which form the sub-sections of section 1, would have been inoperative. The insertion of this clause 5 at the end takes away the protection which the Trade Unions Act would have given.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Then why not have accepted my suggestion, and strike it out altogether? Why not specifically set forth in this Bill that it was not intended to disturb the Trade Unions Act?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The Bill is effective only so far as it prevents manufacturers entering into these combinations. The Trade Unions Act allows them to do so. Therefore, one must yield.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I cannot understand that any deduction of that kind can be drawn from the Trade Unions Act which was intended to apply strictly and exclusively to the relative positions between masters and employes.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is where my hon. friend is mistaken.

HON. MR. SCOTT—My hon. friend says that we do not touch the Trade Unions Act as between master and servant. Take out the words, “every person who agrees to unduly restrain trade is guilty of an unlawful act under this Act.” Now we have given absolute powers to employes to unduly restrain trade; they may make a combination.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; they do not restrain trade; they restrain their own work.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I am now reading the Trade Unions Act: “The purposes of trade unions shall not, merely for the reason that they are in restraint of trade, be unlawful.”

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If it were not for clause 5 they would be lawful under the Bill.

HON. MR. SCOTT—We authorize certain combinations of workmen. Now, unless we exclude that Act, my opinion is, that in the large language that is given to the Bill now before us we certainly would repeal, to that extent, the privileges that are given to trade unions under the Act.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We undoubtedly do restrain these privileges in so far as they affect this Bill. It would be inoperative if we did not.

HON. MR. SCOTT—You will be glad to repeal it next Session.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—For imposing restrictions on trade or business. We are expanding that, and say: If you do, you shall be punishable, as provided in this Act. If we left out section 5 altogether, this Bill would have no force, because section 22 of the Trade Unions Act says that trade unions may lawfully restrain trade.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—That is, in my opinion, a repeal of the Trade Unions Act. We hear the hon. member from Alma state that we must not have class legislation; we hear him speak of the difficulties that are produced by men combining. This very Act, which this Bill is virtually to repeal, was passed and received the sanction of the Premier of Canada. He has over and over again taken credit in the country for having passed that Act in favor of workingmen, but we are told now by the hon. member from Alma that it is class legislation. If it be class legislation, then the responsibility of it is on the Premier of Canada. Why should not the laboring classes, who have nothing but their labor for their capital, be denied protection? Have we not protection extended to these combines? Have we not combines created by the Government of Canada? What else are all those protected combines, which exist throughout the land, but combinations created by the Government for its own purposes?

HON. MR. OGILVIE—No.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—These purposes are to enable the combines to manufacture and sell at higher rates than the people would otherwise be obliged to pay for the necessaries of life. The money is drawn from the people of this country by those Government combines, and the Government in its turn draws for its necessities on the combines. These are the institutions that should be suppressed, and that weigh heavily on the poor man; but the cry is raised: “Why say a word

for the poor man? Why not allow this Bill to pass and repeal the Trade Unions Act, which was designed for the protection of the poor man? Why not leave that Act untouched, and let us deal with these combines which restrict trade?" Is not the poor man entitled to some privileges—to be something more than a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water? From what sources are the millions of capital drawn? From the bone and sinew of the poor man, and now we are asked, why should these men have any protection?

HON. MR. OGILVIE—Who asked that?

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—The hon. member from Alma.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I say that is a falsehood.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—It is all right so long as we throw protection about the combines, and the Government can, in its turn, draw money from them to support themselves in power. If they want to establish an organ what do they do? They call on the manufacturers, and say: "You are the men that we protect—we make the people of the country pay more for their goods, in order that you may profit. We created you, and now you must in your turn, come down and sustain us. We want you to subscribe a couple of hundred thousand dollars to enable us to bring into existence an organ which will help to maintain us in power."

HON. MR. DEVER—This is a regular buncombe speech.

It being 6 o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

AFTER RECESS.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Since the committee rose for recess I have looked into the Trade Unions Act, and I am still convinced that this Bill, as amended, will be a great deal better than it was when it came to this Chamber, and in its amended state I should be glad to vote for it, the last clause being eliminated. The leader of the Government, I understand, believes that it would not have the same effect that I think it would have, and that the Act would be not effective without that clause. I believe the Act would be effective, and

that it would appear as a new piece of legislation, irrespective of any previous Act that existed. But by passing it as it is, I think it would repeal the Trade Unions Act. That I should regret very much, although there are times when a combination of laborers and others produces a good deal of confusion and embarrassment, and perhaps tyranny; but having once obtained this Act, the working classes have been framing themselves into a more regular and more contented people, seeing that they have got power; and I know, as a fact, that power was obtained by the Premier by virtue of this legislation, and I have a little doubt that that power was obtained by him from the mechanic, the artizan and the laborer, and this attempt to repeal that Act by a kind of side wind, for I can call it nothing better, placed, as it is, obscurely at the foot of this new Bill, will be unfair to the classes whom it effects, because they have had no notice of it, and no opportunity to oppose the repeal of the Trade Unions Act. I say, to them it was highly unfair, the manner in which it is connected with this Combines Bill, to deprive the working classes of the power of being present and resisting the repeal of this Act. I have no doubt that if they had known that the passing of this Bill would involve the repeal of the Trade Unions Act they would be present in Parliament in great numbers, resisting it, and it is better for the Government and for the country to deal fairly with the masses of the people? It will have a better effect, the more their condition should require of the combinations of the wealth of the country to look upon them with favor—to look upon them, not as if they were strangers in the land, but as a necessity—to look upon them as the agents who furnish us with all the luxuries and necessities of life—who construct our public buildings, our railways and our canals; who cultivate our land; who carry our commerce over every sea. Upon such a people and their families the great ones of this earth should look with favor instead of disdain. They do not get too much for their labor. Take the highest pay of the laborer, living even under their combination. He gets, perhaps, \$1.50 per day. Think of \$1.50 a day for a man with a family, paying rent, and still obliged to

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live as one of the community, one who has a voice, theoretically, at all events, in making the law. He should be well thought of. He should be cultivated, and should be, by every possible means, assisted instead of depressed. The laborers in this country take great pleasure, from their combination and their right of arranging with each other, and being enabled to place a value on their labor, and what is fairer than they should? You hear capitalists say this is tyranny. There is a sort of tyranny sometimes exercised. It is a tyranny when one man says: you must not work except at prices that I and my colleagues agree upon. Such a tyranny as that is punishable now; it needs no law, but to have the Trade Unions Act repealed, as I think would be the effect of passing this Bill, and deprive them of their privilege, they would feel aggrieved under it, and if there is any circumstance more than another likely to cause agitation, ill-feeling and bad blood in that element of society it would be the repeal of such an Act as that. At any rate, when you want to repeal it, and say, we will not allow workingmen to combine, do it openly; do it frankly, and not in this insidious style. Give them an opportunity of coming to Parliament and resisting it if they choose. There is not amongst all the combinations a worse one than that to which I referred before recess—that is, the one to protect manufacturers and combinations of that kind. There is none worse than that, and it radiates through the land; it deprives the people of their rights; it takes from them their legitimate influence; it takes from them their means, without letting them know it. I find by a published report brought into the other House by the Combines Committee that the people are made to pay from 20 to 30 per cent. more for the same goods than they can be bought for in the United States. That is a pretty heavy burden upon the consumer in this country, and it is no hearsay; that is the result of the investigations of the committee. Their report says: "It was found by comparison with United States price lists that Canadian goods are in some finer and fancy varieties 20 to 30 per cent. higher than goods of equal quality on the other side of the line."

Some cause must exist for our people

leaving this country. There is no use denying that they have been leaving it. We have had no increase of population, such as we should have had. What causes us to be to-day barely 5,000,000 of people, Indians included? We have land as good, and we have as much of it. We have woods and waters, a better climate, a hardier people, and a better Government—in my opinion, a better system of Government, not a better administration of it at present. Do not imagine I make that mistake, for nobody would in this country. In area, climate, soil and resources we are equal to the United States. What causes us to be 5,000,000 only and they 65,000,000? There must be some cause for it, and it is well for people to meet and ask themselves what it is, with a view to providing a remedy.

HON. MR. DEVER—Point it out?

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I leave it to my hon. friend to point it out. I say that if the people had been well treated in this country they would not have left it. They have been going, and they have gone. There are over a million of the people that should be on this side of the line that are on the other side to-day.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The United States is one of the greatest countries in the world for combines, is it not?

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—That is not the point.

HON. MR. MACDONALD (Victoria)—There are 3,000,000 of idle people in the United States to-day that cannot find work.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Why do not our people come back, then, if they cannot find work there?

HON. MR. KAULBACH—So they are coming back.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—Point out an instance of it? I shall be very happy to vote for the Bill, with the exception of the 5th clause of it, because I think a law against combines—I do not say all of them—is necessary. Legitimate combination and profitable combination has done much, not for this country alone, but all over the world. Without the power of

combining labor and capital there would be much loss to commerce and to mankind. Therefore, greater care should be taken that we do not include the legitimate with illegitimate combinations. In my opinion, the Bill as it came to this House did not show that care in its preparation that a measure on so large a subject should have had. I know nothing at all about those who prepared it, but I do know it was brought in by the chairman of the Combines Committee, and that it has gone through many changes since it came here. It was a very crude Bill in its first shape, and on its face I believe worthless. With the amendments proposed to it it can be made of great use, as the leader of the House said, to have something on record that was passing in the public mind.

HON. MR. DEVER—I would not rise to say anything on this occasion, only I feel that it would be wrong for me to sit silent under what I consider a great injustice done to this House and the country—an injustice done by a gentleman who, in my opinion, with the talents he possesses, if properly applied, would be a credit to his nationality and a benefit to his country. But from the speech he has made to-night I must class him down as one of those demagogues who is willing to excite the prejudices of the population merely to gratify a spleen. In my opinion, his speech is full of gall, full of falsehood, and full of deception, because he has tried to mix up a commercial question with the administration of the Government of this country. I feel that I am as independent a man in this House, as far as the Government is concerned, as any other hon. member in it. If I thought the Government were wrong I would not rise to defend them; but when the hon. gentleman tells us that the Government of this country introduced this policy and sustained this policy to advance their own interests, when he knows full well that the people at the polls pronounced upon and declared for this policy, he states what is not the fact. I cannot see how a man with the intelligence of my hon. friend will rise in this House and endeavor to create an impression that the Government are trying to pass measures that are injurious to the true interests of the working

classes. We all know that the working classes are wholly in favor of this policy. I admit that there are a few capitalists, engaged in the manufactures of this Dominion, who are making money; but without the assistance and support of the working classes their enterprise would be a failure. This being the case, why should we hear it falsely set forth that it is the Government of the country and the supporters of the Government in Parliament that are sustaining this policy? What is the Government of the country at all events? The Government are simply the representatives of the people, and as representatives of the people, if their policy and their measures were not satisfactory, does any man believe for a moment that they could be sustained in power? The thing is ridiculous, and I am surprised that a gentleman with the intelligence of my hon. friend should rise in his place in this House and endeavor to create a false impression outside amongst the questionable crowd that he may be in the habit of addressing when he leaves this House. I am not opposed to combinations, even in labor. If I had my way, I am a free trader by education, by instinct and by habits of life; but I feel that I am bound to submit to the will of the people. The people have declared for the contrary policy, and I, as one of their representatives, most cordially and willingly accede to it. Therefore, I sustain the policy, not from any personal feeling of my own, but merely that I may carry out the will of the people. With reference to the legislation bearing on this subject, I think it is a difficult matter to prevent men from combining for the purpose of benefiting themselves; still, as there is a feeling abroad that there are combinations which are injurious to the best interests of this country, I believe it is proper that we should at least make an effort to show that we are inclined to hold the balance fairly and do justice to all classes. I do not know that I need say more, but I felt it my duty to make these remarks, to show that I am consistent in supporting the present policy of the Government.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I wish to say a word respecting the remarks of my hon. friend from Erie, Mr. O'Donohoe. He suggests that this clause should be struck

entirely out of the Bill. I do not think he quite realizes what the consequences of that would be. My hon. friend's object and my object are the same. We both disapprove of those combinations, and desire to have a law against them; but if my hon. friend's ideas were carried out this Bill, which purports to be a law against combinations, would cease to have any force whatever against the combinations which it is intended to put down, because clause 22 of the Trade Unions Act is in these words:

"The purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be deemed to be unlawful, so as to render any member of such trade union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise, or so as to render void or voidable any agreement or trust."

If that remains, those persons who are referred to in this Bill would not be guilty of any unlawful act, although they may do something in restraint of trade, and it is for the purpose of doing away with the nullifying effect of section 22 that it is proposed to deal with it in this Bill. If section 22 is repealed the word "unlawful" will have no meaning, because it will not be unlawful then, under the Trade Unions Act, to limit transport or restrain commerce. These will all be lawful, although they may be in restraint of trade. My hon. friend's misconception of the matter arises, I think, from the idea that the Trade Unions Act only refers to relations between employers and employed. In point of fact, it relates to manufacturers as well as to workmen. If the amendment is carried the effect of it will be to do away with clause 22 as respects manufacturers and employers, and it will be unlawful for them to enter into those combinations which, if section 22 is left on the Statute Book, will not be unlawful; so that it is necessary to deal with section 22 if this Act is to have any force at all. We must do away with the clause in the Trade Unions Act which makes this kind of combination legal as regards employers. We are not touching the employed in this Act at all. We do not meddle with them, and do not propose to meddle with them. We propose to make it applicable to those who are guilty of making such combinations, and we want to remove this protection from them which clause 22 of the Trade Unions Act gives.

HON. MR. POWER—The committee will have to bear in mind that one effect of the proposed alteration will be to subject the trade unions, properly so called, to the operation of this Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No.

HON. MR. POWER—Otherwise, what is the object of the amendment? That is the sole effect of the amendment proposed, to make trade unions subject to the provisions of this Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Trade unions respecting workmen are not affected by it at all.

HON. MR. POWER—My hon. friend can say one thing now and another thing another time. The hon. gentleman, in the course of the afternoon, agreed with me on the preamble that trade union "means such combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business."

HON. MR. ABBOTT—So I say still.

HON. MR. POWER—After that interpretation, this clause, as proposed to be amended, will extend to trade unions, and I think the better way is to leave the clause exactly as it is. The clause now exempts the exercise of any handicraft or any labor, and those trade unions should not be subject to the provisions of this Bill.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—There is nothing about trade unions of workmen in the whole of this Bill. The confusion of ideas is, that my hon. friend says a trade union means a union of workmen. Now, he himself says it may be either of employers or employés. This Bill proposes to deal with employers, and we wish to take them out of the operation of the 22nd section of the Trade Unions Act. The first mention of workmen is in the 5th section, and it is perfectly unnecessary—it is inconsistent with the remainder of the Act; and what is the use of passing a Bill saying that employers shall be guilty of so-and-so, and shall be punished for so-and-so, and then saying it shall not apply to the employed? It applies to trade unions as far as they

consist of employers, but does not apply to trade unions so far as they consist of workmen.

HON. MR. POWER—The workmen may undertake to lessen the manufacture of any article. They may restrain commerce in relation to any particular article. The clause as it stands says exactly what is intended. The hon. gentleman's amendment proposes to remove the exception, and leave handicraft men and laborers subject to the provisions of the Bill.

HON. MR. SANFORD—I should like to know what is the true condition of this case as it now stands. Here are two very eminent leading men, one of whom says that it is black and the other that it is white. It is a very mixed condition of things. If the Bill is perfectly clear, and we can understand that this is not class legislation, but that it applies to workingmen as it does to employers, then I am thoroughly in sympathy with it. I should be exceedingly glad to take any position hostile to combination, but I do not think it is right to legislate in favor of any special interest, and I should like very much to know, before being called upon to vote, whether this legislation refers to one interest only, or applies generally to all? Is the manufacturer privileged to combine with other manufacturers?

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. SANFORD—Are the workmen who are employed by the manufacturers privileged to combine?

HON. MR. POWER—Certainly they are.

HON. MR. SANFORD—Then I am opposed to the Bill, and shall vote against it.

The committee divided on the amendment, which was agreed to—Contents 22; non-contents 15.

HON. MR. VIDAL—It was my intention to have proposed an amendment to come in before the last section. Where we enact a law authorizing the imposition of penalties so severe as to extend to \$10,000 in the case of a company and \$4,000 in the case of an individual, with the alternative of two years' imprisonment, I think it is exceedingly important that there should

be given to parties who may be convicted under this Act an opportunity of appealing in case of there being a defect in the interpretation of the law or in the statement of facts presented to the court. With a view to making provision for this simple act of justice, I move that the following clause be added:—

Clause A.

5. An appeal shall lie from any conviction under this Act by the judge, without the intervention of a jury, to the highest court of appeal in criminal matters in the Provinces where such conviction shall have been made, upon all issues of law and fact, and the evidence taken in the suit shall form part of the record in appeal, and for that purpose the court before which the case is tried shall take note of the evidence and of all legal objections thereto.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I should like to ask whether the effect of the amendment before the committee would be to bar any appeal beyond that to the provincial courts? Would there be no appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada or to the Privy Council?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I presume that the only appeal which is granted is the one that is specially mentioned. I talked it over with the Minister of Justice, and he thought that it was all the appeal that would be necessary.

HON. MR. CARVELL—The interests might be so large as to warrant the interested party appealing to the Supreme Court, or even to the Privy Council, and unless the amendment allows that I should be disposed to object to it.

The amendment was agreed to.

HON. MR. READ, from the committee, reported the Bill, with amendments.

HON. MR. VIDAL moved that the first amendment be concurred in.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I am disposed to take the sense of the House on this question, now that the votes will be recorded. The word "unduly," in my estimation, minimizes the offence that we are now creating. This Bill is predicated on the assumption that the several acts therein referred to are at present unlawful. It has been argued that they are contrary to common law, and provision is made in the Bill for their punishment. Now, the introduction of the word "unduly" seeks to

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

qualify that. It will make it exceedingly embarrassing for a judicial tribunal to decide a case. No two minds will come to the same conclusion as to the meaning of this word "unduly." I am opposed, therefore, to the amendment in that sense, and I ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to concur.

The Senate divided on the motion to concur in the amendment which was agreed to on the following vote:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McKindsay,
Almon,	McMillan,
Boucherville, de,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Carvell,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Casgrain,	Merner,
Cochrane,	Ogilvie,
DeBlois,	Poirier,
Dever,	Robitaille,
Drummond,	Ross,
Girard,	Sanford,
Glazier,	Thibaudeau,
Guévremont,	Trudel,
McCallum,	Turner,
McDonald (C.B.),	Vidal,—28.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Armand,	Pelletier,
Grant,	Power,
Haythorne,	Read (Quinté),
Kaulbach,	Reesor,
McClelan,	Scott,
O'Donohoe,	Stevens—12.

On the motion to concur in the 7th amendment,

HON. MR. POWER said: This is the section which subjects the trade unions to the operation of this Act. I call for the yeas and nays.

The Senate divided on the motion, which was agreed to, on the following vote:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McKindsey,
Almon,	McMillan,
Carvell,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Casgrain,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Cochrane,	Merner,
DeBlois,	Ogilvie,
Dever,	Poirier,
Drummond,	Robitaille,
Girard,	Ross,
Guévremont,	Sullivan,
Kaulbach,	Turner,
McCallum,	Vidal,
McDonald (C.B.),	Wark—26.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Armand,	Read (Quinté),
Boucherville, de,	Reesor,
Grant,	Sanford,
Haythorne,	Scott,
McClelan,	Stevens,
O'Donohoe,	Thibaudeau,
Pelletier,	Trudel—15.
Power,	

HON. MR. MCCALLUM moved that the Bill be read the third time, as amended.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I desire to take the sense of the House in reference to the question whether the 5th clause should be retained in the Bill. I am still strongly of the opinion that we are only introducing confusion into the law by referring at all to the Trade Unions Act of 1872. That Act was passed for the specific purpose of regulating how far employes could unite together as between themselves and their employer. The Act refers solely, entirely and exclusively to that. That was the opinion of Parliament at the time. It has never, by any judicial tribunal that I am aware of, been contended that it goes any further. I learn for the first time to-day that it is at all possible, in the interpretation of the statute, to place any other meaning on it than the one to which I have alluded. It would only confuse the legislation on the Statute Book to make any reference to the old Act. I therefore move:

That the said Bill be not now read a third time, but that it be further amended as follows:—

That section 5 be struck out, and the following be substituted in lieu thereof: "The foregoing provision shall not apply to or affect 'The Trade Unions Act.'"

The Act stands alone, wholly without reference to the Trade Unions Act, and that statute should not be imported here.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not propose to make a speech on this subject, but the manufacturers in the country, at least those of them who engage in combines, will be deeply indebted to my hon. friend for this provision, and if it is carried they will derive a good deal of benefit from it. If this Bill is not to apply to the Trade Unions Act then which of the two Acts is to be in force? Supposing a number of persons combined to restrict production or raise prices in restraint of trade? The Trade Unions Act says they may do

that with impunity if they constitute themselves a trade union.

HON. MR. SCOTT—No.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; it does, and I will read the Act to prove it.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The whole Act must be taken together. I am quite aware of the clause that the hon. gentleman is going to quote, but I read the whole Act together.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The hon. gentleman may read the whole Act, but he will find himself in no better position than he did before. This is what the 2nd section of the Act says:

"In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the expression 'Trade Unions' means such combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, as would, but for this Act, have been deemed to be an unlawful combination by reason of some one or more of its purposes being in restraint of trade."

That is the clause which authorizes the formation of trade unions for these two or three purposes, and declares that they may do these things, although but for this Act they would be in restraint of trade.

HON. MR. SCOTT—Point out any clause that goes beyond the relative positions of master and servant.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have already read it. Does not this go beyond the relations between master and servant, "for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business."

HON. MR. SCOTT—The whole Act is based on that presumption.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This Act makes it criminal to restrain production; that is the exact language of the Act, "to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing or dealing in any article or commodity which may be a subject of trade and commerce"—to restrain or injure trade or commerce in relation to any article or commodity.

HON. MR. SCOTT—That is, as far as the workmen are concerned.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Where are these

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

words? Are we to evolve them from our inner consciousness? The law is express, yet my hon. friend would require us to put words into it that do not exist, and are entirely contradictory to those which do exist. Clause 22 says:

"The purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be deemed to be unlawful, so as to render any member of such trade union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise."

So that if this Bill, as my hon. friend says in his amendment, shall not apply to the Trade Unions Act, if that means anything, it means that the Trade Unions Act, which says that these combinations are lawful, shall remain in force, and that this Act, which says that they are unlawful, shall remain in force; but if the Trade Unions' Act remains in force it neutralizes the effect of this measure.

HON. MR. DEVER—And they can do just as they like.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes. What my hon. friend now proposes to do would destroy the effect of this Bill, which I think is a good one, improved by the amendments in this House, and will effectually stop the evil which it is contemplated to meet.

HON. MR. POWER—I regret that I shall be obliged to vote against the amendment of my hon. friend from Ottawa. When we were dealing with the amendment it will be remembered that I called the attention of the Commons to the fact that the Trade Unions Act would apply to combinations under this Bill, and that consequently the wording of the 5th clause, as the Bill originally came here, was necessary; I now wish to call attention to the fact that the Bill as it was originally introduced in the House of Commons contained the identical clause which the hon. gentleman from Ottawa proposed to insert in lieu of the last clause of the Bill. The last clause of the Bill, as originally introduced in the House of Commons, was to this effect:

"Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to modify or affect in any manner chapter one hundred and thirty-one of the Revised Statutes, respecting trades unions.

I happened to be reading the discussion which took place in the Commons in con-

nection with this Bill, and there I discovered what the hon. gentleman had said, and what I called attention to just now, that the whole Bill would be rendered nugatory by that clause; and being in favor of that measure, even in its present maimed condition, I cannot vote for the amendment. All that it would be necessary for any combination to do, in order to remove any doubt as to its being outside of this Bill, if the hon. gentleman's amendment passed, would be, instead of calling itself a combine, to call itself a trade union, and immediately it would, beyond any doubt, be relieved from the operation of this Bill.

HON. MR. REESOR—There being so many lawyers in the House, I think they ought to make this question plain. As far as the discussion has gone, my opinion is with the hon. gentleman from Halifax.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I hold in my hand the original Act of 1872, and I ask any hon. gentleman to take up the Trade Unions Act and point out one clause which provides for the punishment of workmen for any combination against their employer.

The House divided on the amendment, which was lost on the following division:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Boucherville, de	Pelletier,
Grant,	Scott,
Haythorne,	Stevens,
O'Donohoe,	Thibaudeau—8.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McKindsey,
Almon,	McMillan,
Carvell,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Casgrain,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Cochrane,	Merner,
DeBlois,	Ogilvie,
Dever,	Poirier,
Drummond,	Power,
Girard,	Robitaille,
Glasier,	Ross,
Guévremont,	Sullivan,
Kaulbach,	Trudel,
McCallum,	Turner,
McDonald (C.B.),	Vidal—28.

HON. MR. CARVELL moved that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be read the third time this day six months. He said: I oppose the Bill, because I think it is wrong in principle. If the principle were right, the measure which it is now proposed to pass is not matured. I think that the leader of the House said it would be better if more time were given to it, so that it would be prepared to accomplish the object for which it was introduced. As it is now, I think it would be useless and vexatious, and that the original projector of it will be very much disgusted with it if it does pass. I think trade should be left as free as possible. We have had too much legislation, and instead of light we get darkness and hindrance. If I were to take up the time of the House I could give scores of instances in which justifiable combinations have been entered into by merchants—not any great things, like sugar combines or cotton combines, but where, in self-defence, merchants have been obliged to combine. Take, for instance, the article of sugar or molasses, or any of the larger articles which go to supply the people with food. I buy from "A"; "A" buys from "B" and "C," and the market goes against us. Now, if these can arrange amongst themselves so as to sell to keep themselves from loss it is not a thing that should be condemned, but under this Act the parties to such a combination would be liable to be pounced upon and fined or imprisoned. There are two lines of steamers running out of Halifax in opposition, and they have been carrying passengers for \$1 per head from Halifax to Boston, and of course losing money. An arrangement was made within the last few days by which they are not going to cut each others throats any longer, but will act like sensible men, and the rate has been put up from \$1 to \$6. It might strike many people that this is a combination to unduly advance the price of travel, and under this Bill either of those parties could be dragged before the court, and the court may be asked to decide whether this advance in rates is an undue one or not. With all deference to the courts, they are very often incapable of deciding on such cases. The two points I wish to make, are first: that the Bill is wrong in

THE SPEAKER—The question is now on the third reading of the Bill.

principle, and even if it were not wrong in principle it would be better to let the matter stand over for another year, and have a properly-matured well-digested Bill on the subject brought before Parliament. I have no doubt that if this Bill passes Parliament will soon be asked to repeal it, or it will become, like some other statutes, a dead letter.

The House divided on the amendment, which was lost on the following division:—

CONTENTS:

Hon. Messrs.

Carvell,	Ogilvie,
Haythorne,	Sanford—5.
O'Donohoe,	

NON-CONTENTS:

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McMillan,
Almon,	Macdonald (Victoria),
Armand,	MacInnes (Burlington),
Boucherville, de,	Merner,
Casgrain,	Pelletier,
Cochrane,	Poirier,
DeBlois,	Power,
Dever,	Read (Quinté),
Drummond,	Reesor,
Girard,	Robitaille,
Glasier,	Ross,
Guévremont,	Stevens,
Kaulbach,	Sullivan,
McCallum,	Thibaudeau,
McDonald (C. B.),	Vidal—31.
McKindsey,	

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

COPYRIGHT BILL.

THIRD READING.

Bill (101), "An Act to amend the Copyright Act, Chapter 62 of the Revised Statutes," was reported from Committee of the Whole without amendment, read the third time, and passed.

THE CULLERS BILL.

SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (142), "An Act to amend the Cullers Act, Chapter 103 of the Revised Statutes." He said: This is a short Bill, introduced for a purpose which is effected by two or three clauses. It appears to have been found to be an incumbrance, a difficulty and burden on trade, to have deals and sawn lumber culled

compulsorily, and there has been an unanimous application, I think, to have it abolished. This Bill is to remove the compulsory culling of deals and sawn lumber, and to retain only the culling of square and waney timber.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, under suspension of Rule 41.

(In the Committee).

HON. MR. POWER—What is the exact meaning of the first clause—"sub-section 2 of section 4 of the Cullers Act is hereby repealed?"

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will remember we passed a Bill this Session to take the collection of dues out of the hands of the supervisor of cullers and place it with the Minister of Public Works.

HON. MR. PELLETIER—Is the leader of the House in a position to say to what number it is intended to reduce the staff of cullers?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; it is not known yet what number will be required, but it is proposed to reduce the number very materially at once, and to change, if necessary, when experience has shown the number required.

HON. MR. PELLETIER—Is it the intention of the Government to change in any way the office of culler at Quebec?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Only by reducing the number.

On the 4th clause,

HON. MR. POWER—There are two things to be considered—one, that it is well to interfere as little as possible with trade; and the other, that the credit of our products in the markets of the world shall be maintained. I simply ask the leader of the House to remove any doubts that there may be as to the latter question. Is there not some risk that if the measurement and culling and sorting of lumber is done away with that the reputation of our lumber in the English market will suffer?

HON. MR. CARVEL.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have been told that there are two answers to that question. The one is, that in point of fact our measurement and culling are not authoritative in foreign countries; and the other is, that it is the interest of the shipper to assort his lumber, because lumber of different qualities mixed loses largely in value; therefore, it appears as if our present culling system is of no use, and there is a system introduced which answers thoroughly the requirements of the trade.

HON. MR. SCOTT—There is no compulsory culling of lumber now; there is of timber shipped to England.

HON. MR. GUÉVREMONT, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The report was adopted, and the Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that when the House adjourns to-day it do stand adjourned until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning, and that there be two sittings of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate adjourned at 9:45 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Tuesday, 30th April, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at 11 a.m.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE INUNDATIONS AT MONTREAL.

HON. MR. READ presented the Ninth Report of the Joint Committee on the Printing of Parliament.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I should like to ask if the report respecting the inundations at Montreal is to be printed?

HON. MR. READ—The matter came before the Printing Committee, and I represented that the city of Montreal was prepared to pay for 500 copies of the report, but it seemed to be the almost unanimous opinion of the committee

that if the city of Montreal wanted the report they should have it printed at their own expense. They did not consider it necessary for public distribution, and they refused to acquiesce in the suggestion.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—These surveys were made by the Government. They interest not only the city of Montreal, but almost the whole of the country down to Chambly and Port Neuf. The report would be of public interest, and perhaps the leader of the House might refer the report to a committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is perfectly true, as my hon. friend says, that it is not a report affecting Montreal only. It is no doubt the largest place that is affected, but the inundations occur for 100 miles along the St. Lawrence. More than that: it is a most valuable study as to the effects of our climate on the rivers and the ice forming in them, and will be valuable in many localities besides at Montreal. I know that the Government are desirous that the report should be printed. The city of Montreal has offered to pay for 500 copies, which will be, I suppose, half the issue.

HON. MR. POWER—I would respectfully suggest that the chairman of the committee has not moved the consideration of the report now.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have merely replied to a question: I think it is a pity that the report is not to be printed.

THE EXPENDITURE IN RESPECT TO LEGISLATION.

CONSIDERATION OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE'S REPORT POSTPONED.

The Order of the Day being read—

Consideration of the report of the Joint Committee of both Houses on the expenditure in respect to legislation and the practicability of reducing the same.

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: I think it would be perhaps expedient to leave this matter open until the afternoon. Hon. gentlemen have hardly had time to read the report yet, and by that time we will be able to see what is thought of it in the other House. Therefore, I move that the

consideration of the report be postponed until the next sitting of the House.

HON. MR. POWER—I think it would be more judicious to move that it be postponed until next Session. The report contains sixty-three recommendations, hardly one of which, if it received justice, would require less than an hour's discussion and consideration. To ask us, at the very close of the Session, to act upon a report like that, which affects our existence and independence as a branch of the Legislature, is unwise. If the hon. gentleman will take a prudent and dignified course he will move that the consideration of the report be deferred until next Session. We have got along for twenty-two years fairly well, and we might get along until next Session without making a change.

HON. MR. MILLER—If the report be postponed until the afternoon's sitting it would be well to know why it is that a list of the officers of the House of Commons is not given in the report. A list of the officers of the Senate, without a single exception, is given; and standing alone, it may appear striking, but I think it would be insignificant contrasted with an accurate list of those employed for the same service in the House of Commons. I think it very unfair that our list should be in the report, while none of the House of Commons is included. Unless this defect is remedied, when the report comes before the House I shall move that it be not adopted, but that it be sent back to the committee to add that list. I shall do so, even if it should have the effect of throwing out the report. I think it is unfair; it was asked for and denied. A good deal of fuss is made about the expense of the Senate, but when it comes to be examined we find that it is the most economical service in the country. With one or two exceptions, perhaps, the expenditures of the Senate will bear favorable comparison with those of any in the public service. The report will do some good in exhibiting that fact to the public, after all that has been said about the extravagance of the Upper House. There is another point which I would ask the leader of the House to have the kindness to consult the chairman of

the committee about, and that is with regard to the restaurant. It is recommended that we should have but one kitchen and two restaurants. In that case you might as well abolish the Senate restaurant. We tried that experiment before. The cooking was done at the House of Commons, and we generally had to live on cold victuals. We got no consideration from the caterer. The House of Commons was his whole care, and it will be the same thing again. There is no place for a kitchen in the centre of the building; it must be either on one side or the other. It is impossible to have one in the middle, because that portion of the building is occupied by heavy and expensive machinery, which the Government would not think of removing for the purpose of saving a few dollars in keeping up a kitchen in the basement. Then, with regard to the stationery, that subject was discussed before the Contingencies Committee of the Senate, and it was unanimously decided that \$6,500 should be allowed to the Senate. I am not particular on this point myself, but I know that there are many in this House who are, and who think it is rather *in fra dig.* to a legislative body like this to be limited to a small amount of stationery, as if we were not fit to be trusted to supply what we use in our rooms or what we have been accustomed to receive for a number of years. The leader of the House should have some consultation with the chairman and members of the committee in the other branch of Parliament, and come to an agreement. If they want to have this report adopted, these items should be struck out; otherwise, I do not think that I shall be prepared to vote for it. The lateness of the Session is also a very serious objection to adopting a report which intimately affects the privileges of this House. We cannot be too careful how we yield one inch to the Government in the authority of the House. We have had lessons enough on that point in the past. We see how this House has been reduced in dignity and influence in comparison to the position that we occupied when we came into the Confederation. One by one our privileges are going, and not only our privileges, but our position as a co-ordinate branch of Parliament, in consequence placing us in a very humiliating position

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

before the people of this country. I do not want to go into a discussion of the subject, but I hope the leader of the House will kindly consider the observations I have made with regard to the three objections to the report, and if the report is to be adopted that these objectionable features of it may be removed. There is also another subject to which I would like to refer. The officers of the House—the Housekeeper and Usher of the Black Rod—are to be dispossessed of their residences. When this Parliament adjourns this building goes into the keeping of the Government; and certainly, so far as the Usher of the Black Rod and the Sergeant-at-Arms are concerned, the Government could dispossess them. In case they tried to dispossess the Housekeeper he could say: I was placed here by the Senate, and I recognize nobody but the Senate, and if he could resist by force he would be justified in doing so, until he was authorized by the House to leave. All he has to look to is the justification of this House. His tenure of office is not dependent on the Government, but on this House. He is the servant of this House, and not of the Government. I do not think he desires to hold possession if the Government think they require the rooms that he occupies; I do not think he would make any opposition to giving them up. But none of these individuals should be dispossessed hurriedly. They should have reasonable time to make preparations for a home outside, and they should be allowed to remain where they are until the end of the year. We have not time to consider this report fully this Session.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not suppose that it is my hon. friend's intention to have a debate on the report now, as we propose to have a debate on it this afternoon. I am glad that he has called my attention to two or three points, because there may, perhaps, be some means—I do not know whether there will or not—of bringing the report more in harmony with the hon. gentleman's opinions. I may say, with reference to the schedule, that my hon. friend is perfectly right: the schedules of the two Houses were placed side by side in the committee, and I imagine that the omission of the Commons schedule has occurred entirely through

inadvertence, and accidentally. It was intended that both should be in the report. With reference to the restaurant, I understood at the time we talked it over that there would be no difficulty in having one kitchen for the two restaurants, and placing its control under a joint committee of both Houses. It seemed to afford a way in which there should be no difficulty of management; but if, as my hon. friend says, and as I have learned otherwise, there would be a great difficulty in having one kitchen for the two restaurants, that matter is one which obviously seems to require some consideration. I may say, without entering into a discussion of the matter, that if my hon. friend intended to suggest that the Government were dictating to this House in any way he is entirely mistaken. If the Housekeeper leaves his room in conformity with this report it will be with the concurrence of this House, and not by orders of the Government. The Government are, as far as it is possible to imagine, free from any desire to dictate to this House or to either House. This is a friendly and harmonious attempt by both Houses to reduce the expenditure, which has been increasing, and I confirm what my hon. friend says when he states that the comparison that is practically made by this report is most creditable to the Senate—that the reductions and changes are immensely less in proportion, in the Senate, than those which are proposed for the other House. The schedule, when produced, will confirm what I say, and show that the economy which this report finds ought to be practised with regard to legislation applies much more to the other House than it does to the Senate. The first paragraphs of the report, as hon. gentlemen will see, point out in the most unmistakable manner that almost every important officer of this House is performing two or three duties, which duties, in the other House, are performed by separate officers; and, moreover, all the questions as respects joint control, or rather amalgamation, of the departments of the two Houses, with the exception of the restaurant, have been decided in favor of the autonomy of the Senate departments; because it was found that they were conducted in an economical and efficient manner, and that the officers who managed them could not be dispensed

with, for other reasons besides the mere conduct of these departments—as, for instance, our Law Clerk is secretary of two or three committees, and does a considerable deal of work apart from that. So it is with the accountants; we have not a separate accountant, as there is in the House of Commons.

HON. MR. MILLER—There are two accountants in the House of Commons.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Every word of the report indicates perfect impartiality as respects the two Houses, and shows that there is no desire whatever to encroach on the privileges of the Senate. With regard to the stationery, the amount is fixed for the House of Commons as well as for the Senate, and it is fixed at a rate which is somewhat less, in proportion, for the House of Commons than for the Senate.

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Ours is fixed at \$4,000 and the House of Commons at \$10,000—that is a fraction more than for us, in proportion to our numbers; so I do not think there is any reason for supposing that there is any desire to encroach on our privileges. As my hon. friend suggests, I will see between now and the afternoon if the report can be made more satisfactory. I move that the consideration of the report be postponed until the next sitting of this House.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I do not rise for the purpose of discussing the general subject connected with the report, but simply to correct some observations which have fallen from the leader of the Government. He says that this cannot be regarded as dictation from the Government. This committee originated with the Government.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It originated with this House.

HON. MR. SCOTT—This investigation originated with the Government. On this committee it was a question simply what the Government desired. As my hon. friend from Richmond has observed, it is very well known that year by year the privileges of this House are diminishing, that the importance and the voice of this

Chamber have been year by year growing less and less, and it is perfectly evident that the Senate had simply to submit to the dictation of that committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I absolutely and positively deny what the hon. gentleman says. I was present at every meeting of the committee but one, and I say there never was a pretence of dictation by any member of the House of Commons or by any member of the Government. A good many suggestions came from members of the Senate, and the inquiry was conducted with the utmost possible fairness on both sides.

HON. MR. SCOTT—The hon. gentleman knows very well that in the showing that came before that committee it was utterly impossible for the members of the Government, who were on that committee, to charge the smallest amount of extravagance in connection with the several officers of the Senate.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I said so.

HON. MR. SCOTT—It was proposed originally that there should be but one post office. It was shown that that would increase the expense—that we have but one official, whereas if the post offices were amalgamated there would be two. So with the proposition to have but one reading room. Was that proposition made from the Senate? No. It was shown that there would be no saving there either. It was made apparent, also, that some 120 of the papers taken in the Senate are afterwards transferred to the Library. The papers of the House of Commons are so cut up and scissored by members that they cannot be bound. Ours are bound at the end of the year, and therefore our expenditure on the reading room ought to be diminished by that amount. Then, in reference to the Law Clerk's branch: while they have several officials in that branch of the House of Commons we have but one, and it must be apparent to everybody that no saving could be effected there, apart from the question of having a second revising officer. When you come to trench on other matters, more particularly governed by the contingencies of the Senate, I say that the economies practised by our committee

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

will bear a very marked contrast with those of any other branch of the service. The statement as to stationery has been misrepresented disparagingly to the Senate. While the expenditure under this head for the departments has risen from \$67,000 to \$167,000 in ten years, ours has risen from \$5,000 to \$6,000 in the same period. While there has been that trifling increase in the Senate in ten years there has been in every other branch of the service an increase of about 100 per cent. What was the answer to that? That this committee was delegated to pare down the expenditures. The object is to make it appear that the Senate is extravagant. While time is expended on contemptible subjects of this kind the expenditure of the country has risen to \$50,000,000. That is the amount which is being voted by Parliament this year for the public service; yet we are charged with extravagance, because in ten years the expenditure for stationery has been increased from \$5,000 to \$6,000. There are departments in the Government where the expenditure for stationery is nearly double the amount of ours. I hope the Senate will adopt this report, and deprive the Government of the opportunity of saying that the Senate stands in the way of economizing, but it is a small way to economize to resort to cheese-paring, and diminishing the privileges and perquisites of the Senate.

HON. MR. READ—If this report is adopted, hereafter the Senate will be bound by it as by an Act of Parliament. I see that the report recommends that we can have only so many Pages, and that we can pay them only so much. I have been a member of the Senate for many years, and have been on the Contingencies Committee, and have had an opportunity of judging how many Pages are required and what their remuneration should be: hereafter we are to be bound by this report, and have no discretion. It is certainly taking away our privileges—taking away every little sort of authority we have. I remember when the Government attempted to take away the rooms occupied by the Black Rod in this House the Senate indignantly protested against it at once. We were told that the Usher of the Black Rod was not then a married man, and that he did not require the

rooms; but we said, though he is not a married man now he may be one at a future day, and we retained the rooms. Yet here we find an attempt from time to time to belittle the Senate in the eyes of the community. We are becoming less respected in the country, and the Government is more or less responsible for it. I have time and again raised my voice in caucus and on the floor of the House in protest against the action of the Government with regard to the Senate, the way it is treated and the way the public look at us. They tell us that we have not a member in the Senate with a portfolio. How is it in the House of Lords? How was it here at Confederation?

HON. MR. MILLER—We had half the Government.

HON. MR. READ—See how this House has been degraded from Confederation to the present time! I speak strongly, not because I consider that the Senate is a nonentity in the country: it is doing important work, and, for the most part, doing its duty. I do not think it has done its duty always. I hope that time will be given us to consider this report. The rule has been to bring the most important matters before us at the last moment, when we have no time to discuss them. This report contains sixty-three recommendations, yet we are asked to consider the whole of them at one sitting, although prorogation is to take place tomorrow. I think it is unfair to the Senate.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The question is, whether we should go into a discussion of this matter now, or wait until it comes properly before us this afternoon. I did not expect that the question would come up now, and therefore I am not prepared to go into it. I am glad this committee was appointed. From what has been said, and from what I know myself, it certainly did not emanate from the Government. It originated with the leader of the House on a question of increasing salaries, and it was suggested that we should have a committee of both Houses. The result of the investigation has been to show that there is no extravagance in the Senate. Whatever the leader of the Opposition may say here, the party with which he is

identified has decried the Senate, charging this House with inefficiency and extravagance—representing it as utterly useless in the country. Time and again have I seen such statements in the Opposition press. All this is fully met by the report that we have before us. Whether those apartments now occupied by the Usher of the Black Rod and the House-keeper should be taken depends on how they are to be used. If they are to be used by the House of Commons I am opposed to it. We need more room on this side for the accommodation of members of the Senate.

HON. MR. MILLER—The report provides that our rooms shall be under the control of the Contingencies Committee of our House.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Then it is all right.

HON. MR. DEVER—The committee certainly emanated, not from the Government or supporters of the Government, but from the Opposition. I believe the Opposition have been making it a standing subject for their speeches. We find that the leaders of the Opposition are perpetually carping at the Senate, and their organs follow the same policy. If there is a feeling in this country against the Senate I think it comes with a bad grace from the leader of the Opposition to state that that feeling originated with the Government or its supporters. On the contrary, I assert here, as far as my knowledge goes, that it is caused by the continual attacks upon the Senate which are made by the leaders of the Opposition and their organs.

HON. MR. SCOTT—I said that the committee originated with the Government.

HON. MR. DEVER—The argument of the hon. gentleman was that the Government and the country are opposed to the Senate. I say, if there is any opposition shown by the country, or any part of it, to the Senate, we have to thank the Opposition leaders in Parliament and their organs for it. Whenever they want a subject for discussion they always make an attack upon the Senate, and to that cause we may attribute any unpopularity of which we may be the subject.

HON. MR. KAULBACH.

HON. MR. VIDAL—I do not propose to go into a discussion of the report now; but the remarks which have fallen from the hon. member from Ottawa seem to me to need some notice from a member of the committee, as I was, having heard these remarks and being satisfied that they are not founded upon fact. The origin of this inquiry has been wrongly attributed to the Government, as though there was some design on their part and on the part of the House of Commons to encroach on the privileges of the Senate. What are the facts of the case? Is it not a palpable fact that the attention of the country and of the Government has been called to the enormous increase in the expenditure for legislation during the past ten years? That single fact arrested attention. What more proper or desirable than that a committee should be appointed to look into this matter, to see whether it was not practicable to reduce this expenditure? This was the sole motive and intention, I believe, in forming a joint committee to look into the subject. When we met, so far from finding, on the part of members of the House of Commons, or the Government, any desire to encroach on the privileges of the Senate, I contend it was entirely the reverse. It is quite true that it was suggested to have one post office for both Houses, one reading room and one law clerk; but these suggestions were not made with the intention or desire of depriving this House of its privileges and advantages, but to see whether it was practicable or not. No sooner were the views of the members of the Senate advanced than they were at once assented to and adopted. There was not the slightest attempt made by the members of the House of Commons to gainsay the arguments brought by the members of the Senate, but they were promptly accepted. It was demonstrated that economy, diligence and care had been exercised by the Senate, and that it was impossible to lessen the expenditure by combining the offices, as had been suggested. So far from there being a desire to deprive the Senate of its privileges, the thing was discussed in the fairest, most equitable and generous manner possible. I attended every meeting, heard all that was said and gave particular attention to every suggestion. Some of the suggestions came from

members of the Senate themselves, and there was the greatest freedom in presenting their views in the committee. There was no attempt on the part of the chairman, Sir Hector Langevin, or any one else, to set aside the views expressed by the members of the Senate. The economy suggested applies to both Houses. It is no encroachment on the Senate to take away the apartments of Black Rod. The same thing is done on the other side.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—And what is to be done with the rooms?

HON. MR. VIDAL—They are required for the use of the Senate. I will not go into details. I want to emphatically deny that there is any attempt made by the Government or the House of Commons to interfere with the Senate. The whole discussion was conducted with the greatest fairness, and with an earnest desire on the part of members of the committee to practise such economy as can be done consistently with giving to each House the full privileges belonging to it.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Is it the intention of the Government to prorogue to-morrow?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—It is the intention of the Government to prorogue to-morrow, if public business will enable us to do so. We think it will.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—If such is the case, I sincerely hope that the suggestions made by the senior member from Halifax will be accepted by the leader of this House, because it will be utterly impossible to discuss a report containing sixty-three important recommendations if Parliament is to be prorogued to-morrow, or even the day after. I will not enter into a discussion of the report now. I merely rise to say that I sincerely hope that the consideration of this report will be postponed until the next session of Parliament.

The motion was agreed to.

SECOND SITTING.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

Routine proceedings.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (144), "An Act relating to Ocean Steamship Subsidies." (Mr. Abbott).

INUNDATIONS AT MONTREAL.

MOTION.

The Order of the Day being called—

Consideration of the Ninth Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses on the Printing of Parliament,

HON. MR. READ moved that the report be adopted. He said: I may explain that among the documents recommended to be printed is one relating to the disease of tuberculosis. The recommendation is that 20,000 copies be printed and put up in wrappers for distribution. Among the documents recommended not to be printed is the report of the commission on the floods of the St. Lawrence River.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—The reason why the committee did not recommend the printing of that report was, that they considered it was only of interest to the city of Montreal; but those who know the character of the country are aware that it interests also the counties of Hochelaga, Chambly, Verchères, Richelieu, L'Assomption, Berthier, Maskinongé, St. Maurice, Champlain—in fact, it interests half the Province of Quebec; therefore, it cannot be considered as only a matter for the city of Montreal. I think it is very important that this report, with the accompanying plans, should be printed. I therefore suggest that an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that he would be pleased to cause the report and plans submitted by the commissioners on the floods in the St. Lawrence River to be printed by the Department of Public Works.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I venture to suggest to my hon. friend that it would be better not to concur in the report, but to refer it back to the Committee on Printing, for reconsideration. On a previous occasion I ventured to offer to this hon. House several reasons why this report should be printed. These reasons I need scarcely trouble the House with again, but they were, briefly, as follows: that the report was not of local interest only, but of widespread general interest, and affected not only the St. Lawrence, from Kingston to Lake St. Peter, but was applicable to other rivers which, like the St. Lawrence, are covered with ice in

winter. The inquiry, which has cost the Government over \$20,000, will be entirely lost, not only to the public generally, who, I am inclined to think, would take a deep interest in it, but it is money thrown away in effect if this report be not published. This House, especially, might do a great deal of good by using all its influence in having the report published. It deals not with these questions only, but with physical problems which are applicable, not only to the St. Lawrence, but to the vast number of rivers in this Dominion; and I strongly urge upon the House to use its influence, if it be within the range of possibility now, to obtain the publication of that report. I think myself that the Joint Committee on Printing had the impression that it was a matter concerning Montreal alone. If that were so, I do not think it would be our duty at all to recommend the printing of the report; but it is not so. I have read the report from beginning to end, and I am satisfied that it is a document that will be valued and treasured, not only by members of this House, but by members of the House of Commons.

HON. MR. MILLER—The course to pursue in a case of this kind would be the regular course, if we had the time to do so, to refer the report back to committee, with instructions to amend it in the sense of the resolution. If there be any doubt that we would not have time to take that course, perhaps this motion might be allowed to go on the Journals, although it would be rather inconsistent, first to adopt a report and then to pass a resolution directly in contradiction to that report. If it is possible to get the committee together again to do one of two things, it is desirable it should be done, either to recommend the publication of the report of the commissioners or to strike the paragraph out altogether from the report on the Table, and then allow the House to deal with the question, unfettered by any suggestion in the report of the Printing Committee.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not understand that the report has been adopted.

HON. MR. MILLER—We can consider it as not adopted.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Then I propose to mention this fact, that my colleague, the Minister of Public Works, has had communicated to him an undertaking from the city of Montreal to pay for 500 copies of this report, so that that would materially reduce the cost of printing.

HON. MR. POWER—This is a report of the Joint Committee on Printing, which has, in all probability, been dealt with already by the House of Commons. It has been assumed that the committee did not know what they were doing when they declined to recommend the printing of the report; but the hon. gentleman from Kennebec division appeared before the committee himself, and pointed out the reason why it was important in the public interest that this report should be printed. The matter was before the committee, I think, on three occasions, and at their last meeting it was considered, and the hon. gentleman from *Quinté* spoke very strongly in favor of printing the report, as did also the hon. gentleman from *St. Boniface*, and the committee, by a very large and decided majority, resolved that it should not be printed. They did not consider that it was a matter of any interest to the Dominion at large, and I presume the impression was that if it was of special interest to the city of Montreal, and they were willing to pay for 500 copies of it, that they might get the report printed themselves. But it occurred to some members of the committee that as this was a very important matter that had been dealt with by the Department of Public Works the reasonable and natural course would be to have the report printed as an appendix to the report of the Minister of that Department, where one would naturally look for such a report. It does not naturally come under the heading of the Printing of Parliament, and I think it might be reasonably ordered to be printed by the Minister of Public Works, and even though it is in the least degree irregular, I think the motion of the hon. gentleman from *Montarville* is the best motion to adopt.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I think the committee were influenced largely by the expense that would be incurred by the printing of the numerous diagrams and

plans connected with the report, and without which the report itself would be useless.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I was at the first meeting of this committee, and at the last meeting, where it was brought up, and I am perfectly satisfied that the majority of the committee were not seized with the importance of that report; they looked upon it purely and simply as a local matter and dealt with it as such. There is not, however, a river from the Rocky Mountains down to the Gulf where ice jams take place that is not interested in that report. It is not very long since we heard of very serious floods and ice jams up in the western portion of Ontario, and the scientific part of this report applies just as much to any river in the world as to the St. Lawrence at Montreal. I am certain, had the members of the committee been seized of the importance of that report it would have been ordered to be printed. I asked specially at the last meeting of the committee that I attended if the next meeting would be held on Tuesday morning instead of on Monday and so did the hon. gentleman from Glengarry, and we had a promise that the committee would not meet until Tuesday morning. I came up here a day sooner than the House met, in order to be at that meeting, but I only knew on Tuesday morning that the meeting had taken place on Monday. When the hon. gentleman from Halifax speaks of the report as having been brought up in the committee there was just a general laugh all round—if Montreal wants it, let them have it; but I am quite sure that if the committee had been aware of the importance of the document they would have recommended it to be printed. I hope the House will have the good sense to vote for the motion of my hon. friend from Kennebec, and have this portion of the report referred back to the committee for reconsideration.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—I quite agree with the hon. gentleman from Kennebec when he says that this report is not merely a report from Montreal, but contains information of importance for every part of the Dominion. I am informed that the cost of obtaining this report has been something like \$20,000. It is a

great pity that so valuable a report should not be printed, and the public should not get the benefit of it for the comparatively trifling cost of having it printed.

HON. MR. VIDAL—What is the question before the House.

THE SPEAKER—The question before the House was the adoption of the report, and the report was carried. But the leader of the House asked the indulgence of the House afterwards, that the report should not be considered as adopted. On that there was a motion by the hon. gentleman from Kennebec to refer the report back to the committee for reconsideration, and a suggestion by the hon. gentleman from Montarville that it should be printed by the Department of Public Works.

HON. MR. VIDAL—Admitting the desirability of making this report public, by having a large number of copies printed and distributed, I contend that the motion to refer the report back to the committee will not accomplish that object. In the first place, as the hon. gentleman from Halifax has stated, if it be referred back to committee it must be with a positive instruction to report in this direction, because that committee, after being well attended, and after a full discussion of the matter, decided by a large majority that it was not expedient to have it printed, and consequently the instruction would need to be very specific, that it was not only to be reconsidered but it was to be printed. Then we have to consider that the Printing Committee is a joint committee, and not one under the absolute jurisdiction of this Chamber. We do not know but at this moment the report is adopted in the other House, and what would be our position if we were to direct the report to be sent back to the committee? If it has been adopted already by the other branch of Parliament would it be possible to get that committee to meet again and present a report at this very late period of the Session; consequently, those gentlemen who are anxious to have this matter printed are taking the wrong course to attain that object. The proposition of the hon. gentleman from Montarville would secure the publication of it, and secure it, as the hon. gentleman from Halifax has said, by the right party—that is, the

Minister of Public Works. It is not a matter for us to consider as parliamentary printing.

HON. MR. MILLER—Whether the report is to be considered parliamentary printing or not is of little consequence, when there appears on our Journal a record denying the publication and afterwards a resolution recommending to the Government the publication of it. There will be some inconsistency in it, but the difficulty stated by the hon. gentleman from Sarnia is very great—the impossibility, perhaps, of getting the Joint Committee together at this late period of the Session; therefore, we might as well allow the slight inconsistency to pass—let the report go and the resolution carry. It is the only course I think that will attain the object which hon. gentlemen have in view who desire the publication of this document.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—I do not think the motion of the hon. gentleman from Montarville will accomplish the object at all. If we accept the report, and pass it as it is now, that will be the end of it. I certainly do not agree with the hon. gentleman from Sarnia when he says this is not properly parliamentary printing. If it is not, I do not know what is parliamentary printing. We certainly have a great many documents printed that are very much less parliamentary printing than this report is. I cannot see any reason why the committee cannot meet to-morrow morning.

HON. MR. MILLER—Have you any certainty that they will meet?

HON. MR. OGILVIE—There is a chance of it.

HON. MR. MILLER—If they did meet, and reiterated their report, it would be very difficult for us to take any other course than to follow their recommendation.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—Supposing we do not adopt the report, and they are not able to deal with it this Session, will it not leave the matter open until next Session?

HON. MR. VIDAL

HON. MR. MILLER—The difference is this: by adopting the report we decide that this paper is not parliamentary printing, and by adopting the resolution of the hon. gentleman from Montarville we make it departmental printing, which the Minister, if he chose to do so, might accept in that way and publish the report.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—We have been asked this morning about the expense of the Senate and House of Commons. If this report is printed by order of the Joint Committee the expense of it will be charged to the Senate and House of Commons; while if the other course is adopted, and the printing is done by the department, it will be an apparent economy. But we should not say we do not want to expend that money ourselves; we think the department ought to make the expenditure. That is not a very consistent argument. The hon. gentleman from Alma thinks there is no difficulty in referring the report back to the Joint Committee with instructions, but in order to do so we would have to send a message to the House of Commons, which would take another day, and the proposition is to prorogue to-morrow. In the other House there might be a discussion on our message, and those members who voted against the printing of this report might not see the importance of recommending its being printed, as we do here. As every member here is in favor of the report being printed we ought to take the shortest course to have it done, and the shortest course is to ask the Government to do it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I may state that in the other House the report has not been adopted, and it is the intention of the chairman of the committee to move a reconsideration of that clause.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—Supposing it comes up in the Commons to-morrow, and the House refuses to reconsider the report?

THE SPEAKER—The question is now on the motion to refer the report back for a reconsideration of that clause.

The motion was agreed to.

EXPENDITURES IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATION.

REFERRED BACK TO COMMITTEE.

The Order of the Day being called—

Consideration of the report of the Joint Committee of both Houses on the expenditure in respect to legislation and the practicability of reducing the same.

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: The more I think of this report the more I am satisfied that it ought to contain a similar statement of the position of the Commons to that which it contains with reference to the Senate, and by means of a similar schedule. I know that such a schedule was prepared, and I cannot understand its absence from the report. There are a few figures I would like to give the House in making this remark, that will show the importance of the schedule:

THE SENATE.

1877—Total expenditure.....	\$ 135,614 90
1888. “ “	159,320 88

Total increase in 11 years...\$ 23,705 98

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1877. Total expenditure.....	\$ 357,743 95
1888. “ “	491,198 69

Total increase in 11 years...\$133,454 74

The increase in the expenditure of the Senate was about one-sixth; the increase in the expenditure of the Commons was about two-fifths. That shows the necessity for this comparative statement that was spoken of at the meeting earlier to-day. I therefore move that the report be not now considered, but that it be referred back to the said committee, in order that there may be appended thereto a schedule of the officers of the House of Commons, and their salaries, similar to that contained with regard to the Senate in Schedule “A” of the said report.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the motion is a very proper and desirable one, but before it is adopted I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if there is any truth in the statement which has been made, that in the other Chamber they do not propose to proceed with the consideration of the report this year?

HON. MR. MILLER—I do not think the hon. gentleman's question is in order. It

is very desirable, whatever the fate of this report may be, that such a schedule should be got in and annexed to the report; therefore, I do not think it is prudent just now—I will not say it is improper—to put any question at present with regard to what has occurred in reference to this report in the House of Commons.

HON. MR. WARK—I would like to call the attention of members of the committee of this House to a very singular anomaly in the report. It is recommended that in future appointments the salaries of chief messenger, door-keeper and Speaker's messenger are to begin at \$400, while other messengers, receiving \$500, if promoted to the position of permanent messengers, must begin at a lower salary than they were receiving as ordinary sessional messengers. I think that is an anomaly which ought not to exist; they ought to begin at \$500, when promoted to permanent messengers, the salary they would be receiving at the time of their promotion.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. POWER—Now that this motion is adopted, I think it is perfectly in order to ask the question which I put a moment ago.

HON. MR. MILLER—I think it puts the House in a false position. If the report comes back to us, then anything can be said.

HON. MR. POWER—I fail to see that there is anything improper in asking the question. We have just been dealing with the report of another joint committee, which was not in the same position as this at all, and it was not thought improper to go to the other Chamber to ascertain what position that report was in, and the leader came back and informed us of the exact position in which the report stood. Why should there be any inconsistency in treating this report in the same way? We know that this report has not been adopted in the other House, and that its consideration has been postponed, and I only wish to elicit the information in a more authoritative way.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I do not know anything about what has been done in the other House officially; I have only learned

it as any other hon. gentleman might learn it, in conversation with members of the other House, but not from a Minister. They do not follow the same plan there as we do here. The report is laid on the Table of the House there, and it is called up if any one chooses to do so.

HON. MR. MILLER—The two reports referred to by the hon. gentleman from Halifax are not in the same position at all. The first report is a report that is still before the House of Commons, and is likely to be entertained and passed. If the statement of the hon. gentleman with regard to this report be correct, it would appear absurd for us to send it back to the committee for re-consideration, and it would defeat the very laudable and desirable object the leader of the House has in getting a comparative statement of the expenditure of the two Houses into that report. If it is adopted, it stands on the Journals of this House and the House of Commons, and this list of the salaries of the Senate, though it looks very large by itself in the report, will appear insignificant when placed in juxtaposition to a similar statement of the salaries of the House of Commons. That is the reason why I did not wish my hon. friend to make any inquiry with regard to the action of the House of Commons: it might make us appear inconsistent in asking to amend a report which was virtually dropped, because if it is dropped in the House of Commons it may be considered dropped as in both Houses.

The Senate adjourned at 4:05 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Wednesday, 1st May, 1889.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at eleven o'clock, a. m.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

THE PRINTING OF PARLIAMENT.

NINTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ADOPTED.

HON. MR. READ (Quinté) presented the Ninth Report of the Joint Committee on Printing of Parliament, and moved that it be adopted.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. MILLER—The Joint Committee on Printing has made no alteration in the report with reference to the report on the floods of the St. Lawrence River at Montreal.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I move that the report be not now concurred in, but that clause 36 of the report be referred back to the committee.

HON. MR. MILLER—That has been done already.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I understand that if this is adopted the chairman has power, under the general authority, to order the publication of that report.

HON. MR. POWER—No.

HON. MR. MILLER—The only way in which it can be done is to adopt this report, and then pass a resolution recommending that the report be printed by the Department. The difficulty could be got over by treating it, not as parliamentary printing, but as departmental printing, and referring it to the Department of Public Works.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—The committee on printing met, on reference by the Senate of this subject, once more, and a member of the House of Commons told me that the subject had been discussed in the other House, and they had declined to order the printing.

HON. MR. MILLER—We cannot take any statement of that kind.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—It was contended in this House yesterday that if we adopted the report we could not refer it back, and there would be a sort of contradiction on the Journals if we pass a resolution recommending that the report should be printed by the Department of Public Works. I can see no contradiction in adopting a report which says that this paper, which is not considered parliamentary printing, shall not be printed by the order of the House of Commons and the Senate, and in our passing a resolution recommending that it shall be printed by the Department.

HON. MR. MILLER—The Printing Committee only deals with parliamentary

printing, and the adoption of this report does not prevent the House from recommending the Department to print this document.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—If we referred the report back to the House of Commons somebody might rise there and say: "We have already decided that this document shall not be printed;" whereas, by adopting my motion the document will be printed by the Department and the expense will be no greater, because it has to be borne by the Government, whether it is printed by Parliament or by the Department.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I move that an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor in Council, praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause the report on the floods of the St. Lawrence at Montreal to be printed, with the plans and diagrams thereto attached.

The motion was agreed to.

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

MOTION.

The Order of the Day being called for—

Consideration of Message from House of Commons with Address to Her Majesty *re* the westerly, northerly and easterly boundaries of the Province of Ontario.—(Hon. Mr. Abbott).

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that this House do agree with the House of Commons in the said Address by filling up the blank therein with the words "Senate and."

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Speaker do sign the said Address on behalf of this House.

The motion was agreed to.

OCEAN STEAMSHIP SUBSIDIES BILL.

SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (144), "An Act relating to Ocean Steamship Subsidies." He said: This is a subject with which, no doubt,

every member of this House is familiar. It is a Bill introduced for the purpose of carrying out the policy of the Government with respect to the improvement of our means of communication with distant countries, and it comprises proposals for three subsidies—one for a fortnightly service between British Columbia and the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, for a term of years not exceeding ten, for a subsidy not to exceed £25,000 per annum, but with the option to the Government, if they are not able to secure a fortnightly service, to make a monthly service for a subsidy in proportion to the grant for the fortnightly service. The second proposition is to establish a fortnightly steamship service between British Columbia and China and Japan, for a subsidy not to exceed £25,000 per annum, or if they do not succeed in establishing a fortnightly service, then for a monthly service, for a subsidy not exceeding £15,000 per annum. But this assistance is proposed to be given on condition that the Government of the United Kingdom grants a subsidy of not less than £45,000 for a monthly service, and not less than £70,000 for a fortnightly service. The third proposal is for the performance of a fast weekly steamship service between Canada and the United Kingdom, making connection with a French port, for a subsidy not exceeding \$500,000 a year. Every hon. gentleman understands the importance of these propositions as well as I do, and I content myself by moving that the Bill be now read a second time.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—I would like to ask the leader of the Government why the sum proposed to be granted to those lines of steamers is put down in the first two clauses of the Bill in pounds, instead of dollars, while in the last clause it is in dollars? I thought we had outgrown the pounds, shillings and pence system.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I presume, as regards the second clause, it is because it is intended to be a joint subsidy with England, and it is more convenient to state the subsidy in pounds than in dollars, and I presume that there was some hope of assistance in the same way for the first

proposition. The other is purely a matter for our own consideration, and we anticipate no share by anybody in it, and therefore we state the amount in our own currency.

HON. MR. POWER—This House can reject this Bill, but I am afraid from what I know of the character and complexion of the Senate it is not likely to do so. We cannot alter it, and I do not suppose there is very much use talking about it; still, looking at the immense sum of money which this Bill proposes to dispose of, I do not think it should be allowed to go through without some observation. We have during the next two or three hours to vote some \$50,000,000, and we cannot devote a great deal of time even to a measure of such consequence as this. The Bill itself and the resolutions upon which it was based were discussed at considerable length in the other House, and it is not probable that anything new will be said here; but I wish merely to express, as briefly as I can, my views on the three clauses of this Bill. The first clause authorizes the Governor in Council to grant to any individual or company:

“A subsidy not exceeding the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling per annum, to assist in establishing an effective fortnightly steamship service between British Columbia and the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, or such proportion thereof as may be decided on by the Governor in Council, to assist in establishing a monthly service with the said countries, such subsidy to be granted for such term of years, not exceeding ten, and on such conditions as the Governor in Council considers expedient.”

One hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars represents a pretty large capital—about two millions and three-quarters. It is a very large amount for a country of five millions, not particularly wealthy, to pay, and it should not be paid unless the country is going to get value for the money. We have no evidence whatever that the Dominion is going to get value for this money. The hon. gentleman from Midland division, who devoted a great deal of attention to this matter, in his speech made in the earlier part of the Session, indicated that there was not much reason to expect a very extensive trade with Australia or New Zealand. We know that we have not now an extensive trade with those countries. The fact is, that the whole exports of Canada to the Australasian Colo-

nies during the last fiscal year was not much more than the amount we propose to pay to this line of steamships. I think it is an extreme and indefensible policy for a country situated as Canada is to undertake to pay a subsidy to a line of steamers, an amount which is nearly as great as the total trade with the country to which those steamers are to ply. I know it was attempted to be shown in another place, when this objection was taken, that some one particular company had, during the last twelve months, sent large quantities of goods to Australia; and it was alleged that though these goods had not gone from Canada to Australia direct, they had gone first to England from Canada, and then had gone from England to Australia. In reply to that it was shown that the total export of agricultural implements from Canada did not amount to the sum mentioned as having been sent by one firm. No doubt it was a very well meant effort, as it was said, to boom one particular company who manufacture agricultural implements in the Province of Ontario. As to the second subsidy, to a line of steamers between British Columbia and China and Japan, I did not feel prepared to vote against that; because the Imperial Parliament, which, although dealing with immensely larger sums than this Parliament does, is very much more careful in voting money than our Parliament is, proposes to grant three times the sum which Canada proposes to vote as a subsidy to this line. I am fairly well satisfied that if the Imperial Parliament grant £75,000 to a line of steamers running between British Columbia, China and Japan that will be a fairly satisfactory line, and that it will be in the interests of the Empire. Although it might be more in the interests of the Empire than in our interests, still we may conclude that if it is worth £75,000 a year to Great Britain it will be worth £25,000 to Canada. I notice that this Bill contains the following language: “That this subsidy is to be granted on such conditions as the Governor in Council considers expedient.” I trust that the Governor in Council will see that the ships are of the proper character, and that there are such provisions in the contract as will protect the interests of British Columbia and Canada generally. For instance, the contract

should contain a provision that those steamers should call either at Esquimalt or Victoria.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Why?

HON. MR. POWER—Simply because Victoria is the principal city in British Columbia, and British Columbia is the Province for whose benefit this subsidy is chiefly intended.

HON. MR. McINNES—Yes; but Victoria is not British Columbia, by any means.

HON. MR. POWER—I am quite aware that Victoria is not British Columbia, but the steamers will have to pass by Esquimalt, which is practically the harbor for Victoria, and calling at Esquimalt will cause very little delay in the trip. I think it is the more reasonable to require that the steamers should call at Esquimalt, when we find in the next clause of the Bill the provision that steamers going to England shall make connection with a French port. The 3rd clause is very like the sort of work that the Canadian Government has been in the habit of doing. We propose to spend the immense sum of \$500,000 a year for the purpose of securing a fast line of steamers between Canada and the United Kingdom. That is a matter the desirability of which is open to discussion, whether any line of steamers, no matter how swift, between Great Britain and Canada, would be worth \$500,000 a year to this country. That is a matter which may be discussed; but what do we do in the very measure which provides for this? We say that that line shall make connection with a French port. Hon. gentlemen will see that this provision must, to a certain extent, defeat the very object of the Bill.

HON. MR. CARVELL—No.

HON. MR. POWER—I say it must. If that line of steamers makes connection with a French port the steamers must either call at a French port between Canada and the terminal point in Great Britain, or they must go from Great Britain to a port in France.

HON. MR. CARVELL—No.

HON. MR. POWER—Then perhaps the hon. gentleman will tell me what will be done?

HON. MR. CARVELL—A vessel leaves Canada for Liverpool, making a fast passage to that port. Then, before returning to Canada she goes to a French port, but that does not in any way interfere with the fast passage across the Atlantic.

HON. MR. POWER—That is exactly what I stated: I said that either the steamers must call first at a French port and afterwards at a port in Great Britain, or call at a British port and then proceed to a French port. When I gave way to the hon. gentleman to hear his explanation I thought it was barely possible that some arrangement might be made by which a subsidiary line of steamers would run from the terminal port in England to a French port. Now, I contend that the condition imposed by this Bill must, to a very great extent, render this scheme useless. If a line of steamers is to call at a French port between Canada and Great Britain then it cannot be a swift line of steamers to Great Britain; it cannot be a line that will make anything like the fast time that is made between New York and Great Britain. If the steamers run, say to Liverpool—although that would be a rather out-of-the-way port if they are going to France—or if they run to Southampton and then to France, what is the effect? It is not a line of steamers so much between Great Britain and Canada as between France and Canada. The terminal port will be in France and, of course, this line of steamers will not have the same opportunities of getting freight and generally increasing trade between this country and Great Britain as they would have if the terminal port was in England. What was the object of putting in that provision to call at France? We have practically no trade with France. It is a protectionist country, like Canada. France buys almost nothing from us, and we buy but little from France. The few costly goods that we buy from France can be imported from England about as cheaply as direct. What is the object of putting that provision in the Bill? It is simply an illustration of the way in which this country is governed. Because there may happen to be some gentlemen from the Province of Quebec, with so little sense as to suppose—

Hon. Mr. ROSS—Order.

Hon. Mr. POWER—If the hon. gentleman says that he is one of those gentlemen, I admit that I am out of order; if not, I claim that I am in order. There may be some gentlemen from the Province of Quebec who suppose that this calling at a French port will be of some special benefit to the Province of Quebec; but it will not, because there is little trade between France and Quebec, and almost no immigration from France to this country, and I understand from gentlemen representing Quebec that the little immigration there has been from France to that Province has been in a great degree of a character that is not desirable. The fact is, the population of France increases almost not at all, and the people who are desirable citizens remain at home. There is no earthly object in putting this condition in the Bill, except just this idea, that possibly it might captivate some members from the Province of Quebec, and for that absurd idea the Government has dealt an almost fatal blow to the object of the Bill. They have inserted a condition in this Bill which will render this subsidy almost nugatory. As I said before, there may be doubt as to whether a country like Canada, with a population of 5,000,000, and not a particularly rich population at that, as justified in paying such a large sum as this for the purpose of getting a swift line of steamers to Great Britain. I do not really see that it makes very much difference to the merchants of Montreal or Toronto whether their mails come to them by New York or directly. If they get their mails in a week from England I think it makes very little difference to them which way they come. It is very desirable, other things being equal, that we should get those things directly, but the difference is not worth \$500,000 a year. It is well known that those ocean greyhounds do not carry any large quantity of freight, and the business we want with England is a freight business. We want to send our products to England, and we want to get goods from England as rapidly as convenient; but those ocean greyhounds will not bring the goods. They will bring the mails about as quickly as they come to New York, and they will bring passengers a little more

quickly than they come directly now. It was shown, I think, satisfactorily in another place that it would be much more advantageous to Canada to put on a line of steamers which would make about 17 knots an hour, and which would carry large quantities of freight at reasonable rates, than it would to put on a line of steamers that would make 19 or 20 knots an hour. We could get, for half the amount that is indicated in this Bill, a line of steamers capable of making 17 knots an hour.

HON. MR. MILLER—So we could get the water stretches for half the amount that the railway cost us.

HON. MR. POWER—I do not think the hon. gentleman need go back to the water stretches. I say this: we have not time to discuss this matter here as it ought to be discussed. I have heard the hon. gentleman many a time inveighing against the conduct of the Government in bringing down important measures to this House when there was no opportunity of discussing them, and I quite concurred with him; and I think there has rarely been a Session in which that has been done to such an extent as the present Session. Nearly all the important measures are still to come before us. There is no time to argue the question out; but I say that a line of steamers capable of making 17 knots an hour—that is about 1 knot an hour more than the "Parisian" and the "Vancouver" do—and capable of carrying large quantities of freight, would be a line more advantageous to Canada than this line which is provided for here, that is, supposing that this line made 19 or 20 knots an hour. That line could be secured for \$250,000 a year, I understand, half the subsidy mentioned in this Bill; the line would be better for us than the swifter line—that is, supposing this line to be a swift one. There is no reason to suppose that this will be a very swift line, owing to the provision for calling at a French port. I have not seen the terms of the contract myself, but I heard them quoted in another place, and the advertisement for tenders does not say that the steamships shall make 19 or 20 knots: it says that they shall be capable of making 19 or 20 knots; and

the advertisement mentions certain numbers of hours within which these steamers shall make their trips; and it happens that 17-knot steamships can make the passages in the time mentioned in the resolutions in another Chamber. So that really we are giving away \$250,000 for nothing. We cannot amend this Bill, and there is no chance of its being thrown out. I simply have said on the subject what I wished to say without preparation, because I did not know that this measure was on the Orders of the Day until I came into the Chamber. When we find that we have been giving away a great deal of money with very little return, I wish to have on record the fact that the Bill did not pass in this Chamber without an objection being raised to some of its provisions.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I tried to explain to the hon. gentleman why the calling at a French port would not prevent this line of steamers from making fast passages, but he did not seem to be able to understand. He can, perhaps, understand that that portion of the passage from Canada to France *via* Southampton, which is beyond Southampton, may be regarded as a loop—that the passage from Canada to England is made rapidly, and before returning from Southampton to Canada the steamer makes a trip to a French port. He must see that that in no way interferes with the rapidity of the passage called for by this Bill. I should think he understands that.

HON. MR. POWER—I quite understand it.

HON. MR. CARVELL—It is not that the steamer goes to France first and calls at an English port on the way back; it is a loop. As for the merits of the Bill, my hon. friend talks about his not caring for it, and not believing in it. It is a purely commercial question, and whenever my hon. friend attempts to interfere in such matters he shows that he does not know much about them. There is a general, if not unanimous feeling in this country, that the ocean travel should come through Canada and not go through the United States. There is just one way to get it, and that is by a line of fast steamers, which I think the Government are very much to

be commended for attempting to get, and I hope they will succeed in attaining their object.

HON. MR. MILLER—I agree with the opening remarks of the hon. member from Halifax, that there is very little light to be thrown on this question. It has been so thoroughly discussed elsewhere that anything that could be said here would be a mere repetition of what has been said elsewhere. I therefore do not intend to trouble the House with many observations upon the question, but I cannot refrain from stating my opinion as to the remarkable similarity of the views expressed to-day by the hon. gentleman to those uttered elsewhere by members of the party to which he belongs, with regard to a fast line of steamers. The same line of argument is employed that we had to listen to in the early days of the Canadian Pacific Railway undertaking. We all know what prophecies were indulged in by some hon. gentlemen in regard to that work and the possibility of its completion. Some of them went so far as to say that forty years would not see the completion of that road—that the living generation in Canada would not see it; that it was going to swamp the country irretrievably in debt, and that people would never sustain the burden laid upon them in its construction. The road which we were told would tax the resources of the British Empire to complete it within the stipulated time was afterwards completed by a company in half the time, and every one must recognize the fact that the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway has greatly increased the prosperity of the country. It is a work that is looked upon by the whole civilized world as the greatest enterprise of the age, and it has done more to raise Canada in the estimation of the other portions of the Empire and the world at large than anything that has ever happened in our history. That work has been completed, and it is an indispensable necessity, in my humble opinion, in order to secure the full enjoyment and realization of the great benefits that we expect to flow from the undertaking, that the complement of that work, the subsidizing of fast steamers on the Pacific and Atlantic ocean, should be undertaken by the Government. I am

glad to see that the Government have proved themselves, in regard to this service, as much abreast of the times and as far-seeing as they were in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and although the trade with Australia, which may in the first instance be accommodated by the Canadian Pacific Railway may not be large, I believe in time that a trade will be developed between this country and that great dependency of the Crown which will fully justify the Government in granting the subsidy. So also with the subsidy to the line between British Columbia and China and Japan. I believe we are destined, in the nearer future than many of us suppose, to open a trade with the countries of the East which have enriched, in ancient and modern times, some of the great Maritime powers of Europe. I am glad, therefore, that this service has been undertaken, and I am sorry to find the hon. member from Halifax (Mr. Power) expressing a desire to substitute a class of steamers which would not carry out the purpose or realize the objects with the Government have in view in connection with this service. I am sorry to see that position assumed by that hon. gentleman, above all others, because the city from which he comes, the interests of which he is always, I believe, devotedly attached to, will be largely benefited by this subsidy to the Atlantic Mail service. I shall not follow the hon. gentleman in his arguments on the various clauses of the Bill. The House does not require any answer to what he says, and the only point which merited a reply was fully answered by the plain, common sense statement of the hon. gentleman from Charlottetown. The idea that the service will not be a fast one because the vessels must call at a French port is so absurd that it hardly requires an answer. The same argument was used elsewhere, and received no attention from the audience to which it was addressed. I rejoice that the Government have on this question, as on the Canadian Pacific Railway, had the wisdom and the foresight to adopt the policy which is a true one, I believe, in this country, and which in time will confer benefits that will justify the large expenditures we have made, not only in

the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but also on these mail services.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—After the speech to which we have just listened I do not think it is necessary for me to trouble the House at any length in reply to the remarks of the hon. member from Halifax.

HON. MR. POWER—Hear, hear.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon friend seems pleased at the prospect; if I should follow all the remarks which he made, and show the pessimistic way he has spoken of this route and the advantages to be derived from it, I think he would not feel very proud of his utterances. The whole design of this Bill is that Canada shall be the great highway for the trade between the eastern part of the continent of Asia and the western part, at least, of the continent of Europe. That is the design and object of this Bill; and if that is accomplished, as I believe it will be, we can hardly conceive the vast advantage that it must be to Canada. The benefits cannot be reckoned in pounds, shillings and pence merely. The object of this Bill is not to subsidize freight steamers to compete with lines of that kind that are already in existence. It is for a different object altogether. I believe it will exemplify that this is the shortest, the best and the most expeditious route between Europe and Asia. If that can be done by putting on steamers equal to those which ply between New York and England we should do it, and not make us, as the hon. gentleman seems yet to desire to make us, dependent on United States ports. My hon. friend says that this is not desired by the merchants of this country. I think the merchants and all public men interested in the welfare of Canada have spoken in terms not to be misunderstood. This question has been before the country, and has been agitated for some time, and the country has endorsed the policy of the Government in subsidizing a line of steamers for this service. Nothing can be more important to us than to have such a line. If it is established it will tend still more to make the Dominion the greatest and grandest part of the Empire. Already we have,

HON. MR. MILLER.

by the Canadian Pacific Railway, attained a position which before its construction we could hardly have expected to reach, and this progress we owe to a Government who have confidence in our future, who were equal to the occasion, and have marched in the line of progress since they took the reins of power. When this line of steamers is established and the short line is completed through to Halifax, we will be on the great highway between Asia and Europe, and Canada will take bounds in prosperity and greatness which we have not yet realized. With regard to the steamships calling at a French port, as I understand, the object is not only to establish a service with Great Britain, but to connect with western Europe, and my hon. friend's argument has failed to convince me that the fast service will be interfered with by making the connection with France. With regard to the port on the British Columbia coast, it is something with which we have nothing to do. Great Britain pays the largest part of the subsidy; what we have to show is that ours is the shortest and best route. The Government would probably have made shipwreck of this enterprise if they had endeavored to clog it with any such restriction as has been suggested. I have been on the British Columbia coast, and I do not see how vessels could call at all the ports that have been named—Victoria, Esquimalt and Vancouver. To impose such a condition would imperil, probably, the object we have in establishing a line which is to secure the best possible highway between Asia and Europe.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I do not rise to answer the objection of the hon. member from Halifax, that we ought not to have any communication with France, but I would remark that last year we had steamers going to France which received a subsidy from the Government. That subsidy has been discontinued, and I think it is only fair, since we do not get direct communication, that we should have indirect communication in the manner proposed by this Bill.

HON. MR. POWER—Would the hon. gentleman be kind enough to tell the House how much business that French line did?

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I have just stated that I do not intend to answer the objection of the hon. gentleman, and therefore I need not say any more on that question. I want to call the attention of the Government to the fact that the French version of the Bill is different, in clause 3, from the English version. In the English Bill, it is not necessary that the vessel leaving Halifax or Montreal shall go to Great Britain and then to France; it will be sufficient if there is another steamer which will go from the English port to France. That was the case with the Cunard line. I have gone myself from France to England by a vessel of that line and then taken another steamer of the line for America. I do not know whether it is intended that one of the terms of the contract shall be that the steamers leaving this country shall go first to England and then to France, or if the Government will be satisfied with these steamers making connection at an English port with other steamers for France. If the interpretation which I have given is correct, then we must amend the French version.

HON. MR. TRUDEL—Would it not be more advantageous to the trade of the country to have a direct steamer, than to require transshipment at an English port?

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I have merely called attention to the fact.

HON. MR. ROSS—I would not have spoken if it had not been for some remarks made by the hon. gentleman from Halifax. In the first place, I may say that I approve entirely of these ocean steamship subsidies. I think the country will gain far more from the service than the amount to be expended upon it. The hon. gentleman from Halifax does not seem to understand, or does not want to understand, why the steamers should stop at a French port.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not say that; I think I understood it very well.

HON. MR. ROSS—He does not want to understand how they can call at a French port without lengthening the time of the passage across the Atlantic. If the hon. member had been disposed to understand the question he would have been

satisfied with the explanation given by the hon. member from Prince Edward Island. I think it is as clear as daylight. To call at a French port would throw no obstacle whatever in the way of a rapid passage from Halifax to a British port, and would not lengthen the time of the passage by one single minute. As to the remark made by the hon. gentleman about the Province of Quebec, or rather the members representing that Province—that in his opinion they are deficient in common sense—I think it was a remark which was very uncalled for. The members from Quebec Province have on all occasions proved that they have as much common sense as my hon. friend and perhaps on more than one occasion they have proved that they possess more common sense than the hon. gentleman has shown on this occasion. I repeat that the remarks of the hon. member were altogether uncalled for.

HON. MR. DEVER—It was a blunder.

HON. MR. ROSS—I do not know that that word would be parliamentary.

HON. MR. POWER—I never said that the members from the Province of Quebec had not common sense.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—It was the people.

HON. MR. POWER—I never made such a statement. I said that in a certain contingency they would not display common sense.

HON. MR. ROSS—I leave it to the House to say if the hon. gentleman's language did not convey the idea that I have expressed. He said that this was put in the Bill to please the members from the Province of Quebec, and that in designing it they showed a lack of common sense. Members who would insist upon a course which is not sensible must be deficient in common sense themselves: that is the interpretation I put upon his words, and I believe that they could not be interpreted in any other way. The hon. member goes on to say that we have nothing to expect from France—that France does not produce anything that we could import with advantage.

HON. MR. POWER—I did not say anything of the kind.

HON. MR. ROSS.

HON. MR. ROSS—If the hon. gentleman's remark means anything, that is the meaning.

HON. MR. POWER—I must object to the hon. gentleman putting language in my mouth which I did not use. I said we had no trade with France. I do not object to my words being quoted, but no hon. member, not even a member from the Province of Quebec, is justified in attributing to me language which I did not use.

HON. MR. ROSS—I suppose the members from the Province of Quebec would have as little right to do anything of the kind as the representatives of any other Province. I am here to protect the interests and defend the reputation of the Province of Quebec and of its members in Parliament.

HON. MR. POWER—They have not been attacked.

HON. MR. PELLETIER—Take the facts as they are.

HON. MR. ROSS—I have done so, and I have given to the language of the hon. gentleman the interpretation which I think it bears. I shall be very glad to hear the hon. member give another interpretation of his remarks and prove to the House and to the country that he has a better opinion of the people of the Province of Quebec than he has expressed to-day. No doubt the trade with France at this moment is not large, but the intention of the Government and of Parliament is to increase that trade, to give all the facilities possible for its development. France produces a great many articles that we require in this country, and there is no doubt that we produce a great deal that would find a ready market in France. Under the circumstances, the facilities which this Bill proposes to furnish for the establishment of a trade between the two countries ought to develop a large traffic, and therefore the members from the Province of Quebec, if there are any who have insisted upon having the steamers call at a French port, have shown a great deal more common sense than my hon. friend has displayed in the remarks he has made on this question.

HON. MR. READ—Now that the difficulty between the hon. gentleman from Halifax and the members from the Province of Quebec is settled, permit me to say that this Bill has my hearty co-operation. I think the Government are acting wisely in trying to establish a steamship service between this country and Australasia, that a trade may spring up between us which has not existed up to the present time, by having a line on the Pacific, because our great North-West will produce directly large quantities of produce which will find an outlet on the Pacific when those facilities are afforded for which this Bill provides. I notice by the papers that certain products of this country have been shipped to China and have been favorably disposed of there. We are able to produce largely the articles that I refer to, and will have a market of four hundred millions of people, which we could not half supply. Japan is becoming, I might say, Americanized in the habits and in the mode of living of its people. In that country they do not consume animal food in proportion to their population, or to the same extent as it is consumed in America, but if the Japanese begin to dress as Americans do, and live as Americans do, there is no doubt they will consume largely such products as we can send to them by this line of steamships. Coming down to the third clause of the Bill, it provides for a fast steamship service between Canada and the United Kingdom, making connection with a French port. It can be done easily. It can be done with the same vessels. I look forward to London being the ultimate destination of this steamship line, and not Liverpool; the steamers will touch at Southampton and go over to France. London will receive a large proportion of the freight that these steamers will take over from this country, especially food supplies, for those Englishmen are great eaters—they have four meals a day and a supper at night, and provisions from Canada will be delivered by this line direct to the consumers in good condition. If Anderson & Anderson are the contractors who are to perform this service they will make London their terminus. However, that is merely a speculation on my part. I congratulate the Government on having pre-

sent such a Bill for our consideration, and I will give it my hearty support, believing that we should keep abreast of the times. We need not be at all afraid of an expenditure like this. If Canada forty years ago could afford to grant \$400,000 a year for a steamship service, surely \$500,000 a year now, after Confederation, and after forty years of increase in wealth and population, will not be a burden on the people. Nothing conduced more to the prosperity of the country than the subsidies we granted to the Allan Line.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I need scarcely say that I approve heartily of the subsidies which are proposed to be granted for these services. It is perfectly unnecessary to renew the reasons why I so thoroughly approve of them, because they have been stated sufficiently and admirably by the hon. gentlemen who have preceded me. I only rise to point out that the last clause in the subsidy proposed to be given in the English version of the Bill does not at all bear the construction that one would put upon the French version of the Bill—that the steamers shall proceed either before or after reaching their terminal port to France. It seems to me that communication with the French port is simply a question of money.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman will see that we are bound by the French version where there is a doubt as to the meaning of this Bill.

HON. MR. MILLER—Not at all.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—I think the hon. gentleman from Montarville has wisely directed the attention of the Government to the discrepancy between the French and English versions of the Bill. If the language of the English version means anything it seems to me that the service between the terminal point in England and a port in France might be performed by a tributary line of steamships, and hon. gentlemen will readily conceive that the contractor who tenders for this service will, at the same time, be bound to consider the effect of having the service done in the steamships of their line. Steamers which are capable of being termed, in the modern phraseology,

fast steamships, are enormously expensive, and to have one of them discharge two-thirds of her cargo and passengers in an English port, and then proceed with the remainder to a French port, would simply entail the necessity for another steamer—that the service, instead of being done by four steamships, would require five to perform it. I do not know what the intention of the Government is, but it seems to me a wise thing to retain power to provide for direct communication with a French port. Not only does touching at a French port imply dealing with French business and handling French products, but it also implies the handling of a large portion of the business of the continent of Europe—Russian, Austrian and Italian—which comes to the port of Havre for shipment, and I for one should deplore that direct communication between Canada and France should be omitted in any way. At the same time, if it should entail on this country a largely increased subsidy I for one would willingly consent to have that portion of the service performed by a tributary line, and make all the connections between the original ports by regular fast steamers—“ocean greyhounds.” I fear that there is no hope whatever of London being the terminal port. The whole drift of fast ocean mail and passenger service is to make connection with the nearest and quickest port, and to require a fast line steamers to go up the Thames it appears to me would be a great mistake.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—I wish to make a few observations on this question, and in doing so I do not need to adopt the language of any party or of any individual. I have spoken on it already during the present Session, and have expressed my opinions in favor of steam communication. I did so on a former occasion also, and pointed expressly to the great advantages that would probably be derived by cultivating the still unexhausted resources of the East, and for that reason I am quite prepared to say that a large expenditure would be justified in promoting steam communication on the Atlantic and the Pacific and towards the Australasian waters. But having said this much, I do not see that I am called upon to express unlimited praise of the Government for

doing so. I think their manner of doing it is objectionable in many respects. In the first place, they call upon this House, which contains many men of business experience, who have crossed the Atlantic Ocean many times, and have seen the progress of steam navigation from childhood to what it has reached at the present day, to vote for a line of fast steamers; but these facilities must be adapted to localities in which they are used. A steamer making 18 knots an hour at sea may answer very well for steaming from the Port of New York, where large numbers of first-class passengers offer, and abundance of fast freight. Not many days ago I had in my hand a return emanating from the Post Office Department in New York. They do not subsidize steamers there, but they pay for sending their mails across, and always select the fastest steamers. In this way their office affords a record of the time spent at sea by the different steamers to and from that port, and it is found by experience that the fastest liners at the present time are the “Etruria” and “Umbria,” and these two vessels make on an average 18 knots or more an hour at sea. They can carry nearly 600 first-class passengers, which is, of course, a large source of revenue for them; but it is alleged that their extreme speed is attained at a cost which is scarcely justified by the returns. Now, are we as prepared to own or organize a steamship line of that description between Halifax and Great Britain and a port in France? I think it is quite possible, by extensive advertising and influencing certain interests, that a large number of persons may be induced to travel on Canadian lines and take their voyage to India or Australia over the Canadian Pacific Railway; but it does seem to me to be questionable whether, to any great extent, a large increase of passengers can be obtained in that way, because the difference between our waters and the route sailed over between New York and Great Britain is very great. Even in the summer time the Gulf of St. Lawrence is not at all times very safe, and we know that in the early spring and late in the fall it is a dangerous one. When you pass the Straits of Belle Isle you get into the region of icebergs, and hon. gentlemen will admit that the risk of

encountering an iceberg in a steamer sailing at 19 knots an hour is somewhat greater than at 14 knots an hour.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The danger from icebergs is not very great.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—The hon. gentleman expects to have some experience of sailing in those waters in a few weeks, and perhaps when we meet here again he will be better able to give us an opinion on that question. There are times, as every gentleman who is in the habit of crossing the Atlantic knows, when even the comparatively small vessels we have of the Allan or Dominion line do not fill up with passengers. I have crossed myself several times when the vessels had not over one-third of the cabin passengers they were capable of carrying. Many of these were first-class vessels, and have carried royalty across the ocean—as safe, pleasant vessels as one would desire to be on; but if the exigencies of Canada require “ocean greyhounds” between the St. Lawrence and Great Britain, I, for one, am not disposed to gainsay it. I presume that those who advocate this system have weighed the matter carefully, and would not be ready to undertake the risk of putting so large a sum of money into such an enterprise unless they are satisfied that the thing is feasible. Of course, this large subsidy that we propose to give them is an important factor in the matter. It is to make up for any deficiencies in the taste of passengers who decline to travel on these northern waters at dangerous periods of the year. There is one point which, it seems to me, has escaped the notice of the former speakers on this subject. I do not know whether the Government have looked into it or not, but there is one thing that might greatly reduce the cost of running these lines. As most hon. gentlemen are aware, almost all the fast steamers of the Australian and New York lines are under contract with the Admiralty to serve as cruisers in case of war. For that purpose they have a permanent subsidy, whether they are engaged or not. There are some conditions that they have to comply with, as to construction and speed of their vessels, and it is supposed that this new line, which is to

create such a change in the fortunes of Canada, will have all the requirements demanded by the Admiralty of Great Britain, and might obtain a subsidy from that source, and in that way the expense of operating them would be materially lessened. With regard to sending a fast ocean steamer to call at a French port, it would be exceedingly injudicious; for, as the hon. gentleman who spoke last observed, it would almost be necessary to employ one more vessel on the route. I have seen myself, when a vessel arrived in port on Sunday, it would at times be wanted for service again before the week was out. That would leave, supposing she had to call at a French port, no time at all, even if the port were Southampton, to dispose of her home cargo, clean out her hold, and take in a new cargo in time for departure. The natural consequence of ocean travel is that a vessel sometimes has extra delay, and if she has extra service imposed on her the probability is she will not be ready on time, and a great additional expense in keeping the vessel will be incurred if she has to call at a French port. I notice that the San Francisco and Australasian mail service is performed by three vessels, and as far as I know it is done with fair regularity; but the service is only monthly, and if any of those vessels should be disabled by accident of course it would be almost impossible for them to perform their contract. They have certain ports to call at, it is true, but they are ports which are convenient for them, lying as near as possible in their route, and they call there for coaling purposes. Although I am not disposed to coincide with the views of those gentlemen who say that the Government are entitled to great credit for bringing up this measure for promoting steam navigation on the Atlantic and Pacific, at this late period of the Session, and in a manner which still leaves it uncertain whether they intend their ocean steamers to call at a French port or not (they have not decided even at what port they shall call), I cannot see that it displays very great ability or capacity on the part of the Government, although I do not know that they are amenable to any charge for adopting inland water routes. They have acquired a very much talked of railway, and that railway, in my opinion, would be incom-

plete without the system of navigation required by modern civilization at either end. It seems to me that if the Government adopt practical lines of steamers, lines adapted for the service they are intended to perform, and do it upon moderately reasonable terms, they will have done good work for the country.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—I am quite of the opinion expressed by hon. gentlemen, that anything which facilitates the trade of the country is useful, and particularly as the hon. gentleman from Richmond mentioned, since we have a trans-continental railway a line of fast steamers at either end might be of considerable advantage. But we must remember that the expense of providing this service will be an additional burden on the tax-payers; therefore, it becomes necessary for the Government to look at the matter in all its bearings, and see that the expense does not exceed a reasonable amount, and such only as will be commensurate with the advantages. The suggestion by the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island is worthy of very grave consideration. The policy of the British Government, of having permanent arrangements with fast steamers by which their services can be utilized in time of invasion and war, would, it appears to me, reduce very largely the enormous expense incurred under this Bill. The matter of expense is one that, I trust, the Government have properly considered. It is well known to those who are at all experienced in naval architecture that the greater the speed to be acquired by steamers the greater the expense. Not only is that so as to the matter of expense, but the capacity for freight will be in the same ratio diminished. We all know that to increase the speed of a boat it requires very much more expensive and extensive machinery, and the stowage space of the boat is taken up in that way. Then we know that one element in increasing the speed is a change in the build and character of the hull. Such a change will also necessitate a reduction in the accommodation for freight. Then, again, in order to reach the limit of speed the amount of fuel required will be immensely greater. So, when we consider these different things in connection with getting "ocean greyhounds," as they are

sometimes called, we find that the fuel required will occupy nearly all the storeage room. Hence, the effort to reach a speed greater than that which our American neighbors have reached, and which seems to be the ambition of the Government, will simply provide ocean steamships of a fancy order, or of a kind which will be useful to the wealthy, who wish to travel in luxurious style and with great rapidity, but which will not inure to the benefit of the tax-payers and general public. If we are to promote trade with Great Britain or other countries we ought to see, when we are going to add a large sum to the burden of the people, that the agriculturalists and stock-raisers are accommodated, and that the producers of other natural products of the country shall have proper means of conveyance and increased facilities for shipping. I very much doubt, if we get beyond a certain limit of speed, that we shall attain those results, and while increasing the burdens of the country we are not adequately meeting the interests of those classes of the community which, it appears to me, we ought specially to endeavor to meet. As to the other point, about touching at a French port, it has been characterized properly by the hon. gentleman from Halifax, and I did not understand his allusions as other hon. gentlemen have appeared to understand him. I quite concur in the observation of the hon. gentleman from Montarville, that it would be very much better to adopt the English version of the Bill, leaving an option to the Government.

HON. MR. DEBOUCHERVILLE—I did not say that. I said there was a difference between the two, and I called the attention of the Government to the fact.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—It appears to me that a point has been missed in this discussion—that it is not the Government who are going to run this line of steamers. The question of fuel or the question of freight has nothing to do with this matter at all. The Government have decided to establish a fast line of steamers, which will run at a rate of 20 knots an hour, or something like that, and they have decided to give a subsidy to such a line for the purpose of running vessels at that rate of speed.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE.

HON. MR. POWER—The contract does not say so. It says "capable" of running at that speed.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—I understood that they were to have a line of steamers running at the rate of 18 to 20 knots an hour. I understand that a wealthy company has been formed for the purpose of establishing this service, with a capital of a couple of million of pounds sterling. It is for them to study the economy of running those steamers, whether they are going to carry freight or passengers. The object of the Government in securing a fast line of steamers is to make this a favorite route between Europe and Asia over our Pacific Railway. The hon. gentleman from Richmond hit the point exactly when he said the intention was to have a fast line of steamers to bring passengers across our continent, which, if it succeeds, will be a great benefit to our country. Travellers who otherwise would pass through the United States will pass through Canada, and will have an opportunity to see what sort of a country we have. There is no doubt a great deal of ignorance exists in Europe and elsewhere with reference to the great country which we possess in the North-West, and it is only those who have had the good fortune to see that country who can appreciate the value of that territory.

HON. MR. POWER—In view of the misconception of some of my language awhile ago, I hope the House will allow me to state just what I did say. I certainly did not intend at all to convey the idea that appears to be conveyed to the hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Ross). My statement was that apparently the Government were under the impression that there might be some gentlemen from the Province of Quebec who were so void of reason as to suppose that the Province would be in any way benefited by the insertion of this provision with respect to these steamers calling at a port of France. The hon. gentleman seemed to think that was a serious reflection on the intelligence of the gentlemen of the Province of Quebec. I did not suppose there was any member from that Province who entertained that view. I thought the Government misapprehended

the amount of good sense that the gentlemen from Quebec had. My experience in this House has been that the representatives from the Province of Quebec are just as reasonable and have just as sound judgment as gentlemen from other Provinces; and that being the case, I did not suppose that anyone of them would be capable of thinking that their Province would derive any great benefit from the provision I have referred to. I stated that there was no trade between France and Canada—that we exported nothing to France. Looking at the last Trade and Navigation Returns I find that our exports to France last year were \$397,773. I find that as far back as 1873 there were exported \$631,000 to France; that in 1879 there was exported \$714,000; in 1880, \$812,000; and we have been coming down since 1882; when the exports were \$825,000, to last year, when they were only \$397,000, and that as compared with \$40,000,000 exported to England and \$42,500,000 to the United States. This is in the face of the fact that we had a line of steamers drawing a subsidy of \$60,000 a year for the purpose of developing trade with France, and that line had been in operation for several years. It is perfectly clear we have not a trade with France; and, as a matter of fact, the Province of Quebec is not benefited by putting a provision in the contract which ought not to be there.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Scarcely a business man goes across the Atlantic that has not something to do with France in the way of business.

HON. MR. POWER—As my hon. friend has had a large business experience, I leave him to explain it to the House. This provision was inserted by the Government, acting under the impression that the people of Quebec and the gentlemen who represent Quebec in the two Chambers of the Legislature had not as much sense as they really have. Then, as to the hon. gentleman from Charlottetown (Mr. Carvell), when he rises to address the House he very often poses as a business ideal, and talks of men who do not happen to be merchants as being incapable of understanding business.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I rise to a point of order. In the first place, I never pose as an ideal business man, or a business man at all.

HON. MR. POWER—What is the point of order?

HON. MR. CARVELL—The point of order is, that the hon. gentleman is misrepresenting me, and there may be two columns of our official report filled with his misrepresentations if I do not stop him now. He alleges that I said that gentlemen who are not in business cannot understand those things.

HON. MR. POWER—Order! order.

HON. MR. MILLER—Both gentlemen are out of order. The hon. gentleman from Halifax is out of order in making a second speech, and the hon. gentleman from Charlottetown is out of order in speaking from a place which is not his seat.

HON. MR. POWER—I merely wish to add—

HON. MR. ALMON—I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman is making a second speech. He rose to make an explanation; he has made it, and he is now out of order.

HON. MR. POWER—I have not taken up much of the time of the House on this question, and I can make a speech of an hour long on the next stage of the Bill if I chose to do so.

HON. MR. CARVELL—The privilege is being abused.

HON. MR. ALMON—I rise to a point of order. My point is, that the hon. gentleman from Halifax has already spoken.

HON. MR. POWER—All right. It is the sort of courtesy I generally receive from my learned colleague.

HON. MR. ALMON—You will always get the same kind of courtesy when you insist on speaking the second time at this stage of the Session.

THE SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman is out of order, but he asked permission of the House to make a few remarks, and I think the House accorded it to him.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—There is a very general expression of opinion from those about me that this matter should be closed. I do not purpose lengthening the debate at all, but I have been listening to the hon. member from Richmond giving utterance to his fond anticipations of the advantages that will flow to Canada from the granting of these subsidies. I hope his prophetic language may be realized in the future, and, I trust, realized to a greater extent than the prophecies that were indulged in from the incipency of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as to the advantages which Canada would derive from that road and as to the rate of the increase of population which it would cause. These prophecies have proved fallacious; I trust that the prophecies of my hon. friend from Richmond will not prove equally so. It seems to me that a great advantage may be derived to Canada through the Canadian Pacific Railway Company by the granting of these subsidies, but I do not think the Government have taken Parliament fully into their confidence as to the manner in which those advantages will come. If the Government had said that whereas the anticipations which we had of advantages to be derived by Canada from increase of population have not been realized, and whereas it is desirable to do all in our power to make the Canadian Pacific Railway more beneficial to Canada, and whereas to do so it is necessary to add other links to the Canadian Pacific Railway, by water, and whereas it must be beneficial to that road, and through that road to Canada, to increase the trade of the Canadian Pacific Railway and extend the avenues of commerce in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway that we should subsidize steamers to go to China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, England and France, that we should put on all those links for the benefit of the Canadian Pacific Railway, therefore it is necessary that these subsidies should be granted. I look upon these subsidies as being granted for the purpose of bringing trade to that great line. If that should be the result, then it will be money well expended, but it would have been better, to my mind, if the Government had said that its purpose was to bring trade to the Canadian Pacific Railway and that, in addition to all the grants we have made

to that great road, we shall in addition throw in those links and pay for them out of the money of Canada. That would be by far a more frank statement, for that is exactly what it means. Nobody would be better pleased than I would be if it should produce that result, but it is due to the Parliament of Canada that the statement should be fully put before them in that way, and that it was necessary to supplement all that has been given to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and all that may yet have to be given to that company by this additional gratuity, because that is in simple phraseology the effect of the grants that are now about to be given for steamship service. This is a tentative proposition, to see how it may strengthen the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. In that view, and if the Government had come forward in a frank manner and consulted Parliament on the subject, I should be one cordially to vote for those grants. As it is, I shall not raise my voice against those subsidies. I look upon it as perfectly idle to speak or vote against the present proposition. We know very well, when these amounts have been claimed and these Bills sent up that the Government knew that it had here its friends, and that such was the constitution of this House that discussion over the matter would be simply idle. I think the discussion to-day, and all we have to say on the matter, is just waste of time, because we may speak on it for a week or a month, if we had the time, without producing any effect; but the Session is just at its terminal point, yet we are asked, as regards all the weightiest votes of expenditure, to take them at this time and pass them *volens volens*. The Government might as well transfer down to the House of Commons the large majority in the Senate, and add them to the majority in the Lower House, as send measures up here. What is the purpose of sending them to the Senate? Is it not the most formal thing in the world? Of what benefit is it to do so? As a novice in legislation, I cannot see the object, for the life of me, of sending them up here to be voted upon, except to render our operations somewhat farcical.

HON. MR. DEVER—There are some

members of this House who are disposed to find fault with every measure that is introduced here. They profess often that they are quite pleased with some portions of these measures, nevertheless, they are never wholly satisfied with them. There is always some excuse, no matter how good the measure may be, for these men to oppose any Bill that is brought in here by the Government. For my own part, I am so used to this hostile spirit on their part that I pay very little attention to it. If I thought that the opposition was in good faith I would be prepared to weigh the arguments advanced, but when I know that these men are actuated simply by a fault-finding spirit I am more disposed than ever to support these measures, because there is no sincerity in the opposition which they raise to them. As to the subsidizing of the steamers at either end of our great national highway, I consider that these steamships are but ferry boats to connect the railway with Asia on one side and Europe on the other, and to facilitate the trade across this continent, a trade which will continually develop in the course of time. Some hon. gentlemen profess to be glad that these vessels are to be placed on the Pacific to secure the trade of China, Japan and Australasia; they are also pleased to have the ocean greyhounds, as they call them, on the Atlantic to insure the trade with Europe. I fail, therefore, to understand why they should object to facilitating trade with France. It has been my desire, since I have had a seat in the Senate, to promote a trade with that country. There is no reason why we should not have one. I believe if our policy were altered slightly a very profitable trade with France might be developed. I trust that the placing of steamers on this route will result in the development of a very large trade with France, and that in a short time we will have a direct trade with that country in the lighter wines and many of the French goods we require in this country, and also that we will exchange for such merchandise our small wooden ships, our lumber and the natural products of the Dominion. We must make a beginning in all these matters. When we commenced to build the Intercolonial Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway we know it was prophesied that

there would be no freight to keep up these lines, and that the whole enterprise would end in disappointment. But to-day those men who opposed those enterprises most strenuously have to admit that the expenditure on those important public works have placed us before the world as a young country with great possibilities, a country which will rival in prosperity and progress any other country in the world. Canada is richly endowed with wealth in natural products; all it requires is to open avenues to those sources of wealth and bring them to the notice of the outside world. Under these circumstances, I think it is unnecessary to prolong the debate. I am wholly in favor of those subsidies, and I believe that they will do great good to this country.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I must throw myself on the indulgence of the House, and ask permission to reply to some of the arguments which have been advanced against the measure. As regards the merits of the Bill, I do not know that I need say much. The defence of it, led on by the brief and brilliant speech of the hon. gentleman from Richmond, followed by several other gentlemen who have referred to the subject, has left me very little to say on that score, but there are one or two points on which I would like to say a word or two. My hon. friend from Halifax, not content with criticising the Bill, finds fault with the mode in which the business is conducted in this House, and he spoke in the strongest possible language of the conduct of the Government towards the Senate in keeping back to the end of the Session all the important measures, or nearly all, and throwing upon us at the last moment an immense mass of work, with which it is impossible to deal properly.

HON. MR. POWER—I simply followed the example of the hon. gentleman from Richmond.

HON. MR. MILLER—But not under similar circumstances.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I venture to say there has not been, since the hon. gentleman became a member of the Senate, as much continuous work in this House as has been done during this Session. The

legislative business of the Session has been spread over the whole of the Session, a large number of important measures have been initiated here, and we have received from the other House from day to day a large number of important Bills, all of which have been carefully discussed. At all events, if any hon. gentleman who finds fault with our mode of procedure did not discuss them as much as he would like to have done it was his fault, and not the fault of the mode in which the public business was conducted. Up to this time no Bill has been pushed a step forward without the entire assent of every member of the Senate. Any member who has asked for further time to consider and discuss a Bill has received my instantaneous assent. In fact, on one or two occasions the House has rather differed from me as to the propriety of putting a measure off in order that hon. gentlemen might have a further time for considering it. At this moment there are not more than four or five measures of any importance to come before the Senate, and those are, for the most part, measures which have been before the country for the greater part of the Session, and which have been discussed elsewhere, and with which every member is familiar, and whose passage in the other House has been delayed because of the long debates on political questions, and even by the discussions on those measures themselves.

HON. MR. POWER—Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to state that I did not complain of the mode in which business has been transacted in this House. I wish to say now that the hon. gentleman has always shown the utmost desire to promote fair discussion and to give every opportunity for the discussion of measures in this House. I spoke altogether of the conduct of the Government in keeping measures back and not giving them to us earlier in the Session.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That is precisely what I say—that the Government have not kept measures back. It has been a complaint, so far as I remember, of the Senate at the conclusion of each Session that the Government had kept their measures back, and that important Bills were hurled on us *en masse* at the last

HON. MR. DEVER.

ment of the Session. We have been discussing important measures all through the Session. We have not had a large number of Bills thrown upon us near the close of the Session; and therefore, however just my hon. friend's complaint might have been in former Sessions, I do not think it is justified this year. I am sorry to appear to make an opponent of my hon. friend solely, but there is another point in his speech to which I might just make a short remark. My hon. friend is one of those, I think, who advocate increased facilities of trade with the United States, and who deprecate the diminution of our foreign trade. Now, what is the position he has taken to-day on this Bill? That there is no use in assisting in promoting foreign trade with Australia or with France. He does concede, in a grudging kind of way, that something might be done in the East Indies, but as to Australasia and France, what is the use? That France is a country under a protective *regime*, that we cannot buy or sell anything there, and that there is no use in subsidizing a steamship line that is to call at any port in France. It seems a little inconsistent that he should object to our taking the steps which naturally occur to us all for the purpose of increasing our foreign trade, and at the same time object to the policy of the Government as having produced and producing a diminution in our foreign trade. Which does the hon. gentleman desire? That our foreign trade should increase or decrease? If he does not open the door for foreign countries to deal with us—if he does not allow us to do what we think would encourage and foster foreign trade, he should at least abstain from reproaching us because our foreign trade does not increase as fast as he thinks it ought to do; and if he is opposed to the increasing of our foreign trade, and thinks that a merit for which he finds fault with us, then he would be consistent in opposing those subsidies which I think now he is inconsistent in doing. The fact is, with regard to France, though we have not nominally a large trade, we have a much larger trade in reality than appears in our returns, because a large portion of the French goods imported into this country come to us from England. England receives them free; the transportation of them from England is cheaper than direct

transportation from France, under the system which has hitherto prevailed, and therefore a very large amount of the French goods which are displayed in

every shop in the Dominion is imported from England, and they appear among the imports from England, and not as imports from France. The fact, therefore, that France is a country under the *regime* of protection does not prevent our trading with it, as my hon. friend thinks in principle it ought to do, although it strikes me as singular that my hon. friend does not think that the United States, being a protected country, should not prevent us using every possible means of increasing our trade with that country.

HON. MR. McINNIS (B.C.)—It is not 3,000 miles away.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The fact is, we can trade to an enormous extent with the United States, although that is a country as highly protected as France but my hon. friend thinks that because France is a protected country therefore we cannot deal with France—that we cannot deal with any other protected country but the United States. That also appears to me a little inconsistent, and the argument does not strike me as being at all forcible. Just another word in the same direction. We have had from my hon. friend behind me (Mr. O'Donohoe) a strong expression as to the uselessness of this House, and of any debate in the Senate on measures affecting the public interests. I think the debates in this House on matters of public interest—that is to say, apart from mere questions of politics, in which I don't think this House has any ambition to excel—the debates upon business matters and on legislation, I venture to think, are creditable to the Senate in as great a degree as debates on similar subjects in any other House in which I have ever had the honor of being present. I have heard debates in several legislative bodies, and, to my view, the debates on serious questions are as forcible, as clear and as exhaustive in this House as in any other that I have ever been present in; and I would say this much more, if I had the opinion of this House, and of the value of its debates, and of the influence of its members that my hon. friend has, I

do not think I would sit in the Senate. I would not be content to take my place in a Chamber whose discussions on the serious questions placed before it are absurd, futile and useless, and a farce. No; I think any hon. gentleman who is of that opinion with regard to the debates and discussions which take place here should not, in the first place, take part in the discussions at all, if he comes here, but I think, in any case, he ought not to come here. I am not offering this as an opinion to my hon. friend; on the contrary, he always takes his share in the debate with ability and courtesy. I am only putting, as it were, a hypothetical case—that if a member of this House thinks its proceedings are a farce, and its discussions futile, and its opinions of no value, it seems to me the natural logical result of that opinion would be not to take part in the proceedings of so contemptible an institution as the Senate at all.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—If my hon. friend will allow me to say it, he is really enlarging what I did say. I have no objection to being held accountable for remarks I did make; but I did not refer to the debates of this House. I had reference to measures of this sort being sent up to us, about which discussion cannot alter the result.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I shall be only too happy to accept from the hon. gentleman any modification of the statement which I understood him to make. I am glad to receive what he now states, which modifies to some extent, my understanding of what he said; and I shall be happy to accept even a further modification of that. The project with regard to the subsidy of a line of steamers between England and this country is not yet established. There has been an advertisement calling for tenders. The idea of the subsidy in the minds of the Government, as I understand it, is this, at present: that the steamers shall call at a French port so as to make a direct connection, if practicable, with that country, and that the steamers shall perform the voyage at as great speed as can reasonably be attained. The tenders call for a speed of 20 knots an hour at sea. I do not know that it can be expected that the whole voyage can be absolutely made at that rate of speed.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. POWER—I understood the hon. gentleman to say that the steamers will call at France on the way to England.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; I said the steamers composing this line will call at a port of France, but not between England and Canada—certainly not. The idea is, that those steamers will probably make their terminal point at London, or at some port at the mouth of the Thames, and that calling at Brest or some port (I am not sure which port in France is contemplated) on the way to, say, Milford Haven, or some far west of England port, will not take the vessel much out of her way. The channel is somewhat tortuous, and a well selected port on the coast of France would involve a very slight divergence from the direct voyage to Milford Haven, or some point on the south-west coast of England. The intention is that the service shall be rendered that way, just as the North German Lloyds, a very successful line, whose steamers are always well filled with passengers, call at Southampton. The vessels stop at Southampton for for the purposes of their trip, and no great detention is caused. They take on their mails and passengers. It is expected that this line of steamers which is to be subsidized will take on, in the same way, mails and passengers at some port on the south-west of England. That is the idea, but hon. gentlemen will perceive that a contract has to be made. A contract is something which involves the consent of both parties. It is not for the Government to dictate what the terms shall be, unless they are prepared to pay extravagantly to have the precise thing done that they want. This is empowering the Government, to some extent, in calling for tenders for the service, to get the best in their power. They will not pay \$500,000 for a service which they can get for \$250,000. I do not ask those who have no confidence to believe that, but I do ask other members to believe that the Government will get the best service they can for the money they expend, and they call for public tenders for the performance of the service, and will take the best they can get within the privileges and powers that this Parliament gives them. The idea, then, is that, if practicable, this steamer shall make this voyage, calling

first at the French port, and make its voyage from the nearest convenient port in England direct to Canada; that the vessel shall be a vessel of over 6,000 tons of the first-class for all purposes, and of a very high rate of speed—a rate, I think, as stated in the tender, of 20 knots an hour. A good deal has been said of the cost of this, and as to ocean greyhounds being unnecessary or practically useless to us, and so on. Now, in point of fact, this is not, as was observed by my hon. friend opposite, by any means a greater departure from the ordinary state of things in this country or from the amount paid for steam service than that which we made when we subsidized the Allan line, and the history of steam communication with Great Britain seems to be rather striking at this moment after a glance at it. Before the Allan line was established our communication with England was principally by New York packets. We had not vessels so comfortable or so well arranged as they had in New York; consequently, our traffic was by way of New York largely, and almost entirely for the class who could afford to pay for speed and comfort in their passage. We subsidized the Allan line for the purpose of having a line of steamers running to our own ports, and gave them £104,000 a year—that is \$416,000. For a number of years those vessels were filled with passengers and loaded with freight. They were pioneers of steam communication to our country direct, and they were followed by steamer after steamer—not by steamers of one particular line at a time, but we have the steamers of several lines coming direct to our ports at the same time. This has been produced by the impetus which was given by the subsidy to the Allan line. Now others can be had for passengers who are not prepared to pay high prices, and for cattle or freight of any kind, without any subsidy whatever. There are steamships running for these purposes, for the profit which they can make from their voyages, and any number of them. But how about the higher class of traffic, which we had not before we subsidized the Allan line? That does not come now. Montreal, Quebec and Toronto men do not now go to England by the Allan line; they go by American steamers, as my hon. friend would have

us send Canadian mails. Our trade is diminished; then let the Americans have our mails to carry. Our trade is diminished; then let it go by New York, is the argument of my hon. friend. That was pretty much like the state of things that existed at the time of the subsidizing of the Allan line. All our high class of traffic goes by way of New York. The cheaper class of traffic goes by the St. Lawrence.

HON. MR. POWER—Not at all. The hon. gentleman should not run down his own country.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—He is not doing it—you are.

HON. MR. MILLER—The hon. gentleman should not interfere with my hon. friend's prerogatives.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We subsidized the Allan line, and the results of it has been magnificent for this country—I could not use any milder term; and notwithstanding all these difficulties we have heard so much of, we find that vessels can come to the St. Lawrence occasionally, and we are going to establish another class of vessels as much higher than the present class as the Allan line were superior to the class that we had at the time we subsidized them.

HON. MR. DEVER—You are going to keep up with the times.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; we are going to keep up with the times. We are going to subsidize a high class of vessels to keep Canadian trade in British bottoms, as we tried thirty years ago, and succeeded, and as I hope we shall succeed again if the House agrees in the project.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—Why is it that the first-class passenger trade and freight trade fell off a few years after the subsidy was given to the Allan line?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend assumes that the fact exists, and puts me a question as to the cause of it.

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—You mentioned a little while ago that nearly all the first-class passenger trade went by New York.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I stated to the House that at present the greater part of the first-class trade goes by New York, and the reason is simply this: that the class of steamers which was first-class thirty years ago is not first-class now; that our neighbors to the south of us—or rather the English companies which are dealing with our neighbors to the south of us—have put on a class of steamers which excel the steamers coming direct to this country now, as much as the Allan line excelled the steamers that came to this country thirty years ago. Consequently, unless we place ourselves on the same footing as our neighbors to the south of us, as we have lost that class of trade, we shall not recover it.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—Therefore, the Allan line and other Canadian lines of steamers have not the same enterprise to keep up a class of steamers to retain that superior passenger traffic.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am sorry that my hon. friend is trying apparently to find a reason discreditable to our country and people for the change in the system. I am sure the hon. gentleman knows; at the same time, I will tell him what I think is the reason. In the United States there is a population of fifty or sixty millions of people who find their principal outlet to Europe, and *vice versa*, at New York. They were before us, as they are an older and richer country than ours, and by means of employing faster steamships they have drawn a greater passenger trade to their port; and the greater traffic required larger vessels and finer vessels, and the greater the travel the more they must consult the comfort and convenience of the travelling public. We are now by this Bill endeavoring to foster the traffic with the Empires lying on the other side of the Pacific, and it is for the purpose of meeting the requirements which we think the progress of our country is calling for that we propose to make these conditions and give this encouragement to these lines of steamships.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Bill (150), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 138, respecting

Judges of Provincial Courts." (Mr. Abbott).

DELAYED BILLS.

HON. MR. MILLER—I cannot fail to express my surprise that an important public Bill, appropriating a large amount of money, which passed the other branch of the Legislature yesterday afternoon, is not before the House, especially as we are under notice that Parliament will be prorogued to-morrow. There must be some fault with the officers of the other House, which ought to be inquired into.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I think my hon. friend is quite right. I made some inquiry about the Bill two hours ago, and I was told it would be here in a short time. I will see that inquiry is made immediately into the cause of the delay.

The senate adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

SECOND SITTING.

THE SPEAKER took the chair at three o'clock.

Routine proceedings.

OCEAN STEAMSHIP SUBSIDIES BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (144), "An Act relating to Ocean Steamship Subsidies."

(In the Committee).

On the 3rd clause,

HON. MR. POWER said: I propose to make a few observations on this clause. It is the one which proposes to appropriate the sum of \$500,000 a year, which is equivalent to a capital of about \$12,500,000, for the purpose of subsidizing a line of swift steamers between Canada and the United Kingdom, making connection with a French port. I adverted at another stage of the Bill to the objectionable nature of the provision with respect to the French port, and I desire to call the attention of the leader of the House to the objection taken by the hon. gentleman from Montarville (Mr. DeBoucherville) and the hon. gentleman from DeSalaberry (Mr. Trudel), with respect to the difference

between the English and the French versions. That difference, although apparently trifling, may really involve serious consequences. Some hon. gentlemen have said that we would be governed by the English version, but we cannot, I hold. The English version is capable of one of two meanings: making connection with a French port might mean making connection by a subsidiary line, as suggested by the hon. gentleman from Kennebec, or it may mean that the steamers plying between Canada and the United Kingdom are to call before or after reaching England at a French port. The hon. leader of the House, I think appeared to agree that the latter was the construction which the Government intended to put upon the Bill. I am sorry to hear it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The English one.

HON. MR. POWER—I understood the hon. gentleman to say that it was proposed that the steamers should first call at Milford Haven, or some port on the west of England, then go to Brest or some port in France, and then to London.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—What I said was, the intention of the Government at present was that, but that the Bill was framed in this way because the contracts have to be made between two people, and they might not be able to arrange for that being done except at too great expense.

HON. MR. POWER—As I say, the English version is capable of two constructions. The French language is an official language of Parliament as well as English. The language used in the French Bill is capable of but one construction, and that has been stated by the hon. members from Montarville and DeSalaberry. Consequently, Parliament and the Government would be bound to construe this measure as it is construed in the French version, and I think it is a matter of very considerable consequence, and that it is desirable, with a view of giving the Government liberty to do the best thing for the country, that the French version should be amended so as to correspond with the English version. I ventured to say that I thought this requiring the steamer to call at a French port was calculated

seriously to diminish the usefulness of this line. Some hon. gentlemen seemed to think, when I stated that, that I showed my ignorance of business. I am not a business man, but I do not know that it requires that one shall have a practical knowledge of business to understand the effect of a provision of that sort; and I am in this position, that supposing I know nothing whatever of business, and am incapable of understanding the provision of a Bill which relates to a business matter, still I have endorsing me, to the fullest extent, the hon. gentleman from Kennebec (Mr. Drummond). I suppose nobody in this House will venture to say that that hon. member is not a business man of the very highest intelligence and experience, and that hon. gentleman stated, only more clearly than I was able to do, the objections to having these steamers calling at a French port. I had stated, what is admitted, that these ocean greyhounds cannot carry any large quantity of freight. I understand that the "Umbria" and the "Etruria," vessels of that class, have not accommodation for more than 1,000 tons of freight. The "Parisian" and "Vancouver" have accommodation for nearly 3,000 tons. I think that is a most important matter. It is of equal consequence to this country that our products should be carried rapidly to England, and that the goods which we require from England should be carried rapidly to this country, as that the mails should be carried rapidly; I do not say that it is of more importance that the mail should be carried rapidly, but it is of just as much importance. Now, it might be said that there is an inconsistency in advocating free trade with the United States and opposing large subsidies to lines of steamers to other countries having protective tariffs, as the United States have. I do not think that is a very serious argument in favor of this Bill, because it is not proposed to pay a large sum for any mode of conveyance to the United States, and the free trade which we proposed to have with that country was to be reciprocal free trade; our products were to be admitted into the United States free of duty, and their products into our country on the same condition. If anybody can show that France is disposed to

relax her tariff so as to allow our products, or any considerable quantity of them, into her ports free of duty, then the cases might be parallel. As it is, there is no similarity between the cases at all; but I contend that it is exceedingly illogical and inconsistent to put up a tariff wall for the purpose of shutting out the goods of other countries and then to pay immense subsidies to steamers for the purpose of bringing goods from those countries here. The trade returns bear out what I said, that France, having a protective tariff, buys almost nothing from us. The trade returns show that we do not send any more to France than we did in 1874. Although we had a line of steamers which received a handsome subsidy we did not send \$400,000 worth of goods to France last year. The experiment of subsidizing a line with France has been tried, and it is a failure. It is desirable that we should have speedy and effective communication with Great Britain and I contend, on the grounds laid down by the hon. gentleman from Kennebec, that this proposition to make a diversion to a French port is calculated to interfere seriously with the good results that might follow from this measure if that provision was not in the Bill. With respect to the benefit to be derived from the swift steamers, I fail to see it in the same light as the hon. gentleman who leads the Government. There is another matter to which the attention of the House has not been sufficiently directed. Every hon. gentleman who has spoken in favor of the Bill has taken the ground that these steamers are to travel at the rate of 20 knots an hour. The advertisement does not so state. It states that the steamer shall be capable of making 20 knots an hour, but it does not say it shall travel at that rate. On the contrary, the advertisement goes on to say that the steamers shall make the trip to Halifax in, I think, 144 hours, and that will be actually at the rate of 17 knots an hour. My contention is that steamers like the "Parisian" and "Vancouver," or a little faster steamers, capable of making, say, a knot an hour more than these do, would make the passage in the time mentioned by this contract, although the steamers are not capable of making 20 knots an hour. They can make the trip in the time that

the tenders ask for, and I contend that steamers of that sort, which would be willing to do this work for one-half the amount that is mentioned in the Bill, would suit the wants of this country better than the fast steamers for which we have to pay half-a-million dollars a year. These steamers could carry, in addition to making the trip in the time required by the Government, 3,000 tons of freight, while the greyhounds will not carry more than 1,000 tons.

HON. MR. DEVER—According to your idea, they would have no freight.

HON. MR. POWER—I never said that there would be no freight to go to England and to be brought from England. We all know there is a great deal of freight to be had.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—As the hon. gentleman from Halifax has referred once or twice to the few remarks that I made, I may be permitted to say that I by no means wished to prescribe any particular or specific manner of conducting this service. I merely said that in order to do the work by making these ships go from port to port it would probably, in the view of a contractor for the service, require more money than to do it by simply having the fast ships going to one port and having the rest of the service done in a subsidiary way; but if the Government can have the service done in the way they desire it I think it would be a far better bargain, and that they should take it in that shape, providing they can find a contractor who would do it for the money. I disclaim any special knowledge of steamship matters, but I think it would cost more money to perform the service in the particular way indicated by the Government; but if they can get it, it will be a good and cheap service, and I, for one, would strongly recommend its being taken. Then as to the particular form of vessel which could be most economically employed for this service, I think the indications are that the ocean service is rapidly diverging from the old type of vessel, such as the "Parisian" might now be considered to be. Vessels which would carry a large quantity of freight and passengers are not the modern type of vessel which would do the business. The modern type of vessel is one with high speed, with

HON. MR. POWER.

very limited freight capacity, but ample accommodation for passengers, and leaving the freight to be carried by immensely cheaper vessels, which can do it at half the price. The combining of large freight and large passenger-carrying capacity in one bottom is an antiquated idea, and that kind of vessel is likely to disappear altogether from the ocean. The business will, sooner or later, fall into the hands of two classes of vessels—one with large capacity for freight, which will carry very few passengers; the other type of vessel carrying very little freight, or perhaps it may come to no freight at all, but the trim of the vessel kept by water ballast, and this vessel making a rapid passage, turning around immediately after her arrival or as quickly as she can take on a lot of passengers, will be kept going, making, perhaps, twenty-five passages annually where the old type of vessel could make but fifteen.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—And that accounts for the fact that so much of our mails go by New York.

HON. MR. DRUMMOND—Yes; and it is an enormous advantage having the mails coming to our ports instead of to foreign ports.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend will perceive that this subsidy is not a remuneration for the fast line of vessels. It is only an inducement, and if the owners of those steamers think they can make money by calling at a French port without making a special trip across the Atlantic it is their business. It is not to be supposed that the cost of calling at the French port, as well as crossing the Atlantic, is included in this \$500,000. With reference to the French translation of this Bill, I have inquired as to the mode of remedying it. It is regarded as a mere error. It was not translated by our translators, and it will be put right and made equivalent to the English Bill, the Bill having been introduced and passed in the English language.

HON. MR. POWER—It is perfectly true that the \$500,000 is not supposed to be the whole cost of the line, but the Government are asking us to grant a subsidy not exceeding \$500,000 a year.

If this condition respecting calling at a French port is put in it will involve the necessity of having at least one additional steamer, and possibly two. That involves a very large additional expense on the part of the company, going to France, where there is almost no freight to be had and no money to be gained by going there. It will make it still more difficult for the company to do the work, and the consequence will be that where you might get four or five companies to tender for the service going direct to England you may only get one to do the work including calling at a French port. The result will be that where you might get four companies to do the work direct for \$400,000 you will get only one company who will offer to do it for \$500,000.

HON. MR. CLEMOW—The parties who apply for this service will take all these matters into consideration. I think it is highly desirable that the country should obtain a steam service efficient for the increased requirements of the country. The better the service we get the more desirable it is in the interest of the Dominion, whether the parties are desired to call at France or any other place, which is a matter of detail. The first thing to decide is, whether we should, in the interests of this country, have a service superior to what we have had in the past. I think myself it is. I think if we can get a service to traverse the ocean at the rate of 20 knots an hour, instead of 14, it is in the interest of the country, and I believe it will have the effect hereafter of showing to the world that we can handle the great passenger travel in such a way as to get the whole traffic of this country and the travel between Europe, China and Japan. Therefore, I think it is very desirable that the Government should take this matter into their own hands, and see, by the arrangements they can make, whether the steamers shall stop at France or some other port in Europe. We have had a great deal of expense attending the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I believe the more we can extend the traffic of that road and the more we can extend the trade which it can accommodate the better it will be for the country; therefore, I think the Government it entitled

to the confidence of Parliament in introducing this Bill, and endeavoring to secure a better arrangement than we have had in the past. We know the difficulty there was in securing the service of the Allan line for this country years ago and the benefits that followed the establishing of that line of steamers between Canada and England. The Allans certainly conferred benefits on this country that are difficult to estimate. I believe if we follow up the policy that is now proposed by the Government we will secure not only the first-class traffic of this country, but a great deal from the United States for our own lines. The only way we could do that, however, is by ensuring a service that is able to compete with the lines from New York. The "Etruria" and "Umbria" have made very fast trips, but I believe that we can secure as fast a service if we have the enterprise to do so. This Bill is worthy the attention of the Senate, and I believe the country will sustain the Government in carrying out its provisions provided always that they secure steamers which shall be equal to any coming to other ports on this continent.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington), from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

JUDGES OF PROVINCIAL COURTS BILL.

SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of Bill (150), "An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 38, respecting Judges of Provincial Courts." He said: This Bill has only two objects. One is the appointment of another judge at Montreal, and the other the appointment of three county court judges in British Columbia, in the county courts of Cariboo, New Westminster, Yale and Nanaimo. Hon. gentlemen will remember that there has been considerable discussion about the appointment of new judges in the city of Montreal. When, some three years ago, an additional judge was provided for Montreal, at that time it was thought that that would be sufficient; but

the business is increasing, and it is found absolutely necessary to have another judge. This provides for the payment of that judge. The three judges for British Columbia are required for similar reasons—the business is increasing, and there must be facilities afforded for the interpretation of people's contracts and redressing people's wrongs.

HON. MR. POWER—Have they no county judges on the mainland of British Columbia?

HON. MR. MCINNES (B.C.)—There are no county court judges there yet.

HON. MR. POWER—Are the judges who are proposed to be appointed under this Bill to take the place of the stipendiary magistrates who now do the work in British Columbia?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am not prepared to say; but I know that many of the duties that were given to the stipendiary magistrates are removed to the county court judges, so that I presume that is the intention.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time, passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, read the third time, and passed.

THE SHORT LINE RAILWAY BILL.

REJECTED.

Bill (149), "An Act to provide for the building and working of a line of Railway from Harvey to Salisbury or Moncton, in the Province of New Brunswick," was introduced and read the first time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the forty-first Rule of this House be suspended, in so far as it relates to this Bill.

The motion was agreed to.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of the Bill. He said: The Bill is for the purpose of completing what is called the Short Line, which is a railway that was determined upon several years ago by this Government and Parliament, and which has been partially completed; but under the system which was adopted on former occasions when it came before the House, a certain section

of it, which the Bill now before us deals with, from Harvey to Salisbury, has not been built, and cannot be built under the arrangements which were then made for it. Hon. gentlemen will remember that for a length of time there was a considerable amount of agitation as to obtaining a shorter line in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway and the ports of the Lower Provinces—shorter than the Intercolonial Railway—and for that purpose a charter was granted in 1881 or 1882 to a railway company, covering that route, under the name of the Great European and Short Line Railway. They got a subsidy from this Government for the purpose of building it. That resulted in nothing. The company were unable to go on with the work, and after a time another plan was suggested and adopted for the construction of this line, and \$170,000 a year, for a period of fifteen years, was set apart for the purpose of aiding in its construction. That, I think, was done five or six years ago. That resulted in nothing. It was found it could not be done, in point of fact, with that assistance. Then, in 1885, I think it was, by the Act 48 and 49 Vic., chapter 58, the subsidy was increased to \$250,000 a year for twenty years, and under that subsidy the International Railway Company offered to build this road. It was for the purpose of that construction the line was divided into three sections. The third section is the one which is now before the House and referred to in this Bill. The road ended at Matawamkeag, where connection was formed with the railway system already existing, and by means of obtaining running powers over the New Brunswick Railway, which extends into it from Matawamkeag, a connection was secured with St. John and Halifax by the Intercolonial Railway. But this route was a circuitous route. It was considerably longer than the third section of the Short Line would have made it, if it were constructed, and it has been considered important, as the object really was to obtain the shortest possible line to the seaboard, that the original design to have this line built to the shortest possible connection with the Intercolonial Railway, should be carried out. The International Railway Company, which undertook

this enterprise, transferred over its rights in the contract to the Atlantic and North-Western Railway Company, and it was really the Atlantic and North Western Railway Company that constructed the two sections which are now on the point of being opened, but they were unable to continue the construction of this section. The consequence was that it either had to be abandoned, or the Government have to take some other mode of getting it built. There was out of that \$250,000 an annual payment of about \$63,400, reserved and specially appropriated to the construction of this section for twenty years. It was set apart for this section and applicable to this section, and this was the aid which, under the vote of 1885, the company was entitled to for this route. The Government have formed a plan for doing it which, in their opinion, will not be any more expensive under this Bill than the plan which is indicated in the measure to which I have referred—that is to say, we propose to take away this subsidy of \$63,400 for twenty years, and appropriate it for the construction of this road. The actual distance from the point east of Harvey, three miles, where it is proposed that this section shall start, to the point where the road is intended to reach the line leading to Salisbury, which is about five miles east of that, is 142 miles. From the point of junction near Harvey to the point of junction near Salisbury the distance by the existing route is 142 miles. The distance between the same points which it is proposed to construct is 115 miles, so that there are 27 miles of distance saved on this great trans-continental route.

HON. MR. TURNER—Is that 142 miles surveyed, or is it just as the crow flies?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The 142 miles is in operation; the other is surveyed, and we have the plans here. A report has been made by two engineers. Everything has been done, short of the final working survey, in which the exact quantities will be taken; but a profile has been made, a line has been located which, it is confidently anticipated, will be improved when the final location is settled.

HON. MR. MILLER—Is it contemplated in that line to use what is known as the Temple Bridge?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—The cost of that bridge is not computed in this grant, but the Government contemplate an arrangement to allow the railway to run over that bridge.

HON. MR. MILLER—Do the surveys show that by using that bridge 27 miles can be saved?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Yes; that is the statement.

HON. MR. MILLER—Seventeen is the outside.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I know that my hon. friend, and a good many hon. gentlemen have heard a great many statements about the length of this line, its cost and its character, and all the particulars of it; but I have been inquiring into it myself, with a view of giving to the House exact information on all these points, as far as it can be got, and I have satisfied myself that—unless somebody connected with the Railway Department is stating what he knows to be absolutely false—I am giving to the House the exact particulars of what is going to be done. I have the maps here, and the report of the engineers. I have had Mr. Schreiber with me, and discussed all these points with him exhaustively, and what I am quoting from is the note I made during the interview of the statements he made to me. He showed me what satisfied me, in various ways, that at all events it was to the best of the judgment of Mr. Schreiber and his two engineers that these figures have been made, and I know that they are correct, and there will be a saving of twenty-seven miles. The cost of the road is estimated by Mr. Schreiber and by his engineers at \$16,000 per mile. Of course, hon. gentlemen will understand there has been a sort of preliminary agreement between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway as to the running of this road. If this line should be built they undertake by this agreement to keep it in repair, to equip it and to run it during these twenty years—in fact, forever; but from the end of the twenty years of course the interest of the Government will cease in it. At the end of the twenty years the company will pay in the future, as a rental for that

piece of road, \$73,400, which I understand to be just \$10,000 more than the subsidy which is at present appropriated to the road; that is, the additional \$10,000 is agreed upon, I suppose, with a view of covering the interest upon any unexpected increase in the cost of the road. The equipment of the road will cost the Government nothing. The repairing of it and equipment of it will be done by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, if the agreement is approved by Parliament. It has not been laid before the House yet, and it is of no value until it is approved. That is the understanding with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company—at the end of twenty years they shall pay \$73,400 a year, in perpetuity, for the use of this section of the road, and will run it and keep it in order. As to this \$16,000 a mile, I have heard the wildest statements made with reference to the cost of the road, I have stated what the engineers have told me as to the results of their calculations and measurements, that it will not cost more than the amount I have stated, and I think it may be fairly retorted to gentlemen who speak of \$30,000 a mile that they have not made a survey—that they have not even made such a preliminary survey as these engineers have made, and however wise and clever they may be in other respects, they are not so competent to form an estimate of what this road will cost as the men who have gone over it, surveyed it, measured it and made plans and profiles of it. I think, therefore, any one who is disposed to give the Government credit for good faith in the matter, and to give the Government officials credit for having stated what is true, and not wilfully deceiving the country and the House, will attach more importance to the estimate which they make than they will to the mere conjectures and guesses of gentlemen who say: "Well, this is a rough country, and it must cost more than \$16,000 a mile to build this road." In confirmation of what I say I may state that the Fredericton Branch Company have offered to undertake the contract of building the road for \$16,000 a mile, which is the estimate made by Mr. Schreiber; and Mr. Schreiber told me, within the last couple of hours, that he had very carefully gone over the whole

thing, and that he is perfectly confident that the road could be built for \$16,000 a mile. That expenditure of \$16,000 a mile amounts to, as near as possible, \$2,000,000 on 115 miles. The \$63,000 a year which is set apart for it is to pay the interest on it, for the Government can borrow money at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, and in that way it would just pay the interest on \$2,000,000 for the building of this road. Of course, if a company were to undertake to borrow it they would have to pay probably 5 per cent., at the very least, for the money, and therefore, instead of costing \$63,400 a year it would cost \$100,000 a year; and as this road, I imagine, would not have much local traffic on it, for the moment, it is not probable that any company not particularly flush would be disposed to place themselves in a position at once to lose \$37,000 a year on the building of this road; but that contingency does not apply, it appears to me, to the Government, because the revenue afforded by this subsidy will pay the whole interest on the cost, assuming that the report of the engineers with regard to it is correct, or that the offer of the Bridge Company to do it be accepted. Many questions have been asked about the road—for instance, it has been said that it is to get running powers over the Intercolonial Railway, and so on. Well, it has running powers over the Intercolonial Railway for between 9 and 10 miles, from the point where it joins the existing line, at a place called Boundary Creek, to Moneton. It is probably not more than 9 and certainly not more than 10 miles, so that is the entire extent to which running powers will be granted over the Intercolonial Railway. I have stated now to the House what I understand is the project, as plainly, frankly and fairly as I can. I have given the House exactly the information which I have myself obtained, and which I believe to be correct.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—I rise to oppose the motion which has just been made by the hon. leader of the House, and shall ask the Senate to substitute for it one that I intend to offer myself, namely, a motion for the six months' hoist of this Bill. I do not intend, as I did when I originally contemplated making this motion, to go over the history of the Short Line Railway.

The hon. leader of the House has done that so fully that he has relieved me from any necessity whatever of repeating it. Besides, the subject has been so thoroughly discussed, not only in the press, but in another place, that every gentleman who listens to me must be possessed of as much information regarding it as I am myself. I think it will be admitted that the general feeling in both Houses of Parliament, whatever party exigency may have rendered necessary, is that the expenditure contemplated by this Bill is a useless and wasteful application of the public funds. I expect before this discussion is over that there will be little difficulty in the majority coming to that conclusion. As I am relieved from the necessity of entering into the history of the several Bills, and the legislation which have culminated in the present position of this railway, by the very full and accurate statement of the hon. leader of the House, I shall first turn my attention to one argument which was very generally and effectively used in another place in support of this measure—the argument, I believe, which had the greatest influence with a large number of gentlemen—it is that the faith of the country was pledged to this measure. My hon. friend the leader of the House did not explicitly put forward that argument to-day, but it has been advanced by the Government elsewhere, that the faith of the country was pledged to the construction of this railway, and that therefore it was our inevitable duty to pass the Bill before the House. I should like to ask how is the faith of the country pledged to the construction of this road? Had not a subsidy been granted in aid of this line by several Acts of Parliament, a subsidy in all of \$250,000 for a certain number of years for its completion from Montreal to Salisbury? But the granting of a subsidy to a road does not render it imperative on the Government to secure its completion as a Government work if the subsidy is not taken up. If no company can be found to build this road to Salisbury under the terms of the subsidy I do not understand how the duty is imposed on the Government of stepping in and undertaking to construct such a railway as a public work. If the Government had repudiated its obligations under

the Acts of 1884 and 1885—if they had refused to comply with the terms of those Acts, and declined to adhere to their offer of a subsidy for the construction of this line, then I could understand how a breach of faith could be charged against the Government in connection with it. But if a breach of faith can be charged against the Government under the circumstances in which this Bill is placed before us, namely, that a company cannot be got to build the missing link, for which a subsidy is offered, then how many breaches of faith are the Government guilty of every Session? We know that for years past we are, every Session, called upon to deal with large numbers of subsidies granted to railways in different parts of the Dominion, many of which do not prove feasible and are never carried into execution, many of which lapse for want of sufficient aid, and for other causes. Would it not be most unreasonable to say that in all cases of this description where the Government agreed to grant a subsidy to a railway, they should be bound to step in if a company cannot be found to build it under the terms of the subsidy, and to construct it as a public work at the expense of the country? That contention is too absurd to be maintained for one moment. I have not seen this phase of the question put anywhere, although this question of the faith of the country being pledged for the construction of this work has been put forward as a strong argument, and I think was the most effective argument used elsewhere, and the one which obtained a majority in another place in support of the Bill which is now under our consideration. There is nothing in that argument, and I do not believe it will have any weight with hon. gentlemen in this House who will give the subject the slightest reflection. It is unfortunate, in a matter of this kind, that there is so much contradiction in regard to the facts of the case, and although the hon. gentleman comes here armed with surveys and estimates from parties whom he considers reliable, I am not disposed to place the same implicit faith in the surveys and in the officers of the Government, who are asked to make reports to sustain a policy which the Government seems bent upon carrying out, and which they, as the servants of the

Government, would feel themselves more or less bound to aid. I do not charge want of faith against the public officials, but I say almost unconsciously, knowing what the desire of the Government is with regard to the construction of this railway, they would naturally be disposed to carry out that policy rather than make a report which would be hostile to it. I want to call the attention of the leader of the House to one of the circumstances in connection with a similar subject—in connection with this very Short Line in my own Province. A Bill was passed by this Parliament providing for the construction of a portion of the Short Line in the Province of Nova Scotia, and it was at that time represented, and represented on authority just as good as that which my hon. friend places before the House now, that the distance to be saved was four or five times greater than it turned out to be when the road was completed. What guarantee have we that similar results will not be shown when this road has been built and an accurate survey of the line is made? The history of the Short Line in Nova Scotia, a section of this very same road, warns us not to be too ready to take the statements of Government engineers, especially where only a very imperfect survey, admittedly, has been made, and where the Government is desirous, of course, of minimizing the cost and the distance as much as possible. We all know that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company—and I shall speak now of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as the owner of the Short Line—that when they arrived at Mattawamkeag they at once said that they would not construct the third section, or the missing link between Harvey and Salisbury. They said they did not want it; that they would not use it if it was built, and that it would cost—not counting the necessary bridge across the River St. John—\$3,500,000. It may be that the estimate of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was made upon even less data than that of the Government which was submitted to the House to-day. But allowing that there was some exaggeration in the estimate of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and putting the cost of this road, as you may fairly put it, I think at \$3,000,000, including the bridge, we want to know, and we should be con-

vinced what the country is to gain by the expenditure of this very large amount of money. We are to save, it is told, according to the surveys of the hon. gentleman, 27 miles in distance between Montreal and Halifax. Other authorities placed the distance saved at 17 miles. Put the saving down at 20 miles, and we have no reason to believe, but the contrary, that a mile will be saved. Very good judges in fact say that there will be no saving at all; that the line as laid down on the map cannot be constructed without heavy expense indeed, and in order to get solid ground for construction north of Grand Lake a much more circuitous and expensive route will have to be taken than that with is laid down in the maps. Therefore, it is doubtful if there will be any saving in the length of the line; but supposing they would save 20 miles on the Canadian Pacific Railway between the two oceans, or even say between Montreal and Halifax, the saving in time would not exceed three-quarters of an hour, and I ask this House if, in the present condition of the finances of this country, with the large debt and the heavy burdens which Canada has had to assume for necessary public works—I am not now condemning the Government for these large expenditures, because I believe in a great measure they were the outcome of a wise policy, which will have future beneficial results—but looking at the necessary debt that this country has had to assume in connection with those public works, are we in a position, unless impelled by some inevitable necessity, to expend \$3,000,000 on this railway to secure such insignificant advantages? We all know what these works cost. Take the cost of the Intercolonial Railway and of the Canadian Pacific Railway as an illustration; look even at that building on Wellington street, which was estimated at \$250,000 at the outside. I am told it has cost now between \$700,000 and \$800,000. We know what all those Government estimates mean at the outset; they are put at the lowest figures possible and they generally are exceeded by 50 per cent. Are we, I ask this House again, now in a position to expend \$3,000,000, perhaps four or five millions, upon a work which is not a necessity? I say we are not, and it behoves this House especially

—which is not controlled by any party exigency whatever, but is free to do what the majority consider to be in the best interests of the country—to say if they are ready now to saddle this country with so large an addition to its debt without any corresponding advantage whatever? Because it is uncertain, I repeat, that there will be the slightest saving of distance or time by the construction of the Harvey and Salisbury road. But take it at its best: suppose you could save 20 miles on that road, would we be justified in expending so large a sum of money to attain that object, when we have so many other public works throughout this Dominion imperatively demanding the assistance which we are not able to render? I say we would not, especially in the absence of any authentic and specific information on which any hon. gentleman could rely in justification of the vote he would give in favor of this Bill. In the absence of any information of the kind, is it possible that a majority of this House would be asked to pass such a measure as this? I do not believe they will pass it. This missing link of the Short Line will cross the St. John River. A bridge has been built at Fredericton by a company at a cost of \$375,000, of which amount \$300,000, has been loaned by the Government to the company at 4 per cent. interest; and it has been made apparent elsewhere that in actual cash the company itself has not put a dollar in the enterprise.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes; \$45,000.

HON. MR. MILLER—I stand corrected if that is so, but in the discussion in another place I did not see or hear of that being stated, or sustained if it was stated. It is admitted that the bridge is in the wrong place, and that while it is possible that some distance might be saved if the River St. John were crossed at a more suitable place than Fredericton, it has also been admitted by one of the strongest friends of that route in this House, before myself and a number of other gentlemen a day or two ago, that if that bridge is utilized for the purposes of this road little or no saving of distance will be effected. Now that it is the intention of the Government to take that bridge from the company, there is no doubt whatever

if they do not take it the bridge will be valueless and the Government will lose the \$300,000. The company say that the only way to make it a paying speculation is to make it a crossing point for the Short Line railway. In fact, one of the tenders offered for the construction of this road, the tender at \$16,000 a mile, has been from that very company, and the proposition is to connect with their bridge; and I can only say this, that they can afford to take the contract for the construction of that road at \$16,000 a mile if they possess and can exercise the same influence with the Government subsequently in making their contract more favorable than they have exercised in regard to that bridge. If they have had the influence to get such terms from the Government in regard to their bridge I have no doubt that they can get terms just as favorable if they get stuck in the construction of the road for a sum for which competent people say it cannot be constructed. But if the Government do not accept the Fredericton bridge they will have to build another at far greater expense further down the river. Then, with the loan of the money, \$300,000 advanced on the existing bridge added to the new one, the bridging of the river by this missing link will cost the country in the vicinity of \$1,000,000.

HON. MR. POWER—That is want of confidence in the Government.

HON. MR. MILLER—What is the real cause of the agitation for this road? It is admitted that the line, as completed to Mattawamkeag, with the use of existing New Brunswick lines, affords a complete connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. It may or may not be true that the contemplated line would be a few miles shorter to Halifax than the existing line, but the great trouble is due to the rivalry between Halifax and St. John. The agitation has arisen in the city of Halifax in consequence of that rivalry. The two cities have been rivals and jealous of each other, time out of mind, and Halifax does not wish its trade and passengers to pass through St. John, and has had influence with the Government to secure the construction of this road at such an enormous cost to the country, to avoid that sentimental and silly grievance. All I

can say is, I am surprised at the influence that Halifax does wield with the Government—not only with this Government, but in fact with the Mackenzie Government also, when it was in power. They get and have got everything they wanted, and the Government seem to think, and the people of Halifax think also that Halifax is the whole of Nova Scotia. If this large amount of money is expended for the completion of this road only a few miles will be saved in the distance from Montreal to Halifax, and the expenditure will be charged to the whole of Nova Scotia. The whole Province will have to take the responsibility, and we have had too often to take the responsibility of large and useless expenditures for the city of Halifax, as if it were a favor to the whole Province. This, I say, will be one of the cases in which the expenditure will be charged to all Nova Scotia: the Province will be considered to have got this money from the Government, and all through Halifax importunities. I repudiate, on behalf of the part of Nova Scotia from which I come, any such opinion being entertained. Notwithstanding that the Island of Cape Breton is one of the oldest settled portions of the Dominion, and for the extent of its territory the most resourceful part of Canada, with its invaluable fisheries, its magnificent harbors, its inexhaustible mines of coal and other minerals—there is not a portion of the Dominion that our neighbors covet so much as the Island of Cape Breton—it was only the other day, after twenty-five years of agitation, that we succeeded in getting a single mile of railway in that noble island, which is destined to become one of the most important parts of the Dominion at no distant period. But here, *presto*, at once double the amount can be expended at the request of the city of Halifax for a useless railway—not only a railway that will be of no practical benefit to Halifax itself, but the operation of which will lessen the paying capacity of the Intercolonial Railway, on which we have already expended an enormous amount of money. It will be a competing line, to a large extent, with the Intercolonial Railway. Not only would the road be of little advantage, but it would tend to destroy the paying capacity of the Intercolonial Railway, and I would not be

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surprised, if the line is built—and I warn my French friends from the Province of Quebec of this—if before many years the Intercolonial Railway would be a mere secondary local road after the two lines to St. John and to Halifax are in operation. I contend that we have not the information which we should possess before being called on to commit the country to the expenditure of so large an amount of money as is intended by this Bill. Therefore, it would be the duty of the House, if nothing more, to postpone its enactment until some definite information may be had with regard to the cost and distance, and to the advantages which are likely to accrue to the country from the expenditure of this money. I find in a recent number of the *Halifax Chronicle*, the Opposition paper in Nova Scotia, a pithy paragraph on this question, showing how even the Opposition in Halifax city look upon this railway and this large expenditure. I must not omit to say that the Government agrees to pay, under the terms entered into with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, with regard to the road, its share of the expense of keeping the bridge. It is not fair to this House that so important a measure as this should be pressed upon us at this late period of the Session. We have not time to give it a decent and deliberate consideration and investigation. The rules of the House have to be suspended to give it a second reading and to bring it to the stage at which it now is. It is unfair that we should be asked to sanction so large an expenditure of public money under such circumstances, and that alone ought to be a good reason to induce hon. gentlemen to take further time to inform themselves with regard to the merits and demerits of the proposition contained in the Bill, and leave it over at least to another Session. I do not desire to detain the House further. I have some other notes on my paper, but I have no doubt that other members will desire to follow me, and they will make up for anything I have omitted to say; but I cannot resume my seat without reminding the House that to-day is presented to them one of the rare occasions—occasions which seldom occur—to show to the country that this Senate is, as it ought to be, an indepen-

dent body, and that whenever it becomes necessary we are prepared to place our duty to the people above any slavish exigencies of party. I am happy to say that the leader of the House has not pressed this question upon us unfairly with the weight or authority of his position. He has placed before us a clear and able statement on every occasion that he has addressed the House, and he has put the very best case before us. I venture to say that there is no man in either branch of Parliament who could put the case more favorably before the House than the hon. gentleman has done now, and when his great talents and information have not been able to put a stronger case than he has done we may take it for granted that it is very weak indeed. The hon. gentleman would have given a very different aspect to this question if the facts justified him in doing so. I therefore remind the House that this is one of the few occasions on which the action of this Chamber is watched. I appeal to the Senators from Ontario, if they are going to allow their Province to be mulcted in this unnecessary expenditure in a section of the country that really does not require it; for I believe that the majority of the Senators are opposed to this expenditure. I ask the members from Quebec if they are going to encourage a line which is not a necessity, and which will have the effect of converting, in a few years, the Intercolonial Railway into a second-class local road? I ask the members from New Brunswick what interest they have to encourage this petty spirit of rivalry and unfair childish jealousy by Halifax against St. John? I have always admired the energy and pluck of the city of St. John in contrast with that of the city of Halifax—always over-fed by Government pap—if there was nothing else but the manner in which the energetic and enterprising city of St. John, after one of the most terrible calamities that ever befell a city in Canada, after it was burned to the ground, rose phoenix-like from its ashes in a few years. Why should members from New Brunswick encourage this petty spirit of rivalry from Halifax, illustrative, to a great extent, of the spirit of the petulant child? I therefore move that the said Bill be not

now read the second time, but that it be read the second time this day six months.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I am very much surprised, not only at the matter but the manner of the speech of the hon. gentleman from Richmond, in endeavoring to arouse local prejudices in order to defeat the Government on this measure. He said it was only a petty rivalry between Halifax and St. John that was at the bottom of this measure; yet he endeavors to array Province against Province in order to defeat it. He asks the members from Quebec to rise and oppose this Bill because the Intercolonial Railway will, in a certain degree, lose the position it now has from the competition of the Short Line. The time for my hon. friend to have urged those reasons in opposition to this scheme was when the proposed subsidy of \$250,000 was before Parliament. The country is pledged to this road, the Government is pledged for that amount of money, and I understand from what the leader of this House has said, that the road is not going to cost the country one cent to complete that portion of it. The leader of the Government has shown, that of the \$250,000 pledged by Parliament to construct this work \$63,400 remain unexpended. The hon. gentleman from Richmond seems to doubt the authenticity and reliability of the facts submitted to the House; yet he cannot gainsay them. There has been a survey and a location of the line. We must presume it has been correctly made, and when he asks us to disregard that report and that survey, he has not sufficient authority for doing so. We have been told by the leader of the Government that the road can be built for \$16,000 a mile, and the interest on the \$63,400 will be just equal to what we would be giving this company for twenty years; then, after that, they get a subsidy of \$10,000 additional, to make up for any difference there may be between the present estimate and what the road will actually cost. The faith of the Government is pledged to the building of this road. When the country was pledged to expend the large amount of money necessary for the construction of the Intercolonial, what was said in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick? We were told that the country

was pledged to it, and the feeling everywhere was that it should be built. In the same way the country is pledged to the building of this short line, not because of any local interest in it, but because of its general advantage to the country. The hon. gentleman has got a railway down in Cape Breton, built by the Government, and if he compares the benefit of that railway to his Province to the benefit that will accrue to the whole of Canada from the building of the Short Line he will see that as a public work it will be of vastly more importance to Canada. He has quoted the *Chronicle* as having denounced this scheme, but we all know that the *Chronicle* never loses an opportunity to condemn any scheme proposed by the Government, and no reliance can be placed on the statements of that paper. In 1885 it was announced to Parliament by the Government that this road was to be built, and should be built; and why the Atlantic and North-West Company did not build it under the subsidy they were receiving I am at a loss to know. My hon. friend says that even if the Short Line were completed it will only make a difference of fifteen or twenty minutes in time as compared with the other route. The hon. gentleman knows very well, however, that we have not yet arrived at such perfection in railroading that trains can be run at the rate of seventy miles an hour, and he is so far astray in his calculation on this point we must take everything else he says with the same discount. We have gone to a large expenditure to establish fast lines of steamers on the Atlantic and rapid transit across the continent, and when we, in the Maritime Provinces, committed ourselves to this large expenditure of money, we were led to believe that this Short Line would be constructed. It was never intended that the through route should follow the Intercolonial Railway. It was always understood that the Intercolonial Railway should be a Government road, but it never was intended to be the short line between the Atlantic and the Pacific, or the direct route for communication between Europe and Asia. I am surprised that my hon. friend from Richmond should take such a local view of this matter, and I do not know why he does it unless it is because of his prejudice against

HON. MR. MILLER.

Halifax in favor of St. John. The appropriation of this money would never have been allowed by Parliament if the road were to stop at St. John. Two sections of the road have been completed, but the most important part of it, to make through connection, has yet to be completed; and I repeat that the country is not embarrassing itself or pledging itself to anything more than it pledged itself in 1885 in passing this Bill.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—My hon. friend has warmed himself up upon this question, and I have no doubt that his zeal is very largely based on the estimate we have heard to-day of the distance saved being 27 miles. If it should turn out, on more accurate exploration, that it should only be the estimate of Mr. VanHorne—that is 17 miles—or if it should turn out that other estimates place it at only one or two miles difference, it might very much change the feeling of my hon. friend—at least I should hope it would, although it does not appear from the discussions of some other hon. gentlemen in another place, that the main object of this Bill is not so much to shorten the distance of the through line as it is to place St. John at a very considerable disadvantage as regards Halifax. I quite agree with the sentiments expressed by the hon. gentleman from Richmond, that any feeling of that kind is childish. Even if seventeen miles should be saved when this expenditure is made and the road is constructed, and the monopoly of the running powers given to one particular line, excluding the Temiscouata and Grand Trunk Railways, and all other railways—even if there should be some saving, I cannot understand how Halifax is to derive any special advantage from it. It will only be twenty or thirty minutes of a saving in time, and I cannot understand, if Halifax has the superior advantages it claims to have over the city of St. John and St. Andrews, how these greater advantages can be eclipsed by the mere difference of fifteen or twenty minutes in time in the length of a railway. The hon. gentleman from Lunenburg quotes from a Liberal paper in Halifax, and characterizes it as a paper on which no dependence whatever can be placed.

HON. MR. KAULBACH — You can

depend upon it opposing anything that the Government proposes to do.

HON. MR. McCLELAN—Perhaps my hon. friend will depend more upon the Conservative paper, the *St. John Sun*. If he reads the files of that paper for the last fortnight he will discover that denunciation of this Short Line is as observable a feature in that paper as any other. This question is not dependent at all upon the particular politics of the newspapers; it is discussed and looked upon by them all as an unnecessary expenditure of public money. My hon. friend says it is necessary for the completion of the grandest system of railways on this continent. As an engineering policy at the outset, it would have been a proper policy, but I cannot understand when the policy was adopted, not only during the building of the Intercolonial Railway, but also during the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the North-West, in locating the lines to place them where they would accommodate the greatest number of people, that we should now depart from that policy. I do not say that it was the proper policy to pursue in the outset; but it is inconsistent, after having adopted that system to reach the important centres of trade, we should now go to work and spend a large sum of money to shorten the distance, to take trade and traffic away from important centres and injure the profits of older roads. The hon. gentleman speaks also about the pledges of the Government with regard to this Short Line. I do not know of any special pledges to which the Government are bound in this connection. Of course, we have had professions and indications, and, it may be, verbal promises; but we have also this idea put forth pretty generally, Session after Session—at any rate, I remember hearing distinctly the Finance Minister in another place stating positively about the connections that would be made with our important seaports in the Maritime Provinces, and using it as an argument at the time in favor of the large expenditure of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and he instanced the fact of St. Andrews and St. John, and Halifax and Louisburg, as being cities with splendid harbors, which would be reached and served by the completion of their system of rail-

ways. Now, if under this arrangement there is an expenditure of money variously estimated for the shortening of the distance, of from two millions to four millions of dollars, I should be inclined to think, and I do not think there are many in this Chamber who will differ from me very much—that four millions of dollars will be below the mark at the completion of this road, and when the purchase of running powers over the bridge is secured. However that may be, we have to look certainly at the advantages which will accrue from the expenditure of so much money. It will be an expenditure in New Brunswick, a Province which I have the honor of representing; at the same time, unless some advantage can be secured to Nova Scotia or Halifax, or some part of the Dominion, to compensate for the disadvantages we would be subjected to in New Brunswick from the depreciation of our principal city, and interference with its trade, I think the Senate should hesitate before they pass this Bill, with the *data* now before us. I may remark here that it is not alone the expenditure of money, but it will interfere possibly with the course of travel, to which our seaport of St. John would naturally look, and it will interfere with the paying character of a large amount of property owned by the Government. Every hon. gentleman who is acquainted with our railways in New Brunswick knows very well that a line of railway eighty-nine miles in extent, from St. John to Moncton, was about the first railway built in New Brunswick, and it is one of the best roads in the Dominion. The road-bed was made regardless of expense, and I venture to say that Mr. Schreiber will agree with me there is no better road on which to travel. The grades are easy and the curves are light. The construction of this Short Line between Moncton and Harvey would have the effect of reducing the travel over this eighty-nine miles of road. It will reduce the profits—or rather increase the deficiency on that section of the Intercolonial Railway, which is by far the best section on that railway, although I have no doubt that the whole of the Intercolonial Railway is a very good road. That would certainly be a loss which I think the Government ought to hesitate in imposing on the country. A telegram that came last

evening announces that the Board of Trade of the city of St. John held an important meeting yesterday, at which the following resolution was adopted:—

“Whereas, an important subsidy has been granted by the Dominion Parliament to a line of mail and passenger steamers to the port of Montreal in summer and Halifax in winter, with no obligation to proceed to St. John; and whereas, provision has been proposed to be made to build a line of railway from Harvey to Salisbury, in New Brunswick, the direct result of which said railway will be, and is intended to be, to divert traffic from the port of St. John and direct said traffic to the port of Halifax, although from natural proximity said traffic should come to St. John. It has been proposed that the aforesaid line from Harvey to Salisbury be leased for the nominal rental of \$1 per annum to the Canadian Pacific Railway, thereby most unjustly discriminating against traffic from the west to St. John, which traffic, to reach this port, must be subject to the ordinary charge of railway transportation, while traffic to be carried away from St. John is taken over a free railway and supplied with free rolling stock; and whereas it has been proposed to make the railway bridge over the St. John River, at Fredericton, a free bridge, and no such proposition has been made in respect of the railway bridge over the St. John, at the falls: therefore resolved, that the Board of Trade enters its strongest protest against legislation of so hostile a nature to St. John trade, and against this attempt to discriminate by sectional legislation against the business interest of this city, and in favor of other points.

“Resolved, that this Board of Trade is in favor of all proper regard being had to any pledges of the past by the Government, but is wholly opposed to granting discriminating advantages to the trade of other places by a free railway to promote such trade, said legislation being introduced to neutralize the advantages of position enjoyed by this port, and to erect an unnatural barrier in the way of trade seeking our port as an outlet.”

I have nothing further to add. While there are some advantages in the expenditure of this large sum of money in the locality to which I belong, yet, looking at it in the public interest, and looking at the whole question as it affects St. John, and failing to discover any special interest which any other important point is going to gain by so large an expenditure, I feel it my duty to vote for the amendment of the hon. gentleman from Richmond, specially as at this late hour of the Session the matter cannot be fairly considered.

HON. MR. POWER—I am a little surprised that the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, and who looks at things in a pretty broad way usually, should have treated this matter as though it were a question affecting St. John and Halifax, as he said himself that the result of this expenditure would be to place St. John at

a disadvantage with respect to Halifax. The hon. gentleman began his speech by stating that that would be the result of the expenditure, and, he seemed to think, the principal result. Now, that is not the case. An arrangement was entered into for the construction of the Short Line Railway, which would afford shorter communication than was furnished by the Intercolonial Railway with St. John and Halifax both. Now, it just happens that that portion of the contemplated road which would shorten the distance to St. John has been completed; the portion which is to shorten the distance to Halifax materially, and to give Halifax some advantage over her previous position, is now under consideration; and we have our friends from St. John, having got all that the original undertaking was to give them, declaring that Halifax shall not have the advantage which the original undertaking proposed to give, and not to Halifax alone. It is a most misleading thing to say that it is a question between Halifax and St. John. Every point east and south of Salisbury is benefited by the shortening of the distance between Harvey and Salisbury. The whole of the Province of Nova Scotia, the whole of the Island of Cape Breton, whose interests and attractions have been so warmly set forth by the hon. gentleman from Richmond, will benefit by the shortening of this distance as much as Halifax. The hon. gentleman from Richmond gave us to understand that the leader of the Government had not spoken with that vivacity and force which he generally exhibited.

HON. MR. MILLER—I did not say that.

HON. MR. POWER—I so understood my hon. friend. I was going to say that the same remark could not be applied to the hon. gentleman from Richmond, for he spoke with all his usual force and vivacity, and his heart was evidently in the work. The hon. gentleman from Richmond, who may be regarded as representing the opposition to this measure, began by saying that he did not propose to go into the history of this matter, that that had been set forth by the leader of the House. I know that time is of value just now, but this matter is of very considerable consequence to a large por-

tion of the Dominion, and I think it necessary to briefly state the history of this scheme. The agitation in favor of a short line from Montreal to the Lower Provinces originated, if I am not mistaken, in the city of Halifax. There were resolutions in the City Council and Chamber of Commerce of Halifax, and there were communications in the Halifax newspapers, pointing out that the Intercolonial Railway did not give us anything like the shortest line, and that the distance might be very materially shortened—that is, the distance between the railway system in the neighborhood of Montreal and the railway system at Moncton. A company was incorporated, as the hon. leader of the House has told us, about 1882, and a subsidy was provided for the company in that year, with the view of building this railway, the shortest possible line from Montreal to the Lower Provinces. That company proposed, I think, to go to the Island of Cape Breton. They did not propose to adopt the route that has been selected for the Government railway, or by the route adopted by the Atlantic and North-Western Company. They proposed, as I have been informed, to start from Richmond and to go north of the mountain region of Maine to Fredericton, and thence across to Salisbury. Either that line, or the line selected by the Government, shortened the distance to St. John at least 200 miles. It would shorten the distance to Halifax probably 100 miles. The road has been constructed now to make the connection to St. John; the distance from Montreal to that city is shortened about 200 miles; for all practical purposes the distance to Halifax is shortened almost nothing. The hon. gentleman who is now High Commissioner to England stated in public speeches on several occasions—he stated in Halifax on a public occasion—that the contract had been entered into for the construction of the road to Salisbury. He did not say for the construction of a road to Mattawamkeag, but for the construction of a line to Salisbury. When the resolutions under which this road has been constructed were before the House of Commons, in the year 1885, the hon. Minister of Public Works, who had charge of the measure at the time, solemnly stated in the other Chamber, on

a question being asked, that the faith of the country was pledged to build the whole line; and I may say further, that if the Government had come before Parliament in 1885 with a proposal to give this large grant to a company which was to build the road only to Harvey the measure would not have been adopted; it could not have been passed; it could not have secured the support of members from the eastern part of New Brunswick or from Nova Scotia. It would not have been worth while to spend this large amount of money to make connection with only one port, because hon. members must remember that on the faith of these Short Line resolutions the country is now paying the sum of \$186,600 a year for a short line to St. John; and in order to show more clearly that the faith of the Government was pledged to this portion of the line, I may say that in 1885, when a Bill was before the House of Commons authorizing the construction of this line, an amendment was moved by the hon. member from Guysboro', N. S., to the effect that work should be begun simultaneously at both ends of the line, that it should be begun at Salisbury at the same time that it was begun at Montreal. The members from Nova Scotia supporting the Government were naturally placed in a very embarrassing position, and they felt they would be obliged to vote for this amendment. It was clearly in the interest of Nova Scotia, and the hon. gentleman who represents Westmoreland in the other Chamber was in the same position. It was on that occasion that they were solemnly assured by the hon. Minister of Public Works that their faith was pledged to the whole work, and that the whole work would be built; and now some hon. gentlemen, having got as much of the line as they want for their own purposes, claim that the Government shall break faith with the Province of Nova Scotia and with certain portions of the Province of New Brunswick. The hon. gentleman has undertaken to say that there would be no breach of faith. I think it would be a gross breach of faith. The hon. gentleman from Richmond compared this to the case of the ordinary subsidies which are given to various railways. When the Government grants a subsidy of \$3,200 a mile to a road it does not guarantee anything but that it will pay that

subsidy if the road is constructed, but in this case there was a subsidy of \$250,000 a year granted to a company to construct and operate a road, and the company built enough to get \$186,600, and then they say they will not build the rest of the line, although they have really got as much money as it cost to build the road. That is a totally different position from an ordinary subsidy. It has been stated that this proposal involves an expenditure of \$4,000,000 beyond what the country is already committed to, or words to that effect. Now, the fact is, that this proposal does not really involve, as has been explained by the leader of the Government, any greater yearly expenditure on the part of this country than was provided for by the terms of the Act granting the original subsidy, and my hon. friend from Hopewell has stated that the road will cost, bridge and all, in the neighborhood of \$4,000,000. Here we have the survey, and the profile, and the report of two engineers who surveyed the road. They say that it can be built for \$16,000 a mile. We have a company offering to construct the road for \$16,000 a mile, and in the face of that I fail to see how hon. gentlemen can make the contention they do. At that rate the road would cost less than \$2,000,000. I can understand why the bridge company should be anxious to have this road constructed, apart from the fact that the Government have paid so much towards building the bridge. They are naturally desirous of getting traffic over their bridge; it is to their interest that the road should be built for the purpose of getting tolls, or rent, as the case may be, for the use of the bridge. Then my hon. friend from Richmond quoted from a Halifax paper something about rolling stock. As it happens, the Government are not to supply the rolling stock; the company are to supply the rolling stock. I think I understood the hon. gentleman from Richmond to say that the contention that this road could be built for \$16,000 per mile was too absurd to be put forward seriously. I fail to see how, in the face of the fact that there is an offer from a responsible company to construct the road for that amount, it can be said that it is too absurd. The hon. gentleman also intimated that he had a very great

lack of confidence in the Government engineer.

HON. MR. MILLER—I did not say that.

HON. MR. POWER—I was going to say that possibly the Government engineer makes mistakes sometimes, but when we have a carefully prepared report and estimate of it from the Government engineers who made the survey, and then we have the confirmation of the report by the chief engineer, and then the offer of the company to build the road for the estimate—when we have these—all these things together—we have strong evidence that the estimate is correct. Then the hon. gentleman pointed to the fact, in order to show that this road might not be so short as the engineers allege, that a certain so-called short line railway built from near Oxford, on the Intercolonial Railway, to New Glasgow, had turned out, after having been built, to be very much longer than was expected. The reason of that was very simple: the Government did not build the line the short way. Instead of building the line from Oxford to New Glasgow they built one down to the neighborhood of Pugwash, Wallace and some other places. It was built something like the Prince Edward Island Railway; it was intended to approach all the little settlements in the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Pictou. That was an electioneering railway, not a railway built for commercial purposes. I was rather surprised to hear the hon. gentleman talk about the large debt which this country now owes, and I think I understood him to speak of a large yearly expenditure also. Now, \$63,400 a year is a considerable sum to pay, but the hon. gentleman had no hesitation, a few minutes before, in voting for \$125,000 a year for a line of steamships to Australia, a country with which we have practically no trade?

HON. MR. MILLER—I would do it again.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman would have no hesitation in voting for a line of steamships to England. How much benefit those subsidies are going to be to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick I do not know. I do not think they will be of any more bene-

fit to Nova Scotia than the construction of this link—the Australian one not so much. Then the hon. gentleman appealed to his friends from the Province of Quebec to vote against the construction of this link on the ground that it would destroy the Intercolonial Railway. I fail to see how the construction of this particular link is going to materially affect that portion of the Intercolonial Railway which lies in the Province of Quebec. I can understand that the construction of this line of railway would, as the hon. gentleman from Hopewell said, take away some of the business from the road which runs from St. John to Moncton, but how it can injure the portion of the road which lies in the Province of Quebec I am unable to see. I admit that it will probably diminish the traffic on the line from Salisbury to St. John. I do not say that at the beginning the whole scheme was not a mistake. I think the policy of subsidizing railways to compete with lines owned by the Government is a mistaken one; but having gone into that to a certain extent, having spent a certain amount of money, having obtained the assent of Parliament to spend millions on that work, by virtue of a pledge to extend the railway to Salisbury, to stop now, after spending the greater part of the money, and to refuse to spend the balance, is very unreasonable and, I think, fraudulent.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—You opposed the Short Line from the beginning.

HON. MR. POWER—I contend that instead of the construction of this link injuring the portion of the Intercolonial Railway in the Province of Quebec it is going to serve a portion of it. The section of this road which runs from Fredericton to Salisbury will afford the natural outlet from Rivière du Loup to Edmonston, in the Province of New Brunswick. There is a railway which runs from Edmonston down through New Brunswick. Putting in this link, the traffic going that way will have an opportunity of getting to Nova Scotia by the shortest possible line. If we do not put in that link this traffic will have twenty-seven miles further to go, at any rate. There is this further fact to be borne in mind: there are two other roads, the road to Woodstock and, I think, another

railway running into Fredericton, to which the construction of this link would be a great advantage. I do not undertake to say that the scheme that the Government have placed before Parliament is the best possible. I think myself it is not. Since the Government are providing the money to build the road they had better own it, instead of leasing it to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company; but if it is a question between having this link built and not having it built, I feel that I am bound to vote for the construction of the link. Then, one of the objections urged by the hon. gentleman from Richmond was that there was not time to discuss this matter. He began by telling us that it had been discussed in another place; but the measure which immediately preceded this voted away a much larger sum of money, and the hon. gentleman did not think that it required more time than we were able to give it. We all know pretty well what the substance of this Bill is, and although it might have been well that it should have come before us earlier, that is no reason why Parliament should violate the solemn agreement it entered into in 1885 with the people of Nova Scotia and the people of eastern New Brunswick.

HON. MR. BELLEROSE—It cannot be said that I have ever been opposed to the road which is called the Canadian Pacific Railway. I believe I am one of the members of this House who at the first faced public opinion and advocated the purchase of the North-West, then for taking British Columbia into the Confederation and building this great highway, and since that I believe, so far as the Canadian Pacific Railway is concerned from Montreal to Vancouver, I have always stood by the company or by those who had control of it. At one time it was Sir Hugh Allan who made a proposal to build the line; even then I was in its favor, so I cannot be charged with opposing this Bill to-day for the sake of opposition, though I may be hostile to the Government. But I have before now opposed this short line from Montreal to Halifax. I was open to conviction, and I made an argument which I will not say was a good one, but I remember defying the Government to show that I was wrong. I showed that the line

which they called the Short Line was the longer one—that the road direct from Quebec to Moncton was shorter. I said at the time that although the line from Quebec to Moncton might be longer in miles it was, from an engineering point of view, the shortest; because, as I said, when speaking of railways you do not take the number of miles alone, but you calculate the time an engine will take to haul a load from one point to another. I said that, taking the report and figures of Mr. Schreiber, the shortest line was by way of Quebec to Moncton. I also said that it would be an advantage to adopt that route, because we might postpone it and use the Intercolonial Railway for some years, and then we could build that line direct, which would be a great boon to the country, because there were so many other public works to be attended to. I cannot change my opinions. I still believe, and believe more strongly than ever, that the adoption of the route through Maine was a great mistake, and I am the more inclined to think so when I see what is happening now. Are we not threatened with difficulties with the United States, and in that case what would be the value of this so-called Short Line? If we had the road from Quebec we could have the use of it in any event. I could not support this Bill, because it deals with a link of that Short Line, so that, having been opposed to it, I believe it is my duty to vote against this Bill now. The hon. member from Richmond was right when he said that the members from Quebec ought to oppose this measure; and not only the representatives of Quebec, but also the members from a portion of the Maritime Provinces, because if the line from Quebec to Moncton had been built it would have been a great advantage to Prince Edward Island, and to the greater part of New Brunswick; and as to Nova Scotia, it would have been a boon, because, who will say seriously that if the Short Line is used any man who purchases, say, 20,000 bushels of grain in the North-West, will be able to take it to Halifax, when the charge by rail is 3 cents a mile, compared with 1 cent a mile by water? The man who understands his business will ship his grain from the North-West to Portland in preference to taking it by rail to Halifax. Halifax can never, by the use of

that Short Line, be, except for local use, the summer port of Canada. If the line had been built by Quebec it would have been different, because although Montreal and Quebec would have the advantage in summer, Halifax and St. John would have had the advantage in winter. These advantages are sufficient, in my opinion, to warrant the Maritime Provinces in supporting the more northern route, and even now, before the missing link is constructed, it would not be too late to advocate the line from Quebec to Moncton. It is our duty to do what is right, and to help in the construction of a road which may be advantageous to that part of the country. As to the west, I do not think that it would be a great disadvantage, because the less they would have to pay for shipping grain the better it would be for those who sell grain in the North-West; so that even for the western portion of Canada the line from Quebec to Moncton would be more advantageous. They could use Quebec as a seaport in summer, and thus have the advantage of the low rates which prevail during the season of navigation. The amount asked for this road is three or four millions of dollars; it does not seem a very large sum, when we consider the hundreds of millions that we have spent in building railways, but there are other works in this country of a more pressing character, such as the canalization of the Ottawa River. It would be of great profit and advantage to the country to have that done without delay. The United States are doing their best to secure the vast trade of the north-western States for New York: why should we not, on our side, open up a shorter and more direct route through our own country? It is by increasing facilities for transportation and opening up the shortest routes to the seaboard that we will secure our share of that immense and growing trade. I do not see, therefore, that even the comparatively small sum of money contemplated by this Bill should be wasted. There is no pressing necessity for this line of railway; and, believing so, and recognizing the great need there is for increasing the facilities for commerce in this country, I shall oppose this Bill. And what is it? I am sure the Canadian Pacific Railway are quite indifferent to that road. What is it for a company whose

line measures over 4,000 miles? What is it to them whether their road to Halifax is twenty miles shorter or not? They are pressed into it; they are forced to have the railway, and it is for us to say whether the work is so pressing that we ought to help the Government in dealing with it. I believe that it is not. There are certainly, in the other Provinces of the Dominion, other roads more pressing. I should say that even the bridge across the St. Lawrence at Quebec is more pressing because of the difficulties we have in connecting the Intercolonial Railway with the great system of railways in the western part of Quebec. For all these reasons I believe that I could not honestly vote for the proposition before the House, and I shall vote for the amendment.

HON. MR. POIRIER—I believe that too much attention has been paid in the discussion of this subject to local interests and rivalries, and we have lost sight of the general interest of the line, which ought to be our guide. This road is not being built for the benefit of St. John or for the benefit of Halifax; it is the continuation of the great through line of railway which crosses the continent, and which is destined to be of very great advantage to the whole Dominion. Some hon. gentlemen insist that Halifax interests are concerned, but they are affected only to a limited extent. The interests of the Dominion as a whole are more affected by this road. We all have to admit now that the policy of the Government in subsidizing railways, sometimes squandering money in that way, has been, on the whole, beneficial to the country. The Government are now taking another step; they are subsidizing fast steamships, in order to secure increased facilities for communication. When we have established a fast line of steamers between England and Canada, and when we have, on the other side of the continent, a fast line between British Columbia and Asia, Canada will then be a main route of communication for the whole world. Are we, then, to be stopped by such a small matter as the building of this missing link, which was included in the original plan, and which was adopted without criticism when it was proposed to Parliament? Are we now to be stopped

from completing that gigantic enterprise because we are asked to spend something less than \$2,000,000? I do not believe it. I have great consideration and regard for the claims of St. John. I belong myself to the Province of New Brunswick, but I believe that if the new line had not been built from Harvey to St. John before this Short Line that none of this agitation would be heard of. It is because they have tasted of the luxury that they now want to keep the whole thing to themselves. The proposed enterprise is a continuation of the original scheme. The saving in distance by the calculation given to us is twenty-seven miles. That is quite an object on a railroad for the construction of which we have not hesitated to go through a foreign territory—on the construction of which we have spent so many millions of dollars. It will be a saving of more than an hour in time, because the country it traverses is very level. There will be no station between Fredericton and Moncton, and it will be a saving in time of more than the twenty-seven miles indicate. Admitting that the expenditure is a considerable one, still, I am strongly in favor of the enterprise, because it is one of general utility. I believe that we should be guarded, in the discussion of these questions, against exaggeration. The House has been placed under the impression by my hon. friend from Richmond that the cost of the road will be between three and four millions of dollars. The House is now laboring under that impression, irrespective of the statement made by the leader of the Government, based upon the report of two engineers, which I think we ought to consider as a proper estimate, rather than estimates given without any proof whatever.

HON. MR. MILLER—I discounted both statements, and took a medium.

HON. MR. POIRIER—In this case I would rather give credit to the parties who have made an actual survey, and have worked out figures, and profiles and specifications, than to statements of parties who have never seen the line. We have heard the plans criticised as being biased. I see that the plan is dated 1885, and at that time, unless Mr. Schreiber is

a prophet, which he may be, but which I am not prepared to believe, he could not foresee the discussion we are having to-day, and therefore we must assume that the plan he has given to us is a correct one. As the road runs now from Harvey to St. John, and from St. John to Moncton, it describes a right angle. We propose to cut this angle from the middle of the hypotenuse, and it must carry conviction with it that at least 27 miles will be saved. If we did not utilize the bridge which already exists 43 miles could be saved, but in order to save 43 miles we would have to build a new bridge, which would cost over \$300,000, and which is a very important sum. The Government have been blamed for loaning money towards the construction of that bridge. Here is a chance to make the loan a paying business, and if the bridge can be utilized for the Short Line it will be killing two birds with one stone. I am still more impressed with the accuracy of the statement made by the Government engineers by the fact that an independent survey has been made. I have been in communication myself with the parties, and their report coincides very nearly with that of the Government engineers. Their report as to the actual cost of the road is almost identical with the estimate made by the Government; therefore, I think we should base our vote on an estimate of \$1,840,000, rather than on the three or four millions referred to by the hon. gentleman opposite. When the project was first accepted a grant was made and approved of by Parliament of \$63,000 per mile for that distance. This \$63,000 capitalized would make about \$800,000, to which, if we add \$1,000,000, will construct the road; therefore, what the country is now asked to give is merely one million more to construct this railway.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—The hon. gentleman is wrong in his figures. The \$63,000 capitalized, at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., would be about \$2,000,000.

HON. MR. POIRIER—Undoubtedly the interest on, \$2,000,000, at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., would be about what the hon. gentleman says; but I say, if we capitalize an annuity of \$63,000 for twenty years, to see how much cash we will have to pay at 4 per

cent., paying the interest by instalment and the capital in twenty years, the capital would be about \$1,840,000. Therefore, the company undertaking to build the road for the Government would have the benefit of this \$63,000 per annum for twenty years, and if the company could raise money at 4 per cent. they would need only a million dollars cash from the Government to build the road; therefore, the whole cost of the road to the country can be set down at \$1,000,000 additional. I believe you will find more than one company competing for the building of that road at \$16,000 per mile, and in the agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company that company is to give, after the expiration of twenty years, over \$73,000 per annum for the use of it, which will make a very good investment for the country in the long run.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE — Short speeches are now understood to be the order of the day. I believe in the propriety of that; indeed, I believe in it at almost any time. There is one point in this discussion that takes my attention, that with regard to the bridge, to which the hon. gentleman who has just spoken has adverted. This bridge is a very plain matter, but it is part of this general programme, and the substantial owners of it are Gibson & Temple. It is estimated that the bridge cost \$375,000. The Government advanced \$300,000 of that sum towards its construction. We have not been able to learn from any source whether the Government have ever got any interest at all upon that advance since it was made, and I rather think if they had received anything we should have heard of it. I therefore conclude that the Government have received nothing at all on account of that advance. The men who got that loan, and who applied it to the construction of the bridge, are the men whom it is said are anxious now to get the contract for this road, and who propose to build it for \$16,000 a mile. If their promises to build the Short Line are only of the same value as their promises with respect to the bridge I would not place great confidence in them to build it at \$16,000 a mile. They received \$300,000 of a loan for the construction of the bridge.

That left \$75,000 as the cost of the bridge, which is an amount that they either have paid or are liable for. In the debate in another place Mr. Temple was asked what the bridge produced. He answered that it produced \$30,000 a year, and that it required \$2,000 a year to maintain the structure. The interest on the loan of \$300,000 at the rate at which it was given to them would be \$12,000, and the maintenance of the bridge, according to Mr. Temple, would be \$2,000—that is \$14,000 altogether. That would leave a profit of \$16,000 to the proprietors upon their investment, or about 21 per cent. a year. In the face of 21 per cent. upon their investment, they come to the Government and ask for \$30,000 more, and I believe they have obtained it. I ask the hon. gentleman is that a proper use of the public money? Surely a greater iniquity no Government could be guilty of.

HON. MR. McMILLAN—What does the senior member from Halifax think of that?

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—I give you leave to ask him, and it is blended with this case, as we have heard different speakers advert to the Temple bridge. We are asked at this moment, with only an hour or two at our disposal before Parliament is prorogued, to vote this vast sum of money, whether it be two millions or three millions, without an opportunity to examine the plans. Plans and reports are brought in, and the leader of the Government assures us what they are, and asks the Senate of Canada to give away two millions of the people's money to this road, and then hand it over to a railway corporation for a number of years, without any return. That, I think, is asking the Senate for too much. I should like to have time to go through the plans and profiles and examine them. Where such a large amount of money is involved, the Senate should be afforded an opportunity to look into the matter; but we are asked to go it blind. I could understand being asked to go it blind on money votes, or such things, no matter if they are ten millions or one hundred millions of dollars; but I cannot understand, on a matter concerning the construction of a public work, that we ought to be asked, at the very last

moment of the Session, to vote this large sum of money without an opportunity of informing ourselves to the fullest extent in our power as to whether it is proper or not.

HON. MR. MILLER—I call the attention of the Speaker to the fact that it is six o'clock.

THE SPEAKER—It being six o'clock, I now leave the Chair.

AFTER RECESS.

HON. MR. READ—I need not try to describe this road, because the House and the country know little of it. If this Bill should not happen to be passed this year, and if it is really a good measure, it can be brought up another year; it will not be hurt by keeping. There is no great necessity for it, at the present time at all events. If it should be delayed for a year it will be so much the better for the country, I think, especially when we are told that the saving in distance is to be so small. It seems to me that it is hardly a business operation to first build a road and then build another one along side of it to compete with it, and that appears to be all that this line is intended to do. After building it and giving it to a company to run for a number of years it is to be run in competition with a road on which the country is now losing \$1,000 a day. I have heard on excellent authority that the building of this line involves an expenditure of at least \$3,000,000 and if we are to judge by our experience of the cost of constructing roads in that part of the country, that amount is very likely to be exceeded. Why has not the Canadian Pacific Railway Company constructed this line? Those who constructed the road to Mattawamkeag find that instead of costing \$6,000,000, as estimated, it has cost \$9,000,000. The natural inference is that this will cost \$3,000,000 instead of \$2,000,000, and then we are to give it to a company for twenty years. That is hardly fair to other roads. If the country builds the line the whole country should participate in the benefits of its construction. One hon. member speaking to-day tells us that the reason why they will be able to run quickly on this line is that no stations will

be required. Then it must be a very bad country that this road is to run through. If the country was susceptible of settlement that might be an argument advanced in favor of the construction of the line. But the opinion expressed by an hon. gentleman who is familiar with that part of the country is, that no stations will be required between Fredericton and Moncton, and there is no immediate necessity for the road. We have been spending a very large amount of money in that locality, and it is time we should stop. I understand that another enterprise in that vicinity is to receive \$150,000 a year when it is constructed—that is this ship railway.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Not while it is being constructed.

HON. MR. READ—We are to give \$350,000 in aid of its construction, and then \$150,000 a year for a term of years.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. gentleman supported that.

HON. MR. READ—That work is going on at the present time, and one would think that these large amounts of money are quite enough for that part of the country. I do not want to raise a sectional issue, or to complain of the expenditure of public money in any particular locality, provided the country is to get some benefit for the outlay but I cannot conceive of more unwise expenditure than building a road on which we will lose money, and which will compete with a road on which we are losing heavily every day. I shall, therefore, vote against the Bill.

HON. MR. SULLIVAN—I have not been able to make myself acquainted with this very important subject, although I have listened with great attention to the debate. Therefore, I feel that I am not in a position to vote for the measure. Perhaps if I had time to study the question, and become more intimately acquainted with the circumstances connected with the project, I might see my way to supporting the Bill, but on this occasion I am constrained to vote against the second reading.

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—I do not like to give a silent vote on this

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important question. It has been treated by the speakers opposed to the measure as if it were a new project, whereas it is one which was sanctioned by the House of Commons and the Senate four or five years ago, and we are simply asked to consider the question from another point of view now. A great deal has been said with reference to the shortening of the line, and also as to the expense of it, and many wild statements have been made on the subject. I prefer myself to take the statements which are placed before us by the responsible officers of the Government. We have their estimates of the cost, and maps showing the distance to be saved by the construction of this road. I prefer to take these for my guide in voting upon this question, rather than irresponsible statements made by those who have not had the same opportunities of finding out what the facts are with reference to this line. With respect to the cost, the same course has been taken. We have been told here to-day that the line will cost I do not know how many millions. I prefer to take the estimates furnished by the Government officers. I say that \$16,000 a mile is a very high price for a road at the present period in the history of the country. Every one is aware that railroads can be built much more cheaply now than they could have been some years ago, and \$16,000 a mile is a very liberal estimate for the cost of the roadbed and rails, without rolling stock, unless there are some engineering difficulties to be overcome which are not mentioned in the information which has been submitted to us. With reference to the Intercolonial Railway, I do not think that it can ever be made to pay expenses while the freight and passenger rates are so low. I had occasion to look into the rates charged for passengers over that railway some years ago: it was about 2½ cents per mile. I claim that no railway on this continent can pay where the local rates are so low. The freight rates are equally low. It is my opinion that the construction of this Short Line, and the placing of it under the management of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, will have a beneficial effect. Private enterprise is always more vigorous than Government management; business principles are more observed by

private companies than by Governments, and when this line is completed and operated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company it will immensely enhance the value of the Intercolonial Railway, and the true remedy is to run that railway with more vigor and to charge higher rates for both passengers and freights. I shall support the Bill.

HON. MR. VIDAL—My hon. friend from Burlington has led me to open my lips on the subject. I had not intended to do so, because I am in very much the same position as the hon. member from Kingston. I feel this to be a very important matter, and one with which I have not sufficient acquaintance to vote intelligently upon it. I have listened to the arguments for and against the scheme, and I have heard none to satisfy me as to the propriety of the Government undertaking the construction of the road. A very handsome subsidy has been offered, and that offer still stands. Now, if the road can be constructed for the amount reported to us as sufficient for the purpose, how is it that no company has taken up the offer and availed itself of that subsidy? The offer remains open, and that is a reasonable position for it to remain in. Why there should be a change from the position in which it has stood I do not see. My hon. friend says that we should look at this from a different point of view. Why should we change our point of view? Is it any more desirable that the Government should construct that road now than when the subsidy was offered? Experience should show us that of all road constructors a Government is the worst. A private company can construct and run it cheaper than a Government. The offer is still there, and if the road is a necessary one for shortening the distance or quickening communication with Halifax, surely some company, if not the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, will take it up. Why should the Government do it? I am sure hon. gentlemen will admit that no matter how carefully estimates are made, no matter how great the skill of the engineer who makes them, no matter how high his integrity, the actual outlay in almost every case largely exceeds the expenditure estimated. We have every reason to believe that the cost of the road would

greatly overrun the estimate, but I do not attach much importance to that. The point is this: is that a necessary road to be made now? I think not. We have communication with Halifax already, and all that would be gained by making this new link would be shortening the distance a few miles and the time about an hour.

HON. MR. MILLER — Only twenty minutes.

HON. MR. VIDAL—All that would be gained would be a shortening of the distance a few miles and a very limited length of time. Is it advisable to incur an expenditure even of \$2,000,000 for an advantage like that?

HON. MR. MACINNES (Burlington)—The money has been voted.

HON. MR. VIDAL—It is not a revote. It is a very different thing for the Government to take it in hand and construct it to offering a subsidy to a company to undertake it. The point is, that there is a standing offer for any company or persons who will undertake to make that road, and if it is a desirable and necessary road surely somebody will accomplish the work. There is ample help offered to build the road now, and I do not think that we are called upon to undertake the construction of the road. I have a very great objection to the Government doing it when it can possibly be avoided. We have communication now by a little detour and very little loss of time, and under these circumstances I think it would be most unwise for us if we should, at this time, take a different view, and have the Government undertake the construction of that road and expend large sums of money upon it, besides the offer made in connection with it to hand it over to a company, and no return to be made for a number of years to the country for the expenditure upon it. Under the circumstances, I feel obliged to vote against the Bill.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—I do not happen to have any personal knowledge of the locality through which this road passes, but looking at it on the map it seems to me that the difficulty of building this line becomes apparent. As far as one can judge by the run of the streams,

this line is carried across the watershed of the country, and, if so, of course for an equal distance it will cost a great deal more for that reason. I have myself a recollection of the time when we were attempting to build a part of the Canadian Pacific Railway through that region which was afterwards called Keewatin. It was suggested by some gentlemen that proper investigations had not been made of a certain part of that country between a place called Rat Portage and some falls. An engineer was put on the stand and examined on that point. He said he had not made an instrumental survey of it, because his experience as an engineer at once convinced him that such a line, although not absolutely impracticable, would be very costly, because it crossed the watershed of the country—the line would pass over ravine after ravine, encountering at each stream a new difficulty. I judge from the line of this projected railway on the map that it encounters some difficulties at least of the same kind, and hence the great expense which is anticipated in building it. It is strange what a number of complications occur in the building of this line. It is called the Short Line, and the first inconsistency we meet with is, that there are parties owning a bridge, and it is judged expedient that the Short Line should pass over the bridge; but, unfortunately, the bridge does not happen to be in the right place, and the Short Line is made to diverge from the straight line in order that the engineers constructing it may avail themselves of this bridge. Now, if we are really so anxious to have a short line we surely should not, at the very first step, diverge from the straight line in order to take advantage of an existing bridge, for which we are called upon to indemnify the owners at a high price. There is one great inconsistency. Pursue the question further, and we find two interests involved. Halifax has a decided interest in this Short Line, inasmuch as it would convey freight and passengers from Montreal without touching St. John, and literally St. John receives the go-by—it is passed by without observation. This, to my experience, is one of the strangest things imaginable, that a great seaport should submit so tamely to its trade being carried away to a rival port. This sort

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of rivalry is very well—nothing could be better. Nothing gives people such a stimulus to do things in a spirited and successful way, not committing commercial extravagance, but looking in all things for the main chance in a straightforward and honorable way; but it seems to me, for St. John to submit to see its traffic carried away to Halifax is the strangest thing I ever heard of. I have heard of cities subsidizing railways to go to them, but I never heard of the Government of a country coming to Parliament and asking for a grant of money for the construction of a railroad which is to carry freight away from one of the best winter ports we have. That, to me, is perfectly inexplicable. The next thing we have is two railways—I can hardly call them rival railways, because they are both, in a measure, Government roads—at all events, the Government are largely concerned in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and have been entirely concerned in building the Intercolonial Railway, and yet here is a line which is to interfere with the traffic of the Intercolonial Railway, and that, as I am told, the best constructed and probably the most thriving part of the whole line. This is another strange thing, that the Government should build an opposition line to one they own already, and that they should build it in a way which will do their own line the most injury. That is another very strange incident in this affair, and it begins to enable me to explain the cause of the singular new political experience which awaits the Government. Whether they are victorious in this debate this evening or sustain a defeat they will have the mortification of seeing some of their strongest supporters leading the debate against them. It is gratifying to me to observe the opposition to this Bill, because it shows that there are independent men in this House, who are not to be persuaded by party against their convictions. That, to me, is a redeeming point. The hon. gentleman from Fredericton thought the estimates of the engineers were to be relied upon. Certainly, if their reputation is at stake, and they have made an instrumental survey of the road, that might be alleged; but I do not know that any such survey has been made in this instance, and until I am sure of

that I am not prepared to attach very great importance to the estimates of the engineers. We do not find, either, that the estimate is accepted by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, who certainly, in their dealings with this Parliament and Government, have not been very quiet or silent suitors. They have generally urged their claims with a good deal of force. At all events, they have been generally able to convince the Government of the justice of their views. But we find that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company are not very anxious about this line. If it is constructed they will accept the responsibility cast upon them, but they are not anxious to have it. They do not think the road can be built very cheaply, or that the saving of distance will be as great as is alleged. As to the Intercolonial Railway, I think the hon. gentleman, not very long ago, made a very good suggestion about it—that some day or other, when he undertakes the management of it himself, he will be able to make it pay better than it has of late. I shall not be sorry to see that day, because we all know that the Intercolonial Railway has not been winning golden opinions of late. On the contrary, there have been some very serious breakdowns and a good many interruptions upon it; and therefore, if the hon. gentleman contemplates anything of that sort, his coming will be hailed with satisfaction by the public. For the reasons I have stated, I cannot do otherwise than support the hon. gentleman from Richmond, who has moved that this Bill be not now read the second time, but that it be read the second time this day six months.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If I ask the indulgence of the House for a few minutes, it is mainly because a suggestion, very delicately put by my hon. friend from Richmond, but which has been re-echoed in the corridors of the House, appears to me to impugn the good faith of the Government in this matter.

HON. MR. MILLER—I certainly never said anything which I intended should be construed into anything of that sort.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend, as I said, did it in a very delicate way, and not in the slightest degree offensively,

but the suggestion conveyed in his remark was one calculated to produce a considerable effect, and one which I am convinced has produced a decided effect—not the suggestion made by my hon. friend, but voiced by him. I quite agree with the hon. member from Marshfield (Mr. Haythorne) in approving the idea that hon. members of this House use their own judgment and obey their independent convictions in voting upon questions submitted to them, and are not subjected to the lash of authority and forced to support a party. That is the position that I should like to see every member of this House take, and I am glad, although it may be somewhat at my own expense and at the expense of the Government, that what I have always said of the Senate—that it was a place where opinions were independent, and where men took a business view of public questions, and were not warped by party feeling—was correct; but, at the same time, I should claim for the Senate, also, the merit of consistency. Looking at the question from that point of view, it certainly is a surprise to me to hear the opinions expressed that I have heard to-day. My hon. friend from Marshfield submitted to the House in a condensed form the substance of all the objections that are made to this enterprise. Now, let us see how far these objections have not already been met by what has been done, and I propose merely to glance at that, and at what my hon. friend said which attracted my attention. This road, it is said, will be a rival with the Intercolonial Railway; it will take away the traffic past St. John; it does not go by the most direct line, inasmuch as it goes by Fredericton; it is not, according to the hon. gentleman's objections, the direct line, and it is not entitled to the name of the Short Line, because it makes a detour in order to reach Fredericton; and, moreover, it is said: "Why build this Short Line? What is the object of it? What is the advantage to accrue from it? What good is it going to do?" Now, all these questions have been answered by this House at least three times before. When this House sanctioned a grant to Mr. Blackman's company we consented to assist a road that was to run in rivalry to the Intercolonial Railway. To a certain extent

that was what it proposed to do. I do not know that the route then suggested was the route by Fredericton.

HON. MR. POWER—Yes.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—That road would have taken away the traffic from St. John, yet on the first occasion when that came before this House we voted for it. When it came before the House again, Mr. Blackman not having succeeded, the next thing we sanctioned here was an Act which possessed all the objections which occur to this. We passed an Act to give \$170,000 a year for fifteen years to build this road, to make this very connection, to run in competition with the Intercolonial Railway, which was then in existence. The line was not then determined, but it was quite on the cards that it should go by Fredericton, as this road goes; so that there, the second time, we sanctioned what so many hon. gentlemen find so blameable. The third time it came before us in 1885. We found that \$100,000 was not sufficient to secure the construction of the road, and we voted \$250,000 a year, and not for fifteen but for twenty years, to build this very road to run in competition with the Intercolonial Railway, and to run to Fredericton. Thus, having received the sanction of Parliament so often, all those objections must have been considered, surely, by hon. gentlemen in this House.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—Will the hon. gentleman explain how it was that with such very large grants the road was not finished?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I have not asserted that the grants were very large. I say that while I admit the propriety of this House preserving its independence I think it should also study its consistency, and I say that on three important occasions increasing in importance as the occasions proceeded, this House has sanctioned every transaction which is now so strongly opposed.

HON. MR. MILLER—Then the House was voting on the line as a whole from Halifax to Moncton; now we are dealing with a small portion of it.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—If the House had been asked on those occasions to vote for

these two-thirds and leave the other part undone hon. gentlemen would not for a moment have entertained such a proposition. This proposal is precisely in accordance with the scheme of Mr. Blackman's company, in accordance with the grant of \$100,000, and in accordance with the grant of \$250,000 a year, as an essential part of the same line.

HON. MR. McINNES (B.C.)—But the proposal then was that a company should build the line, and not the Government!

HON. MR. ABBOTT—When the hon. gentleman admits that all these objections have been diminished, then I may come down to the other objections that strike his imagination. I am trying to meet, in as simple a way as I can, all the objections, and I must take them one by one. I cannot take objections of a different kind and deal with them in the same breath. These are the objections which the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island has taken, and I say that his objections were all met and dealt with three times before by this House in the most solemn and formal manner possible, and at that time every one of the reasons which are now given against it were in existence; and I can only express my surprise that in spite of them the House did what I have described on three different occasions. The reason I refer to this is mainly because I wish to lead up to the point that the Government is pledged to the building of this road. On the last occasion, when the annual grant was increased, the Government gave a distinct pledge publicly in the House, through the Minister of Public Works, and in their speeches, and in every way that could be done, that the whole of this Short Line should be constructed. It was proposed, as some hon. gentleman reminded the House, that in order to make sure of it the road should be commenced simultaneously at both ends, so important was it considered that the Short Line should be constructed. But the Government said: "We assure you it shall be built; we have made a contract to build it, and it is not necessary to insist on a condition which would be extremely burdensome to those who will construct the road—to begin at the same time the two ends

of the road, which would be perfectly useless until they were connected together. That was the reason given in the other House for not insisting that the road should be begun at both ends. That is a point I desire to address myself more specially to. The impression appears to gain ground that the Government are not sincere in getting this Bill passed; that they are putting it forward as an apparent conformity to the pledges they have given, and they are indifferent to its passing or unwilling that it should pass. Now, I wish, as far as language will enable me to do so, to set that question at rest. I have the strongest possible authority in every imaginable way, from having taken part in the discussions about this road, from having had conversations about it with all the members of the Government, from having conversed about it more particularly with the Premier, and in the last few days, when I have been told in the lobbies that he was not desirous that it should pass, I desired to satisfy myself and conferred with him, and I now desire to convey to the House, in as strong language as I can convey it, that there is not the smallest shadow of a foundation for any such imputation against the Government. The Government have endeavored to get this road constructed; they have endeavored to get it constructed by private companies; they have made liberal subsidies to it, but all the subsidies which they have so far granted have not been sufficient to secure its construction. But they hold that they are bound in good faith to the people of Nova Scotia that this Short Line shall be completed as effectually as if commenced at both ends simultaneously, instead of only at one. Now, with reference to the cost and construction of it by a company: The hon. gentleman from British Columbia and the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island esteemed it an important objection to this road that it is to be built by the Government and not by a company, and we are asked why is it that with this liberal subsidy some company has not been found to undertake it? And it is made a part of that argument that the probability is it will cost a great deal more than is estimated, and the hon. gentleman from Prince Edward Island expresses his doubt as to the value of the

estimate, because he says if it were made by engineers, and by instrumental survey, it would be quite a different matter. That only shows the misconception that is prevailing in the corridors and elsewhere and which has been whispered to hon. gentlemen before the House met.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE—No one whispered it to me.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I know that sort of thing has been talked of throughout the corridors during the past few days. The survey on which this estimate is based is an instrumental survey, made by competent engineers, and chained and levelled. The profile of the line is here for any hon. members who choose to examine it, showing every stream which the road crosses, and the size of it. Every particular is to be found in the profiles that is necessary to be known in order to make a fair estimate of the cost of the road.

HON. MR. O'DONOHUE—There is no time to look at them.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Hon. gentlemen have had time to look at them; the report has been in the House all day, and any member could have seen it. Any hon. gentleman may see at a glance that they are what I describe, profiles of the road, and if hon. members looked at them for a month they would not be able to discover, by looking at them, whether or not they are accurate surveys. All that they can say is that they are to all appearances a regular survey of this road, showing the depth of the cuttings, the line of the embankment, and everything else that is on a profile to be able to judge of the road. Some hon. gentleman spoke as if this report was made by engineers to serve this particular purpose. It happens that this report was made in 1886. The plans were made in 1886, before this proposition was thought of. They were made, at the instance of the Government, to ascertain where the best line was, and what the probable cost would be. So that they were made entirely independent of the objections taken by hon. gentlemen to this measure. I may say that in the report they speak well of this line—that it is an easy line to make. I see by the

profiles that the grades are not heavy and the curves are exceptionally good, there being none sharper than 4 degrees. These may be all forged or falsified. I know nothing about that, but I beg leave to doubt it. I believe that they are genuine surveys, made without reference to this debate or discussion; that they are the results of the studies of competent men, and are entitled to credence a great deal more than the opinion of gentlemen who have never seen the line. The hon. gentleman a few moments ago gave it as his opinion that the cost of the line would be \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000. Had he gone over it with instruments, chained it and made levels of it, and ascertained any fact on which to base this judgment of his? I do not know who it was that gave the hon. gentleman the information; but I doubt very much if he made any examination of the line, and I do not know anyone who has done it except these engineers. Now, as to the reason why a company does not take it up: the road is estimated to cost \$2,000,000. The company could not get the money to build it at less than 5 per cent.—they would have to pay, probably, 1 per cent. more. But taking it at 5 per cent., they would have to pay so much more interest than the subsidy that if they did not make money at once by operating the road they would be losing \$37,000 a year. That is a good reason why no company would undertake the road for this particular subsidy; but that it will eventually build up traffic I think is very probable, and the best proof that other people think so is that the burden of the interest of the money will be taken off the shoulders of the Government when the road has been running some time and has time to build up a traffic. This is the reason why a company will not now take it up, and the reason why the Government take it up is because the Government have pledged themselves, with the sanction of Parliament, on three successive occasions, that this road should be built, and I regret very much the attitude of this House, knowing these facts, knowing the position of the Government, and knowing its own position as having sanctioned these subsidies, by which, of course, it is not bound to go further and say the Government shall do it. Still the Government doing it is in

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the direction in which this House has gone on those three occasions, agreeing in that respect with the other branch of the Legislature, and I should be sorry that, for reasons such as these, the Senate should leave the Government in the position of being unable to carry out its pledge that this road should be built.

The House divided on the amendment, which was agreed to, on the following division:—

CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Armand,	McKindsey,
Baillargeon,	Merner.
Bellerose,	Miller,
Chaffers,	O'Donohoe,
Dever,	Paquet,
Flint,	Perley,
Grant,	Read,
Haythorne,	Reesor,
McCallum,	Stevens,
McClelan,	Sullivan,
McInnes, (B.C.)	Vidal—22.

NON-CONTENTS :

Hon. Messrs.

Abbott,	McMillan,
Carvell,	Odell,
Girard,	Poirier,
Kaulbach,	Power,
MacInnes, (Burlington),	Ross—11.
Sanford.	

HON. MR. McMILLAN—The hon. gentleman from Alma has not voted.

HON. MR. OGILVIE—The reason I have not voted is that I have paired with the hon. member for Grandville (Mr. Pelletier), who was anxious to go home.

HON. MR. ALMON—I did not vote, because I paired with the hon. gentleman from Cape Breton (Mr. McKay).

QU'APPELLE, LONG LAKE AND SASKATCHEWAN RAILWAY CO.'S BILL.

FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

A Message was received from the House of Commons with Bill (151), "An Act respecting a certain Agreement therein mentioned with the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway and Steamship Company."

The Bill was read the first time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is a Bill to sanction an arrangement made between the Government and this company in aid

of the construction of this road. The principle of it is that there is a sum to be paid per annum on the construction of the railway to a point at or near Saskatoon, on condition that services, in the way of postal services, carriage of troops, police supplies, and so on, shall be credited to the payment of the money. It goes north into a country entirely devoid of railway facilities, and it is very important that it shall be constructed. This mode of doing it was offered, and it was thought expedient by the Government to accept it. I move the suspension of Rule 41 as regards this Bill, and that it be read the second time.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

The Bill then passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, was read the third time, and passed.

RAILWAY LAND SUBSIDIES BILL.

FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

A Message was received from the House of Commons with Bill (152), "An Act to authorize the granting of Subsidies in Land to certain Railway Companies."

The Bill was read the first time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of the Bill. He said: The purport of this Bill is sufficiently disclosed by its title, but I should like to say a word or two as to the various companies which are about to be assisted in this way should this House pass the Bill. The first railway mentioned is the North-Western Coal and Navigation Company. This company is a corporation which has already made itself extremely useful in the North-West by opening up communication between the Canadian Pacific Railway and the settlements in the interior, and the coal mines.

HON. MR. MILLER—Is this a revote?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; this is a subsidy in land. The land is situate on either side of the railway from Lethbridge to Dunmore. At present, I believe it is a narrow gauge railway, and the grant is made on condition that the gauge be made the standard width.

The next is a subsidy to the Red Deer Valley Railway. The country called the

Valley of the Red Deer River is considered to be one of the most valuable and the richest for settlement in the North-West, lying near the base of the Rocky Mountains and east of Calgary. There is a proposition from English capitalists—the company is formed in Toronto—to build this road from its terminus near Cheadle station to its terminus at a point in or near Township 29, Range 23, west of the Fourth Meridian, a distance of about 55 miles.

The next, the North-Western Railway of Canada, is a road which will commence at Calgary, running southerly to Lethbridge, a distance of about 120 miles, opening up the corresponding country south of the railway to the Red Deer Valley to that north of it. Practically, it will be a line running along the base of the Rocky Mountains, opening up a country suitable for ranching and farming purposes.

The next one is the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal. This is a small grant to an extent of 6,000 acres per mile for 17 miles. It is intended to open up communication between Lake Manitoba and Portage la Prairie. The company is chartered by Parliament this Session for the purpose of constructing this railway and canal, and this grant is proposed to be made in aid of that. These are all the grants which it is proposed to make in the Territories. The other clauses in the Bill are the usual provisions as to when the grants are to be made available.

HON. MR. POWER—We have been in the habit in the past of looking upon grants of lands as being of very little consequence, but I think the time has come when we should look a little more carefully at land grants to these railway companies. I see from statements made in the other House by the Minister of the Interior that the bulk of the available agricultural lands in the North-West has now been taken up—either granted to railway companies or granted to settlers—and I may say that I think this is an unwise policy, granting large quantities of the best lands in the North-West in aid of colonization roads. As to the first of these companies, there is to be a grant of 2,600 acres per mile, and that is in addition to the grant which the company

have already for a portion of the line; and for the remainder of the line they are to have 6,400 acres per mile. That is the North-Western Coal and Navigation Company. Then the Red Deer Valley Railway and Coal Company get 6,400 acres per mile for fifty-five miles. The North-Western Railway gets 10,000 acres per mile for 120 miles. Hon. gentlemen will see that we are voting away millions and millions of acres of the balance of the land which we have left in the North-West, and I contend that that is an unwise policy. The bulk of the best lands ought to be reserved in the hands of the Government for settlers. It should not be handed either to companies or to individuals, and we shall probably have the Government, at some future day, buying back these lands at a very considerable figure, as they have already done with some of the lands which have been granted to railway companies. Those land grants in the past have not been as useful or as satisfactory to railway companies as very moderate grants of money have been. I am satisfied that there is not one of those roads which would not take \$1,000 a mile in cash in preference to the liberal land grants that are made here, and I cannot help feeling that a small grant of money would be better for the company and much better for the country by-and-bye.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—If these are colonization companies, I do not think they would be of such benefit to colonization without land to colonize. I do not think any Government can settle those lands as readily as the colonization companies can. It is to the interest of those companies to have the lands settled along their lines, and they will make every effort to do so. I would be glad to see all those lands disposed of if we could only get them settled, and by that means we will not have the expense upon us which we now have in connection with the Indians. I believe that they would be more easily looked after and cared for, and be less trouble to the Government and less expense to the country if the lands were all settled.

HON. MR. POWER—I will call my hon. friend's attention to the fact that the argument which he has used with respect

to these roads was the very argument used in the Session of 1881 in defence of the land grants to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It was asserted that that company would settle the country much more rapidly than the Government could, but what is the fact? Eight years have gone by, and we have yet to see any large number of settlers brought in by that company; the settlers have been brought in by the Government.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I believe the company give as many facilities for settlement on their lands as the Government do.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This land grant is an old one. But with reference to the objection which the hon. gentleman from Halifax makes, how would these lands be settled without railways?

HON. MR. POWER—Give the railways small grants in cash.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Private companies will not build those railways where there is no population at present and no traffic. The land grant is a valuable asset for the company, which enables them to float bonds, and they might find themselves in a difficult position with regard to small money grants. The hon. gentleman's suggestion might be a good one, but it is a suggestion in which a great many members do not concur.

HON. MR. REESOR—My hon. friend from Halifax answered his own argument against the Bill when he said that these companies would probably rather accept one or two thousand dollars per mile than 6,000 or 10,000 acres per mile. When we take into account the expensive manner in which the Government manage their lands, and the little advantage it is to settlers for the Government to continue controlling them, and the fact that we are expending a sum about twice as large as we realize out of them, I believe railway companies could not do worse, and on the whole would do better. If they get a grant of land in order to build their railway they can utilize it as security on which to issue bonds and raise money to build their road. I think, on the whole, the policy is a wise one, if the Government will hedge around

the agreement with such restrictions as will not allow the companies to waste the land.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I entirely concur in the justice of the suggestion of the hon. gentleman for hedging the grants with conditions; but the Government is not obliged to give up the lands until the conditions have been performed.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time. The Bill then passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, was read the third time, and passed.

TOWN OF COBOURG BILL.

FIRST AND SECOND READINGS.

A Message was received from the House of Commons with Bill (153), "An Act for the relief of the Corporation of the Town of Cobourg."

The Bill was read the first time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is a Bill which, I regret to say, I had overlooked, and can only state that it appears to authorize the Governor in Council to release the town of Cobourg from a balance due by that corporation under an Act of Parliament. I move that the Bill be read the second time now; the third reading can stand until I can explain it in a proper manner.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time.

RAILWAY SUBSIDIES BILL.

FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD READINGS.

A Message was received from the House of Commons with Bill (148), "An Act to authorize the granting of Subsidies in aid of the construction of the Lines of Railway therein mentioned."

The Bill was read the first time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved the second reading of the Bill. He said: Of course everybody understands the purport of this Bill. It embodies the subsidies which the Government propose to grant this Session. These subsidies, as compared with previous years, reach a comparatively small sum—about \$1,600,000, not more than our surplus for the past year. The

second clause of the Bill gives some facilities for proceeding with the Baie de Chaleur Railway, by allowing them to appropriate the subsidy to thirty miles of it—

HON. MR. POWER—To the two directors?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; supposing there were sixty miles of subsidized road, they propose to allow them to use the whole of the subsidy for the first thirty miles, providing they give security for the construction of the other thirty miles, by depositing \$200,000 of their bonds, and as they cannot make their road without issuing bonds and building a portion of it, that will be full security. I move that the rule be suspended, and that the Bill be read the second time.

HON. MR. POWER—I should like to have an expression as to these railway subsidies from the hon. member from De la Durantaye (Mr. Ross). I notice that he smiled a good deal while my hon. friend was speaking.

HON. MR. ROSS—I think at this late hour of the Session it is rather exacting of the hon. member to ask for an expression of opinion, but if he must have one I shall be glad to give it at the morning session to-morrow. In the meantime, if the hon. gentleman would like to have my opinion on any one of these grants I am prepared to give it now. As a whole, I must say that I approve of the appropriations made, and I am prepared to vote for them.

HON. MR. POWER—The hon. leader of the House told us that this Bill disposes of only about \$1,600,000.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—About that.

HON. MR. POWER—I think it is a good deal more than that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am speaking of the new grants.

HON. MR. POWER—The total amount is considerably more than that.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—We have already had my hon. friend's censure for the rest; I do not think it is fair to censure us again for those which are not new.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. POWER—The things which were censurable before are censurable when they are renewed, and the hon. gentleman has had an intimation that because the Senate may have thought it proper to do a thing once or twice it does not follow that the Senate will do it again. We dispose by this Bill of some \$2,500,000. The hon. gentleman spoke of the subsidies that we are called upon to vote as being about the amount of the surplus for the current year. I presume the hon. gentleman based that statement on the original estimates of his colleague, which were \$44,635,000.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—No; I did not suppose there was a surplus of that amount.

HON. MR. POWER.—That was the original estimate for the current year—\$44,635,000; but we have added to that already something like \$7,000,000, and I imagine the surplus has “gone where the woodbine twineth,” and a long way too. This measure is one that we get every year now. This system of subsidizing local railways which can in no sense be spoken of as for the general benefit of Canada is a policy introduced previous to the election of 1882 by the hon. gentleman who is now High Commissioner to England. It is a most vicious system, as I think everyone who reflects quietly on the subject will see. It enables the members to put pressure upon the Government, each member claiming that unless he gets a subsidy for a railway in his county, which is of no value to the country at large, and which may be of no value to anyone when constructed, he will withdraw his support from the Government; and I imagine if the hon. gentleman who leads the House would tell the secrets of the Privy Council there is no part of the business of the Government which causes more worry and anxiety than settling these claims as to subsidies. Then, on the other hand, it enables the Government, particularly when an election is coming off, to offer bribes to constituencies, which are often very hard to resist. It works badly both ways: it prevents the Government from being independent and prevents the constituencies from being independent. And further, it has this effect: railways which have no right to be built at all,

which are not required, and which have no business to sustain them, are subsidized by Parliament. They are given a status in the money market of London, their bonds are floated there, and then we have the unfortunate English bondholders discovering, as in the case of the Caraqueet Railway, that they hold securities which are of no value. A railway company which is represented as capable of earning considerably more than working expenses is not able to earn half its working expenses, and we are offering a premium to transactions of a character that I do not care to characterize, but transactions which are hardly legitimate. As the hon. gentleman from Dela Durantaye said, it is rather late to go over this Bill in detail, but there are two or three of the subsidies which I noticed as the hon. gentleman read them over. There was the transaction with respect to the Baie des Chaleurs Railway, which attracted a good deal of attention in another place. The calculations were gone into, and the correctness of those calculations was not denied. They showed that the company, under the grant made to them here, would have all the money that had been paid for the construction of the road, and something in their pockets besides. There is one work here which may be claimed to come properly under the jurisdiction of this Parliament—that is, the St. Clair tunnel. If that tunnel could not be constructed without a subsidy, it is a legitimate enterprise, to be aided by this Parliament. With respect to these votes to the Quebec and Montmorency Railway Company, the second subsidy must have been intended to conciliate the member who thought the first subsidy did not go far enough. Then there were, as everybody knows, some curious disclosures as to the Fredericton bridge in the other Chamber. That is a case where it appears that a parliamentary supporter sometimes costs the country, if he does not cost the Government, a good deal. There is a grant here to the Great Eastern Railway Company, for twenty miles of their railway from the East end of the line subsidized by the Act 50-51 Vict., chapter 24, at St. Gregoire, towards the Chaudière Junction station on the Intercolonial Railway in the Province of Quebec, a subsidy not exceeding \$3,200

per mile, nor exceeding on the whole \$64,000. That is a subsidy to which there can be no reasonable objection. If, instead of building the Short Line and wasting a lot of money in the State of Maine, the Government had continued the Intercolonial Railway to Montreal along the south shore of the St. Lawrence they would have done a better work. Then there is the St. Catharines and Niagara Central Railway Company. It occurs to me that there are already sufficient means of communication between Hamilton and St. Catharines without subsidizing another railway. Then there is this grant to the Hereford Railway Company for fifteen miles. I think it would be proper if the Bill contained some provision that the workmen on that railway should be paid. There are other items in the Bill which I think objectionable, but at this late hour of the evening I do not propose to criticise them.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I see that 70 or 80 per cent. of the cost of the Fredericton bridge has been loaned by the Government on the security of that bridge. Does this \$30,000 go to reduce the indebtedness to the Government?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—As I understand, the Government has given nothing towards the bridge until now.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I was under the impression that the Government had loaned about 70 per cent. of the cost.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—They loaned some money on it.

HON. MR. POWER—I am sorry to see that amongst all of the subsidies, nearly all of them purely local, I do not see any to the Musquidobit Railway, a very important line in the Province of Nova Scotia, to which the present High Commissioner in England promised aid last Session.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I must say that my hon. friend is very moderate in his criticism of the Bill. I might mention, with regard to two or three of the subsidies, that the opposition which was manifested to them in the Lower House was as local as the subsidy. It was purely from political opponents and political squabbles between them, arising out of

anything but the merits of the railways. The figures named respecting the Baie des Chaleurs Railway are like a great many other calculations—they contain a great deal more ingenuity than truth. No doubt the company will issue bonds on their loan, but capitalists are different people from those I have ever had occasion to meet if they loan more money on bonds than is needed for the construction of the railway, to enable the company to put the proceeds in their pocket.

HON. MR. POWER—That happened both in the case of the Caraqueet and the Albert Railway.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—Because a house-breaker may steal your plate, it is not an argument against having plate. These companies succeeded in cheating their bondholders, but that is not the basis on which the calculation was made, that the company was to issue an enormous amount of bonds more than were needed for the railway that they might pocket a portion of the proceeds. Having floated so many bonds myself, I do not attach much importance to that objection, unless they succeed in cheating the people to whom they expect to sell those bonds. My hon. friend speaks of the system. The system is not one commenced by this Government; it was commenced by another Government, and was prosecuted to a large extent in Ontario before this Government entered upon its career at all.

HON. MR. POWER—The local Government had the right to assist local railways.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—I am not saying that the system is a good one, unless it could be confined to railways of general utility, opening up the country generally, and opening up tracts that would not otherwise be opened. But when I inform my hon. friend that the demands on the Government for subsidies amounted to \$22,000,000 this year, and they were able to resist it all but a million and a-half, he will perceive that they have not gone into this system of bribery to any extent, and they exercised a good deal of consideration before they could decide which of these applications best deserved the support of the Government.

HON. MR. ABBOTT.

HON. MR. POWER—Think what a Bill we shall have the year before the election!

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second time, passed through Committee of the Whole without amendment, read the third time, and passed.

The Senate adjourned at 10:10 p.m.

THE SENATE.

Ottawa, Thursday, 2nd May, 1889.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 11 a.m.

Prayers and routine proceedings.

TOWN OF COBOURG RELIEF BILL.

THIRD READING.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on Bill (153), "An Act for the relief of the Corporation of the Town of Cobourg."

(In the Committee.)

HON. MR. ABBOTT said: This Bill has reference to a balance due by the town of Cobourg on the purchase of a toll road which is referred to in the Bill—a balance of about \$19,000. The arrangement which has been made is that this toll road shall be given up and made free to the public. It is a somewhat important road in that section of the country, and in consideration of making that road free the Government will relinquish its claim to the balance of the money. It seems to be a judicious arrangement.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—I presume it is the interest of the Province of Ontario to relieve the public of the tolls on this road.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—This is the balance due on the toll road. The Province of Ontario might buy the toll road if they thought proper, but it was thought better to make the road free.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—Are there many such cases in the Province of Ontario?

HON. MR. ABBOTT—None that I know of.

HON. MR. HAYTHORNE, from the committee, reported the Bill without amendment.

The Bill was then read the third time, and passed.

THE SUPPLY BILL.

A Message was received from the House of Commons with Bill (147), "An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of Money required for defraying certain Expenses of the Public Service for the Financial Years ending respectively the 30th June, 1889, and the 30th June, 1890, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service."

The Bill was read the first time.

HON. MR. ABBOTT moved that the Bill be now read the second time.

HON. MR. MILLER—I rise to a question of order. It would be necessary for the hon. gentleman to get the leave of the House to the suspension of the 41st Rule with regard to this Bill. Before that motion is put, I want to know whether or not there is a grant of half a million of dollars towards the Short Line of railway in the Supply Bill, and if so, whether any attempt will be made to expend any of that money until authority is obtained from Parliament for the construction of the Short Line road.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—As to the first question, I shall be obliged to look at the Bill before answering; as to the second question, I may say most positively that no expenditure of any kind will be made on this road until it is sanctioned by Parliament. I move that the 41st Rule of the House be suspended with respect to this Bill, and that it be read the second time.

HON. MR. POWER—I think the hon. gentleman should give us some explanation of the Bill. Unless I am mistaken, it disposes of about \$50,000,000. The hon. gentleman's friends in former years thought that \$24,000,000 was a very extravagant amount for this country to expend each year, and there has not been

any very marked change in the population or the wealth of this country since that time. During the discussions we had this Session it transpired that the trade of the country was very little greater, in fact not as great as it was when the expenditure of the country was only about \$22,000,000; and now the hon. gentleman brings down estimates calling for something like \$50,000,000, an expenditure of about \$38,000,000, at any rate, in place of the \$22,000,000 of several years ago; and this \$22,000,000 was thought to be an exorbitant amount. I think the hon. gentleman owes to the House and to the country some explanation of the fact that he and others, who thought that the former Government were reprehensible for expending \$24,000,000, are now proposing to spend something like \$40,000,000 without any explanation. Inconsistency is, perhaps, the order of the day now, but this is a very glaring inconsistency, and I think the House should have some explanation.

HON. MR. MILLER—Do you not think it is better to be right than always consistent?

HON. MR. POWER—I think it is well to be consistent, but I do not believe in being bigoted in my consistency, and if the hon. gentleman is able to show any substantial reason why the expenditure has increased so enormously, then, perhaps, I should be willing to admit that he and his Government were not to blame for it.

HON. MR. CARVELL—I suppose my hon. friend from Halifax can remember—if he does not, some of his friends may remember—when two and a-half yards of cloth to make a pair of pants for him would have been a very reckless appropriation. Since that he has grown up, and requires more.

HON. MR. POWER—But we have not grown.

HON. MR. ROSS—I would remind the hon. gentleman that he should not disparage his own country. When he says that Canada is as poor now as it was twenty years ago, I do not think he is treating the country as it ought to be treated.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—My hon. friend has just said what I was going to say. When the hon. member from Halifax says that there has been no improvement in the country, that the business of the country is not larger now than it was twelve years ago, when we were under the *regime* of the party to which he belongs, he must be blind to what is apparent to every one else.

HON. MR. POWER—I notice the hon. gentleman has grown a little since then.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The hon. gentleman says the trade of the country has not increased since then. It has quadrupled.

HON. MR. POWER—The Blue Books do not show it.

HON. MR. KAULBACH—The Blue Books do not show the internal trade of the country. We have grown since then. We were then a little people; we are now a great country. At that time only a portion of the Dominion was known; now we know more about it. It is not fair to make a comparison such as the hon. gentleman has instituted.

HON. MR. FLINT—I think the hon. member from Halifax should not complain after the vote he gave last night, which certainly would have increased our expenditure by \$3,000,000, and perhaps \$5,000,000. I think he is the last man to complain of the increasing expenditure. As for explanation, I do not know what explanation can be given by the leader of the House.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend from Halifax asks me the question that he has put with very little anticipation, no doubt, of receiving a detailed answer to it. To take up the items of the Estimates and go through them one by one would be unprecedented and difficult. It would prolong the Session indefinitely, and after all I presume the Senate would hardly determine to put a stop to the affairs of the country altogether for the coming year. I can answer him in this way, and I hope the answer will be satisfactory to the House: the appropriations which are comprised in the Bill before the House are all required for the public

service. They were considered most carefully by the Government before they were submitted to Parliament, and in the other House they have been submitted to a very searching, and in some instances a scathing criticism. We have now what remains after this very careful criticism, and I think I may venture to say that the Bill shows the expenditure to be based upon the most economical rules possible, consistent with the public service.

HON. MR. POWER—The result of all the criticism was that \$5,000 was stricken out of the Estimates.

HON. MR. ABBOTT—My hon. friend does not want to pass a vote of censure upon the other House for not striking out more of it.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was read the second and third times, and passed.

The Senate adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

THE PROROGATION.

This day, at Three o'clock P.M., His EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL proceeded in state to the Senate Chamber and took his seat upon the Throne. The Members of the Senate being assembled, His Excellency was pleased to command the attendance of the House of Commons, and that House being present, the following Bills were assented to, in Her Majesty's name, by His Excellency the Governor General, viz. :—

An Act to incorporate the Supreme Court of the Independent Order of Foresters.

An Act to incorporate the Union Railway Company

An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter seventy-seven, respecting the Safety of Ships.

An Act for the relief of George MacDonald Bagwell.

An Act for the relief of William Henry Middleton.

An Act for the relief of Arthur Wand.

An Act for the relief of William Gordon Lowry.

An Act further to amend the several Acts relating to the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto.

An Act to amend "The Summary Trials Act."

An Act respecting the Harbor of Belleville, in the Province of Ontario.

An Act to amend the Revised Statute respecting Interest.

An Act to amend "The Fisheries Act," Chapter 95 of the Revised Statutes.

An Act to provide against Frauds in the supplying of Milk to Cheese, Butter and Condensed Milk Manufactories.

An Act respecting a Loan therein mentioned to certain Mennonite Immigrants.

An Act respecting Expropriation of Lands.

An Act to amend "The Post Office Act," Chapter 35 of the Revised Statutes of Canada

An Act to authorize the granting of Pensions to members of the North-West Mounted Police Force.

An Act to incorporate the Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway Company.

An Act to incorporate the North-Western Junction and Lake of the Woods Railway Company.

An Act to amend "The Summary Convictions Act," Chapter 178 of the Revised Statutes, and the Act amending the same.

An Act further to amend "The Inland Revenue Act," Chapter 34 of the Revised Statutes.

An Act further to amend "The General Inspection Act," Chapter 99 of the Revised Statutes.

An Act to extend the provisions of the Extradition Act.

An Act to amend "The Copyright Act," Chapter 62 of the Revised Statutes.

An Act to amend "The Culler's Act," Chapter 103 of the Revised Statutes

An Act further to amend "The Customs Act," Chapter 32 of the Revised Statutes.

An Act further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 5, respecting the Electoral Franchise.

An Act further to amend "The Dominion Lands Act."

An Act for the prevention and suppression of Combinations formed in restraint of Trade.

An Act relating to Bills of Lading.

An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting the North-West Mounted Police Force.

An Act relating to Ocean Steamship Subsidies.

An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter 138 respecting the Judges of Provincial Courts.

An Act respecting a certain Agreement therein mentioned with the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company.

An Act to authorize the granting of Subsidies in aid of the construction of the Lines of Railway therein mentioned.

An Act to authorize the granting of Subsidies in Land to Certain Railway Companies.

An Act for the relief of the Corporation of the Town of Cobourg.

Then the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed His Excellency as follows:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

"The Commons of Canada have voted the Supplies required to enable the Government to defray the expenses of the Public Service.

"In the name of the Commons, I present to Your Excellency the following Bill:

"An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of Money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1889, and the 30th June, 1890, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service, to which Bill I humbly request your Excellency's assent."

To this Bill the Royal Assent was signified in the following words:—

"In Her Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General thanks Her loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence and assents to this Bill."

After which His Excellency was pleased to close the Third Session of the Sixth Parliament with the following Speech:—

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

In relieving you of the arduous labours which the present Session of Parliament has imposed on you, I rejoice that I am able to congratulate you on the number of important and useful measures which have resulted from your deliberations.

I have reason to hope that the authority which you have conferred on my Government will enable them to conclude an arrangement for effective steam communication with Europe and with Asia, whereby the trade and commerce of Canada will be widely extended and the traffic passing over her lines of communication greatly developed.

You have again made liberal provision for extending the railway facilities of the Dominion and for increasing their efficiency.

The Act relating to the Electoral Franchise will, I believe, be found an important improvement, tending to economy and certainty in the administration of that branch of the law.

The measure by which the system of speedy trials for criminals has been extended to the Maritime Provinces is likely to prove a valuable addition to our criminal procedure.

It is gratifying to know that your Address referring to the boundaries of Ontario will lead to the early settlement of the principal question which has remained unsettled to the present time between that Province and the Dominion, in a manner entirely satisfactory to all concerned.

The amendment of the laws relating to copyright will, it is hoped, remove some of the embarrassments under which the printers and publishers of Canada have laboured for some years past, without doing injustice to authors in this or other countries.

You have provided for greater efficiency and economy in the Postal Service, for giving greater facilities for the settlement of our lands in the North-West Territories, and for increasing the safeguards of life and property of our ships.

Many of the other measures, although of a minor character, will be found of great usefulness in conducting the affairs of administration.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

You have liberally provided for the various requirements of the public service.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

In taking leave of you, I congratulate you on the indications of prosperity which appear in all parts of Canada, and on the increasing revenue, which promises amply to meet the appropriations for the year.

I sincerely hope that in the season which is now opening the labours of our people may be blessed by Divine Providence, and that when it shall be my duty to summon you again I shall be able to renew the congratulations which I have already expressed on the marked welfare and progress of the Dominion.

THE SPEAKER of the Senate then said :

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

It is His Excellency the Governor General's will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued until Tuesday, the eleventh day of June next, to be here held, and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued until Tuesday, the eleventh day of June next.

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SESSION 1889

PART I. constitutes an index to the names of Senators, with their action upon the respective subjects. In this part *italics* denote that the Motion, Amendment or Inquiry in question emanated from the Senator mentioned.

PART II. constitutes an analytical index to all subjects debated. Names in *italics* and parenthesis after the subject indicate the *movers*.

The following abbreviations have been employed: Amt., Amendment; Appt., Appointment; B., Bill; Com., Committee; Concurr., Concurrence; Corresp., Correspondence; Dischgd., Discharged; Div'n, Division; H.E., His Excellency; H.M., Her Majesty; Incorp., Incorporation; Inqy., Inquiry; M., Motion; *m.*, moved; Res., Resolution; R.R., Railway; W., Whole House, thus Com. of W., Committee of Whole House; Withdr., Withdrawn.

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1st R.*, 308.
B. withheld, 412.

Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec B. (30.)—*Mr. Macdonald* (Toronto).

1st R.*, 75.
2nd R.*, 114.
3rd R.*, 148.
Assent, 306.

Bay of Quinté Bridge Co.'s B. (75)—*Mr. Flint.*

1st R.*, 286.
2nd R.*, 308.
3rd R.*, 315.
Assent, 537.

Behring Sea Seizures.

Inqy. (Mr. Macdonald, B.C.), whether attention of Govt. has been directed to Proclamation of President of United States concerning, 395; discussed (Mr. McInnes, B.C.), 397; (Mr. Kaulbach, 398.
Answer thereto (Mr. Abbott), 399.

Berlin & Canadian Pacific Junction Railway Co.'s B. (58)—*Mr. Merner.*

1st R.* 285.
2nd R.* 308.
3rd R.* 315.
Assent, 537.

BILLS.**(A) An Act to make further provisions respecting Enquiries concerning Public Matters.—*Mr. Abbott.***

1st R.* 4.
2nd R. postponed, 38; resumed, 40; discussed, 40.
3rd R. in Com. of W., 44; discussed and passed, 44.
Assent, 306.

(B) An Act respecting Corrupt Practices in Municipal Affairs.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 4.
2nd R.* 40.
Rep. from Com, 44.
3rd R., and passed, 45.
Assent, 306.

(C) An Act relating to Bills of Lading.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 4.
M for 2nd R., 45; discussed.
2nd R., 46.
3rd R.* and passed, 71.
Assent, 723.

(D) An Act to amend the Railway Act of 1888.—*Mr. McCallum.*

1st R.* 38.
2nd R. postponed, 41.
2nd R. 46; *m.* discussed, 46-51.
2nd R., 51; M. that B. be referred to Com. on Railways, agreed to; Rep. from Com., 230; amts. concurred in, 231.
Rep. from Com. discussed, 281; 3rd R., and passed, 281.

(E) An Act to permit the Conditional Release of First Offenders in certain cases.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 41.
2nd R. discussed, 70; 2nd R., 70.
3rd R.* and passed, 71.
Assent, 306.

M. for concurr. in amts. by House of Commons agreed to, 148.

(F) An Act for the Relief of William Henry Middleton.—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.
3rd R.* 315.
Assent, 722.

(G) An Act for the Relief of William Gordon Lowry.—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.
M. that rep. from Com. be concurred in, agreed to on div'n, 294.
M for 3rd R., 294; discussed, 295-301.
3rd R., and passed on divisin., (C., 28; N.-C., 23).
Assent, 722.

(H) An Act for the Relief of Bennett Rosamond.—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.

(I) An Act for the Relief of Arthur Wand.—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.
3rd R.* 315.
Assent, 722.

(J) An Act for the Relief of George McDonald Bagwell.—*Mr. Turner.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.
M. for postponement of Rep. from Com. 313; discussed and agreed to, 314.
3rd R., and passed on div'n, 314.
Assent, 722.

(K) An Act to amend Chapter one hundred and twenty-seven of the Revised Statutes, respecting Interest.—*Mr. Power.*

1st R.* 148.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 282-5; amt. carried on div'n and B. rejected, 285.

(L) An Act respecting the Collection of certain Tolls and Dues therein mentioned.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 148.
2nd R., 183.
In Com. of W., discussed and rep. from Com., 305.
3rd R., and passed, 306.
Assent, 537.

(M) An Act to amend the Summary Trials Act.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 163.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, and 2nd R., 278.
3rd R.* 302.
Assent, 722.

(N) An Act to amend the Revised Statutes respecting Interest.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 163.

- 2nd R., M. for discussed, and 2nd R., 278-308.
In Com., discussed, 323-65.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 366.
Assent, 722.
- (O) An Act to amend the Summary Convictions Act, Chapter one hundred and seventy-eight in the Revised Statutes, and the Act amending the same.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R.*. 163.
M. for 2nd R., 301; discussed, 302.
2nd R., 202.
In Com. of W., discussed, 310.
Rep. from Com. with ams., 311; concurred in, 312.
3rd R., and passed, 313.
Commons ams. concurred in, discussed, 560-2.
Assent, 723.
- (P) An Act respecting the Expropriation of Lands.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R.*. 163.
M. for 2nd R. agreed to, 311.
2nd R., 311.
In Com., discussed, 325-7.
Rep. from Com. without ams., 327.
Commons ams. accepted, 589.
Assent, 723.
- (Q) An Act to revise certain regulations respecting the Fisheries in Nova Scotia.—*Mr. Power.*
- 1st R.*. 308.
M. for postponement of 2nd R., 320; discussed, 320-4.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 366-70.
2nd R. on div'n (C., 20; N.-C.; 18), 370.
In Com. of W., discussed, 410.
M. for six months' hoist, 410; agreed to on div'n (C., 32; N.-C., 12), 412.
- (R) An Act further to amend the Bank Act, Chapter one hundred and twenty of the Revised Statutes of Canada.—*Mr. Clemow.*
- 1st R.*. 308.
B. withdr., 412.
- (S) An Act to amend Chapter one hundred and forty-eight of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intitled: An Act respecting the improper use of Fire-arms and other Weapons.—*Mr. Read.*
- 1st R.*. 308.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 376-7.
2nd R., 377.
In Com. of W., discussed, 427-9.
Rep. from Com. with ams., 429.
Discussed, 449.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 450.
- (T) An Act for better Securing the Safety of certain Fishermen.—*Mr. Power.*
- 1st R.*. 312.
M. for postponement 2nd R. agreed to, 321.
In Com., 406; discussed, 408; 2nd R., 409.
In Com., discussed, rep. from Com. and ams. concurred in, 431; 3rd R. and passed, 432.
- (U) Adulteration Act further amendment.
- B. withdr., 534.
- (V) An Act to amend the Act respecting Escapes and Rescues, Chapter one hundred and fifty-five of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R., 454.
2nd R., 475.
In Com., discussed, 534.
Rep. from Com., without amt., 535.
3rd R., and passed, 535.
- (W) An Act further to amend the Dominion Lands Act.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R.*. 487.
2nd R.* and 3rd R.* and passed, 531.
Assent, 723.
- (X) An Act further to amend the Dominion Lands Act.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- M. for 2nd R. discussed, 535-6.
2nd R., 536.
In Com. of W., discussed, and rep. from Com., 539.
3rd R., and passed, 539.
- (Y) An Act to amend Chapter forty-five of the Revised Statutes, respecting the North-West Mounted Police Force.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R.*. 536.
M. for 2nd R., 542; discussed, 543.
2nd R., 543.
In Com. of W., discussed, 544-54.
Ams. concurred in, 554.
3rd R., and passed, 582.
Assent, 723.
- () An Act relating to Railways.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R.*. 4.
- (2) An Act to permit Foreign Vessels to aid Vessels Wrecked or Disabled in Canadian Waters.—*Mr. Vidal.*
- 1st R., 311.
M. for 2nd R., discussed, 332-40.
M. for six months' hoist, 342; discussed, 342-5.
Amt. carried on div'n (C. 34; N.-C., 26), 346.
- (4) An Act further to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter five, respecting the Electoral Franchise.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R.*. 544.
2nd R., 560.
M. for Com. of W. on, 583; discussed, 586; agreed to, in Com., 586; discussed; rep. from Com., 588.
3rd R.*. and passed, 596.
Assent, 723.

- (11) An Act for the Prevention and Suppression of Combinations formed in restraint of Trade.—*Mr. McCallum.*
 1st R.*. 583.
 2nd R. discussed, 621; agreed to, 622.
 In Com. of W., 631; discussed, 631-51.
 M. to concur in ams. agreed to on div'n (C., 28; N.-C., 12), 651.
 M. subjecting Trades Unions to this Act agreed to on div'n (C., 26; N.-C., 15), 651.
 M. for 3rd R. discussed, 651-2.
 Amt. to 5th clause lost on div'n (C., 8; N.-C., 28), 653.
 M. for six months' hoist lost on div'n (C., 6; N.-C., 31), 654.
 3rd R.*. and passed, 654.
 Assent, 723.
- (14) An Act to incorporate the Alberta Railway and Coal Co.—*Mr. Ogilvie.*
 1st R.*. 72.
 2nd R.*. 74.
 3rd R.*. 75.
 Assent, 306.
- (15) An Act respecting the Kootenay & Athabasca Railway Co.—*Mr. Reid (B.C.).*
 1st R.*. 72.
 2nd R.*. 74.
 3rd R.*. 75.
 Assent, 306.
- (16) An Act to provide against Fraud in the supplying of Milk to Cheese and Butter Manufactories.—*Mr. Read (Quinté).*
 1st R.*. 311.
 2nd R.*. 315.
 Referred to Special Com., discussed, agreed to, 359.
 Discussed, 455-6.
 3rd R.*. 531.
 Assent, 722.
- (17) An Act to make further provision respecting the Speedy Trial of certain Indictable Offences.—*Mr. Abbott.*
 1st R.*. 285.
 2nd R.*. 314.
 In Com. of W., discussed, and rep. without ams., 318.
 3rd R.*. and passed, 328.
 Assent, 538.
- (19) An Act to incorporate the Assiniboia, Edmonton and Unjiga Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow.*
 1st R.*. 75.
 2nd R.*. 114.
 3rd R.*. 148.
 Assent, 306.
- (20) An Act to incorporate the Hawkesbury Lumber Co.—*Mr. Clemow.*
 1st R.*. 75.
- 2nd R.*. 114.
 3rd R.*. 148.
 Assent, 306.
- (21) An Act respecting the New Brunswick & Prince Edward Railway Co., and to change the name of the Company to the New Brunswick & Prince Edward Island Railway Co.—*Mr. Botsford.*
 1st R.*. 74.
 2nd R.*. 74.
 Rep. from Com., 147.
 3rd R., and passed as amended, 147.
 Assent, 306.
- (22) An Act to incorporate the Assets and Debenture Co. of Canada.—*Mr. Scott.*
 1st R.*. 148.
 2nd R.*. 183.
 3rd R.*. and passed, 399.
 Assent, 537.
- (24) An Act to incorporate the Dominion Life Insurance Co.—*Mr. Merner.*
 1st R.*. 75.
 2nd R.*. 114.
 3rd R.*. 163.
 Assent, 306.
- (25) An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Boiler Inspection and Insurance Co. of Canada.—*Mr. Macdonald (Toronto).*
 1st R.*. 75.
 2nd R.*. 114.
 3rd R.*. 163.
 Assent, 306.
- (26) An Act to amend the Act respecting Certificates of Masters and Mates of Ships, Chapter seventy-three of Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
 1st R.*. 286.
 M. for 2nd R., 308; discussed, 309.
 2nd R.*. 310.
 Discussion in Com. of W. postponed, 325.
 In Com. of W., 372.
 Rep. from Com., 373.
 3rd R., and passed as amended, 373.
 Assent, 537.
- (26) An Act further to amend the Adulteration Act, Chapter one hundred and seven of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
 1st R.*. 395.
- (27) An Act to amend the Weights and Measures Act, Chapter one hundred and sixty-four of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
 1st R.*.

- M. for 2nd R. discussed, 69.
2nd R., 69.
3rd R.*. 71.
Assent, 306.
- (30) An Act respecting the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.—*Mr. Macdonald* (Toronto).
1st R.*. 75.
2nd R., 114.
3rd R.*. 148.
Assent, 306.
- (31) An Act to incorporate the Red Deer Valley Railway & Coal Co.—*Mr. Hardisty*.
1st R.*. 74.
2nd R.*. 75.
3rd R.*. 114.
Assent, 306.
- (32) An Act to incorporate the Victoria, Saanich & New Westminster Railway Co.—*Mr. Power*.
1st R.*. 91.
2nd R.*. 129.
3rd R., and passed, 147.
Assent, 306.
- (33) An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Prescott County Railway Co., and to change the name of the Co. to the Central Counties Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow*.
1st R.*. 146.
2nd R.*. 164.
Rep. from Com. of W. discussed, 286-7.
Referred back to Com., 306.
Rep. from Com. of W. discussed, 312.
3rd R., and passed, 312.
Assent, 537.
- (34) An Act to incorporate the Canadian General Trust Co.—*Mr. Ogilvie*.
1st R.*. 148.
2nd R., 280.
Rep. from Com. of W., amts. concurr., 303.
3rd R.*. 308.
Assent, 537.
- (35) An Act respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Co.—*Mr. McCallum*.
1st R.*. 74.
2nd R.*. 75.
3rd R.*. 114.
Assent, 306.
- (37) An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Massawippi Junction Railway Co.—*Mr. Stevens*.
1st R.*. 359.
2nd R.*. 373.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 430.
Assent, 537.
- (39) An Act respecting the Hamilton Central Railway Co.—*Mr. Sanford*.
1st R.*. 146.
2nd R.*. 164.
3rd R.*. 231.
Assent, 306.
- (40) An Act respecting the Lake Nipissing & James Bay Railway Co., and to change the name of the Co. to the Nipissing and James Bay Railway Co.—*Mr. Turner*.
1st R.*. 147.
2nd R.*. 164.
3rd R.*. 231.
Assent, 306.
- (41) An Act to incorporate the Calgary, Alberta & Montana Railway Co.—*Mr. Turner*.
1st R.*. 146.
2nd R.*. 164.
3rd R.*. 231.
Assent, 306.
- (42) An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company.—*Mr. Turner*.
1st R.*. 147.
2nd R.*. 164.
Rep. from Com., 303.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 303.
Assent, 537.
- (43) An Act to incorporate the Ottawa, Morrisburg & New York Railway Co.—*Mr. Read*.
1st R.*. 148.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 184.
M. for 2nd R. re-discussed, 280.
2nd R., 280.
Rep. from Com., 377; discussed, 377-89.
Amt. lost on div'n. (C., 27; N.-C., 27.)
M. agreed to, 394.
- (44) An Act to incorporate the Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society.—*Mr. McClelan*.
1st R.*. 184.
2nd R.*. 281.
3rd R.*. 312.
Assent, 537.
- (45) An Act to revise and amend the Acts relating to the St. Gabriel Levee & Railway Co.—*Mr. Ogilvie*.
1st R.*. 146.
2nd R.*. 164.
Rep., from Com., discussed, 286.
3rd R. and passed, 317.
Assent, 537.
- (46) An Act to amend the Act respecting Queen's College at Kingston.—*Mr. Vidal*.
1st R.*. 184.

- 2nd R., 280.
3rd R., 312.
Assent, 537.
- (47) An Act to amend the Act incorporating the Kingston, Smith's Falls and Ottawa Railway Co.—*Mr. Sullivan.*
- 1st R., 146.
2nd R., 164.
3rd R., 231.
Assent, 306.
- (48) An Act to Consolidate the Borrowing Powers of the Ontario Loan and Debenture Co., and to authorize them to issue Debenture Stock.—*Mr. McMillan.*
- 1st R., 148.
2nd R., 280.
Rep. from Com., as amended, 304.
3rd R., 304.
Assent, 537.
- (49) An Act respecting the Alberta and Athabasca Railway Co., and to change the name of the Co. to The Great North-Western Railway Co.—*Mr. McMillan.*
- 1st R., 311.
M. for 2nd R. postponed, 314.
2nd R., 318.
Rep. from Com. 346.
3rd R., and passed, 346.
Assent, 537.
- (51) An Act respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow.*
- 1st R., 146.
2nd R., 164.
3rd R., 231.
Assent, 306.
- (52) An Act to incorporate the Lac Seul Railway Co.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R., 146.
2nd R., 148.
3rd R., 231.
Assent, 306.
- (54) An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter seventy-seven, respecting the Safety of Ships.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R., 449.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, and
2nd R., 450.
In Com. of W., discussed, 472-3.
Rep. from Com., and
3rd R., and passed as amended, 473.
Assent, 722.
- (55) An Act respecting the Rules of Court in relation to Criminal Matters.—*Mr. Abbott.*
- 1st R., 147.
2nd R., 165.
In Com. of W., discussed, rep. from Com., 279.
3rd R., and passed, 305.
Assent, 537.
- (57) An Act to incorporate the Cobourg, Northumberland & Pacific Railway Co.—*Mr. Flint.*
- 1st R., 148.
2nd R., 280.
3rd R., 312.
Assent, 537.
- (58) An Act respecting the Berlin & Canadian Pacific Junction Railway Co.—*Mr. Merner.*
- 1st R., 285.
2nd R., 308.
3rd R., 315.
Assent, 537.
- (59) An Act respecting the South Ontario Pacific Railway Co.—*Mr. McMillan.*
- 1st R., 146.
2nd R., 164.
3rd R., 231.
Assent, 306.
- (60) An Act respecting Steam Vessels to be used in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway.—*Mr. Scott.*
- 1st R., 146.
2nd R., 165.
Referred back to Com. on Railways on *m.* (Mr. Scott), discussed, 165.
Rep. from Com., 231.
3rd R., 231.
Assent, 306.
- (61) An Act to incorporate the Manitoba & South-Eastern Railway Co.—*Mr. Sutherland.*
- 1st R., 148.
2nd R., 183.
Amts. concurr. in, and 3rd R. and passed, 430.
Commons amts. rejected, discussed, 539-41.
Assent, 723.
- (62) An Act to incorporate the Lake Manitoba Railway & Canal Co.—*Mr. Perley.*
- 1st R., 359.
2nd R., 373.
Rep. from Com. with amts., 395.
3rd R., and passed, 395.
Assent, 537.
- (63) An Act to enable the City of Winnipeg to utilize the Assiniboine River Water-power.—*Mr. Girard.*
- 1st R., 359.
2nd R., 373.
3rd R., 395.
Assent, 537.

- (64) An Act respecting the St. Lawrence & Atlantic Junction Railway Co.—*Mr. McMillan*.
1st R.*, 146.
2nd R., 165.
3rd R.*, 286.
Assent, 537.
- (65) An Act respecting the Atlantic & North-West Railway Co.—*Mr. McMillan*.
1st R.*, 311.
2nd R., 319.
Rep. from Com., 346.
3rd R., and passed, 363.
Assent, 537.
- (66) An Act to ratify an Exchange of Land between the Ontario & Quebec Railway Co. and the Land Security Co.—*Mr. Scott*.
1st R.*, 285.
2nd R.*, 308.
3rd R.*, 315.
Assent, 537.
- (67) An Act to incorporate the Assiniboine Water-power Co.—*Mr. Scott*.
1st R.*, 373.
2nd R.*, 394.
3rd R.*, 449.
Assent, 537.
- (68) An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Co.—*Mr. Scott*.
1st R.*, 454.
2nd R., 457.
3rd R.*, 531.
Assent, 538.
- (69) An Act respecting the Kingston & Pembroke Railway Co.—*Mr. Sutherland*.
1st R.*, 286.
2nd R.*, 308.
Rep. from Com. with amts., 316.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 316.
Assent, 537.
- (73) An Act to incorporate the North-Western Junction and Lake of the Woods Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow*.
1st R.*, 314.
2nd R., 321.
Amts. concurred in, 430.
3rd R., and passed, 430.
Commons amt. rejected; M. discussed and agreed to, 541.
Assent, 723.
- (74) An Act to incorporate the Supreme Court of the Independent Order of Foresters.—*Mr. Read*.
1st R.*, 315.
2nd R.*, 330.
Rep. from Com. with amts., 413.
Amts. concurred in, 431.
3rd R., and passed, 431.
Assent, 722.
- (75) An Act respecting the Bay of Quinté Bridge Co.—*Mr. Flint*.
1st R.*, 286.
2nd R.*, 308.
3rd R.*, 315.
Assent, 537.
- (76) An Act respecting the incorporation of the Northern Pacific & Manitoba Railway Co.—*Mr. Girard*.
1st R.*, 302.
2nd R.*, 308.
3rd R.*, 315.
Assent, 537.
- (77) An Act to further amend the Act incorporating the London & Canadian Loan & Agency Co. (Limited).—*Mr. Power*.
1st R.*, 148.
2nd R.*, 282.
3rd R.*, 302.
Assent, 537.
- (79) An Act to incorporate the Union Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow*.
1st R.*, 359.
2nd R.*, 394.
3rd R.*, 432.
Assent, 722.
- (80) An Act to incorporate the Dominion Mineral Co.—*Mr. Scott*.
1st R.*, 373.
2nd R.*, 394.
3rd R.*, 431.
Assent, 537.
- (81) An Act to incorporate the Canadian Superphosphate Co.—*Mr. Ogilvie*.
1st R.*, 373.
2nd R.*, 394.
3rd R.*, 431.
Assent, 537.
- (82) An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and North Pacific Railway Co.—*Mr. Sutherland*.
1st R.*, 286.
2nd R.*, 308.
Rep. from Com. discussed, 315.
3rd R., 316.
Assent, 537.
- (83) An Act to incorporate the Ontario, Manitoba & Western Railway Co.—*Mr. Sutherland*.
1st R.*, 302.
2nd R.*, 310.
Rep. from Com., 316.

- 3rd R., and passed, 316.
Assent, 537.
- (84) An Act to extend the provisions of the Extradition Act.—*Mr. Power.*
1st R.*; 583.
2nd R.*; 606.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 625.
3rd R.*; and passed, 625.
Assent, 723.
- (85) An Act to incorporate the Moose Jaw & Edmonton Railway Co.—*Mr. Perley.*
1st R.*; 373.
2nd R.*; 412.
Rep. from Com. and amts. concurred in, 431.
3rd R., and passed, 431.
Assent, 538.
- (86) An Act to incorporate the Saskatchewan Railway & Mining Co.—*Mr. Reid (B.C.)*
1st R.*; 373.
2nd R.*; 412.
Rep. from Com. and amts., and
3rd R., and passed, 430.
Assent, 538.
- (87) An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Quebec Board of Trade.—*Mr. Robitaille.*
1st R.*; 314.
2nd R.*; 322.
3rd R.*; 359.
Assent, 537.
- (89) An Act to amend the Charter of Incorporation of the Great North-West Central Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow.*
1st R.*; 311.
2nd R.*; 315.
3rd R.*; 346.
Assent, 537.
- (90) An Act respecting the Kingston & Pembroke Railway Co., and the Napanee, Tamworth & Quebec Railway Co.—*Mr. Read.*
1st R.*; 314.
2nd R.*; 322.
3rd R.*; 373.
Assent, 537.
- (93) An Act to amend the Post Office Act, Chapter thirty-five of the Revised Statutes of Canada.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.*; 543.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 554-9.
2nd R., 559.
In Com. of W., discussed, 599, 604.
3rd R., and passed, 604.
Assent, 723.
- (98) An Act to amend the Winding-up Act, Chapter one hundred and twenty-nine of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Smith.*
1st R.*; 314.
2nd R.*; 322.
In Com., discussed, 363-5; rep. from Com. with amts., 365.
In Com., discussed, 426-7.
3rd R., and passed, 427.
Assent, 537.
- (99) An Act to incorporate the Three Rivers & Western Railway Co.—*Mr. Clemow.*
1st R.*; 359.
2nd R.*; 394.
3rd R.*; 430.
Assent, 537.
- (100) An Act further to amend the Civil Service Act, Chapter seventeen of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Smith.*
1st R.*; 314.
2nd R.*; 328.
In Com. of W., discussed, 399-403.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 403.
Assent, 537.
- (101) An Act to amend the Copyright Act, Chapter sixty-two of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.*; 583.
2nd R.*; 623.
3rd R.*; and passed, 654.
Assent, 723.
- (103) An Act further to amend the Act thirty-six Victoria, Chapter sixty-one, respecting the Trinity House and Harbor Commissioners of Montreal.—*Mr. Ogilvie.*
1st R.*; 315.
2nd R.*; 358.
In Com. of W., discussed, and
3rd R., and passed, 371.
Assent, 537.
- (105) An Act further to amend the Supreme and Exchequer Courts Act.—*Mr. Botsford.*
1st R.*; 315.
2nd R.*; 330.
In Com. of W., discussed, 403-6.
Rep. from Com., and amts. concurred in, 406.
3rd R., and passed, 426.
Assent, 537.
- (107) An Act respecting the Wood Mountain & Qu'Appelle Railway Co.—*Mr. Perley.*
1st R.*; 373.
2nd R.*; 412.
3rd R.*; 430.
Assent, 537.

- (108) An Act to amend Chapter thirteen of the Revised Statutes, intitled: An Act respecting the House of Commons.
1st R.* 315.
2nd R.* 329.
In Com., discussed, 371-2.
3rd R., and passed, 372.
Assent, 537.
- (109) An Act to amend the Law respecting the Exchequer Court of Canada.—*Mr. Botsford.*
1st R.* 315.
2nd R.* 329.
3rd R.* and passed, 370.
Assent, 537.
- (114) An Act to incorporate the Title & Mortgage Guarantee Co. of Canada.—*Mr. Dickey.*
1st R.* 430.
2nd R.* 431.
3rd R.* 454.
Assent, 537.
- (116) An Act respecting the Harbor of Belleville, in the Province of Ontario.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 449.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, agreed to, 453.
2nd R., 454.
In Com., discussed, rep. from Com. with amts., 474.
3rd R., and passed, 474.
Commons amts. agreed to, 541.
Assent, 722.
- (117) An Act further to amend the Customs Act, Chapter thirty-two of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 544.
2nd R., 589.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 606.
3rd R., discussed, 620; passed, 621.
Assent, 723.
- (118) An Act to authorize the granting of Pensions to Members of the North-West Mounted Police Force.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 543.
2nd R.* 559.
M. referring B. to Com. of W., discussed, agreed to, 559-60.
3rd R.* and passed, 604.
Assent, 723.
- (120) An Act to amend Chapter eleven of the Revised Statutes, intitled: An Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 373.
2nd R., 413.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 431.
3rd R.* and passed, 431.
Assent, 537.
- (127) An Act with reference to the Western Counties Railway.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 449.
Discussed on 2nd R., 451-2.
2nd R., 453.
In Com. of W., discussed, 473-4.
3rd R., and passed, 474.
Assent, 538.
- (128) An Act to provide for the Conveyance of certain Lands to British Columbia.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 449.
2nd R.* 451.
3rd R.* 473.
Assent, 538.
- (129) An Act to amend the Fisheries Act, Chapter ninety-five of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 472.
2nd R., 534.
In Com. of W., discussed, 536.
Rep. from Com. without amts., and 3rd R., and passed, 537.
Assent, 722.
- (130) An Act further to amend the Steamboat Inspection Act, Chapter seventy-eight of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 449.
2nd R., 453.
3rd R.* 473.
Assent, 538.
- (137) An Act further to amend the General Inspection Act, Chapter ninety-nine of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 562.
2nd R., 605.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 625.
3rd R.* and passed, 625.
Assent, 723.
- (138) An Act respecting a Loan therein mentioned to certain Mennonite Immigrants.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 562.
2nd and 3rd R., and passed, 589.
Assent, 723.
- (139) An Act further to amend the Inland Revenue Act, Chapter thirty-four of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*
1st R.* 562.
2nd R., 605.
Rep. from Com. without amts., and M. for 3rd R., 624.
3rd R., 625.
Assent, 723.

(142) An Act to amend the Cullers Act, Chapter one hundred and three of the Revised Statutes.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 625.
2nd R.*, 654.
In Com. of W., rep. from Com., and
3rd R., and passed, 655.
Assent, 723.

(144) An Act relating to Ocean Steamship Subsidies.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 661.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 667-86.
2nd R., 686.
In Com. of W. discussed, 686-90.
3rd R., and passed, 690.
Assent, 723.

(147) An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain Sums of Money required for defraying certain Expenses of the Public Service for the Financial Years ending respectively the 30th June, 1889, and the 30th June, 1890, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 721.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 721-2.
2nd and 3rd R., and passed, 722.
Assent, 723.

(148) An Act to authorize the granting of Subsidies in aid of the Construction of the Lines of Railway therein mentioned.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 717.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 717-20.
2nd R., passed Com., and
3rd R., 720.
Assent, 723.

(149) An Act to provide for the building and working of a Line of Railway from Harvey to Salisbury, or Moncton, in the Province of New Brunswick.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 690.
M. for suspension of 41st Rule of Procedure agreed to, and M. for 2nd R., 690; discussed, 690-7.
M. for six months' hoist, 698; agreed to on div'n (C., 22; N.-C., 11), 715.

(150) An Act to amend the Revised Statutes, Chapter one hundred and thirty-eight, respecting Judges of Provincial Courts.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 686.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, and
2nd and 3rd R., 690.
Assent, 723.

(151) An Act respecting a certain Agreement therein mentioned with

the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan Railway and Steamship Co.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 715.
2nd R., passed through Com., and
3rd R.*, 715.
Assent, 723.

(152) An Act to authorize the granting of Subsidies in Land to certain Railway Companies.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 715.
M. for 2nd R. agreed to, 717, and
2nd R. and 3rd R., 717.
Assent, 723

(153) An Act for the Relief of the Corporation of the Town of Cobourg.—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st and 2nd R.*, 717.
In Com. of W., 720; discussed, 721.
3rd R., and passed, 721.
Assent, 723.

() An Act further to amend the several Acts relating to the Board of Trade of Toronto.—*Mr. Macdonald (Midland).*

M. for suspension of Rules, 472; discussed, 472.
1st R., 472.
Assent, 722.

Bills of Lading B. (C).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.*, 4.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 45.
2nd R., 46.
3rd R.*, and passed, 71.
Assent, 723.

Bills, Private, petitions for.

M. (*Mr. Abbott*), that time for presenting petitions for Private Bills, expiring 9th Feb., be extended to 1st March, 1889, and agreed to, 37.

Boiler Inspection and Insurance Co. of Canada's B. (25).—*Mr. Macdonald (Toronto).*

1st R.*, 75.
2nd R.*, 114.
3rd R.*, 163.
Assent, 306.

Bonds.

Issue of, on security of steamships connected with railway, nothing to do with subsidies, (*Mr. Scott*), 165.

Boundaries of the Province of Ontario.

M. that Senate concur with House of Commons in Address to H. M. *re* westerly boundary of, agreed to, and that Speaker sign Address on behalf of Senate, agreed to, 667.

Brazil, advantages of trade with, to Canada.

On Inq. (*Mr. Macdonald, Midland*), concerning imports and exports of the Dominion, 95.

British Columbia, the defences of.

Inqy. (Mr. McDonald, B.C.): 1st. How does the question stand between Imperial and Dominion Govts.; 2nd. Whether batteries are to be erected this year at Esquimalt; 3rd. Whether cannon, &c., are being prepared, and if so, when they will be shipped to the Pacific? 73. Answer thereto (Mr. Abbott), 73; discussion (Mr. McInnes, B. C.); (Mr. Abbott), 73.

Calgary, Alberta & Montana Railway Co.'s B. (41).—Mr. Turner.

1st R.* 146.
2nd R.* 164.
3rd R.* 231.
Assent, 306.

Canada Congregational Foreign Missionary Society's Incorporation Act B. (44).—Mr. McClelan.

1st R.* 184.
2nd R.* 281.
3rd R.* 312.
Assent, 537.

Canada, development of.

Comparison, twenty-five years ago and now, (Mr. Kaulbach), 184; increase of population since Confederation (Mr. Kaulbach), 196; taxation of (Mr. Kaulbach), 198.

Canadian General Trusts Co.'s B. (34).—Mr. Ogilvie.

1st R.* 148.
2nd R.* 280.
Rep. from Com. of W., with amts., 303.
3rd R.* 308.
Assent, 537.

Canadian Superphosphate Co.'s B. (81).—Mr. Ogilvie.

1st R.* 373.
2nd R.* 394.
3rd R.* 431.
Assent, 537.

Cereals, cultivation of in the Great McKenzie Basin.

(Mr. Girard), 275.

Certificates of Masters and Mates B. (26).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.* 286.
M. for 2nd R., 308; discussed, 309.
2nd R., 310.
Discussion in Com. of W. postponed, 325.
In Com. of W., 372; rep. from Com., 373.
3rd R.* and passed as amended, 373.
Assent, 537.

Chaplain, increase of salary of J. S. Lauder.

M. (Mr. Read), to reconsider, and M. agreed to, 164.

See *Prayers in the Senate.*

Chaplain of Senate.

Increase of salary of, 71-72.

Civil Service Act, further Amt. B. (100).—Mr. Smith.

1st R.* 314.
2nd R.* 328.
In Com. of W., discussed, 399-403.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 403.
Assent, 537.

Coal, carrying on the Intercolonial Railway.

193-4

Coal, export of from Canada.

(Mr. Drummond), 140.

Cobourg, Corporation of the Town of, Relief B. (153).—Mr. Abbott.

1st and 2nd R.* 717.
In Com. of W., discussed, 720-21.
3rd R.* and passed, 721.
Assent, 723.

Cobourg, Northumberland & Pacific Railway Co.'s B. (57).—Mr. Flint.

1st R.* 148.
2nd R.* 280.
3rd R.* 312.
Assent, 537.

Combinations in Restraint of Trade Suppression B. (11).—Mr. McCallum.

1st R.* 583.
2nd R., discussed, 621; agreed to, 622.
In Com. of W., 631; discussed, 631-5; and M. to concur in amts. agreed to on div'n (C., 28; N.-C., 12), 651.
M. subjecting Trades Unions to this Act agreed to on div'n (C., 26; N.-C., 15), 651; and M. for 3rd R. discussed, 651-3.
Amt. to 5th clause lost on div'n (C., 8; N.-C., 28), 653.
M. for six months' hoist lost on div'n (C., 6; N.-C., 31), 654.
3rd R.* and passed, 654.
Assent, 723.

Commercial Union with the United States.

(Mr. Read) on, in resumed adjourned debate on Mr. Macdonald's inqy., 153.
Means political union (Mr. Power), commenting on Congressman Hitt of Illinois, 172, and a denial (Mr. Power), 173.

Advantages of (Mr. Macdonald); (Mr. Kaulbach), 186; (Mr. Abbott), 187; (Mr. McInnes, B.C.), 188; (Mr. Power), 189-90-92.

Committee.

See "*Senate.*"

Conditional Release of First Offenders B. (E).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.* 41.
2nd R., discussed, 70.
2nd R., 70.
3rd R.* and passed, 71.
Commons amts. agreed to, 148.
Assent, 306.

Conveyance of certain Lands to British Columbia B. (128).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 449.
2nd R.. 451.
3rd R.*. 473.
Assent. 538.

Copyright Act Amt. B. (101).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 583
2nd R.*. 623.
3rd R.*. and passed. 654.
Assent. 723.

Corrupt Practices in Municipal Affairs B. (B).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 4.
2nd R.*. 40.
Rep. from Com., 44.
3rd R.*. and passed. 35.
Assent. 306.

Cotton, importation into Canada.

(Mr. Drummond), 139.

Cullers Act Amt. B. (142).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 625.
2nd R.*. 654.
In Com. of W., rep. from Com., and
3rd R., and passed. 655.
Assent. 723.

Customs Act Amt. B. (117).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 544.
2nd R., 589.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 606.
3rd R., and passed, 621.
Assent. 723.

Customs Duties.

Comparison of United States with Canadian
Tariff (Mr. Drummond), 142.

Defences of British Columbia.

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Delayed Bills.

Inqy. (Mr. Miller), and answer thereto (Mr. Abbott), 686.

Demarara, desire of representative business men of, to extend trade towards Canada.

(Mr. Macdonald, Midland), 92.

Discriminating Duties against the Mother Country.

M. (Mr. Wark) that English goods should pay no higher duties coming into Canada than foreign goods. 413; discussed (Mr. Power), 417; (Mr. Read, Quinté), 420; (Mr. Abbott), (Mr. Vidal), 421; (Mr. McMillan), 422; (Mr. Almon), (Mr. MacInnes, Burlington), 424; adjourned, 425; resumed, 432; discussed (Mr. Power), (Mr. Abbott), 432; (Mr. McMillan), 433; (Mr.

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Div'n on amt. to the amt., and M. as amended agreed to (C., 36; N.-C., 11), 531.

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On 2nd R., B. (Q), An Act to revive certain Regulations respecting the Fisheries in Nova Scotia.

(C., 20; N.-C., 18), 366.

On 3rd R., B. (Q), An Act to revive certain Regulations respecting the Fisheries in Nova Scotia.

(C., 32; N.-C., 12), 412.

On Amt. to M. for adoption of rep. from Com. on Ottawa, Morrisburg & New York Railway Co.'s B. (43).

(C., 27; N.-C., 27), the Speaker declaring amt. lost, 394.

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(C., 14; N.-C., 37), 91.

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(C., 36; N.-C., 11), 531.

On M. to concur in Amts. on Trade Combinations B. (11).

(C., 28; N.-C., 12), 651.

On M. subjecting Trades Unions to this Act; agreed to on division.

(C., 26; N.-C., 15), 651.

- Amt. to 5th Clause lost on division.
(C., 8; N.-C., 28), 653.
- On M. for six months' hoist.
(C., 6; N.-C., 31), 654.
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(C., 34; N.-C., 26), 346.
- Divorce Committee.*
M. (*Mr. Abbott*), to substitute Mr. Kaulbach for Mr. Haythorne on Divorce Com., 41; discussed (*Mr. Kaulbach*), 41; (*Mr. Abbott*), 43; M. agreed to, 44.
- Divorce Proceedings.*
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3rd Rep. from Select Com. on Divorce; petition of Bennett Ramsmond, and M. for adoption (*Mr. Gowan*) agreed to, and Rep. adopted, 51.
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1st Rep. presented from Select Com. on Divorce (*Mr. Gowan*), 51., and M. for adoption (*Mr. Gowan*) agreed to, and Rep. adopted, 51.
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- Dominion Lands Act Further Amt. B. (X).—*Mr. Abbott.***
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 535-6.
2nd R., 536.
In Com. of W., discussed, and rep. from Com., 539.
3rd R., and passed, 539.
- Dominion Lands Act Further Amt. B. (W).—*Mr. Abbott.***
1st R.*, 487.
2nd R.* and 3rd R.*, and passed, 531.
Assent, 723.
- Dominion Life Insurance Co.'s B. (24).—*Mr. Merner.***
1st R.*, 75.
2nd R.*, 114.
3rd R.*, 163.
Assent, 306.
- Dominion Mineral Co.'s B. (80)—*Mr. Scott.***
1st R.*, 373.
2nd R.*, 394.
3rd R.*, 431.
Assent, 537.
- Economy in Printing.*
See *Printing.*
- Electoral Franchise Act further Amt. B. (4).—*Mr. Abbott.***
1st R.*, 544.
2nd R., 560.

- M. for Com. of W. on, 583; discussed, 586; agreed to.
In Com. of W., discussed, 586.
Rep. from Com., 588.
3rd R.*, and passed, 596.
Assent, 723.
- Electric Lights in Cars on Intercolonial.*
See *Intercolonial.*
- Elevators at St. John.*
Inqy. (*Mr. Wark*), whether the Govt. intends to erect elevators similar to those at Halifax; and whether an arrangement will be made for steamers to try these two ports alternately as a terminus, to decide which shall have the preference? 590; discussed, 590-92; answered (*Mr. Abbott*), 619.
- Escapes and Rescues B. (V).—*Mr. Abbott.***
1st R., 454.
2nd R., 475.
In Com., discussed, 534.
Rep. from Com. without amt., 535.
3rd R., and passed, 535.
- Exchange of Lands between the Ontario & Quebec Railway Co., and the Land Security Co.'s B. (66)—*Mr. Scott.***
1st R.*, 285.
2nd R.*, 308.
3rd R.*, 315.
Assent, 537.
- Expenditure in respect to Legislation.*
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- Experimental Farm in British Columbia.*
Inqy. (*Mr. McInnes, B.C.*), whether necessary buildings, &c., will be erected, and when, 532; discussed (*Mr. McMillan*); answered (*Mr. Abbott*), 532.
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1st R.*, 163.
M. for 2nd R. agreed to, 311.
2nd R., 311.
In Com. of W., discussed, 325-7.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 327.
Commons amts. accepted, 589.
Assent, 723.
- Extradition Act Extension B. (84).—*Mr. Power.***
1st R.*, 583.
2nd R., 606.
Rep. from Com. with amts., 625.
3rd R., and passed, 625.
Assent, 723.
- Fire-arms B. (S).—*Mr. Read.***
1st R.*, 308.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 376.
2nd R., 377.

In Com. of W., discussed, 427-9.
Rep. from Com. with amts., 429; discussed, 449.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 450.

Fire, risk of, to Parliamentary Buildings.

Inqy. (Mr. Clemow), as to whether Govt. was aware that danger would ensue from the construction of wharves on Pine Island in the Ottawa River, 312; answer thereto (Mr. Abbott), 312.

Fisheries Act Amt. B. (129).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*, 472.
2nd R., 534.
In Com. of W., discussed, 536.
Rep. from Com. without amts., and
3rd R., and passed, 537.
Assent, 722.

Fisheries in Nova Scotia B. (Q).—Mr. Power.

1st R.*, 308.
M. for postponement 2nd R., 320; discussed,
320-4.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 366-70.
2nd R., on div'n (C., 20; N.-C., 18), 370.
In Com. of W., discussed, 410.
M. for six months' hoist, 410; agreed to on
div'n (C., 32; N.-C., 12), 412.

Fish, exportation of to South America.

(Mr. Dever), (Mr. Power), (Mr. Kaulbach),
161.

Floods in the St. Lawrence.

M. for returns concerning (Mr. Drummond),
454; discussed (Mr. McLunes, Burlington),
454; (Mr. McClelan), 455; agreed to, 455.

Flour, Canadian, too high a grade to keep well in Tropics.

(Mr. Power), 169.

Fraud in supplying Milk to Butter and Cheese Manufacturers B. (16).—Mr. Read.

1st R.*, 311.
2nd R.*, 315.
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Discussed, 455-6.
3rd R.*, 531.
Assent, 722.

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Turner), 292.

General Fee Fund of the Senate.

M. (Mr. Abbott), to refer corresp. from Auditor-
General to the Com. on Contingencies,
and M. agreed to, 52.

General Inspection Act B. (137).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*, 562.
2nd R., 605.
Rep. from Com. without amts., and
3rd R.*, and passed, 625.
Assent, 723.

Grand Jury System.

Inqy. (Mr. Gowan) as to supposed uses and
methods of Grand Jury system in criminal
cases, and value of County Crown
Attorney system of Ontario in similar
cases, and whether Government intends
substituting the latter for the former,
52, 63; discussed (Mr. Scott), 63; (Mr.
Abbott), 66; (Mr. Kaulbach), 67; (Mr.
Trudel), 68.

Grand Jury System.

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54-5; should be replaced, 60-2; abolition
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Great McKenzie Basin, the.

M. (Mr. Girard), for returns of all papers and
answers in possession of the Government
or in reference to questions sent to officers
of Hudson's Bay Co., &c., by Com.
appointed to ascertain the value of the
Great McKenzie Basin, and to complete
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Abbott), 130; (Mr. Power), 130, and the
mover; M. withdrawn, 130; Speaker laid
on Table the corresp. asked for, 130.

M. (Mr. Girard), that papers, &c., in reference
to, laid on Table by the Speaker on 11th
March, remain of record with reference to
their consideration during next Session of
Parliament, 274; discussed, 275; (Mr.
Read), (Mr. Sutherland), (Mr. Abbott),
277; agreed to, 277.

Great McKenzie Basin, the resources of.

Inqy. (Mr. Girard), when the Govt. proposes
to protect the people, furs and fisheries of,
287; discussion (Mr. Turner), 290; (Mr.
Power), 291; (Mr. McFarlane), 292; (Mr.
Macdonald, B.C.), 293; and answer
thereto (Mr. Abbott), 293.

Great North-West Central Rail- way Co.'s Act to amend its Charter of Incorporation. B. (89).—Mr. Clemow.

1st R.*, 311.
2nd R.*, 315.
3rd R.*, 346.
Assent, 537.

Hen, the unprotected.

Mr. Wiman's theme attacked (Mr. Read,
Quinté), 157.

Hamilton Central Railway Co.'s B. (39).—Mr. Sanford.

1st R.*, 146.
2nd R.*, 164.
3rd R.*, 231.
Assent, 306.

Harbor of Belleville in the Prov- ince of Ontario B. (116).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*, 449.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 453.

2nd R., 454.

In Com. of W., discussed, and rep. from Com. with amts., 474.

3rd R., and passed, 474.

Commons amts. agreed to, 541.

Assent, 722.

Hawkesbury Lumber Co.'s B. (20).

—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R., 75.

2nd R., 114.

3rd R., 148.

Assent, 306.

House of Commons Act Amt. B. (108).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R., 315.

2nd R., 329.

In Com. of W., discussed, 371-2.

3rd R., and passed, 372.

Assent, 537.

Imports and Exports of the Dominion, the.

Inqy. (Mr. Macdonald, Midland), when does the Govt propose to introduce measures relating to import and export with reference to commercial relations between Australia, South America and the West Indies, 92; discussion (Mr. Macdonald, B.C.), 94; (Mr. Kaulbach), 95; (Mr. Macdonald, Midland), 96, 106; (Mr. McInnes, Burlington), 107; (Mr. Scott), 109; (Mr. Power), 111; (Mr. Ogilvie), 112; (Mr. McCallum), 112.

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2nd R., 330.

Rep. from Com. with amts., 413.

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Assent, 722.

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1st R., 562.

2nd R., 605.

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3rd R., and passed, 625.

Assent, 723.

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Assent, 306.

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M. for 2nd R. discussed, and
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3rd R., and passed as amended, 366.
Assent, 722.

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Judges of Provincial Courts R. (150).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 686.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, and
2nd and 3rd R., 690.
Assent, 723.

Kingston & Pembroke Railway Co.'s B. (69).—*Mr. Sutherland.*

1st R.* 286.
2nd R.* 308.
Rep. from Com. with amts., 316.
3rd R.* and passed as amended, 316.
Assent, 537.

Kingston & Pembroke Railway Co. and Napanee, Tamworth & Quebec Railway Co.'s B. (90).—*Mr. Read.*

1st R.* 314.
2nd R.* 322.
3rd R.* 373.
Assent, 537.

Kingston, Smith's Falls & Ottawa Railway Co.'s B. (47).—*Mr. Sullivan.*

1st R.* 146.
2nd R.* 164.
3rd R.* 231.
Assent, 306.

Kootenay & Athabasca Railway Co.'s B. (15).—*Mr. Read, B.C.*

1st R.* 72.
2nd R.* 74.
3rd R.* 75.
Assent, 306.

Lac Seul Railway Co.'s B. (52).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 146.
2nd R.* 148.
3rd R.* 231.
Assent, 306.

Lake Manitoba Railway & Canal Co.'s Incorporation B. (62).—*Mr. Perley.*

1st R.* 359.
2nd R.* 373.
Rep. from Com. with amts., and

3rd R., and passed as amended, 395.
Assent, 537.

Lake Nipissing & James' Bay Railway Co.'s B. (40).—*Mr. Turner.*

1st R.* 147.
2nd R.* 164.
3rd R.* 231.
Assent, 306.

Legislation, the cost of.

M. (*Mr. Abbott*), that a Select Com. enquire into it, and into the practicability of reducing it, naming Com. and that co-operation of the House of Commons be invited thereto, 75; discussed (Mr. Scott), 76; (Mr. Abbott), 77; (Mr. Power), 81; (Mr. Bellerose), 84; amt. (Mr. Power), that this House act within itself, 84; discussed (Mr. Bellerose), 84; (Mr. Kaulbach), 87; (Mr. Vidal), 87; (Mr. Wark), 88; (Mr. Poirier), 89; (Mr. Gowan), 90. The House divided on the amt., which was lost on a div'n (C., 14; N.-C., 37), and M. declared carried, 91.

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London & Canadian Loan & Agency Co.'s Incorporation Act Amt. B. (77).—*Mr. Power.*

1st R.* 148.
2nd R.* 282.
3rd R.* 302.
Assent, 537.

Lowry Divorce B. (G).—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.
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3rd R., and passed on div'n (C., 28; N.-C., 22), 301.
Assent, 722.

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1st R.* 148.
2nd R., 183.
Amts. concurred in, and
3rd R., and passed, 430.
Commons amt. rejected; discussed, 539-41.
Assent, 723.

Massawippi Junction Railway Act Amt. B. (37).—*Mr. Stevens.*

1st R.* 359.
2nd R.* 373.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 430.
Assent, 537.

Meat, Canadian, competed with in English Market by South America and Australasia.

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Mennonite Immigrants Loan B.
(138).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 562.
2nd and 3rd R., and passed, 589.
Assent, 723.

Middleton Divorce B. (F).—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 52.
2nd R.* 148.
3rd R.* 315.
Assent, 722.

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Moose Jaw & Edmonton Railway Co.'s Incorporation Act B.—(85).—*Mr. Perley.*

1st R.* 373.
2nd R.* 412.
Rep. from Com. with amts., and 3rd R., and passed as amended, 431.
Assent, 538.

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New Brunswick & Prince Edward Railway Co.'s B. (21).—*Mr. Botsford.*

1st R.* 74.
2nd R.* 74.
Rep. from Com. discussed, 147.
3rd R., and passed, 147.
Assent, 306.

Niagara Grand Island Bridge Co.'s B. (35).—*Mr. McCallum.*

1st R.* 74.
2nd R.* 75.
3rd R.* 114.
Assent, 306.

Non-intercourse, the Threat of.

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North-Western Junction & Lake of the Woods Railway Co.'s Incorporation B. (73).—*Mr. Clemow.*

1st R.* 314.
2nd R., 321.
Amts. concurred in, 430.
3rd R., and passed, 430.
Commons amts. rejected; M. discussed and agreed to, 541.
Assent, 723.

Northern Pacific & Manitoba Railway Co.'s B. (76).—*Mr. Girard.*

1st R.* 302.
2nd R.* 308.
3rd R.* 315.
Assent, 537.

North-West Mounted Police Amt. to Revised Statutes Respecting B. (Y).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 536.
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Amts. concurred in, 554.
3rd R., and passed, 582.
Assent, 723.

North-West Mounted Police Pension B. (118).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 543.
2nd R.* 559.
M. referring B. to Com. of W. discussed, 559-60; agreed to.
3rd R.* and passed, 604.
Assent, 723.

Ocean Steamship Subsidies B. (14).—*Mr. Abbott.*

1st R.* 661.
M. for 2nd R., discussed, 667-86.
2nd R., 686.
In Com. of W., discussed, 686-90.
3rd R., and passed, 690.
Assent, 723.

Ontario Loan & Debenture Co.'s Borrowing Powers Consolidation Act, and to authorize the issue of Debenture Stock B. (48).—*Mr. McMillan.*

1st R.* 148.
2nd R.* 280.
Rep. from Com. with amts., and 3rd R., and passed as amended, 304.
Assent, 537.

Ontario, Manitoba & Western Railway Co.'s Incorporation Act. B. (83).—Mr. Sutherland.

1st R.* 302.
2nd R.* 310.
Rep. from Com., 316.
3rd R., and passed as amended, 316.
Assent, 537.

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1st R.* 147.
2nd R.* 164.
Rep. from Com., and
3rd R., and passed as amended, 303.
Assent, 537.

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2nd R.* 164.

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- Post Office Act (Chapter Thirty-five of the Revised Statutes of Canada) Amt. B. (93).—Mr. Abbott.**
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3rd R., and passed, 604.
Assent, 723.
- Prayers in the Senate.*
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- Prescott County Railway Co.'s Incorp. Act and to Change its Name B. (33).—Mr. Clemow.**
1st R.*, 146.
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Assent, 537.
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Qu'Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan Railway and Steamship Co.'s B. (151).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*, 715.
2nd R., passed Com., and
3rd R.*, 715.
Assent, 723.

Quebec Board of Trade Incorporation Amt. B. (87).—Mr. Robitaille.

1st R.*, 314.
2nd R.*, 322.
3rd R.*, 359.
Assent, 537.

Queen's College at Kingston Act Amt. B. (46).—Mr. Vidal.

1st R.*, 184.
2nd R., 280.
3rd R.*, 312.
Assent, 537.

Railway Act of 1888 Amt. B.—Mr. McCallum.

1st R.*, 38.
2nd R. postponed, 41.
2nd R., M. discussed, 46-51.
2nd R., 51.
M. that B. be referred to Com. on Railways agreed to, 51.
Rep. from Com., 230; amts. concurred in, 231; discussed, 281, and
3rd R., and passed, 281.

Railway Bridges in New Brunswick.

Inq. (Mr. Wark). whether Govt. intends to make them free, 538.
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1st R.*. 74.
2nd R.*. 75.
3rd R.*. 114.
Assent, 306.

Relations, Commercial, with West Indies and South American Countries should be extended.

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Rosamond Divorce B. (H).—Mr. Clemow.

1st R.*. 52.
2nd R.*. 148.

Ruin and Despair, the Prophets of.

In discussing the affairs of State, members should not be called (Mr. Power), 174.

Rules of Court in Relation to Criminal Matters B. (55).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 147.
2nd R.*. 165.
In Com. of W., discussed, rep. from Com., 279.
3rd R.*. and passed, 305.
Assent, 537.

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Mr. Bellerose's M. to appoint a Select Com. of seven Senators to inquire into certain charges against Govt. with respect to revolt of 1886 in St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary out of order, 631.

On Mr. Read's (Quinté) point of order, that what took place in Com. room last year is now out of order, 379; corrected, 380.

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A charge against the Govt., couched in the terms of a question of privilege, cannot go on the Journals of the House. On St. Vincent de Paul, &c., 598.

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The Speaker ruled Mr. Bellerose's question of privilege, in charges against the Govt., re the 1886 troubles in St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, out of order, 599.

A member may speak once, but with permission of the House oftener—on Mr. Almon's point of order in debate on 2nd R. Ocean Steamship Subsidies B., 680.

Salary of Chaplain.

See *Chaplain*.

Safety of Certain Fishermen B. (T).—Mr. Power.

1st R.*. 312.
M. for postponement of 2nd R. agreed to, 321.
In Com. of W., discussed, 406-8.
2nd R., 409.
In Com., discussed, rep. from Com., and ams. concurred in, 431.
3rd R.*. and passed, 432.

Safety of Ships B. (54).—Mr. Abbott.

1st R.*. 449.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, and
2nd R., 450.
In Com. of W., discussed, 472-3.
Rep. from Com., and
3rd R., and passed as amended, 473.
Assent, 722.

Saskatchewan Railway & Mining Co.'s Incorp. Act B. (86).—Mr. Reid, B.C.

1st R.*. 373.
2nd R.*. 412.
Rep. from Com. with ams., and
3rd R., and passed as amended, 430.
Assent, 538.

Sawdust in the Ottawa River.

Inq. (Mr. Clemow), whether the Govt. intends to take action, 346.
Answer thereto (Mr. Abbott), 347.

Senate, The.**Adjournment.**

M. (Mr. Abbott), that when House adjourn on 30th April it stand adjourned till 11 a.m. of 31st, and that there be two sittings, agreed to, 655.

M. (Mr. Clemow), in the absence of Mr. O'Donoghue, that when House adjourn on the 1st March it stand adjourned till 4th, 74; M. objected to (Mr. Kaulbach), and ruled out, 74.

M. (Mr. Clemow) that House adjourn from 22nd to 26th March, agreed to, 312.

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M. for appointment of (Mr. Abbott), 41-3; (Mr. Kaulbach), 41.

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M. (Mr. Abbott) to appoint Coms. as on Notice Paper, omitting Divorce Com., 37; discussed (Mr. Kaulbach) 37; (Mr. Howlan), (Mr. Miller), (Mr. Bellerose), 38, and M. allowed to stand till next sitting, 38.

List presented (Mr. Abbott), 39, and M. for Com. on Restaurant; discussed (Mr. Abbott), and withdr., 40.

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- 2nd Rep. of Select Com. on Contingent Accounts: consideration of asked to be postponed (Mr. Abbott), 71; and Notice of M. to look into expenditure incurred in legislation, 71.
- M. (*Mr. Read*), that the part of the Rep. to appoint Arthur Ralph as Sessional Messenger be considered; discussed (Mr. Miller), (Mr. Dickey), (Mr. McInnes, B.C.), (Mr. Read), and agreed to, 72.
- M. (*Mr. Read*), that Order of Day be discharged and Rep. considered in two weeks, agreed to, 72.
- M. (*Mr. Read*, Quinté), to adopt the 3rd Rep. of the Select Committee on Contingent Accounts, being M. to appoint L. N. Garneau Assistant Clerk of French Journals"; M. agreed to and Rep. adopted, 74.

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Introduced: Messrs. Perley, Reid, Price, Drummond, Rodier, 1-4.

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- M. (*Mr. Read*), that the consideration of section 2 of 2nd Rep. of Select Com. on Contingent Accounts, referring to prayers in the Senate, be referred back to them, 163; discussed (Mr. McInnes, B.C.), (Mr. Wark), 163; (Mr. O'Donohoe), 164; M. being to re-consider the increase of salary of Chaplain was, upon production of a letter from the latter, agreed to, 164.
- Uncharitableness among members of, due to lack of prayer before beginning daily labors (Mr. McInnes, B.C.), 163.

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- M. (*Mr. De Boucherville*), for adoption of Rep. of Select Com. on reporting, 623; agreed to, 624.

Senate and House of Commons Amt. B. (120).—*Mr. Abbott.*

- 1st R.*, 373.
2nd R., 413.
Rep. from Com. without amts., 431.
3rd R.*, and passed, 431.
Assent, 537.

Separation of Canada from England.

- Impossibility of (Mr. Macdonald, Victoria), 224-5; (Mr. Clemow), 226; seducing the people from their allegiance (Mr. Power), 229; (Mr. Clemow), 229.

Short Line Railway B. (149)—*Mr. Abbott.*

- 1st R.*, 690.
M. for suspension of 41st Rule of procedure agreed to, and motion for 2nd R. discussed, 690-97.
M. for six months' hoist, 698; agreed to on div'n (C., 22; N.-C., 11), 715.

Solicitor of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the.

- Inqy. (Mr. McInnes, B.C.), and answer thereto, (Mr. Abbott), 327.

South Ontario Pacific Railway Co.'s B. (59).—*Mr. McMillan.*

- 1st R.*, 146.
2nd R.*, 164.
3rd R.*, 231.
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- 1st R.*, 285.
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Assent, 538.

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- 1st R.*, 449.
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Assent, 538.

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- 1st R.*, 146.
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- 1st R.*, 146.
2nd R.*, 164.
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Assent, 537.

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- 1st R.*, 146.
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Assent, 537.

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1st R.*, 721.
M. for 2nd R. discussed, 721-2.
2nd and 3rd R., and passed, 722.
Assent, 723.

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